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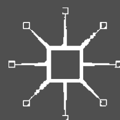
THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF ANARCHISM

Edited by Carl Levy and Matthew S. Adams



The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism

Carl Levy • Matthew S. Adams
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ISBN 978-3-319-75619-6 ISBN 978-3-319-75620-2 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75620-2

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018942897

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Cover credit: Pictorial Press Ltd / Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer International Publishing AG part of Springer Nature.
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

IN MEMORIAM

James Joll: 1918–1994
Murray Bookchin: 1921–2006
Paul Avrich: 1931–2006
Colin Ward: 1924–2010
Nunzio Pernicone: 1940–2013
Ursula LeGuin: 1929–2018

Praise Page

"Adams and Levy's modest aim is to provide a comprehensive account of anarchist history and ideas. The Handbook of Anarchism achieves this aim and does far more. This excellent collection of essays shows how anarchist critique has given rise to a living, dynamic tradition and why that critique remains vital. The whole is far greater than the sum of its parts. It explores the tensions and commonalities in anarchist politics and the endurance and adaptiveness of anarchists who continue to contest systemic injustice and oppression."

—Ruth Kinna, *Professor of Political Theory, Loughborough University, UK*

"At a time when anarchist politics is on the rise and has visibly increased its appeal and influence in contemporary political and social action, this welcome collection provides a comprehensive and exceptionally insightful journey in anarchist thinking, traditions, history, tactics and impact on our culture and society. Carl Levy and Matthew Adams have gathered the best and most insightful scholars on anarchism and put together an indispensable and thought-provoking guide to understanding anarchism's global dimension and connections, its ideological distinctiveness and diverse historical manifestations from the French revolution to Occupy and the Arab Spring. This book will be essential reading to anyone interested in making sense of both our past and of the politics of 21st century."

—Ilaria Favretto, *Professor of Contemporary European History, Kingston University, London, UK*

"The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism is a wonderful resource for anyone interested in the past, present, and future of anarchism. The editors have assembled many of the leading scholars of the subject to reflect on a vast array of topics, from seminal historical episodes to broad traditions of thought. Straddling anarchist theory and practice, this is an illuminating, comprehensive, and thought-provoking volume."

—Duncan Bell, *Reader in Political Thought and International Relations, Christ's College, University of Cambridge, UK*

"This is an indispensable reference work for anyone interested in the history and theory of anarchism, providing an impressive range of coverage and expert scholarly discussion of the issues, people, events and developments of the tradition. It should become a standard guide for anyone studying or teaching the subject."

—Gregory Claeys, *Professor of the History of Political Thought, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK*

"Will certainly become the key text on anarchism: theoretically aware with a global perspective, historically well-informed with a proper focus on key events and people from 1848 and Proudhon down to the Occupy and Indignados movements. No anarchist stone is left unturned or thrown."

—Donald Sassoon, *Emeritus Professor of Comparative European History, Queen Mary, University of London, UK*

"A real intellectual achievement. More than a handbook, Levy and Adams have assembled a state-of-the-art conceptual guide to anarchist history, theory and practice. The collective range and individual depth of the volume's essays is impressive. Much more than a resource, this collection redefines the field and sets an intellectual agenda."

—Raymond Craib, *Associate Professor of History, Cornell University, USA*

Preface

Anarchism is one of the oldest political philosophies in the world. Before authority and government existed, it was simply how humans organised their affairs. In our individualistic contemporary culture, the fourth-century *Tao Te Ching* is celebrated as a guide to spiritual self-awareness. But in fact Lao Tzu's ancient text should be read as an eloquent articulation of the full meaning of anarchism, political as well as spiritual. For the more I understand anarchism, the more I realise that anarchism digs deep into us. It is about much more than how to 'run' society—an inherently hierarchical formulation; it is about how to *live*, above all with one another. To eschew all power relationships is not merely to reject government, it is to re-engineer every human relationship into one of equality, respect and cooperation. It is to change oneself as much as it is to change society.

This book is an extraordinarily rich source of anarchist thought and history. There is much to explore and much to learn. Each of us comes to anarchism our own way. Almost no anarchist inherited this philosophy unquestioned from their parents and forbears. Every anarchist, I suspect, starts out as something else and is only changed by the jolt of experience, the eruption of a problem and the urgent quest for an answer. Anarchists are made, not born. Indeed, they make themselves.

My own journey began in painful disillusionment. I had been a career diplomat for the British government, a profession I thought I would enjoy my whole life, culminating perhaps in an ambassadorship in one of Her Majesty's embassies. But I witnessed first-hand how my government, and colleagues, lied about the Iraq war. I knew the facts—and thus the lies—because I worked on Iraq, in fact directly on the issue of so-called weapons of mass destruction. Eventually, I resigned from the diplomatic service after giving then-secret testimony to an official inquiry into the war.

