ANARCHIST STUDIES NETWORK CONFERENCE

2 - 4 SEPTEMBER 2020

ASN6

Interactive Index

Anarchist Responses to a Pandemic 1

(R)evolutionary Love in a Time of Crisis 1

Care and Crisis in New York: The Social Situation of Women, Anarcha-Feminism,and Mutual Aid During the COVID-19 Pandemic 2

Notes from the Unpaved Streets. Safety, Crisis, and Queer Autonomous Communities 2

Michel Foucault's concept of political spirituality 3

From apocalyptical to prophetical Eschatology. Anarchist understandings of temporality and revolutionary societal progress under conditions of everyday apocalypse..... 4

Punk and Anarchy in Turkey: a complicated relationship 5

Out of Step: is Straight Edge Punk a post-anarchist movement? 6

Anarchist counter-narratives through punk songs in conflict and post-conflict Northern Ireland, 1977-2020..... 7

Between Empires: An Anarchist and Postcolonial Critique of the 2019 Hong Kong Protests 7

Imperialism and Crisis (in Portuguese)..... 8

The Prevent Strategy and the Construction of Pre-Crime Space 9

Anarchism and entrepreneurship, two not-so-different concepts? 9

An Anarcho-Pacifist Theory of International Relations.....10

What Coronavirus left us: the impact of a pandemic in the punk scene of Bogotá (Colombia 10

Punks Against Sweatshops' and '"Solidarity Not Charity" – International Punk Solidarity 11

Three Theses Toward a Redefinition of Anarchism 12

The system is resilient – It will kill us all: The Political ideologies of resilience and its location within anarchist practices. 13

Seeing Anarchism as an Ideology: Some Implications for Intellectual Historiography.....14

Spontaneity in Crisis 15

Albert Daenens, Haro! and the State 15

"Toward the Creative Nothing": An Existentialist Anarchist Account of Art as Expression of the Self in a Political World.....16

What's Anarchic About Anarchist Poetry from Latin America? Translating Biófilo Panclasta and Maria Lacerda de Moura 16

The new Etatists?.....17

“Whose streets, whose power? - Which streets, what power?” A postanarchist approach for analysing social movements 18

Find and lose each other! On An-archic affinities and nomadic institutions.19

Toward Anarchy: A Historical Sketch of the Anarchism-Democracy Divide..19

Anarchism and Communitarianism: Two Different Concepts of Community20

The Idea of State’: ‘Statism and Anarchy’ in Bakunin’s thought.....20

Social Anarchism and Socialism. Citizenship beyond Citizenism 21

Anarchism and the Rewilding of Utopia.....21

‘Starting back toward life’: Anarchism and Mental Health in Toni Cade Bambara’s The Salt Eaters.....22

Toward an Anarchist Literary Instrumentalism 23

Organizing Anarchy: Anarchist Intellectuals and the Transatlantic Struggle for Industrial Democracy, 1918-1939.....23

Lay down your arms: anarchism, anti-militarism, and anti-colonialism in the 1920-30s.....24

‘Volunteers for Anarchy: The International Group of the Durruti Column in the Spanish Civil War’ 24

The significance of exile in times of crisis – German exile anarchism between 1878-1914.....25

Jewish anarchists’ responses to the “spiritual crisis”.....26

Seeing Unlike a State 26

Contemporary Anarchist Theatre and the Struggle of Representation.....27

Anarchist Praxis and Political Art: Developing a Form of Artistic Practice Through Prefiguration and Affinity.....27

Studying 'movement' anarchism: history, practice, and critical enquiry 28

What happened to the American individualists, or, how do we remember the intellectual history of anarchism? 28

Reflections on knowledge production from the Free University Brighton....28

Let Us Hear Now the Crisis of Brains on the Asphalt: Three Punk Expressions of Crisis.....29

Against all odds: The journey of the second anarcho-punk generation and its shipwreck in the dictatorship of the XXI century - as Conferry (Venezuelan Ferry Company) 29

The graves are for the dead. Punks, torture and prisons in Venezuela 29

Violent times: The ballad of Flecha. Punk and extrajudicial executions in the context of protests.....30

Investigating and promoting the anarchist concept of social revolution in times of multiple crisis 30

Progress, Crisis, Revolution: Lev Mechnikov on Historical Change, c. 1860-1888 31

Anarchist perspectives on the French revolution 31

“Yellow vests”, anarchist practices and the crisis of representation 32

Confluence: A Survey and Unification of Minimalist Constitutional Forms and Secure Instant Messaging Protocols for the Anarchist Activist Context 32

Iceland’s New Constitution, Anarchist Political Economy and the Possibility of Democracy 33

The crisis in relations between Peter Kropotkin and Russian anarchists 34

Responding to Crisis Theoretically: Aldous Huxley’s Proto-Postanarchism ..35

When crisis intervention does not suffice. Towards an anarchist legal system 36

Direct action as conflicting practices of equality and autonomy.....36

An Anarchist Critique on the Solidarity Academy, Inspired by Bourdieu, Landauer and Scott 37

Towards an Anarchism in the Philippine Archipelago.....38

The Limits of Prefigurative Politics in Blue-Collar Worksites.....38

Okay Humans! What’s The Fucking Point? Eco-Absurdism: Absurdism as Environmentalism.....39

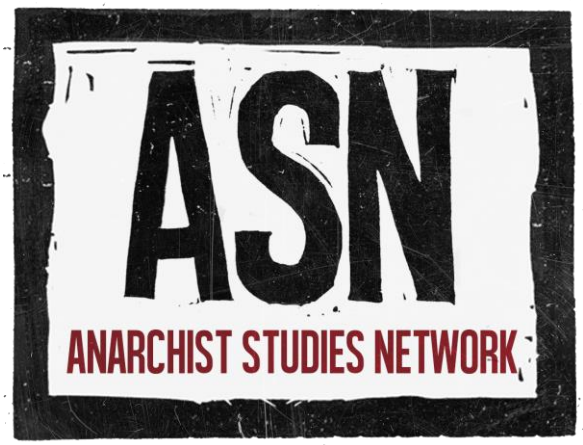
We are not the virus: ecoanarchism in a time of Coronavirus 39

Libertarian naturism and biopolitical resistance in 1900s Brazil 40

The Conquest of Bread in a Time of Collapse – Kropotkin’s Permaculture ...40

Pippi’s Posthuman Power 41

Against and Beyond the Fascist Imagination.....41



Wednesday, 2nd September

Anarchist Responses to a Pandemic

Nathan Jun

Two things have been striking in the US response to the COVID-19 pandemic: the chaos, incompetence, irrationality, and often cruel misguidedness of the centralized government response; and the rationality, care, and effectiveness of grassroots measures in many parts of the country. In this presentation, I compare these phenomena—focusing mostly on the case of Washington, D.C. and especially on the contrast between leadership coming from the White House and the DC Mutual Aid Network organized originally by Black Lives Matter DC—to illustrate core features of anarchist politics.

Like many social crises before it, the current pandemic, rather than providing a stand-alone argument for or functioning as an implementation of any political theory, serves as a sort of laboratory experiment. When central authority fails in socially crucial tasks, mutual aid, solidarity, and grassroots organization are the only options. We learn a great deal about the possibility of such forms of organization and about the ways that it arises through spontaneous action, by studying such experiments. If political thought is best illustrated through its implementation in practice, the functioning of grassroots individuals and organizations in a time of crisis is the best we currently have to understand the political mechanisms core to anarchist thought.

(R)evolutionary Love in a Time of Crisis

Matt York

The global COVID-19 pandemic has acted to temporarily decelerate linear time and make clear an immanence usually obscured by the disorienting pace of the modern capitalist system. And for this brief moment it has become impossible to ignore the previously devalued work of love, care and solidarity relations as being central to social reproduction and fundamentally constitutive of society. As we witness forgotten social solidarities reconstituted and mutual aid groups formed spontaneously in countless communities across the planet, many spaces have been opened for us to reimagine the world(s) we inhabit. And so before these affective currents are redirected and repackaged as patriotisms and nationalisms, our task must be to strengthen and expand them into pockets of free society, and then to link them. Although often omitted by conventional political histories, there are many examples of activists who have revolutionised this 'agapeic web' to align with specific political and social ideals. This paper will thus explore some of the key anarchist theories of such (r)evolutionary love drawn from a long and distinctive lineage of such praxis.

The paper will then introduce a Collective Visioning project that explores the thoughts, feelings, ideas and imaginings of a cross section of anti-capitalist and

ecological activists internationally in relation to such a love. The research involved a group process of intentionally generating a vision that was unapologetically utopian while remaining grounded in grassroots struggle, and prepared strategy for then prefiguring the collective vision in the here-and-now – utilising utopia as process. Drawing on this research the paper will argue that such a (r)evolutionary love offers an alternative political response to the multiple crises we now face – to turn outwards, to connect, and in that connection to transform ourselves and the world(s) we co-create.

Care and Crisis in New York: The Social Situation of Women, Anarcha-Feminism,and Mutual Aid During the COVID-19 Pandemic

Caroline K. Kaltefleiter

This paper seeks to address the notion of home and care during crisis, with a focus on the ongoing COVID-19 crisis. The concept of crisis is articulated as various and multifaceted, expanding on work that addresses issues of austerity, worsening inequality, loss of income and benefits, and a wider loss of social structure given neoliberal policies and economies. Special attention is given to women's everyday life experiences. Emma Goldman's work on birth control, marriage, love, and sexuality helps situate this work to discuss the means by which the pandemic has exacerbated and accelerated neoliberal economies and conditions of care so as to dissolve boundaries between public and private spaces—the (re)absorbing of a Fordist household into the space of market transaction(Cooper, 2014).This work extends Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus to that of Goldman's anarchist feminism, articulated in The Social Situation of Women, in foregrounding domestic labor and care. Goldman herself made her living primarily as a nurse and midwife, tending to bodies, performing essential labor, and interrogating the embodiment of conditions in which women struggle to feed and care for their families. Finally, this essay examines the case of anarcha-feminism to support the poor, sick, and marginalized, through the rejection of state power, and to offer creatively courageous ways in which anarchist collectives sought to address the COVID-19 crisis in New York through mutual aid projects, extending the boundaries of home, self, and care outward during lockdown. Such actions underscore anarchist values of autonomy, responsibility, solidarity, and community.

Notes from the Unpaved Streets. Safety, Crisis, and Queer Autonomous Communities

Megan Hoetger

In 2016 a fire took thirty-six lives at Ghost Ship, a semi-squatted warehouse space in Oakland, California which I had frequented since moving to the city in 2012. Since the fire there have been a multitude of attempts to legitimize other such sites in the United States through the rhetoric of public safety. The dangers to the existence of such sites are not only the effects of cities cracking

down on unpermitted occupations, however; they are also the result of well-intended but misplaced efforts by those seeking to bring them up to code. This situation opens onto a set of critical issues at the core of Leftist thinking today, trapped as it is between the desire to fight oppressive systems and still adhere to normative public frameworks, such as that of "safety." What we understand to constitute safety and how it gets yoked to securitization and surveillance is, indeed, a startingly urgent topic today in the times of the new coronavirus when the term "mutual aid" is being taken up by subject-citizens from across the electoral spectrum—safety is, one might say, in an on-going crisis, and this crisis, I want to suggest, is constitutive of what we might recognize as a crisis in anarchism.

Building upon my experiences living and working within queer autonomous and anarchist communities in Brussels, Bordeaux, and Barcelona, "Notes from the Unpaved Streets" makes a claim for the critical role of these radical queer communities in helping to shape local-to-transnational movement-building strategies for the ultra-Left today. These spaces, the paper argues, are not simply a page in the histories of the squatter's movement. Instead, they offer a point of departure from that, insistently shifting away from a model of sacrifice and toward a model of survival; and they do so by centering care, consent, communication, and the organizational impulses of the most structurally precarious—those to whom the safety in public safety was never meant to apply. In maintaining their unassimilable positions—and doing so from this place of survival— such communities develop new meanings of safety, which move beyond the state, as well as beyond understandings of power as contingent upon a monopoly on state violence.