My disillusionment however ran deeper than the war, terrible though it was. In early twenty-first-century New York, where I then lived, fashionably dressed

diners enjoyed fresh sushi in downtown restaurants while, a few miles away, children went hungry. Worldwide, the concentration of carbon in the atmosphere was rising inexorably. The attacks of September 11, 2001, had ushered in what already seemed like permanent war. Politicians shamelessly took money from tycoons and corporations yet everyone still pretended we enjoyed 'democracy'. These problems were all too obvious and still no one seemed alarmed. Governments, like the one I worked for, had no credible answers and yet no one demanded better. I am a deeply political beast. I could *feel* that things were not right. The system was not working, but what would? And thus began my exploration.

In a library at Washington Square, I read and read. From Ludwig Wittgenstein, I learned that the things that matter most to humans—solidarity, meaning, love—have no terms. And therefore that these things have no accounting in the allegedly 'logical' neo-classical economic theory that dominated contemporary thinking. But how could these most fundamental human needs be elevated? From Marcuse and Benjamin, I learned how to deconstruct the economics and politics that I had learned in university and reveal the deeper power relations hidden within. I began to realise that what matters in any analysis of society is not what theory tells us, but what *is*: put simply, the facts. Who wins and who loses? Who rules, and who suffers? Suddenly, the haze of confusion dissipates and the facts are simple and stark and the solutions clear. If people are to be treated equally, they must have an equal say in their affairs. The only way to guarantee this inclusion is for people to govern themselves: any hierarchy is intrinsically corruptible. And hierarchy, with its humiliation of both the managed and the manager, is inherently dehumanising. By random chance, I came upon complexity theory which showed me not only a model of the complex system that is the world today, but explained how individuals and small groups can trigger dramatic change across the whole system. The revolution I wanted was suddenly more plausible.

And as I read, I realised that others of course had walked this path before me—Kropotkin, Bakunin, Fanelli, Stirner, Godwin and New York City's own Emma Goldman in whose very footsteps I trod around the Lower East Side where I lived. I had loved Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* since childhood, but only now did I begin to understand the anarchist revolution he was describing. I learned from Colin Ward, Murray Bookchin and many of the writers included in this volume who shone their bright lights on the current era, such as Marina Sitrin's from-the-ground insights into the factory occupations in contemporary Argentina—this was anarchism in action today.

The financial crisis of 2007 was another explosive signal that the orthodoxy was in deep trouble. The grotesque and uncontrolled profiteering of a few had endangered the welfare of the many. The lie that democratic government could modulate the excesses of capitalism was laid bare for all to see. Government was in fact insuring those excesses, literally. Though few of the occupants of Zuccotti Park would have called themselves anarchists, Occupy Wall Street began to manifest the most important attributes of an anarchist approach,

above all that everyone had an equal right to speak. After they departed the park, some Occupiers implemented these ideas. When a hurricane struck New York City, it was Occupy activists who mobilised most quickly and effectively to organise help for city residents who had lost electricity and lacked food or water: not charity but *mutual aid*, another core anarchist precept. These ideas were not mere theories, they were animating people and change right here, right now.

Anarchist ideas have flourished in the most unlikely places. In a corner of war-torn Syria, in a region known by the Kurds as Rojava, a new kind of society has come into being, governed by the people themselves without the state. 'Democratic confederalism' they call it, where decisions are taken by those most affected by them at the level of the commune. To deal with wrongdoing, the community seeks not punishment but reconciliation between victim and perpetrator, between their families and within the community as a whole. The goal is not punishment but 'social peace'. In the forums of self-government, non-Kurdish groups—Arabs, Assyrians—are given the floor before others in order to ensure that minorities have a fair say. Women co-chair all meetings and fight alongside men in their epic battle against 'Daesh' as they call the extremists sometimes known as the Islamic State. Rojava is a modern echo of the anarchist society that came to life in Republican Spain in the 1930s. It is a fragile dispensation, surviving in the furnace of war and great power rivalries, but Rojava represents a living repudiation of the lazy claim that anarchism doesn't work in practice, or at scale.

Today, humanity faces very serious dangers. Climate change now risks entering a vicious cycle of unstoppable warming, whose only culmination is planetary catastrophe. The contemporary economic system—some call it capitalism, I think there are better words—is now a grotesque spectacle where algorithmic traders amass unprecedented fortunes for zero social benefit while the wealth of the large majority has stagnated or declined. As the rich evade taxes and hide their wealth overseas, governments enforce 'austerity' on everyone else. As a result, faith in institutions and government has declined to abysmal lows. So far, it is the far right which has profited most from this debacle. Demagogues and proto-fascists are on the rise in America and across the world, from Poland to the Philippines. But rather than blame the system that has so evidently brought the world to this disastrous pass, they sow hatred against the 'other'—the immigrant, the foreigner, or simply the political enemy … anyone!

There has never been a more urgent time to reconsider and learn about anarchism, an undertaking which this book admirably facilitates. I once believed that wise people in accountable governments could govern the world for everyone's ultimate benefit. It is not that I think that people in government are evil. It is systems, not inherent nature, that allows people to do bad things, I believe. But my experience of government above all showed me that it is incompetent to manage the extraordinary complexity of our current condition. Top-down authority is incapable of understanding such a vast, massively connected and dynamic system as the world today. Government should be in the hands of

those who know their own circumstances best, the people themselves. Not only is self-government more effective, it also permits a kind of human flourishing that is unfamiliar in today's pervasive culture of cynicism, vapidity and consumption. I believe the very opposite of Hobbes. When people are given responsibility for their own affairs, they tend to behave responsibly. When given the opportunity, and not told what to do, people tend to choose cooperation over competition. And at the deepest level, I passionately believe that only in authentic and honest human relationships can we be truly ourselves and enjoy the full self-expression that should be everyone's right. And such relationships are only possible when there is no power, when people are equal. This is anarchism.

As for anyone, my journey is never complete. I do not expect to arrive. And indeed one of the great beauties of anarchism is that it does not offer an *end*: a utopia or a blueprint for the perfect society (indeed such blueprints are inherently fascistic). Anarchism is about *means*—how we should live our lives today. Anarchists accept that humans are imperfect; we are always a work in progress. Anarchism is, amongst other things, a philosophy of time. Unlike socialists or capitalists, anarchists do not pretend that things will be better for everyone in the future, and thereby justify present injustice and sacrifice. But if we live by certain principles now, a better kind of society will emerge. Those principles are elaborated by the thinkers in this book. The most cardinal, that no one should wield power over anyone else. Put that idea into practice and things will change, without fail. The means are the ends.

London, UK — Carne Ross
December 2017

Acknowledgments

Given the scale of a book project such as this one, we have inevitably incurred a number of debts. Most importantly, we are thankful to our authors for their commitment to the project and continued good humour through what has been a lengthy process.

We are also grateful to our editors at Palgrave Macmillan for approaching us with the idea of developing this project and for their commitment to it throughout.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Carl Levy and Matthew S. Adams

The Revival of Anarchism as Politics, Methodology, and Its Presence in Academia

Anarchism is a political concept and social movement associated with future or here and now politico-social projects without the state. It is informed by a commitment to the autonomy of the individual and the quest for voluntary consensus. In historical overviews of anarchism, it is often presented as possessing family resemblances to political, intellectual, and cultural innovations in classical Greece, ancient China, medieval Basra and medieval Europe, Civil War England, and Revolutionary Paris. Equally, anthropologists will point to 'stateless peoples' throughout the world and throughout all of human history as evidence of the deep pedigree that informs anarchist rejections of the state as an organising principle, and, indeed for most of humankind's existence, the state did not exist. As a self-conscious ideology—as an 'ism'—anarchism may owe its existence to the political formulations and intellectual currents that shaped Europe in the wake of the dual revolution, but it is also, crucially, a global and not merely European tradition. Anarchism's history—its tenets, concepts, approaches, arguments, and style—was thus nurtured by global currents that spread people and ideas around the world, and its local manifestation was often shaped by domestic cultural and intellectual traditions that make anarchism an elusively protean ideology.[1]

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C. Levy, M. S. Adams (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism*,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75620-2_1

The sub-schools that are a feature of anarchism—its admixtures of 'individualism', 'collectivism', 'communism', and 'syndicalism', which are cross-cut by differing attitudes towards the economy and organisation—add a layer of complexity to fathoming the nature of this ideology. And more recently, as we shall see, new takes on anarchism have become significant presences: anarcha-feminism, Green anarchism, and postmodern or postanarchism, draw on or refine ideas and practices which had always been present in the anarchist canon.

Since the Second World War, three waves of anarchist revival have occurred in the wake of the collapse of the Spanish Republic and the march of Franco's troops into the anarchist stronghold of Barcelona in early 1939. Although certain formations of syndicalist action, particularly in the Global South from the 1940s, may be said to carry forward much of the spirit of pre-Second World War anarchism. But these movements, at least until the collapse of the Soviet Union and the transition of the People's Republic of China from a Leninist to a capitalist state, tended to be overshadowed by national liberation movements drawing their inspiration from the so-called socialist world.[2]

The first wave of the anarchist revival of the 1940s and '50s was primarily composed of coteries of intellectuals, artists, students, and bohemians, and included, in the Anglophone world, people such as Paul Goodman, Colin Ward, Ursula Le Guin, Herbert Read, Alex Comfort, Judith Malina, and Murray Bookchin. Much of their intellectual and imaginative labours were not, at first, joined to mass movements, even if they may have been inspired by their histories, or drawn energy from observing the various political and social movements that began to move to the centre of radical political life. Similarly, despite their occasional dismissal by rival anarchists for their bookish elitism, neither did they exert much influence in mainstream academia, or even mainstream political and civil society more broadly. But their anarchist methodologies, anarchist provocations, and anarchist imaginations, did stimulate new pathways in a host of academic disciplines including sociology, pedagogy, psychology, geography, urban planning, literature and historical studies, and they occasionally found coverage in various media outlets as 'public intellectuals', chiefly commenting on the cultural issues on which their modest fame tended to rest.[3] C. Wright Mills, a figure moving in these circles, is a case in point.[4] Famous for his role in defining this 'new' left in opposition to the 'old' which was seemingly discrediting itself in various totalitarian experiments, he articulated an anti-Cold War sociology that attempted to break out of the straitjacket of 'Bomb Culture'[5] functionalist sociology. More than an academic distraction, he wanted to warn the peoples and elites of the East and West of an impending nuclear catastrophe, seeing in the Cold War antagonists self-reinforcing, mirror-image, military-industrial complexes in operation. Wright Mills' work, urgent in the context of mutually assured destruction, drew its power from an older tradition of thinking and activism: the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), through his signal intellectual influence Thorstein Veblen, an admirer of the IWW in its 1910s pomp, and the nineteenth-century anarchist tradition of social enquiry that had, amongst other things, launched a powerful moral critique of capitalism and the state.