Michel Foucault's concept of political spirituality

Teresa Xavier

This article aims to study Michel Foucault's (1926-1984) concept of political spirituality from an anarchist perspective. As the author explained in a Le Nouvel Observateur interview (1979), the concept of political spirituality is a key notion and a fundamental and permanent preoccupation of his reflection. Nevertheless, this concept was only mentioned firstly and explicitly by the author at a round table in 1978. According to Foucault, the main objective of this concept/preoccupation was to problematize institutionalized acts, gestures and discourses, for instance, with regard to madness, normality, disease, delinquency, punishment, etc. For this reason, the paper also intends to situate and frame the concept of political spirituality in Foucault's whole work, showing its philosophical and political importance.

The article bears on two thinkers who Foucault considers to be his main influence in terms of political spirituality: George Bataille and Maurice Blanchot. The paper studies Bataille's concept of "ecstasy" and Blanchot's concept of au-delá - which Foucault 'translates' into hors de soi or out of

oneself or “becoming other”. The analysis of the two concepts aims to understand and develop Foucault’s concept of political spirituality, having as backdrop mysticism and the parallel that the author draws between mysticism and possession.

The paper also analyses three other concepts: i. the concept of love with the help of Plato’s eros, ii. the concept of memory with the aid of Bergson’s “vital memory” and Plato’s reminiscences, and iii. Foucault’s concept of subjectivation. The goal is to show how ecstasy, the tool of the mystics or possessed, is the culmination or the restarting of a path of love that is “vital memory” and subjectivation. This path of love is a kind of anarchy: a transforming and transformed present (the au-delá) that empties the Foucauldian hierarchical subject.

For those reasons, the article studies three mystical authors: Maître Eckhart and his path of love, suggested by Foucault, St. John of the Cross, and also the ecstatic Saint Teresa of Avila. The aim is to focus on Foucault’s ecstatic and mystical sides, and, ultimately, to see, through the testimony of these three mystics, why Foucault argues that spirituality enables ‘other’ political practices or ‘other’ ways of governing oneself (se gouverner tout autrement).

The paper also seeks to understand why, for Foucault, these 'other' or mystical or possessed ways imply the concept of truth. Why, for Foucault, is ecstasy a 'true' way of governing ourselves or guiding ourselves in action? What does truth mean? Is Foucault’s truth-telling a spiritual and political attitude? Or is the truth, an aporia, a 'falsehood' and a fiction, as Nietzsche explains ? Having Protagoras as an inspiration, can this Foucauldian ecstasy and truth be a measure of all things for each one in particular, and always in articulation with others and the universe? The paper’s ultimate objective is to understand whether Foucauldian political spirituality can be understood, through mysticism and ecstasy, as a source of anarchy.

The article tries to respond to these questions using Foucault’s criticism as a method to discuss the concepts. The purpose is to give 'body' and philosophical density to Michel Foucault's spiritual and political interrogations.

From apocalyptical to prophetical Eschatology. Anarchist understandings of temporality and revolutionary societal progress under conditions of everyday apocalypse

Jonathan Eibisch

In anarchist writings and speeches the analysis of contemporary society, hopes for a better future and political-ethically invocations of the spontaneity of the masses as well as their self organisation, are linked with specific conceptions of temporality, history and societal progression. In everyday imagination of many people, anarchism is strongly associated with apocalyptic pictures as a Hobbesian fight one against each other. That’s no surprise in a divided society of domination which destroys bands of solidarity, is based on competition and the patriarchal nuclear family; a system, that was

implemented through massive brutality and is maintained by coercion. Although anarchist narratives and symbols contain also dystopian fantasies (or rather realities), they always point out possibilities of horizontal collective action for better worlds. That means, they in a way work within apocalyptic fantasies and narratives to orient and motivate them in direction of extensive liberation. Such lines of flight are inherently linked with the anarchist concept of social revolution.

In my investigation I figured out four different anarchistic understandings of temporality and history. They appear of course intertwined in anarchist discourses, but can nonetheless be distinguished as theoretical types, which continue from classical anarchism to now. These understandings can be named as (a) materialistic dialectical liberation (Bakunin 1842/Clark 2013), (b) (r)revolutionary social progression (Kropotkin 1882/Graeber 2011), (c) mythological eschatological disruption (Sorel 1908/Inhabit 2018), and (d) processual structural renewal (Landauer 1907/Cantzen 1987). Eventually it becomes apparent, that most anarchists support a prophetical rather than an apocalyptical eschatology, as Martin Buber called it (Buber 1950: 25). That means, they always emphasise human capacities and long-term changes, that have to be brought forward on different levels, whereas 'cracks in capitalism' probably never lead to the one big break, after which the reconciled harmonic communist society arises.

By following these variants of specific philosophies of history, also other concepts and debates become more clear, for example thoughts on prefigurative politics, the relation of means and ends, of subjective and structural transformation or the creation of coherence between ethical values, organisational principles and theoretical basic ideas. I formulated my thoughts in an article of an anthology on "Apokalypische Narrative" which is should be published this year.

Punk and Anarchy in Turkey: a complicated relationship

Carlotta De Sanctis

Punk appeared in Turkey at the end of the Eighties and despite not being able to spread and create a wider and more organized circuit at that time, it represented a scream of dissent from a group of young people who tried to oppose the most accepted socio-political conventions. Therefore in Turkey, starting from the '90s, the number of bands using punk and hardcore sounds increased and started to produce its own local peculiarities – this process was less evident when referring to a more radical lifestyle and shared political ideas.

Considering the high level of counter propaganda against anarchist ideas, ostracism from the rest of the radical Turkish left, the overbearing presence of the State in education and public life, and the lack of contact with small anarchist local groups (which had just started forming in the same years), it was very difficult for the punk scene in Turkey to create the ground for some sort of socialization which could go beyond music in-and-of itself. Despite

songs such as “Serbest Kalmış Anarşi” (Freed Anarchy) or “Anarchy in Turkey” (instead of “Anarchy in the UK”) which were showing an aesthetic degree of politicization with their lyrics, often such statements were not matched by corresponding anti-establishment life style choices.

Thus, my contribution aims at reflection on the relationship between anarchism and punk in the specific context of Turkey, evaluating the complexity of the local punk scene in interpreting and reproducing its own political attitudes. In fact, far from representing the sign of a more permissive environment in the social sphere, the example of punk highlights its deep paradoxes, especially those regarding the limited possibility of expressing dissent.

Out of Step: is Straight Edge Punk a post-anarchist movement?

Francis Stewart

It has been argued that Straight Edge emerged or coalesced in response to a perceived crisis in punk more broadly (Peterson, 2009; Anderson & Jenkins, 2001). Many who claimed edge, or used the phrase as a self-identification marker felt that there was a crisis in both behaviour (the drunk punk) and ethical core (punk had lost its way and was in danger of becoming irrelevant). In part, that view was shaped by personal experiences with drug and/or alcohol addiction, but also with the Protestant core at the heart of Straight Edge (Stewart 2017 & 2019). However, it is also worth asking to what extent was this an indication of a crisis between punk and anarchism?

The relationship between many iterations of punk and variances of anarchism has always existed in a state of flux and near-constant tension. It is further complicated by the assumption made by many that to be a punk is to be an anarchist, which is not at all true. Within Straight Edge, there can be a strong conservatism – especially during the ‘90s – that manifests in ways that are seemingly antithetical to anarchist values or approaches (Kuhn, 2010). Does this, therefore, make Straight Edge punk a post-anarchist punk movement (Newman 2015)? A Foucauldian decisive will not to be governed? Or does the focus on the self within the movement make it more aligned with individual anarchism (Stirner 1844; Proudhon 1849; Thoreau 1849)? A Nietzschean will to power that is reliant upon the death of God?

Drawing upon interviews and participant observations in Straight Edge communities in the UK, Ireland and the USA this paper will suggest that the emergence of Straight Edge indicates an unresolved crisis between punk and anarchism. Utilising interview quotes and graffiti images this paper will seek to ascertain which, if any, iteration of anarchism Straight Edge most closely aligns itself with – taking into account variances for cultural context, socio-economic status and marginalised realities. Doing this will demonstrate that Straight Edge

punk is an intentional response to a perceived crisis within punk, a crisis that is partially linked with punk's complicated relationship to anarchism.

Anarchist counter-narratives through punk songs in conflict and post-conflict Northern Ireland, 1977-2020

Jim Donaghey

Anarchism and punk have been particularly closely intertwined in Northern Ireland and for over 40 years punk has provided critical counter-narratives to sectarian 'two traditions' mentalities, both during the height of the conflict crisis (1968-1998), and during the perpetual crises of the neo-liberal post-conflict period (1998 onwards).

From punk's earliest appearance here, punk set its stall outside or against the crisis of the ethno-national conflict, whether in the vein of The Undertones' saccharine pop escapism ('Teenage Kicks' 1978), or in Stiff Little Fingers' visceral vision of an 'Alternative Ulster' (1978). Bands from the early 1980s, such as Ruefrex, situated themselves within their own sectarianly demarcated communities, even while arguing against sectarian division. Explicitly anarchist-informed punk in the 1980s, such as Toxic Waste or Stalag 17, sharpened the critique of the conflict, denigrating both 'sides' as socially domineering and oppressive – bands associated with the Warzone Collective have continued this anarchist counter-narrative throughout the 1990s (e.g. Pink Turds in Space, Jobby Krust, Bleeding Rectum), 2000s (e.g. Runnin' Riot, The Lobotomies), and 2010s (e.g. 1000 Drunken Nights, Wardomized). This anarchist punk counter-narrative has been just as sharply critical of the post-1998 neoliberal 'peace' as it was of the Troubles 'war'. Other bands have set their political sights beyond Northern Ireland, appealing to wider anarchist themes of resistance, class-based solidarities, or animal liberation.

This presentation will take the form of a curated chronological playlist of Northern Ireland punk songs, aurally sketching these punk anarchist counter-narratives through the songs themselves.

Between Empires: An Anarchist and Postcolonial Critique of the 2019 Hong Kong Protests

Robert Kramm, LMU Munich

Since spring 2019, the postcolonial metropole Hong Kong is in crisis, experiencing mass protests with initially up to two million demonstrators. Over the summer 2019, the conflict intensified: the protests caused enormous property damage, the police shot about 10,000 teargas grenades and incarcerated over 5,000 people, multitudinous people were injured—both police and protesters, of whom at least three were shot by the police with lethal rounds. And on November 8th, Chow Tsz-lok, according to protesters

embattled by riot police and tear gas, fell from a parking deck and subsequently died in the hospital. Hong Kong has received worldwide media coverage, ranging from unconditional solidarity in Cantonese diasporas and among lawmakers in Western democracies—especially in the US, but to a lesser extent also in the EU and the UK—to outright demonization of the protests by the PRC as anti-Chinese terrorism. As unequal as the different politically motivated reporting is: they are united in marginalizing or even silencing Hong Kong's colonial history, and the entanglements and ramifications of particularly European, American, and Japanese colonial rule and imperial legacy in the Hong Kong protests are just a mere footnote. In this paper, on the contrary, I argue that the Hong Kong protests are not only engrained in European ideals of capitalist democracy, but that they also permute aspects of Europe's other former key global exports—colonialism and imperialism—in their struggle for democratic rights. Approaching the Hong Kong protests 2019 from an anarchist and postcolonial studies perspective, this paper discusses the position of Hong Kong between several past and contemporary empires—British, Japanese, American, and Chinese—, and it also highlights often silenced or even neglected power asymmetries in terms of race, class, and gender among the Hong Kong protestors and people in their attempt to "liberate Hong Kong."

Imperialism and Crisis (in Portuguese)

José Augusto

Refining the theme that we set out to present at the previous conference, "Civilizational paradigm and colonialism", we intend to circulate by the idea that different aspects of the colonization of the "other" persist at present, as they are as archaic as the structures of the civilizational paradigm (property , state, social differences and their by-products like war). When these elements are obstructed or interrupted by contestation or exhaustion, we call it "crisis", forgetting historical realities such as pauperism, slavery, colonialism, famines, wars ... Currently, the poor language with which we look and accept things prevents us. we see the crisis as krisis, that is, as a "decision-making" that should correct the causes of the harshest realities that humanity has endured. It turns out that political states and their socio-economic models colonize inside and outside borders in different forms: nationalism, imperialism, neocolonialism, populism, markets, ... "globalization" (we understand globalism because it projects a political and economic-financial model unique, an "ism"). Victims of internal colonization by model of life, advertising intoxication, absence of references or ignorance we tend to forget the struggles for the climate and against the usurpation of resources, against dictatorships and colonialism-imperialism ...); struggles that have been going on since antiquity, accentuated in the last five centuries by the victims of global imperialist colonialism; struggles against military, cultural and technical-economic-financial colonization when companies destroy rivers, forests, peoples. We are regularly faced with a succession of crises from a structured paradigm on

serious technical and socio-economic differences. But, among peoples there are practical seeds of living with each other and nature, there are ways of thinking, philosophizing and acting that can stimulate our perspective for a more cooperative world, understanding the crises of the paradigm as opportunities to reinforce language change , analysis and practices.