Voices like Wright Mills' were muffled but slowly gained traction with the dual crises of Suez and Budapest, and the emergence of the African American Freedom Movement.[6] Nevertheless, when the first edition of George Woodcock's seminal general history of anarchism appeared in 1962, the author saw fit to issue a sombre obituary for anarchist politics. This book, Woodcock told his readers, analysed a movement which was dead.[7] In the wake of the unexpected events of 1968, and the broader period of social change and turmoil that stretched from the middle of the 1950s to the 1970s, Woodcock, in a second edition, conceded his death notice may have been premature.[8] His shift from pessimism to optimism was partly a product of the fact that he drifted out of anarchism's orbit when he left austerity Britain for a new life on the west coast of Canada in 1949, but it was also a reflection of the changed circumstances for a movement that had seemingly drifted into redundancy after the tragedy of Spain.[9] Black flags were spotted anew from Paris to Berkeley, with the events in Paris in the spring of 1968 suggesting that, apparently, spontaneous events founded on direct action and grassroots occupations could paralyse an advanced capitalist democracy within a matter of days.[10]

During the 1970s and 1980s, the spin-offs from the 1960s and '1968' were embodied in a variety of new social movements highlighting new, second-wave, anarchist-inflected groupuscules, activists, and thinkers. These included second-wave feminism, the Greens, the anti-nuke movements, and Gay Rights, all of which practised forms of small 'A' anarchism that invoked participatory democracy, affinity groups, the personal as political, consensual forms of democratic governance, prefiguration, and direct action.[11] Despite the clear resurgence of interest in anarchist ideas that these groups represented, it is important not to replace Woodcock's 1962 obituary with eulogy. These waves of 'New Anarchism', or new politics with an anarchist flavour, style, theory, and methodology, were still overshadowed by social democratic, socialist, Eurocommunist, and Global South radical populist and Leninist-Nationalist competitors. Moreover, the intellectual and organisational bases of these movements could be varied, drawing strength and inspiration from a potpourri of historical and contemporary actors.[12] But something had, nevertheless, changed.

The greatest impulse for a more publicly noticeable revival of anarchism as action, theory, and methodology emerged from a complex of historical ruptures. The penetration of varieties of neo-liberalism in the West and the Global South; the downfall of the Soviet Union and the Marxist-Leninist model in its former bloc, and in its iteration as the 'heroic guerrilla' or radical post-colonial governments in the Global South; and the astounding rise of the Chinese model of Leninist Capitalism in place of Maoism, all informed an unstable political universe in which anarchism was rediscovered.[13] Besides the rise of political Islamism, the greatest challenge to the New World Order were forms of anarchism or anarchist-type movement that point to a third wave of anarcho-activism. This new radicalism was embodied in the rising in the Lacandon jungles of Mexico's Chiapas in 1994, under the banner of the post-Leninist Zapatistas and cognate movements in urban and rural areas of Latin America.

This sparked a series of mobilisations that culminated, via the War on Terror/Iraq War, with the crisis of 2007/2008, the Occupy/Square movements, and associated social aftershocks from 2010 to 2014, which have unsettled mainstream politics in a similar manner to 1968, globally reshuffling the deck in unanticipated and unpredictable ways. This 20-year wave of social movements is a complex story of several strands. The Global Justice Movement, the networking of social forums, the War on Terror after 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the end of the so-called Great Moderation or Great Speculation, the crash in 2008, and the Euro Crisis and the Age of Austerity led to the rise of Square movements from Tahrir to Zuccotti Square, grassroots radicalisms and left-wing populism in Latin America, and then in Europe and North America (and of course to a counter-blast of right-wing populisms).[14]

These strands of dissent became a motor in Latin America, North America, Europe, and elsewhere, inspiring academics and public intellectuals, and spurring in turn the unprecedented growth of 'Anarchist Studies' in the universities, and amongst a broader interested public.[15] But the intellectual field had been fertilised by several generations of radical academics, and by curious and sympathetic investigators and practitioners in the social sciences, the humanities and the arts, stretching from the 1940s to the present.[16] One did not need to be an anarchist to see that the questions posed by anarchism demanded addressing; as did, for example, in its classical period, the theoretician of the bourgeois state, capitalism, and bureaucracy, Max Weber, who sharpened his own research agenda and political ethos by engaging in close discussions and friendly debates with anarchists and syndicalists.[17] Similarly, in our own era, anarchism has served as a muse, sparring partner, or method, without those engaged in their respective fields necessarily declaring themselves 'card-carrying' anarchists, or producing works aimed at a self-identified anarchist mass movement. For the anthropologist David Graeber, for example, who was closely associated with the direct-actionist Global Justice Movement and later 'present at the creation' of Occupy Wall Street, anarchism was a form of consensual grassroots democracy without the state, and much of his academic work seeks to understand how people can negotiate their lives without the state.[18] Similarly, for another anthropologist, James Scott, an anarchist 'squint', assisted the investigator in perceiving the hidden transcripts of peasants' lives in the Global South (e.g. in Brazil, Southeast Asia, and Egypt), who sought, and still seek, to escape the legibility of the prowling machines of the state.[19]

The burst of interest in anarchism in all its manifestations has been fuelled by a feedback loop nourished by several generations of post-1945 anarchist thinkers, sympathetic academics, and scholars who, like latter-day Max Webers, see the merit in the questions anarchists pose, the examples they set, and the methodologies they pursue. For example, historians of the transnational, diasporic, and cosmopolitan movements of anarchism and syndicalism between the 1870s and 1920s have been inspired by the examples of the Global Justice Movement and Occupy occurring outside their seminar rooms.[20] Conversely, the political theorists and public intellectuals of the Square have

cited the transnationalism of early-twentieth-century anarchism and syndicalism as precursors of the networked, rhizomic, digitalised, waves of dissent today. In terms of publications, the burst of monographs, anthologies, and edited works on all aspects of anarchism (classical, new, and 'post'),[21] makes apparent that the present situation is different than the 1950s, the wave of interest in the 1960s and 1970s,[22] and the focus on anarchism that emerged from Punk and the new social movements of the 1980s.[23] In each of these cases, one can note a spike of publishing activity, but until the end of the Cold War and even perhaps to the dawn of this century, Marxist, postmodernist, and post-colonial forms of radical thought overshadowed the brief appearances of anarchism in the print and digital word. That, as this book testifies, is not necessarily the case any longer.

Overview of This Handbook

The *Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism* addresses, engages with, and challenges the anarchist tradition in ways that reflect the resurgence of interest in anarchist politics and its diverse manifestations. We do not give the reader biographical summaries of the so-called sages of anarchism.[24] In the standard histories of anarchism that have dominated the scholarship since the 1960s, a line of descent is usually traced between key intellectuals apparently engaged in a mutual conversation, as if aiming to stake out the boundaries of a distinct ideology. William Godwin, Max Stirner, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Errico Malatesta, and Emma Goldman, all usually feature, while innovators aim to bring others into the 'canon', Alexander Berkman perhaps, or Gustav Landauer, or Leo Tolstoy. So too these histories often progress from disquisitions on key personalities to a movement-based approach, frequently presenting a pre-history starting sometime before the nineteenth century and the emergence of self-conscious and self-defined anarchism, and then tailing off with the anarchist and syndicalist defeat in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). More recent attempts have endeavoured to correct the obvious faults in these narratives: disrupting Eurocentric accounts, presenting less masculinist and hetero-normative interpretations, and taking the post-1945 era more seriously. We have not chosen sides in battles such as these, but we have tried to draw from and refine the models of twenty or so years of anthologies and edited volumes, to produce a rich *tour d'horizon* guided by an indisciplinarity that gives the reader a historical and conceptual overview of the field.

Given the decline of Marxism as the hegemonic force on the left, there has been a renewed interest in the ideas, the history, and the potentialities of anarchist politics. Reflecting this renewed interest, the *Handbook of Anarchism* unites leading scholars from around the world in exploring anarchism as an ideology, offering an examination of its core principles, an analysis of its history, and an assessment of its contribution to the struggles confronting humanity today. In this regard, the approach taken by the *Handbook* is an amalgam of

the previous waves of anthologies and edited volumes, but it is the most comprehensive attempt so far. Grounded in a conceptual and historical approach, each entry charts the distinctively anarchist take on a particular intellectual, political, cultural, and social phenomenon. At its heart, therefore, is a sustained process of conceptual definition, demonstrating how anarchism emerged as an independent ideology in the nineteenth century, how it has grown into a diverse tradition across the twentieth century, and how it continues to help shape, often in unexpected ways, contemporary political and social action.

This volume therefore bridges the gap between historical approaches to anarchism and the vibrant and ever-expanding discussion of new forms of anarchism that are taking shape in the twenty-first century. The chapters that comprise the book point, as Carne Ross suggests in his preface to this volume, to the urgency of taking seriously the questions that anarchism has posed throughout its history. Ross, a former UK diplomat who became disenchanted with his role after the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in 2003, has himself been informed by these ideas in both an intellectual sense and by witnessing the diverse manifestations of these values in practical social struggles. Finding inspiration in the Occupy Movement, the mutual aid of Occupy Sandy, and the experimental communalism in Rojava, anarchism for Ross has become a method, a process, and a means to a fairer society, not an end result in itself.[25] The dynamics of this position are examined across the four sections of this book. These sections are:

Part I 'Core Principles and *Problématiques*' is designed to stake out the core concepts that shaped the emergence of anarchism as an ideology and to give an idea of the ways different thinkers have grappled distinctively with key intellectual, political, and practical social problems.