The Prevent Strategy and the Construction of Pre-Crime Space

Justin Cruickshank

Drawing on the anarchist James Scott and the decolonial scholar S. Sayyid, I argue that the liberal state has authoritarian aspects stemming from its rule through bureaucratic 'legibility' and its colonial history. In 2011 the Prevent Strategy expanded from dealing with 'violent extremism' to 'extremism', defining normative commitments as potentially 'extremist' if they are taken to be incongruent with the state's definition of Fundamental British Values. The UK's Muslim population were held, contrary to the findings of empirical data, to not be 'socially integrated' into British values and therefore 'opaque' and at risk of extremism. This stemmed from the rise of an assertive political Islam that challenged the western notion that modernity was intrinsically a western project. After 2011 Prevent developed a legibility of symptoms approach which was used to justify repressive surveillance. After 2015, when public sector workers became legally obligated to carry out Prevent surveillance, Prevent was presented as a form of 'safeguarding', with the modern western state acting paternalistically to 'save' 'vulnerable' individuals in an opaque non-western and non-modern population. Repressive mass surveillance has now broadened out, with Counter-Terrorism Policing listing a number of left-wing and environmental groups as potentially facilitating the development of extremism, because these non-opaque groups engage in extra-parliamentary protest, which operates outside the state's bureaucratic channels for political engagement. The state is expanding a pre-crime space whereby people are subject to intrusive surveillance and the risk of a Prevent referral for having beliefs that the state defines as being incongruent with British values.

Anarchism and entrepreneurship, two not-so-different concepts?

Adeline Coignet

Anarchism and entrepreneurship are two concepts which have not often been linked, neither by anarchists nor entrepreneurs. However, they have more in common than they first might let appear. Indeed, they both share goals, generating social change and aspiring for freedom, and they both challenge the system. Although questionable and usually seen as an instrument of capitalism, entrepreneurs can also reject it and aim for making meaningful societal transformations (Steyaert and Hjorth, 2006), including through the process of creative destruction enhanced by Schumpeter (Swedberg, 2006). Anarchism offers an alternative for entrepreneurs who wish to make things

differently and push the system's boundaries instead of being limited by them, especially when considering as entrepreneurship including, but not being limited to, organisations' founders; as entrepreneurship implying to undertake creative action whereby the purpose is to generate social change, whether it be within or outside common economic and managerial models. Anarchist entrepreneurs do exist, even though they are not often called 'entrepreneurs'; they manifest in a lot of different ways and could be identified in anarchist commons (De Angelis and Harvie, 2014), in cooperatives (Michalon, 2015), during the Spanish Civil War (Cuevas Casaña et al., 2019), etc.

Through my thesis' literature review, I wish to show how anarchism and entrepreneurship research can be linked, especially through the case of the anarchist entrepreneurs. This will lead me to argue for stopping to look at defining the individual entrepreneur in entrepreneurship research but rather to focus on their actions (O'Connor, 2006), entrepreneuring and doing anarchy.

An Anarcho-Pacifist Theory of International Relations

Alexandre Christoyannopoulos

Established theoretical perspectives in International Relations (IR) accord little time to rigorous engagement with anarchist and pacifist contributions concerning the analysis of core IR themes such as war and peace, the international order, and the ethics of political violence. As some recent scholarship has demonstrated, however, both anarchism and pacifism do offer valuable and nuanced arguments to contribute to rigorous debate on such issues. An anarcho-pacifist perspective in particular offers a focused vantage point from which to gaze upon the international order. The pacifist grounding enables: a critique of the dominant fetishization of the instrumentality of violence; a warning about the self-fulfilling nature of militarism; and a rich set of nuanced and varied reflections concerning the limits to the legitimacy and effectiveness of political violence. The anarchist lens adds to this: a diagnosis of the international system as one embedded in a variety of intersectional kinds of domination; a set of reflections about alternative structurings of the international order; and an unorthodox understanding of agency in international politics. This puts an anarcho-pacifist theory of IR in a position to either acknowledge or dispute claims central to more established schools of IR including classical realism, neorealism, classical liberalism, neoliberal institutionalism, constructivism, as well as Marxist and feminist theories of IR. An anarcho-pacifist theory of IR thus offers a refreshing reading of the international order, drawing attention away from common realist and liberal conceptions and towards a sharp critical analysis of the global stratification of political, socio-economic and strategic interests and organisations, and reformulating ethical questions and pathways for agency in the process.

What Coronavirus left us: the impact of a pandemic in the punk scene of Bogotá (Colombia)

Minerva Campion and Paola Mateus

This project seeks to analyse the impact of COVID-19 in the underground musical scenes of Bogotá, more specifically, the punk scene. This scene has been countercultural and has developed the debate about class struggle, racism, patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia – sometimes through an anarchist lens. At this moment and due to COVID-19, the punk scene is not developing as it usually did, leading to the closure and disappearance of some spaces. And with these spaces, the disappearance of a non-hegemonic ideology that questions capitalism, authority, and other power relations.

This research aims to get closer to what is happening with these places of the punk circuit; bars, pubs, discos, restaurants, libraries; and with its relevant actors such as zine makers, bands etc. We will focus the analysis on the neighbourhood of Chapinero (Bogotá) where the punk scene has been very strong. With this project we will: identify the collectives and spaces where the punk scene takes place; collect testimonies about the impact of COVID-19 on the punk scene and analyse the political and economic impact of COVID-19 in these spaces.

This research is developed by the Semillero Punk and the Semillero Música y Resistencia (semillero is the Spanish word for seedbed and it is a research groups formed by students). This project will begin in June and end in December 2020. It is also in the framework of a bigger research project which is being carried out in the Department of Political Science at Universidad Javeriana about Punk and decolonial thinking and with the Latin-American Punk Studies Network (RedePunk).

Punks Against Sweatshops' and '"Solidarity Not Charity" – International Punk Solidarity

Punk Ethics (DIY Collective)

Punk Ethics is a small collective that promotes the progressive elements of punk through campaign mobilisation in the punk world. These campaigns are about pushing issues that most punks can get behind, including the anarcho-punks (sweatshops, anti-corporations, international solidarity etc). While these campaigns are not narrowly defined as anarchist, they eschew party politics and share in the non-hierarchical elements of anarchist ideas.

This session proposes to show two campaign films, followed by a Q&A session with a member of the Punk Ethics collective, with discussion facilitated by Jim Donaghey.

About the films:

'Punks Against Sweatshops' – #PunksAgainstSweatshop aims to get people thinking and talking about sweatshops to start the conversation about the of conditions of the workers and what we can do to change things. Punk Ethics is calling on bands to take the pledge and give sweatshops the boot from the global punk scene and source T-shirts from ethical suppliers.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ftaxqKUwS9Y&feature=youtu.be

'"Solidarity Not Charity" – International Punk Solidarity' – In April 2016 the London punk scene put on a show to support the punk scene in Burma (Myanmar) and their efforts to build a punk scene in a country coming out of over half a century of dictatorship. The Common Street Collective Burma have, for the past 10 years, been fighting their way out of poverty while fighting to create a better world. Establishing Food Not Bombs groups, setting up a Books Not Bombs project, and even starting a screen printing collective to make a living and fund their projects. By many they have been heralded as embodying the true face of punk. In March 2017 London punks came together once again to support them, raising money to help Common Street members learn new skills and build their project work. This is international punk solidarity. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g14T8XRBhW4&feature=youtu.be

Thursday, 3rd September

Three Theses Toward a Redefinition of Anarchism

Martin von Loeffelholz

This presentation will offer a proposal for a new anarchist self-conception, or in other words, a new definition of anarchism. At the core of the presentation is an attempt to develop an updated anarchist theory of the state. To provide a foundation for my proposal, I will present three interrelated theses.

Part 1: Implicit Anarchism

The theory of anarchism has always been subject to continuous adaptation by external theories and theorists. Already in the 1920s, council communists like Anton Pannekoek took a strictly anti-statist position, even as they invariably condemned anarchism. This pattern had been repeated several times in the past and continues up to the present day. Although many examples could be cited here, this presentation will limit itself to the council communists, the situationists of the 1950s and the critique of value-dissociation since the 1990s. To substantiate my thesis, I will use a closely-defined concept of anarchism that is limited to the distinctive features of "anti-capitalism" and "anti-statism." In doing so, I find that external theorists not only reproduced anarchist theory, but also consciously distanced themselves from it.

Part 2: The Primacy of the Movement

In this part, I will first give a brief overview of the development of the anarchist theory of the state. In doing so, I find that the anarchism of today has become polarized on the question of the state. While one side categorically rejects the possibility of state or state-related politics, the other side is discussing to what extent participation in elections or at least merely making reformist demands might be legitimate. After a more thorough consideration of various arguments (ideal personification of total national capital, immiseration thesis, stabilization of the system, etc.) I will put forward a proposal to "lay out a position to the left of Poulantzas." Just like Poulantzas, I

wish to advocate for a double strategy, that is, for a concurrency of party and movement, but also to add the "primacy of the movement" to it. What is meant by this? In my view, anarchists' participation in political parties can no longer be categorically rejected, but it only appears expedient to me under two conditions: First, the party must face a serious crisis, which may be associated with personnel or financial issues, for example, so that it urgently requires support from the movement's forces. Second, the movement must not be mired in a deep crisis at the same time.

In conclusion, I will explain how the anarchist understanding of the state is subject to a reductionist binary opposition ("inside or outside of parliament?") that overlooks the manifold possibilities for emancipatory state intervention (for example in equality and city planning offices). It is therefore necessary to amend categorical anti-statism in favor of a more nuanced position. However, the ultimate goal must still be a society free from the state and domination.

Part 3: A New Definition of Anarchism

In the first thesis we examined how the theory of anarchism has been repeatedly adapted by external theorists who distanced themselves from it at the same time. I have referred to this as "implicit anarchism." In the second thesis, I outlined the contradictions of anarchist anti-statism and, following Poulantzas, advocated for a double strategy, which must however be supplemented by the "primacy of the movement." However, these two theses constitute an attack on the anarchist self-concept. While according to the first thesis, Marxism approaches anarchism, the second thesis would put it exactly the other way around. This would increasingly blur the boundary between anarchism and Marxism.

Instead of giving up anarchism as a force in its own right, its strengths should be made clear. For this purpose, I will here make use of a broader concept of anarchism and point out its inherent political values, such as its interventionist understanding of practice and its will to pluralism. What is therefore needed is a new self-concept of anarchism that is no longer defined by categorical anti-statism. Anarchism would then be a political current that 1) aims to abolish the state and capitalism, 2) is based on the primacy of the movement and 3) is characterized by a series of political values.

The system is resilient – It will kill us all: The Political ideologies of resilience and its location within anarchist practices.

Benjamin Franks

There has been a substantial rise in interest in the concept of 'resilience' and its impact on shaping policy and practice. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change uses the concept to analyse impacts of climate change and it has become a key feature of the World Economic Forum's to frame policy recommendations (Baxter 2019). Resilience, which was once a minor term in ecology (Q. Holling 1973 in Folke, Carpenter et. al. 2010) referring to the

capacity of an ecosystem to persist through perterbarations, has become an increasingly prominent ideological concept in the face of shocks and crises, whether anthropogenic (financial crashes, climate change, terrorism), geological (earthquakes,volcanic eruptions), cosmological (asteroid strikes) or biogenic (pandemics) in origin. As such the term is increasingly used in anarchist analyses, particular in response to 'disaster capitalism' (Clark 2020) and the 'capitalist crisis' (Crimthinc. 2020) of Covid 19.