Chapters in Part I include 'The State', in which Nathan Jun draws upon Michael Freeden's morphological theory of ideology to examine diverse conceptions of the state within the anarchist tradition. In the 'Individual and Community', Laurence Davis argues that anarchism demonstrates its coherence as an ideology partly through the pluralist coexistence of individualism and collectivism at its heart. In his chapter on 'Freedom', Alex Prichard suggests, building on evidence from five different historical contexts, that competing conceptions of freedom can be reconciled through anarchist constitutionalism, and by conceiving of anarchism within the republican tradition of non-domination in which decision-making, rules, and regulations can be aligned to conceptions of the good.[26]

Deric Shannon's chapter in Part I throws further light on the conceptual issues that have characterised anarchism's distinctiveness. In 'Anti-Capitalism and Libertarian Political Economy', he argues that despite the claims of certain anarcho-capitalists, libertarian approaches to political economy have always been rooted in anti-capitalism. The author defines the anarchist contributions to political economy by examining historical and contemporary anarchist takes on wage labour/exploitation, private property, markets, class society, and

states. He then dissects how capitalist values are naturalised, examining the assertion that human beings are natural utility maximisers and that capitalism is a 'natural' result of the desire in human nature for human beings to dominate one another. Moving to anarchist approaches to political and social change, in his chapter 'Tactics: Conceptions of Social Change, Revolution and Anarchist Organisation', Dana Williams explicates key components of the anarchist toolkit, particularly 'direct action' and 'prefiguration', which promote the goals of horizontalism, liberation, and egalitarianism. These tactics are not exclusive to the anarchists, and have been developed in cooperation with other movements, namely, other non-state and non-elite actors in a wide variety of community, education, and alternative-building efforts.

Carl Levy's chapter in Part I on 'Anarchism and Cosmopolitanism' discusses the two faces of cosmopolitanism: 'Stoical imperialism' and 'Cynical Anarcho-Cosmopolitanism'. It traces elements from the latter tradition into the Radical Enlightenment and extra-European thought and practice in the Global South and later in the sinews of transnational anarchism and syndicalism, and today in the practices and theorisations of the Global Justice, Occupy, and Square movements in contradistinction to the International Relations concept of international society and 'anarchy'. Ole Birk Laursen takes a related theme in his chapter, 'Anarchism and Anti-Imperialism', providing an overview of anarchist approaches to anti-imperialism, offering examples of collaborations, solidarities, antagonisms, and syntheses between anarchists and anti-colonialists from across the British, Spanish, French, and Portuguese colonial worlds in the period 1870–1960.

Alexandre Christoyannopoulos and Lara Apps' chapter, 'Anarchism and Religion', reviews the many different types of interactions between religion and anarchism including religious scholars articulating a theology which engages with anarchism, and how anarchists interpret religious scriptures to point to anarchist politics. But the main aim of this chapter is to map out the intersections of religion and anarchism by examining four themes: anarchist quarrels with religion and its institutions; anarchist interpretation of founding scriptures and figures; anarchist theology; and historical studies of specific religious thinkers, communities, and movements. Shifting from religion to science, the final chapter in Part I, by Elliot Murphy, explores 'Anarchism and Science', revisiting classical anarchism's close relationship to the sciences, particularly Peter Kropotkin's assertion that anarchism was akin to the experimental method of the natural sciences.[27] Building on Kropotkin's prediction that science would confirm the veracity of much of the anarchist project, Murphy suggests that the psychological and behavioural sciences are now closer than ever to discovering the origin and structure of humanity's moral faculties, an idea central to the altruism which underwrote Kropotkin's concept of mutual aid.[28] In what is a bold counter-thrust to the growing post-anarchist narrative, Murphy also argues that political critique can and indeed should be based on naturalism and not the first premises of Lacan, Derrida, Foucault, Judith Butler, and other thinkers associated with postmodernism.

Part II 'Core Traditions' gives an overview of the ways in which—under the broad category of anarchism—different thinkers and activists have tried to carve out particular political positions stressing specific aspects of the anarchist intellectual identity as fundamental. Contributors to Part II convey the key claims of these 'schools', considering their defining internal debates, and exploring the ways particular thinkers and activists have tried to distinguish their ideas from other schools of anarchist thought.