This paper - which is part of a wider project that explores the political ideologies of 'resilience' drawing on Michael Freeden's (1996, 2003) work on ideological morphologies and extending the emphasis on material practices and traditions - examines the different formulations of 'resilience', from within neoliberal, nationalist capitalist and anarchist perspectives. It argues that the term has substantially different meanings and supports distinctive practices according to its location within competing ideologies; most obviously, but not solely, in the identities of the 'essential function' to be 'maintained' and the nature of the threat or disturbance. For neoliberalism the object of protection is the global, market economy, for nationalist capitalists it is the integrity of the chauvinistic nation state, even at the expense of significant sections of society; whilst for anarchists it is, largely, the maintenance of egalitarian community and anti-heirarchical, goods-rich practices against the threats of systems of domination.

The paper argues that whilst 'resilience' provides useful insights into the development of anarchist responses, highlighting previous weaknesses in organisational action and focus. It also argues that there are limitations and dangers in the selective ambiguity of this 'slippery term' (Hickman 2018) as it provides opportunities for dominant ideologies to co-opt anti-hierarchical 'resilient' practices. The contestation around the term and its wider adoption, also provides opportunities for development of counter-hegemonic traditions.

Seeing Anarchism as an Ideology: Some Implications for Intellectual Historiography

Nathan Jun

In this presentation I argue that the aim of studying the intellectual history of anarchism is best served by regarding anarchism as an ideology in Michael Freeden's sense of the term—that is, as a historically evolving assemblage of decontested political concepts that underlies and guides the activities of mass political movements. Such an approach draws precise distinctions between actually-existing anarchist movements and the various iterations of political discourse that overlap or otherwise resonate with the ideologies driving these movements. In so doing, it stands to bring much-needed clarity to questions surrounding the definition of anarchism that have long impeded scholarly investigations of its intellectual history.

Spontaneity in Crisis

Jade Saab and Benjamin Franks

'Spontaneity' is a contested concept presented within some radical political movements as antonym to organization and which is, accordingly, decontested pejoratively or positively according to the surrounding concepts. This paper will delineate the ways several revolutionary ideologies utilise the term leaning on the works of Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, as well as contemporary anarchist writers. The paper will also argue that a consistent and stable interpretation of 'spontaneity' recognises that individuals and groups are always already situated within pre-organized institutions and social relations. We argue that spontaneity is best understood as a transcendence of pre-existing structures and social networks found in even the most organized situations. Finally, we will argue that the coalition-building process that accompanies 'spontaneity' is better suited to anarchist principles of prefiguration. The paper will use examples of the emergence of Covid-19 Mutual Aid groups in the UK and organizing structures in the Lebanese Uprising (ongoing).

Albert Daenens, Haro! and the State

Erik Buelinckx

"To the real artists to revolt, we can't expect anything from the current social state, the salvation will come to us from the people, inexhaustible source of new energy. Let us prepare with them the revolution which will chase away this bourgeoisie without ideals, without soul and without brains."

In 1912, in the 4th issue of the Belgian minor literary artistic magazine La Foi nouvelle the rather unknown Albert Daenens (1883–1952) turned upside down the avant-garde idea that artists should lead by example, as for instance Peter Kropotkin asked in his Call to the young. Radical artists and "the people" should walk the path to the revolution together. The next year Daenens started his own magazine Haro!, which had in total 24 issues in three runs (1913–1914, 1919–1920, 1927–1928) and always struggled with lack of finances, as he did himself for his whole life. An important feature of all issues was the full-page illustration he made for every cover. Being an anarchist and anti-militarist, these contained often a response to the power of the state or other critiques of the society he lived in. While over the years the style of his art changed, influenced by the artistic evolutions of his time, and while the explicit anarchist tone became more anti-militarist, what happened during World War I and the political situation in the interbellum gave enough opportunities for radical graphic art. Some of the themes addressed were patriotism, schooling, war, bourgeoisie, media, veterans, national (Belgian) and international politics, prisons and industrialisation. And of course, he also contributed artistically to the worldwide solidarity with Sacco and Vanzetti. After involvement in the international pacifist movement (his work appeared in magazines worldwide) he slowly faded into oblivion. In 1952 he died in poverty, almost forgotten.

"Toward the Creative Nothing": An Existentialist Anarchist Account of Art as Expression of the Self in a Political World

Lilian Matricon

The concept of the creative Nothing, while only being mentioned twice in Max Stirner's Der Einzige und sein Eigentum – at the very beginning and at the very end of the text – is an implicit theme throughout all of his work, and allows us to link many disputed points of his philosophy. His critique of all fixed ideas, which prioritize their own realization over the individual's, and his fundamental nihilism leave an abyss where moralists and theologists used to operate. However unsettling it can be to reject our essentialist conceptions of the world and ourselves as well as our sense of certitude, it should not be seen as a bleak perspective, but an opportunity for us as unique individuals to act upon our will rather than out of our sense of supposed identity.

Stirner puts philosophy at its place, and frees himself from objective morality and anthropology in order to act according to his will. If some readers found Der Einzige grim and too much in the negative, it is precisely because there is no objective imperative ethical discourse than can be founded by philosophy. Rather, we are invited to take the "I" and its actions as an open-ended question, that can be answered over and over, and can only be true on a subjective level. Artistic expression, which assumes the subjectivity of its own content, therefore can offer an existentialist way of expressing ourselves and communicating with others. Verso il nulla creatore, a poem written in 1921 by Renzo Novatore, can be seen as one account of a positive content, an artistic creation made possible by the destructive work of Stirner.

My claim will be that existentialist anarchism can articulate an individualist conception of "art for art's sake" that puts the artist's self emancipation at the forefront with a more socially and politically driven kind of art.

What's Anarchic About Anarchist Poetry from Latin America? Translating Biófilo Panclasta and Maria Lacerda de Moura

Joey Whitfield

This paper explores creative writing by Latin American Anarchists: the radical individualist Colombian, Máximo Lizcano, better known by his alias Biófilo Panclasta (1879–1943), and the Brazilian feminist and proponent of free love, Maria Lacerda de Moura (1887–1945). I analyse examples of their poetic production and ask what, if anything, makes it 'anarchist' beyond the political ideologies to which they both ascribed.

I consider what makes their work appeal today, contextualising it in contrast to those of their sometimes rather dry contemporaries and focusing on the ideas of sublime destruction and universal love which they propounded. In

addition, the paper reflects on the process of translation as a means of engaging with their texts dynamically in a way that might facilitate an anarchist critical practice.

The new Etatists?

Ondřej Slačálek

The paper will be based on a rethinking of Graeber´s article "New anarchists?" (2002), as well as of Day´s description of "anarchist currents in the newest social movements" (2005) from the point of view of the new times and new social movements which came during the crisis that followed 2008. These authors observed and analyzed a spontaneous anarchist tendency in the movements that were important around the beginning of the new millennium; this tendency manifested itself in ways of self-organizing (Graeber) or in resistance to the "politics of demand" (Day) and focus on direct action (both).

In the first part, the paper will differentiate the movements which reacted to the crisis and will describe their spontaneous tendency to defend certain institutions of the welfare state, to formulate certain demands or even to try to organize inside political parties. Even movements which were strongly influenced by the anarchist tradition or by the anarchism of previous era had to accept some etatist positions in the austerity and post-austerity context (almost last, but definitely not least when Graeber supported Corbyn). To some extent, they follow Chomsky´s position on the state and anarchists during neoliberalism, although in all probability they are not so much following Chomsky as reacting to the situation, choices and possibilities in crisis. In this part, I will combine both militant experience and academic knowledge of anarchist movements of alter-globalist and anti-austerity times in the semi-peripherical Czech Republic with the situation in some other Western countries.

In the next part, I will compare the "new etatist" tendency with the "new anarchist" tendency and discuss their similarities and differences, as well as their correspondence with the possibilities and limits of the spirit of the times. How does crisis change the utopian horizon of social movements? How did the "new anarchist" tendency correspond with the neoliberal hegemony of the 1990s and its extent "beyond all borders and limits"? How does the etatist turn correspond with the conservative and renationalizing turn? To what extent are revolting social movements autonomous of the dominant structures of their societies and their Zeitgeist? These are the questions I will ask in the second part of my paper.

In the third and last part I will ask a political question: How can we combine the inspiring elements of "new anarchism" and "new etatism" (or how can we overcome their shortcomings) to develop a strategy for facing the new crises of the coming decade which will be probably even deeper than the challenges

faced by the alter-globalist and anti-austerity movements? Can we already find this combination in climate movements, anti-racist movements or in certain initiatives reacting to the Covid crisis?

"Whose streets, whose power? - Which streets, what power?" A postanarchist approach for analysing social movements

Jonathan Eibisch

Postanarchism can degenerate into a self-sufficient academic debate which is rarely related to the realities of emancipatory social movements. But it also can be used as one possibility to understand them in new ways and open up specific interpretions. Postanarchism can be formulated as an approach to investigate social movements, just as well other critical approaches. In my view, it promotes a certain attempt to think in paradoxes and fields of tensions. Newman fomulated this convincingly, when he designed a specific postanarchist interpretation of the political difference (Bröckling/Feustel 2010) between politics and ethics/utopia (Newman 2010).

On key stone in an analytical perspective, which can be developed from this theoretical figure, is the contradiction between gaining power for emancipatory social actors by not using means of domination or such, that convert power of social movements into new forms of domination. All diverse currents in social movements – and explicit anarchists as well – have to deal with this contradiction, which leads them at the best to practices of politics of autonomy. But often they are just recaptured by statist political practices, ideologies, organisational froms and images, such as many NGOs that became players e.g. in the negotiations within capitalist-statist international politics. Thinking in paradoxes is itself a possibility to understand and to handle societal contradictions and can be distinguished from dialectics.

I focus on three paradoxes: (1) (anti-)politics between the inclusion of the so called and selfproclaimed 'civil society' and politics of autonomy, (2) an anti-hegemonial theory of hegemony, inspiried by Day (2005), and (3) paradoxcial emancipation and subjectivation in protest events. They can be illustrated by examples, experienced in the protests against the G20-summit in

Hamburg 2017. Just as other rebellious events of this scale, these heterogen gatherings are fruitful to investigate with a postanarchist approach, because paradoxes of social movements come right to the top there. By answering a CfP from leftist social scientists, I took the chance to introduce some anarchist thoughts into the constricted leftist social sciences in Germany. So I wrote a chapter in a handbook on Poststructuralist perspectives on social movements (Vey/Leinius/Hagemann 2019), were anarchist concepts, ways of thinkings and experiences can enter the discourse in the clothes of postanarchism. Working on this, I came also in conflict with a normative marxist view, which claims to be not normative…

Find and lose each other! On An-archic affinities and nomadic institutions

Christos Marneros

In their much-celebrated book The Coming Insurrection the French collective of anonymous author(s), The Invisible Committee, argues that in order to escape our individualistic and nihilistic existence as products-subjects of a predominantly dogmatic and archist mode of being, we have to find each other (2007: 97) As they argue such a 'discovery' is a matter of an 'encounter' – 'an event [which] produces truth by changing our way of being in the world' (2007: 97). But how can such a discovery of the other turn into an effective weapon against the individualistic tendencies of our subjectivities – how are we to resist? This question is of paramount importance considering that the old co-operative alliances and forms of solidarity, either in the form of a party or syndicalist organisations (anarchist or not), not only, significantly, fail to address the dogmatism and hierarchical values that dictate our mode of being, but they also tend to, often, reproduce and intensify such values.

Recognising this impasse, in this paper, I aim to examine the potentiality of creating new, an-archic – that is without an arche, foundational principles or laws (see, Schürmann, 1987) – ways of existing and acting through solidarity. In particular, by examining the Deleuzian concept of 'nomadic institutions' operating through nomos as opposed to law (Deleuze & Guattari, 1986: 16), I aim to present that such a concept points towards a different mode of being. Such a being is characterised by an openness towards a creation of a different kind of alliances, with attentiveness to our temporal and ever-changing 'affinities' and not on static and monolithic ideals of pseudo-solidarity (Bonanno, 1996: 10-11). This understanding of institutions escapes the teleological dogmatism of archism because they are 'by definition models of free, anarchic action, in perpetual motion, in permanent revolution, in a constant state of immorality' (Deleuze, 1991: 78). Operating through institutions, then, becomes a matter of mobility and the ability to escape permanence and stability. Thus, to act through institutions, as I argue, is a matter of being attentive to our affinities but, more importantly, it is a matter of having the courage to be destructive towards worn-out alliances and encounters, which in the name of pseudo-solidarity incapacitate us. An act of solidarity for a resistance of the 'here and now' is a matter of reaching out to find each other but also having the courage to lose each other.

Toward Anarchy: A Historical Sketch of the Anarchism-Democracy Divide

Markus Lundström

This conference paper is based on a recent article that traces divergent approaches to democracy in the history of anarchist thought. It outlines an anarchist critique of democracy, a defiant composition arrayed against

authority, representation and majority rule. Put in contrast to that approach is the anarchist reclamation, the understanding of anarchy as democracy radicalized. The paper shows how the critique of democracy typifies classical anarchist thought, while reclamation of democracy breeds in post-classical anarchism after 1939. Yet these lines of thought also coexist historically, and they both continue into our days. Anarchism is now depicted in terms of radical democracy, while a reclaimed critique once again dissociates anarchy from democracy. In an attempt to recognize dialogue between them, the paper suggests that divergent approaches articulate an impossible argument that could further the route toward anarchy.

Anarchism and Communitarianism: Two Different Concepts of Community

Ole Martin Sandberg

This paper is a conceptual comparison between "classical," social anarchist theory and the communitarian philosophers of the late 20th Century. While ultimately disagreeing on the role of the state the two tendencies share many philosophical foundations. For example, Michael Walzer and Charles Taylor's critique of abstract individualism is almost an echo of early anarchists like Kropotkin and Bakunin: They agree that the state undermines community and promotes abstract individualism and in doing so creates the conditions of its own legitimacy. So why is it that communitarians defend the state and even believe it can be used to protect community, while anarchists reject this? I think a clue to this puzzle can be found in the different definitions of the word "community": Communitarians tend to focus on shared mental content among the members of a community - i.e. a shared set of believes, values, cultural practices, etc - while the anarchist use of the word might better be defined by certain structural relations between the members, i.e. their interactions and degree of cooperation. This has implications for the different attitudes towards the state as well as for the question of cultural relativism: the anarchist definition of community allows for critique of communities and community practices and does not fall into the trap of parochialism where a community can only be evaluated by its own standards. Just like individual people, communities are not isolated entities but connected and interacting.

The Idea of State': 'Statism and Anarchy' in Bakunin's thought

Saptadeepa Banerjee

Mikhail Bakunin's Collectivist anarchist philosophy developed around the central notion of creating a stateless post-revolutionary anarchist society structured on a federation of communes. The negation of state bred the ethos of libertarianism that evolved further from larger debates pertaining to the nature of socialism, i.e. 'authoritarian' or 'libertarian' within the International Workingmen's Association in the late 1860s through to the 1870s and 1880s in the Anti-Authoritarian International and the Jura Federation. Bakunin's notion

of 'state' and its very negation which helped coherently define his anarchist doctrine within the First International, also clearly laid the foundations of the notion of 'libertarian socialism' as opposed to the 'authoritarian communism' of Marx (according to Bakunin). Bakunin's 'idea of state' is also a key to understanding what he meant by a 'stateless society', primarily the nature of the post-revolutionary anarchist society organised on the basis of the principles of collectivism and federalism. Such a conceptualisation took place within a certain historical context that involved both Bakunin and Marx and later anarchists who moulded his anarchist philosophy in order to define their own ideological position as opposed to the Marxist variant of communism. While the close observance of the experiment of the Paris Commune of 1871 instilled hope in Bakunin about the possibility of creating a stateless society based on federative communes, its eventual failure made him delve deeper into the need for a social revolution to create a stateless anarchist society. This paper would try to bring out what Bakunin understood by 'statism' or rather what he meant by a 'stateless society'. Being two sides of the same coin, these concepts were crucial to the crystallisation of his anarchist doctrine which was given a more concrete shape by later anarchists who came up with the concept of anarchist-communism, thereby paving the way for the eventual development of the language of libertarian socialism.

Social Anarchism and Socialism. Citizenship beyond Citizenism

Nick Stevenson

Drawing on the work of Kropotkin, Murray Bookchin and Colin Ward amongst others I seek to argue that social anarchism proposes an alternative model of citizenship. If anarchists have been rightly critical of a model of liberal citizenship that neglects both the power of the economy and egoism it should not give up on the concept altogether. The need for the collective ownership of the commons, ideas of mutual aid, education and the decentralisation of everyday life are all important themes explored by this tradition of thinking. Here I criticise the return to social democratic forms of thinking and more Marxist frames of analysis that are currently popular on the Left. Instead I suggest that there are good reasons to reinvestigate the legacy of social anarchism in the early twenty-first century.

Anarchism and the Rewilding of Utopia

Laurence Davis

Much of what passes today as utopian thinking is arguably indistinguishable from what the Cold War anti-utopian philosopher Karl Popper advocated in its place, namely piecemeal social engineering promoting incremental reforms and social stability. What was once a fringe concern has grown increasingly mainstream, but this rehabilitation may well be a recuperation, inasmuch as utopia has been rehabilitated in a domesticated and politically innocuous form.

In this paper, I focus on two related questions: first, what are some of the key drivers of the contemporary recuperation of utopia within the field of utopian studies itself?; and second, following on from this analysis, what might be done about it? Specifically, I consider the intellectual legacy of Cold War anti-communist politics and the academic mainstreaming of utopia as significant ideological and institutional forces propelling recuperation, and the anarcho-communist utopian tradition as one relatively neglected but important corrective. My argument is that utopia must be both rooted and revolutionary, process-oriented and goal-oriented, if it is to resist effectively the mounting internal and external pressures leading to its recuperation.

'Starting back toward life': Anarchism and Mental Health in Toni Cade Bambara's The Salt Eaters

Joanna Freer

Mass mental ill health is both a crisis in itself and a response to the crises that face us. The prevalence of mental disorders is rising globally, even before the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic is taken into account. The causes of this crisis are still imperfectly understood, and there are many methods of prevention, management and cure still to be explored. In this paper I suggest that imaginative fiction allows not just for engagement with the fact of mental illness and how it is lived by others, but also offers potential solutions. Toni Cade Bambara's novel The Salt Eaters (1980) centres around an episode of mental illness experienced by the protagonist Velma Henry. I argue that a reading of the experiences that trigger Velma's suicide attempt and of the successful healing process that she undergoes in the novel provides insights into how communities that work on anarchist principles may play a role in encouraging good mental health.

Anarchism, in my understanding, seeks to promote maximum individual autonomy in combination with flexible, cooperative communities. A lack of individual autonomy has been found to be a significant factor in the development of common mental illnesses such as depression and anxiety. The Salt Eaters emphasises the health impacts of a lack of individual political autonomy, as Velma attempts to navigate the highly politicized landscape of the American south in the 1970s. The novel details Velma's frustration with working within a traditional left political campaign that seeks to elect a male representative leader who Velma had never heard "say anything useful," a campaign that (like many in this era) completely side-tracks women, who end up doing most of the work for none of the rewards. This frustration and overwork, it is suggested, leads to Velma's breakdown, but her recovery is achieved via a healing practice that eschews exploitative hierarchies. Significantly, it is performed by another woman of color, Minnie Ransom, who imports expertise from the eclectic tradition of voodoo into a traditional medical setting. Ultimately, through the success of this healing practice, the

novel suggests that healing entails both defending personal and political autonomy and re-establishing community connectedness.

Toward an Anarchist Literary Instrumentalism

Frankie Hines

Anarchist theory and practice pursue a pointed critique of the incipient authoritarianism of representation, rejecting both the representative institutions of liberal-democratic states and the representative function of the Leninist revolutionary party. In place of representation, anarchists pursue an ethic of direct action which emphasises the possibilities afforded by unmediated intervention in the political sphere. This paper argues that an anarchist literary theory—one capable of apprehending texts produced by anarchist movements in a way that reflects anarchist commitments—must similarly foreground anarchism's hostility to representation: adhering to the direct action ethic, it must understand texts in terms of their effects, which are often unexpected, and always multifaceted and complex. Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's anti-rationalist account of the instrumental and interventionist functions of philosophy, in which the ideal of communication is dismissed and texts' roles as "instruments for combat" are emphasised, such a "literary instrumentalism" involves tracing texts' roles as tools in struggle and following the functions to which anarchist texts are put. This perspective both draws on, and differs in vital respects from, earlier anarchist theories of literature developed by Herbert Read (1938) and Jesse Cohn (2006, 2007). Taking as a central example Edward Abbey's The Monkey Wrench Gang (1975) and its role in informing the theory and practice of Earth First! in the United States (which, like Abbey, exhibited an idiosyncratic and occasionally reactionary temperament in pursuit of ecological ends), this paper seeks to demonstrate the workings of a new anarchist approach to literary studies.

Organizing Anarchy: Anarchist Intellectuals and the Transatlantic Struggle for Industrial Democracy, 1918-1939

Robert Christl

My paper examines the profound transformation that occurred in anarchist political economy during the Interwar period (1918-39), when anarchists still played a leading role in Spanish and Latin American labor movements. It traces how anarchist intellectuals, mostly in Spain and South America, engaged each other in the press and the International Workingmen's Association over the implications of three successive crises for the movement's ideas about selfmanagement: World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the Great Depression. I show that these debates convinced leading anarchists to move away from nineteenth-century ideas about inaugurating socialism through independent communes and to embrace ideas promoted by proponents of national economic planning. Tracing this crises-induced shift helps us

understand the techniques of economic governance available to the Spanish anarchist movement during the Revolution and Civil War in Spain in 1936. Following the Nationalist generals' July coup against the Republic, workers throughout Spain collectivized countless farms and industries, meanwhile their union leaders entered into the democratic state to build a worker-managed war economy to fight Franco. By focusing on anarchists' transnational efforts to rethink their political-economic ideas, and the role they played in Spain, this paper reframes how recent scholarship has portrayed the Interwar period as an epoch in which national and global economies increasingly came under the control of technocrats—a problem that still resonates today. Historians have demonstrated how wartime economic management and postwar instability convinced politicians, bureaucrats, and academics of the need to place economic decisionmaking in experts' hands. I show that anarchists also recognized the problems posed by industrial, globally-linked national economies, but tried to steer elitist discourses about planning toward democratic management.

Lay down your arms: anarchism, anti-militarism, and anti-colonialism in the 1920-30s

Ole Birk Laursen

The current economic crisis combined with the rise of fascism cross Europe, North America, South America, and South Asia present challenges to anarchists not seen since the 1920s. In the aftermath of WWI and the Russian Revolution, anarchists responded to the crisis caused by these events by reviving the International Working Men's Association (IWMA) as an anarcho-syndicalist rival to the Comintern and the Amsterdam international. At the same time, the International Anti-Militarist Bureau (IAMB) and its anarchist wing the Internationale Antimilitaristische Kommission (IAK) responded to the rise of Hitler, Mussolini, and Japanese aggression, and weaved together anti-fascism, anti-militarism, and anti-colonialism through its newsletters and various publications such as De Wapens Neder and the IAK Press Service. Drawing on material from the IAMB Archives, this paper explores the history of the IAMB and the IAK and the ways in which figures such as M.P.T. Acharya, E. K. Nobushima, and Saïl Mohamed brought the question of anti-colonialism into struggles against fascism and militarism in the 1920-30s.

'Volunteers for Anarchy: The International Group of the Durruti Column in the Spanish Civil War'

Morris Brodie

The 1930s was a period of profound crisis. The collapse of the global economy, the rise of the far right and a seemingly unstoppable march towards war left many progressives exasperated about the state of the socialist movement. The Spanish Revolution and Civil War appeared to offer a chance

to repel the rising tide of reaction, and many leftists travelled to Spain to fight in the trenches against the fascist coup of Francisco Franco. Although the story of those who fought with the communist-led International Brigades may be familiar, those volunteers who fought with anarchist-led units have been largely neglected by historians. This paper will attempt to address this by focusing on one notable foreign anarchist unit: the International Group of the Durruti Column.