Chapters in Part II include 'Mutualism', where Shawn Wilbur delineates a strand of anarchism founded on the proposition of non-governmental society and non-capitalist commerce through bilateral agreements and mutual guarantees between free individuals and groupings. This chapter summarises the work of the first self-declared anarchist, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. It then precedes to differentiate schools of mutualism associated with Proudhonian anarchist collectivism and anarchist communism, tracing continuities, especially in the American context, with the individualism of Benjamin Tucker and the more recent but related varieties of 'market anarchism' now advanced by Kevin Carson's 'free-market anti-capitalism'.[29] In his chapter, 'Individualism and Anarchism', Peter Ryley emphasises that individualist anarchism does not abide by one tradition. Most importantly, although some collectivists have denied its anarchist authenticity, Ryley mounts a strong defence of its legitimacy. This individualist anarchism is founded, Ryley argues, on the autonomous moral individual and an economics based on direct ownership.

Davide Turcato discusses 'Anarchist Communism' in his chapter, the hegemonic ideology of anarchists during the era of 'classical anarchism'. Although the idea that products should be distributed according to the needs of the individual was a constant throughout the history of anarchism, Turcato notes that anarchist communism was never a single coherent current. He identifies three main trends: anti-organisationalist anarchist communists in dispute with organisationalists; socially oriented anarchist communists positing their doctrine in contradistinction to individualists; and finally, after the Bolshevik Revolution, libertarian communists contrasting their doctrine to the authoritarian communism of the Marxist-Leninists who seemed to monopolise the term 'communism'.

Syndicalism was the doctrine and method which allowed anarchists to become noticeably influential during the era of classical anarchism, and in his chapter Lucien van der Walt defines it as a radically democratic unionism which, through solidarity, self-activity, and direct action (from self-education to the general strike), aims to construct a free socialist order based on self-management grounded in interlinked assemblies and councils. Van der Walt disputes the pessimistic predictions of Robert Michels' 'iron law of oligarchy'[30] which he feels syndicalist trade unions could, and can, avoid. This chapter supplies the reader with a synoptic history of the origins, growth, and global dissemination of syndicalism from the 1870s to the 1940s. But he insists that syndicalism should not be consigned to the museum of historical curiosities. Noted perhaps for its

destructive purism and sectarianism, it also displays an unquenchable vitality and creativity over its 150-year history.

The last chapters in Part II point to currents that have played increasingly important roles in shaping anarchism since 1945: 'Anarcha-Feminism', 'Green Anarchism', and 'Postanarchism'. In her chapter Donna Kowal traces the origins of anarcha-feminism to the contribution of key thinkers from the nineteenth century, such as Voltairine de Cleyre, Emma Goldman, Lucy Parsons, and Lucia Sánchez Saornil, pinpointing agreements and disagreements between them. Since these pioneers, anarcha-feminism has developed as a distinct school of thought and praxis that has mounted a critique of authority through the experiences of women, particularly the constraints posed by sexual double standards and the gendered division of labour. In his chapter on 'Green Anarchism', Andy Price traces its take-off from the resurgence of the anarchist tradition and the emergence of a Green movement in the late 1960s. Through a review of the three main and differing contributors to Green Anarchism—from Murray Bookchin, Arne Naess, and John Zerzan—Price concludes that all genuine Green thinking is by definition anarchistic. But this chapter also demonstrates that there are many varying shades of Green Anarchism.

Finally, the emergence of a genuinely new and at times controversial synthesis known as postanarchism is discussed in lucid and engaging tones by one of its proponents, Saul Newman. Postanarchism, Newman argues, is a synthesis of anarchist philosophy and poststructuralist theory (Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, Derrida and Lacan) and has been employed to understand and define the contemporary autonomous movements and decentralised networks discussed earlier in this introduction. Controversially, Newman contends that postanarchism differentiates itself from nineteenth-century anarchism through its disavowal of universal metanarratives and ontological certainties. Human nature is not assumed to be benign, nor is there a latent rational social order under the constraints of the oppressive state which an anarchist revolution will reveal. Like the poststructuralists, the postanarchists believe that the human subject is discursively constructed and that social relations are characterised by their contingent nature. Anarchy is not an end-state awaiting to be revealed once the constraints of statist society are smashed in revolutionary action. Instead, Newman proposes an ontologically anarchic politics grounded on this form of 'post-foundational' anarchism. But Newman is not naïve and points to the amorphous, indistinct, and shape-shifting nature of contemporary forms of power. If there are no clear normative guidelines in this post-foundational anarchism, how are social actors, who may be enchained by voluntary servitude, to act?

Part III 'Key Events/Histories' examines the responses of anarchists to particular events, their involvement in episodes of historical importance, and the significance of their interpretations of these events to the development of anarchist theory.

Part III begins with C. Alexander McKinley's 'The French Revolution and 1848' in which the author details the ways in which the Enlightenment, the

French Revolution, and the Revolution(s) of 1848 shaped anarchism in its early but crucial phases. He contends that although they were not anarchists, and future anarchists may have been hostile to much of their thought, key components of anarchism can be found in aspects of the writings of Enlightenment thinkers including Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and others. McKinley notes that key components of anarchist practice (particularly the direct democracy of the sections of the Commune of Paris) made their appearance during the French Revolution, as did the word 'anarchist', a term of disparagement against the radicals of the French Revolution. The next chapter discusses the anarchism of the First International (formally known as the International Workingmen's Association).[31] Lasting from 1864 to around 1880, Robert Graham highlights its role as a watershed in the history of anarchist movements and ideas. It is within the debates carried out in the First International that modern anarchism was first clearly articulated. It was here also that anarchists advanced their revolutionary alternatives to both parliamentary socialism and the advocates of revolutionary dictatorship in a Marxist mould.