This unit, containing approximately 367 volunteers from at least 25 different countries, is a microcosm of anti-fascist activity during the interwar period. This fight crossed and re-crossed national boundaries, showing that anti-fascism in the 1930s was not only an international, but transnational phenomenon. The fluidity of national borders encapsulated in the group is mirrored by a diversity of political views, from anarchists, communists and socialists to generic anti-fascists. Their experiences offer a unique perspective on the civil war, highlighting the attitude of Spaniards to foreigners within Spain, differing perspectives on the militarization of the popular militias, and the wider conflicts within the Spanish Republican camp over the prosecution of the war. They show, ultimately, how anarchists in different countries responded to the crises of the late 1930s, and how defeat in Spain affected their reaction to the worldwide conflagration after 1939.

The significance of exile in times of crisis – German exile anarchism between 1878-1914

Aileen Lichtenstein

This paper will examine the essential role German anarchist exile communities played in the survival and resurgence of the movement within Germany after 1890. It will highlight the continued, often clandestine connections between exile communities abroad and the home country by following the flow of funds, the distribution patterns of radical newspapers, and tracing “go-betweens” who travelled between both worlds.

Ulrich Linse already argued in 1969 that German anarchism did not develop in isolation, but that radicals spread wide and far geographically after the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Laws. Still, the small historiography on German anarchism remained focused on national borders and organisational structures with few exceptions such as Nelson and Goyens. This national focus, however, led to German anarchism being seen as disorganised, inefficient and ultimately doomed. In line with the transnational turn in anarchist studies, this paper aims to challenge that millenarian conclusion by examining an exile German movement that was much more complex and closely linked to home than previously assumed. Yet, life abroad also proved testing for German political refugees finding themselves in an international radical milieu of political refugees in cities such as London. It challenged their identity as “Germans”, their feelings towards “Heimat”, and personal relationships.

Nevertheless, especially in times of crisis at home, the transnational flow of funds, people, and propaganda from exile communities proved essential for the clandestine movement within the German borders where activists relied heavily on the support from abroad, even after the Anti-Socialist Laws ceased.

Therefore, adjusting the scale of analysis to nodal cities of exile and turning away from personal strife, this paper shows a German anarchist movement that survived and thrived abroad along the circuits of German migration and ultimately facilitated a resurgence in Germany after 1890.

Jewish anarchists' responses to the "spiritual crisis"

Lilian Türk

Jewish anarchists' responses to the "spiritual crisis" paper proposed for the 6th Anarchist Studies Network Conference University of Nottingham, 2-4 September 2020 Lilian Türk

In the 1920s to the 1940s, advocates of Jewish religious anarchism seeked for answers to the "spiritual crisis" (Jonathan Sarna) in Russian-American Judaism. Along with the universalist claims of communism and atheist anarchism, the gradual, relentless process of acculturation in democratic societies and in its established Jewish subcultures were perceived as a threat to one's own tradition and the self. Answers were found in the broad and long-standing Jewish ethical literature (Musar), which impelled fellow Jews to moralistic behaviour, self-discipline and spiritual development.

The paper will briefly give a description of the crisis, Jewish anarchists found themselves in, and focus on the brittle, contradictory answers they provided, which at times combined nationalist and universalist ethical claims. I will argue, that Peter Kropotkin's Anarchist Morality (1897) was prominently pronounced by Jewish religious anarchists, and that the strength of pacifist and religious anarchism, although less visible than her militant sister, was resilience and sustainability.

Seeing Unlike a State

Jesse Cohn

Anarchists' relations with the spectacular society have always been antagonistic, but we have always sought to produce "ethical spectacles" (Duncombe), to make visible the potential for a good beyond that which appears. The "spectacle of disintegration" (Wark) that is the COVID-19 pandemic makes it all the more difficult for us to imagine – to make images of – anything beyond horrified spectatorship: all our "image pedagogy" (Olivé i Serret), e.g., the iconography of the handclasp to symbolize mutual aid, and all our "protest genres" (Farr), e.g., reclaiming the streets and occupying public spaces to show strength, seem thwarted by the new conditions of struggle.

This presentation will search for ways out of this impasse of the visual, to see (in the dark) how we might relearn how to see unlike a State (Scott).

Contemporary Anarchist Theatre and the Struggle of Representation

Camille Mayer

Nowadays in France, artists intend to stage dramatic performances from an anarchist perspective. They are stuck in a dilemma: if they want to spread anarchist ideas, they must use capitalist channels even if they are fighting against capitalism. The compromise is often to minimise their anarchist intentions, hoping that their point will still be understood by the audience. It seems that anarchist women are confronted by even more issues than anarchist men when it comes to the production and the sale of their performances. This presentation will focus on difficulties women have to face in the French dramatic industry, regarding both women's condition and their anarchist activism. We will show that they must face implicit censorship, paternalism and a lack of recognition. They often choose to stage well-known anarchist figures such as Louise Michel. We will discuss why this choice can be analysed as a way to escape capitalism and patriarchy, but also as a result of capitalist and patriarchal forms of domination.

Anarchist Praxis and Political Art: Developing a Form of Artistic Practice Through Prefiguration and Affinity

Tom Sharkey

This paper examines how anarchist theory can underpin politically engaged artistic practice. Social engagement and the operation of 'legitimate' art spaces can reinscribe problematic hierarchies and can be co-opted by governments to fulfil their welfare commitments. The paper proposes a method of practice which is based in prefiguration, affinity and community organising which addresses these tensions. Original interview material from internationally recognised artist Tania Bruguera will be used to tie the ethical basis for anarchist artistic practice to socially and politically engaged modes of artistic production.

The paper explores the author's development of politically engaged artistic practice based in anarchist praxis. The paper charts a project working with community groups, young artists and Canterbury Christ Church University which culminated with an annual programme in the social practice programme at Tate Modern (Tate Exchange). Consensus, power-relations and 'joy as an act of resistance' form the basis for this innovative approach to artistic practice which has brought together young artists and academic analysis of political organisation.

The paper proposes that the ethos of anarchistic thought is a better paradigm for understanding what is happening in artistic practice and the implications

for political organising and resistance. A discussion on networks of affinity/solidarity will be used to scaffold the relationship between the subject and the universal based in the 'negative-dialectic' of Max Stirner. This will focus the discussion on the need for subject-based, not hegemonic, approaches to political influence.

Studying 'movement' anarchism: history, practice, and critical enquiry

James Ellison

In this paper, I will assess the epistemic distance between academic research into 'movement' anarchism and the knowledge produced by anarchists involved in social movements. Rather than a strict political programme, 'movement' anarchism is a situated set of practices which embrace anti-authoritarianism, egalitarianism, voluntary cooperation, and mutual aid. Approaches to 'movement' anarchism often rely on ethnographic and militant research methods, which attempt to bridge the gap between individual academic output, movement-based practices and collective knowledge production. However, by assuming that anarchism is first and foremost a set of observable practices, the application of these methods can reproduce a disconnection with the history of the anarchist movement. Rather than falling for the illusion of complete submersion, militant enquiry into 'movement' anarchism can utilise its epistemic distance, in order to offer a critical account of the relationship between current and historic forms of anarchist organising.

What happened to the American individualists, or, how do we remember the intellectual history of anarchism?

Shane Little

In this paper I will ask why individualist anarchism remains largely unexplored compared to other anarchist tendencies and what this tells us about contemporary anarchist historiography. This will be achieved by reviewing how individualist anarchism has been represented and the significance it has received in histories of anarchism. Following on, I will ask how individualist anarchism has been remembered and the affects that has had on how anarchism is understood. Finally, I will question the place individualist anarchism has been given in the intellectual history of anarchism and consider what a recovery of the tendency could mean for contemporary anarchist historiography.

Reflections on knowledge production from the Free University Brighton

Elizabeth Vasileva

Drawing on my involvement with the Free University of Brighton and the Free University of London, I want to critically examine the practices of knowledge

production that take place there using an immanent framework of analysis based on Felix Guattari's four functors. This framework allows for a comparison on the basis of the following axes: machinic phyla, or situating practices in their evolutionary development; economy of flows, or which social elements are part of the process; existential territories, or how the object reorganises space; and conscious universes, or systems of value. I involve students' analyses of their engagement with Free University spaces through that framework and collectively produce and present a toolkit for understanding our experiences. Finally, this paper addresses the tension between different types of knowledge production and outlines the limits and possibilities of an immanent anarchist approach to knowledge.

Let Us Hear Now the Crisis of Brains on the Asphalt: Three Punk Expressions of Crisis

Franko Burolo

Since the crisis-marked beginnings of punk, its obvious relationship with anarchism could be easily described as "it's complicated". In spite of the wide use of the word and the circled A symbol, not every artist considered anarchy in its political meaning of radical egalitarianism and libertarian socialism. As part of my ongoing research on avant-garde influences and tendencies in European pop culture, I am considering the presence in punk of the "impulse of anarchy", as considered by Edoardo Sanguineti, as a more-than-political aesthetic phenomenon present in all avant-garde poetry (and arts in general) in modern history, consciously or not, whose ultimate goal is still, all considered, "to change life and modify the world". Through this perspective, the proposed paper will present a comparative analysis of a selection of three expressions of crisis by three different punk groups from three different European countries, in three different languages: "Možgani na asfaltu" ("Brains on the Asphalt") in Slovene by Berlinski zid from (then) Yugoslavia, "Lasciateci sentire ora" ("Let Us Hear Now") in Italian by Franti from Italy, and "Crisis" in English by Poison Girls from the UK. The paper will thus try to contribute to the understanding of anarchist and anarchic influences in cultural coping with crisis under international capitalism and bourgeois hegemony.

Against all odds: The journey of the second anarcho-punk generation and its shipwreck in the dictatorship of the XXI century - as Conferry (Venezuelan Ferry Company)

Rodolfo Montes de Oca & Luis Quintero - two survivors
Translator Javier Bastardo

The graves are for the dead. Punks, torture and prisons in Venezuela

Rodolfo Montes de Oca

Violent times: The ballad of Flecha. Punk and extrajudicial executions in the context of protests

Rodolfo Montes de Oca
Translator Javier Bastardo

Investigating and promoting the anarchist concept of social revolution in times of multiple crisis

Jonathan Eibisch

Working on my PhD, I try to investigate paradoxical ways of anarchist political thinking. A crucial subject to study this meta-question is the political-theoretical anarchist concept of social revolution. I suggest that the content of this highly contested and often fuzzy term can be understand as grown out of the fields of tension between social evolution and political revolution, while political reform is something in between. Classical and contemporary anarchists believe, that society basically contains tendencies of social progress which can be nurtured and fostered at the one hand, while one the other they think, that it necessarily needs specific political, aware, selfconfident actors who can aquire power but do not use them as domination. Social-revolutionary actors and movements develop emancipatoric visions, as well as concepts for a radical, comprehensive and long-term socially transformation from the perspectives of different marginalised social groups, who were brought together in their diversity. They strive for autonomy, take initiative and create a common groud for collective action in the spheres of economy, culture, education, ecology, subjectivity and social relations.

Elisée Reclus made a great theoretical move by emphasising that “evolution and revolution are two successive aspects of the same phenomenon, evolution preceding revolution, and revolution preceding a new evolution, which is in turn the mother of future revolutions“ (Reclus 2013: 138). Reading classical anarchists like Kropotkin, Peukert, Berkman, Rocker, Malatesta who serious believe in the opportunity for radical transformations, shows that they are enlaced in a really complicated search to give plausibility to their concept of social revolution. They developed it in distinction to marxist political revolution, party-socialist ideas of social reforms and a naive trust that social revolution will come automatically. Therefore, the self-proclaimed complex role of anarchists are midwifes of the new society, restless, always organizising grassroots-activists, who see little steps by orientating on far horizons, and convinced political fighters at the same time.

This paradox role and multiple identity are also mirrowed in specific anarchist understandings of (a) temporality and history, (b) in the relation of negation and construction, (c) in the focus on immanent changes by transcendent/utopian lines of flight, (d) in the relation of means and ends, and (e) in the perception of revolutionary subjects and social-revolutionary groups. In considerations on these issues one gains crucial insights how to theorise and

promote socialrevolutionary changes today. Incidentically current left political theories (e.g. Wright 2010, Adamczak 2017, von Redecker 2018) show, that their conceptions of radical societal changes converge with the anarchist term of social revolution in more and more details. For this is no coincidence and re-active acting of emancipatory actors is not anymore sufficient and productive, the anarchist concept of social revolution can claim new relevance. The talk will be based on a chapter of my unfinished PhD.

Progress, Crisis, Revolution: Lev Mechnikov on Historical Change, c. 1860-1888

Pascale Siegrist

My paper follows the traces of the geographer, anarchist and polyglot Lev Il'ich Mechnikov (1838-1888) and places him in the context of his two better-known colleagues, comrades and collaborators: Élisée Reclus and Pëtr Kropotkin. I argue that Mechnikov can be seen as an important bridging figure between the two anarchists and geographers – his essay on 'Revolution and Evolution' (1886) introduced the Russian zoologist Karl Kessler's notion of mutual aid to a Western audience before Kropotkin did; in his uncompleted La Civilisation et les grands fleuves historiques of 1889 he reproduced entire passages of Reclus's Nouvelle Géographie Universelle. Finally, his scientific work was often also more explicit in its connection to anarchist arguments (his stage theory of civilizational progress had as is conclusion that 'the law of the future society is anarchy'). This suggests that Mechnikov serves as an ideal starting point for looking at some of the questions that have vexed scholars of the connection between anarchy and geography: the relative contribution of environmental factors versus the stress on human agency and freedom in the anarchist vision of progress, the tension between an universal emancipatory project and the reality of diversity, and finally – in line with the theme of the conference – the relationship of localized and particular moments, crises or revolutions, to larger evolutionary processes.

Anarchist perspectives on the French revolution

Maurice Schuhmann

The French Revolution of 1789 serves many socialists as a prime example of a revolution - and as a lesson od revolution. It also occupies an important position in anarchist discourse and historiography – including in relation to the search for forerunners of their own movement. In addition to the basic study by Kropotkin ("The Great French Revolution"), two important collections of documents appeared – both Landauer's "Letters of the French Revolution" and Stirner's "History of the Reaction" - and a large number of studies, such as that of Bookchin on "The third Revolution". Based on this as well as on other basic studies such as that of Max Nettlau ("History of Anarchy") I examine the anarchist reception of the French Revolution and classifies it critically.

Friday, 4th September

“Yellow vests”, anarchist practices and the crisis of representation

Matthijs Gardenier

The Yellow Vests movement has largely renewed the profile of social movement practices in France . At first glance, this movement may seem unclassifiable. Indeed, if the "Yellow Vests" movement shares a good part of their claims with the left, they donot belong in a determined way to any political current, nor to any pre-existing category of social movements. The movement is both heterogeneous and difficult to define ideologically. The "liquidity" of the protests, as Zygmunt Bauman defined it, allows audiences that are sociologically and politically very different to come together around a shared feeling, a symbol: the yellow vest. This seems to emerge in a context of generalized crisis of political representation in France. Moreover, the Yellow Vests movement refuses to comply with the government's request to appoint representatives.

This refusal is one of the characteristics that marks a selective affinity with anarchist and autonomous movements. It is not the only one. The modalities of occupation seem to stem largely from the most radical fringe of the anti-globalization movement and the ZAD movement: massive and decentralized occupations of public space, blockading flows of merchandises, demonstrations and riots. The Yellow vest presented also a horizontal organization, with a collective refusal of representatives and of a bureaucratic organization that would centralize resources, to the benefit of a multitude of local groups based on affinities and places of occupation (roundabouts; houses of the people...). These groups coordinated through viral calls to action on different social media.

This paper based on first-hand experience of the movement aims to discuss these practices as they seem to similar to anarchist conceptions of struggle, but are implemented spontaneously without reference to libertarian ideology or the anarchist movement. Is their emergence to be understood as linked to a crisis of representation? Are they based on a moral economy specific to the popular classes that are the heart of the movement?

Confluence: A Survey and Unification of Minimalist Constitutional Forms and Secure Instant Messaging Protocols for the Anarchist Activist Context

David Tomory

In the previous two decades, Anarchism has increasingly come to be organised around two principles; explicit consent in decision making and individual and group autonomy.

With the rise of instant messaging platforms allowing group organisation over digital platforms, these principles have encountered new challenges; in the unreliability and opacity of distributed groups, the security and cost of such platforms, and the power of communications bottlenecks. These problems have received significant attention in the field of distributed computing.

Our approach is a progression from analysis, to proposition, to critique and conclusion. First examining the contributions to and critiques of structural frameworks from the perspectives of computer science and anarchist philosophy, we move to propose a partial solution in the form of a unification of existing forms and approaches in the two fields, describing this as a Confluence System. We then survey the pros and cons for such a system of existing Anarchist constitutional tools and instant messaging platforms from both perspectives, before outlining potential Confluence Systems and speculating on future developments in the technological field.

Finally, we examine the underlying problems of our own approach, citing technological and organisational exclusivity, the ultimate control of internet infrastructure by capital interests and the stultifying impacts of a synthesist approach. Engaging with the impact of the Coronavirus crisis and the fourth industrial revolution on the wider technological and activist context, we conclude that such a step as that proposed is a necessary progression for the Anarchist movement, but must be balanced with and ultimately overtaken by, a lively and critical social sphere.

Iceland's New Constitution, Anarchist Political Economy and the Possibility of Democracy

Thomas Swann

The attempt in Iceland between 2010 and 2013 to draft a new national constitution has been framed as an example of participatory democracy. Members of the public were, through various modes of representation and direct democracy, able to shape the content of a new constitution in a process that has been described as 'crowd-sourced'. In 2013, the Icelandic government refused to implement this draft constitution and in the years since there has been little effective progress towards seeing it replace the existing document.

Drawing on in-depth qualitative interviews with participants in the Icelandic constitution-drafting process and a range of political actors and activists in the country, this presentation will explore how this moment of participatory, deliberative democracy was made possible and ultimately quashed in the context of political economic conditions prevailing in Iceland at the time. The presentation covers an analysis rooted in an intersectional anarchist account of political economy and attempts to identify how structural factors connected to the 2008-9 global financial crisis constituted a 'crack' in Iceland's political and economic establishment. While this crack created the possibility of a grassroots political mobilisation to re-constitute Iceland as a community (articulated

through the draft constitution and the participatory and deliberative processes surrounding it), the failure of this crack to maintain beyond an initial fracturing meant that this democratic opening was closed.

By focusing on this case study, the presentation examines the potential in intersectional anarchist political economy to assess the scope of radically democratic and non-state constitutionalising and to highlight the challenges such processes may face in bringing about effective political change. The presentation will argue that historical conditions of domination and exploitation that are articulated through intersecting structures of capitalism, patriarchy, white-supremacy and – building on anarchist engagements with intersectionality theory – hierarchies embodied in the state represent the factors that any radically democratic political process must contend with. In doing so, it suggests both how democratic processes can be attentive to an anarchist political economy of domination and exploitation and the challenges grassroots, democracy constitutionalising will face.

The crisis in relations between Peter Kropotkin and Russian anarchists

Sergey Saytanov

The crisis in relations between Peter Kropotkin and the Russian anarchists emerged even before Kropotkin returned from emigration to Russia in 1917. This is primarily due to the "defensive" position of Kropotkin, who supported the military operations of Russia in the war with Japan and the Entente states against the Triple Alliance. Since then, between Kropotkin and most of the anarchists an insurmountable gulf has formed.

Upon his return to Russia, Peter Kropotkin was keenly interested in the activities of Russian anarchist groups, which sent him books, newspapers and leaflets that they published. At the same time, Peter Kropotkin never expressed his attitude to the activities of these groups. He participated in rallies of workers, soldiers, sailors, officers, teachers, but did not adjoin either the left or the right. In Russia, Kropotkin was disappointed with rude cheeky young people who called themselves anarchists and took the principle of permissiveness as a basis.

After the February Revolution, Peter Kropotkin repeatedly expressed the idea of the need to create a federal republic in Russia along the lines of the United States of North America and cantonal Switzerland. According to Kropotkin's new views, the decentralization of power did not mean the liquidation of the state, but only its unification on the more free and universal progressive principles of the development of the state in the direction of democracy.

At the beginning of 1918, Peter Kropotkin led the Federalist League created by him in Moscow. Anarchist Kropotkin, believing the establishment of anarchy to be the ultimate goal of human development, did not at all propose an immediate abolition of the state and he opposed the interference with the

state "to develop freely from simple to complex forms through a free union of free groups."

Peter Kropotkin, having come to the conclusion that the principle of “innate anarchism” put forward by him earlier, clearly does not work in man, in his late years he comes to the conclusion that anarchist morality is not inherent in man inherently, it needs and should be studied and taught. Therefore, Kropotkin directed his last efforts in Dmitrov to create an extensive philosophical work, “Ethics”, as the result of his anarchist worldview.

The change in the anarchist views of Peter Kropotkin was contrary to radical anarchism in Russia. After the Bolshevik coup in Russia, Peter Kropotkin actually moved away from practical participation in the Russian anarchist movement. And although in his "political testament" Kropotkin developed a plan to fight the Bolsheviks, he also did not expect the use of any of the then existing anarchist movements and groups.

These reasons, as well as the fundamental discrepancy between Peter Alekseevich Kropotkin and the majority of anarchists, served as the reason for the rejection of his new views among Russian anarchists. It was Peter Kropotkin’s refusal from radicalism towards the revolutionary reformist transformation of society through democratic forms of the state to the future anarchist system that caused the crisis between Peter Kropotkin and the vast majority of Russian anarchists in 1917 -1920 years.

Responding to Crisis Theoretically: Aldous Huxley’s Proto-Postanarchism

Seamus Flaherty

In 1938, Emma Goldman wrote to Aldous Huxley to express her pleasure at discovering how close he was to the ideas that she had fought for all her life; ‘It is so rarely that one finds in England men or women dedicated to a truly libertarian ideal’, she opined. Huxley is not often thought of as an anarchist. But this paper will show how Goldman was right to consider Huxley a fellow traveller, irrespective of his support for the anarchists during the Spanish Civil War. It will demonstrate how Huxley advanced a programme of social anarchism in his ‘practical cookery book of reform’, Ends and Means, published in 1937. Writing at a time of acute economic and political crisis in inter-war Europe, this paper will show how Huxley not only anticipated the ‘new’ anarchism of the post-war years (1945-), but how Huxley also posited ideas which make him a progenitor of postanarchism too. It will be argued that Huxley’s anarchism mirrored the anarchist theories advanced by Herbert Read, George Woodcock, Alex Comfort, Colin Ward and Paul Goodman in its pacifism, in its evolutionism, in its belief in the transformative capacity of education, in its preoccupation with individual psychology and sex, and in its pragmatism. It will also be argued that Huxley formulated ideas about epistemology, power and ontology that map directly onto Saul Newman’s and Todd May’s postanarchist theories. The paper will show how Huxley’s novel

Island (1962) can be legitimately read as a profound proto-postanarchist political tract. Although Huxley did not self-describe as an anarchist, he replied to Goldman's letter by confirming that the libertarian ideal she propounded was 'the only satisfactory and even the only practical political creed for anyone who is not a conservative reactionary'. 'To my mind', he went on, 'the urgent problem of the moment is to find a satisfactory technique for giving practical realization to the ideal of philosophic anarchism'. This paper will argue that, in rejecting the politics of ressentiment associated with classical anarchism, in diagnosing the cultural, economic and social ills of the inter-war and post-war periods, and in positing his own solutions to those problems, Huxley offers a rich resource to draw from in seeking solutions to our current crises – including the crisis of anarchism itself.