In his chapter, 'The Spectre of the Commune and French Anarchists in the 1890s', John Merriman analyses the event which made anarchism flesh for many of its supporters and detractors from 1871 to the outbreak of war in 1914. But although Merriman notes the importance of the example of the Paris Commune of 1871 on anarchist political theory, his chapter focusses on its influence on the reality of anarchist organisation in France, and above all, in Paris. The crushing of the Paris Commune in a sea of blood remained crucial in the collective memory of Parisians and in the global anarchist movements as a prime example of state terrorism, and indeed motivated the actions of anarchist terrorist, Émile Henry, whose Communard father had been condemned to death in absentia. The Communard 'martyrs' were joined by other martyrs after Haymarket in Chicago in 1886, discussed by Kenyon Zimmer in the next chapter, 'Haymarket and the Rise of Syndicalism'. Zimmer's chapter is a global survey of how anarchists' views of the workers' movement and trade unions evolved, and their participation in these movements. This chapter is a companion piece to van der Walt's, but from the specific angle of how the American strike movement of 1886 influenced the development of syndicalist ideas in Europe, and the subsequent global dissemination and intermixture with local traditions of labour radicalism.

Themes broached in Merriman's chapter are given a global account in Constance Bantman's contribution, 'The Era of Propaganda by the Deed'. In a richly analytical contribution, the author traces the ideological genesis of the notion of propaganda by the deed, reviewing the terrorist wave which it partly inspired from the 1880s to the 1920s. Bantman stresses that the link between the notion of propaganda by the deed and this wave, or waves, of anarchist terrorism is complex and that anarchism was not solely a movement of terrorism. Thus she outlines the divisions amongst the anarchists regarding the use of political violence, and examines the frequent difficulties of identifying acts that were examples of anarchist terrorism, as they were frequently clouded by lone

wolf acts, police provocations, and opaque boundaries with mere criminality. The author remarks on the fascinating academic and media debate which has been spurred by possible parallels between anarchist terrorism and post-9/11 Islamist-inspired attacks.

If the First International and its schisms, and the contemporaneous Paris Commune of 1871, were watersheds in the emergence of classical anarchism, surely the outbreak of war in 1914 was equally important for its long-term decline. In his chapter on 'Anarchism and the First World War', Matthew Adams discusses how the war heightened governmental suspicion and coercion of anarchists, and disrupted networks of international cooperation between anarchist individuals and organisations. But the First World War also posited an existential crisis of belief for the anarchist movement, magnified by the public debate between two of its greatest antebellum personalities and thinkers, Peter Kropotkin and Errico Malatesta, in which the Russian anarchist embraced the cause of the Entente, and the Italian anarchist denounced him as an apostate and believed that the war's instability would give rise to revolutionary opportunities for anarchists. Using this set-piece debate to explore anarchist responses to the outbreak of the war in Britain, France, Italy, the United States, and Russia, the clash over intervention in the war posed the issue of the distinctive political identity of the anarchists, generated fresh tactical perspectives on anti-militarism and anti-colonialism, and demonstrated the theoretical and tactical plurality of anarchism, a red thread through this volume.

The Russian Revolution was precisely the type of opportunity Malatesta believed the war would produce.[32] In his chapter, 'Anarchism and Marxism in the Russian Revolution', Anthony D'Agostino approaches the events of 1917–1921 by employing the longer view, and emphasising that the dramatic events of the Revolution and Civil War were foreshadowed by the decades-long conflict between Bakunin, Kropotkin, and other anarchists on one side and Marx and the Marxists on the other. The author contends that these Russian anarchists had constructed a sophisticated theory of the state which was suited for an age of revolution, stretching from the Italian Risorgimento to the Mexican Revolution. The Russian anarchists, D'Agostino suggests, understood the unique Russian case which placed it outside the evolutionary pathways increasingly embraced by the Marxists of Western and Central Europe. In an interlude before his discussion of the events of 1917–1921, D'Agostino weighs the influence of Jan Wacław Machajski, on the radical realism of Lenin and the anarchists, because, of course, like the Polish theorist, Bakunin had predicted that the victory of the Marxist dictatorship would not result in the triumph of the proletariat but the rise of a New Class of savants and ex-worker party bureaucrats.[33] D'Agostino thus argues that Machajski's reconciliation with Bolshevism mirrored the reaction of many anarchist militants in Russia to the victory of the Bolsheviks in 1917. For these anarchists, the Bolsheviks were the vanguard in the revolt against imperialist war, the reaction, for instance, of anti-war Malatesta, discussed previously in Adams' chapter. D'Agostino retains a radical realism in his conclusion: would any state power have allowed Kronstadt