When crisis intervention does not suffice. Towards an anarchist legal system

Peter Seyferth

* CONTENT WARNING: The following paper mentions sexualized violence. *

In the last decades, anarchists have adopted different methods of dealing with wrongdoings within their scenes. For example, they have experimented with Restorative Justice circles to 'heal' communities that have been hurt by all sorts of wrongful deeds by their members. But this method has been problematic in cases of rape: The expectation that the survivor and the perpetrator meet and reconcile was unacceptable to many. So at many places, the Transformative Justice model was used for cases of intra-scene rapes. The needs of survivors were seen as more important than those of perpetrators, which makes sense in scenes that struggle to get rid of rape culture. But, although successful in many cases, this model, too, is riddled with problems. Transformative Justice follows the philosophy of rape crisis intervention, but this does not suit all kinds of intra-scene wrongdoings. Therefore, scenes still have difficulties with behaviours of their members that do not meet their political ideals. At the same time, the state judiciary waits just outside the scene to get its hands on the unsolvable cases. So how could we cope with the fact that we anarchists are not all angels, that some of us hurt others, and that we still do not want to call the police? I would say that we need to agree on principles and methods that basically are pillars of an anarchist legal system. These principles and methods should solve problems of the scenes (and therefore should be flexible for local implementations); they should be anarchist in its effects (so as not to erect a faux state judiciary); and they should not be worse than what the state has to offer. I cannot offer a working solution, but I will discuss proposals by anarchist groups.

Direct action as conflicting practices of equality and autonomy

Nora Ziegler

Crisis is a state of exception through which normality is sustained and restored when its underlying exclusions become a threat. Radical political action must therefore both disrupt normality and sustain itself through crisis. I conceptualize direct action as practices of equality by the excluded and practices of autonomy by the included. They are radical where they transgress the boundaries through which normality establishes itself. However, since all of us are included as "human" and also excluded as living beings, both practices also potentially reproduce the exiting "normal" order. A sustained radical politics must bring both practices into conflicting and collaborative action. Insofar as conflicting practices of equality and autonomy will always be part of negotiating community, direct action can be considered an end in itself. However, collaborative action also envisions a future where these practices are not divided by structures such as race, class or gender.

An Anarchist Critique on the Solidarity Academy, Inspired by Bourdieu, Landauer and Scott

yagiz alp tangun

Prefigurative politics practices, which also take place in anarchist politics, are familiar with the attempts of 'crossing borders' and longing for the answers to the how question. This paper is about the 2017-2019 School of Life (SL) initiative conducted by Kocaeli Solidarity Academy, one of the solidarity academy formations established by academics dismissed from the university because most of them are 'signatories' (Academics for Peace) against war.

The question to be asked is how such critical practices regarding the university are limited by the experience gained with the university / school when it is possible to be carried out outside the university and how far these limits are delayed. It is precisely this agenda of boundaries and possibilities that is immanent in the relationship established by means and ends of anarchism's form discussions.

First of all, Pierre Bourdieu's sociology will be used to analyze the structure-agency relationship in order to analyze the value of these borders in social space, and the concepts of field, capital, illusio and habitus will be used. The value of such attempts is deepened by the process of having the power to cross borders. Because they dare to cross boundaries while grappling with their awareness of what means to achieve their goals, contradicting themselves, and developing tactics to fight against their habituality.

This stage, as Gustave Landauer points out, requires highlighting the 'process' rather than the result. Focusing on the awareness gained in this process makes it possible to draw attention to experiments that will replace hierarchical organization and relationships in the academic field with other forms. Accordingly, three layers will be mentioned in the struggles with structure-agency relationship: 1) Confrontation 2) Undertake 3) Invention. Some of these include sabotages of habitus acquired at the university. The practices such as

resisting against habitus, withdrawing from authority, and not being governed will also be emphasized, inspired by James C. Scott's Domination and The Arts of Resistance. Using these two names, the anarchist context of why and how the border could not be violated is created. Thus, the effect of the sociological structure in SL experience on the coherence of means and ends will be criticized by anarchistic bracketing.

In the research, 13 interviews conducted with the semi-structured interview technique were held in the third semester (spring/2019) of SL. The relationship between the structure and the agents has been analyzed in a framework that considers the coherence of means and ends.

Towards an Anarchism in the Philippine Archipelago

Simoun Magsalin

Abstract: The politics in the Philippine archipelago is dominated by hierarchical and alienating politics as represented by reformism and National Democracy. Against these the paper forwards the liberatory politics of anarchism. The paper introduces anarchist concepts such as egalitarian organizing, mutual aid, and direct action for people unfamiliar with these concepts. After situating anarchism in the anti-authoritarian struggles in the archipelago, the paper also argues for a shift in the anarchist politics of the archipelago from an autonomist anarchism towards a revolutionary politics as a social movement.

The Limits of Prefigurative Politics in Blue-Collar Worksites

PJ Holtum & Shannon Brincat

"Prefigurative politics has enjoyed a central role in Anarchist theory and yet empirical studies that focus on what is actually being prefigured in contemporary, blue-collar workplaces have been scant. By counterposing the theory of prefigurative politics against data gathered from five blue-collar worksites across Brisbane, Australia, we demonstrate how workers tend to obscure their relationship to work through minor (petite) resistance to their workplace 'responsibilities'. Whilst many studies on contemporary workplace resistance often focus on acts of cynicism, irony, and satire as constituting forms of political resistance, we reclassify such practices as forms of mere petite resistance - in which workers obscure "the realities of subordination, exploitation, and domination those relations embody" (Little, 2018). We show how such petite resistance reflects a lack of prefiguration, not only within individual workers but also in the workers movement writ large. Against this backdrop, we highlight the need for developing strategies for how workers may prefigure ideal social and political realities into their resistances to work. Such necessity, we argue, demonstrates the need for anarchist theory in this age of crisis".

Okay Humans! What's The Fucking Point? Eco-Absurdism: Absurdism as Environmentalism

Julian Langer

Climate crisis is an existential crisis, which presents a great deal of uncertainty and anxiety. We do not know if "humanity", civilisation or whether oceanic fish will survive this mass extinction event. Our choices, in one particular sense, matter in how we all affect the world and, in another particular sense, are utterly meaningless, in a world of hurricanes, wildfires, floods and earthquakes, which is seemingly indifferent and uncaring towards the desires we have.

This paper explores the relevance of absurdist philosophy for contemporary environmental discussions and actions. Kierkegaard's philosophy is rooted in the freedom found in the anxiety of being confronted by choice. Shestov's ideas are rooted in a desire to identify and create problems, rather than solve problems for the established order. Camus sought to nurture the fires of life, as rebellion and revolt, in those who read him, as a rejection of life renunciation. These all share an energetic texture and quality as that which is found in anarchist ideas and practices.

Absurdist philosophy found its cultural relevance both as responses to the scientific and industrial revolution's impact on religious thought, and the existential despair that World War Two left many experiencing. Absurdism's philosophy of freedom, uncertainty, despair and rebellion seems like fertile ground for confronting current ecological situations and the processes that lie underneath them.

If Camus is correct in the assertion that asking whether or not you should commit suicide is the only real philosophical question, then asking whether or not we should commit mass suicide, through ecocide, is confronting this question in the largest scale imaginable. Absurdism is not a road map to certainty, or a route out of despair, but a means of confronting this reality of this humanised conditions.

We are not the virus: ecoanarchism in a time of Coronavirus

Eloise Harding

This paper is grounded in two debates. Firstly, the long-running battle between ecoanarchists and deep ecologists over the status of humans in relation to the nonhuman world; and secondly the incursion of 'post-truth' political discourses into the intersection of the climate and COVID-19 crises. The latest iteration of the first debate is brought to us by the apparent 'rewilding' of urban areas while the human population follows official advice to stay at home. One of the resulting narratives, summed up by the phrase 'we

are the virus', is an offshoot of a particularly anti-human strain of deep ecological discourse grounded in the idea that a pandemic would be a positive development for the nonhuman world. This genuine (if extreme) current is given a new twist by the addition of what can be called 'false flag' campaigns, in which ecological imagery is appropriated by anti-environmental interests in order to undermine the growing consensus that a climate emergency is imminent and must be dealt with. This paper explores the possibilities for ecoanarchism to provide a viable counternarrative to the more misanthropic ecological discourses, of both the sincere and false flag varieties, which posit the existence of humanity as a problem to be solved. The potential responses to the coming climate emergency, particularly in the light of the COVID-19 situation, tend to be categorised as either a return to 'business as usual' or a set of draconian measures following on from the current state of lockdown but justified on more controversial grounds. Ecoanarchism can be seen as a path between and around these unpleasant options, explicitly rejecting both the 'we are the virus' line of argument and (conversely) the argument that any measures to tackle the climate emergency are now akin to gloating over the silver linings of a pandemic, while offering an alternative to the default return to 'business as usual'.

Libertarian naturism and biopolitical resistance in 1900s Brazil

Nádia Farage

The present ecological and sanitary crisis echoes many aspects of the crisis lived in the first decades of the 20thcentury, haunted by smallpox, influenza and other epidemics. Biopolitics was then an anticipatory and heated debate among libertarian naturist groups, which were pioneers in forging concepts on the human place and relationship with other living beings on earth – reason why these currents of thought were called a "popular ecology". This paper addresses the history of libertarian naturism in Brazil: on the one hand, to explore its proximity to Romantic ideas, be it their approach to nature and transient life, be it their critique of Western science; on the other, to highlight the links between the naturist currents born in the Iberic Peninsula and the local biopolitical resistance in that period.

The Conquest of Bread in a Time of Collapse – Kropotkin's Permaculture

Paul Jennings

Permaculture is both a discipline suited to local community-building activism, and therefore a milieu highly suitable for anarchist engagement, and a field which, in the UK at least, is characterised by well meaning middle class liberal environmentalism, which can easily represent nothing more than clever gardening and the privileged search for the good life.

It often comes as something of a shock to students on my Permaculture courses when I emphasise community building and try to add a revolutionary

Anarchist edge to discussions which, after all, focus on creating a “Permanent Culture”.

I’m also interested in the way Permaculture Design informs my Anarchism, particularly in response to the ecological and social crises of our times.

I have been an Anarchist since I was a doctoral student more than twenty-five years ago, and a practitioner of Permaculture since around the same time. This paper is based on my own reflections on Permaculture and the way that influences my reading of Kropotkin.

I outline the argument below. Mine is a search for effective Anarchist engagement; as David Graeber asks, “how do we win?” It’s just a seemingly unavoidable characteristic of the immediate future that winning might just be surviving.

Pippi’s Posthuman Power

Markus Lundström

This conference paper, which is based on a recently published journal article, probes the ambiguity of a posthuman heroism by revisiting the remarkable story of Pippi Longstocking. It explores with Pippi a non-anthropocentric living in the more-than-human world. The paper’s critical posthumanist analysis is empirically based on the American English translation of the Pippi book trilogy from the 1950s, as well as the Swedish TV-series produced in 1969. Pippi’s posthuman power here serves to conceptualize a move beyond the anthropocentric savior-complex. The analysis exhibit a power used to defy, mock and resist authority, but always with the purpose of securing agency for Pippi and her community. This power-to, rather than power-over, becomes a creative force that builds a posthuman community between inorganic matter, human and nonhuman animals. In place of a heroism to save our planet, Pippi arguably animates how to relate differently to the more-than-human world. She is a productive fantasy, an idea materialized – a posthuman figuration – that extends the notion of community, opens up the demos, and forcefully challenges anthropocentric normativity.

Against and Beyond the Fascist Imagination

Alex Khasnabish

Social movements are not just vehicles for political action, they produce theory and knowledge about the world through their struggles to change it. They are also animated by the collective work of imagining other ways of being, living, and doing. This collective work of the imagination is not tangential to "real" social change, it is central to producing powerful, robust, and world-changing social movements. The recent ascendance of the far Right and the resurgence of fascism on a global scale serves as a dramatic warning sign that imagination is not only the province of struggles for collective liberation, particularly in times of crisis. As the climate emergency deepens, the

gravitational pull of far Right and fascistic imaginaries has intensified, and social justice-oriented movements sink into a cycle of reactive, defensive, episodic, and fragmented struggles insufficient to the task of building alternatives to capitalist dystopia. Now more than ever it is vital to find ways to circulate movement-based knowledge of sustaining struggle over the long haul and convoking the radical imagination. What is the fascist imagination and how can we understand its potent allure in increasingly dark times? Why is there such a seeming absence of radical imaginations of collective liberation capable of countering this ascendant far and fascistic Right? How can anti-capitalist and anti-authoritarian movements for radical social change counter and move beyond the fascist imagination? Drawing on over two decades of politically-engaged research with radical activists and organizers in the north of the Americas, this paper explores some of the most important lessons learned by long-term organizers across a variety of radical social justice struggles as part of an effort in grassroots dialogue and learning to amplify our efforts and build the movements we need to achieve collective liberation.