



6th Annual North American Anarchist Studies Conference

**March 20 – 22, 2015
California Institute for
Integral Studies
1453 Mission St
San Francisco, CA
3rd Floor**

Opening Events: Friday March 20

6:00pm – 7:00pm

Welcome & Introductions

**7:00 – 9:00pm: Opening Plenary:
Hidden Histories of Bay Area Anarchism**

Kenyon Zimmer “Anarchism and Interethnic Alliances, 1880s–1930s”

Andy Cornell “Missing Links: Anarcho-Pacifism and the Counter-culture, 1940–1970s”

Chris Carlsson “The Contemporary Anarchist Scene, 1980s–Present”

Followed by beverages, conversation, and revelry at

The Homestead

2301 Folsom St, San Francisco, CA

	Room 1	Room 2	Room 3	Room 4
10:00 - 11:00	Presentation on the Emma Goldman Papers IN MAIN ROOM			
11:00 - 12:30	A Discussion of Optimism, Pessimism and Anarchist Naivete with Aragorn, Tom Nomad, and Doug Gilbert	Monste Feu: Transatlantic Trenches in Spanish Civil War Journalism Kenyon Zimmer: Anarchist Interventionism: American Anarchists and the Spanish Civil War Andreu Rosés: Arab antifascists fighting Franco in the Spanish Civil War	Anarchist Media and the Continued Relevance of Print with Robert Eggplant, Joey Shemuel, Michael Clift, James Simmons, and A. Iwasa	Michael Coyle: Anarchism and Penal Abolition Robertn Hlatky: Surveillance and Criminalization of Anti-Capitalist Movements Billy Keniston: Choosing to be Free: A Life Story of Rick Turner
LUNCH				
1:30 - 3:00	Wayne Price: Decentralism, Direct Democracy, and Federalism Duane Rousselle: Post-Anarchism and the Question of Subjectivity Derek Barnett: The Philosophy of Politics: Anarchism, Foucault and the Primacy of Resistance	Kathy Ferguson: Emma Goldman's Women Jennifer Guglielmo: Recovering the Lost Histories of Italian Immigrant Women's Anarchist Feminism in the U.S. Hilary Gordon: [TITLE NOT AVAILABLE]	Robert Haworth: Critical Reflections on Anarchism & Education AJ Segneri: Learning From Freedom Schools and Related Programs Susan Cain & Mark Mason: The Way Out of Mass Infantilization and System Collapse	Radical Doubt: A Poetry Reading with Phillip Barron, Andrew Joron, Amy Narneeloop, and Eric Parkison
3:30 - 4:55	Jocquin Pederoso: Anti-Authoritarianism as Anti-Intellectualism Nathan Jun: Anarchism, Philosophy, and Tradition Kevin Suemnicht: Defining Nature: Notes on Anarchist Political Ecology	Shawn Wilbur: Anarchy, in All its Senses Alexander Kolokotronis: Reconceptualizing Anarchy: An Anarchist Theory of International Relations Arthur Noll: Principles of Society	Francis Tillyard: On War, Patriarchy, and the Origins of Capitalism Alana Apfel: (Re)radicalising Birth: The labouring body under capitalism Troy Kokinis: Public Performance and the Freak Left	Eric Eichler: Preventing secondary traumatization and burnout for the anti-authoritarian Activist
5:05 - 6:30	Toru Ouda: Non-Reductionist Founding of Ethics on "Facts" Michael Trucello: The Object of Destruction: "Brisantic" Anarchism in a Brutal World Jason McQuinn: Critical Self-Theory	Andrew Hoyt: International Charity and/or Transnational Solidarity Tariq Khan: Savage Reds Cheng Zhang: Anarchists in Kronstadt	Benjamin Wood: The migrant justice movement in Southern California Ernesto Nevarez: Corporate Industrial Anarchism And Worker Self-Organizing (by troqueros in the ports) Imri Rivas: Exploring the Common Ground of Chicanismo and Anarchism	Chris Moylan: 'A Fire Bending Backwards': The Novad Online Art Collective
DINNER				
7:30 - 9:00	Marianne Maeckelbergh and Brandon Jourdan: Films From The Frontlines: A Film Screening With Global Uprisings Franklin Lopez: subMedia.tv: A Decade of Subversion IN MAIN ROOM			

SATURDAY
March 21

	Room 1	Room 2	Room 3	Room 4
11:00 - 12:30	<p>Ronald Creagh: Utopia, the never-ending game</p> <p>Pavlos Stavropoulos: Notes for the (still) unwritten handbook: from crisis and disaster to autonomy and self-reliance</p> <p>Robert Jones: Why Anarchists Should be Vegan</p>	<p>Antonio Senta: Bringin Sacco and Vanzetti's anarchist background back home</p> <p>Daniel Berti & Ana Karina de Morais: Writing Alterity: (Thinking) Through Solidarity</p> <p>Jesse Cohn: Revising the Future: M[ike] Gilliland's /The Free/, 1986-2011</p>	<p>Uri Gordon: Prefigurative Politics and Anarchism</p> <p>Michael Clift: Military Veterans and Their Role in Revolution</p> <p>Troy Araiza Kokinis & Jael Vizcarra: Freeway Takeovers: The Reemergence of the Collective through Urban Disruption</p>	<p>Hilary Gordon: Mutual Aid in Archival Research Workshop</p> <p>Gaia: ReBAI – the anarchist and libertarian libraries network</p>
LUNCH				
1:30 - 3:00	<p>The Anthropology of Non-State Spaces with Sara Maria Acevedo, Gerardo Lopez Amaro, David Escobar, Sudha Fatima, Andrej Grubacic, John Ryan Karlin, Claudia Lodia, James Simmons</p>	<p>Frederico Venturini: The Aldeia Marakana Experience</p> <p>Alex Leigh: Safety, Danger, and Fear: Cognitive Maps and the Making and Re-Making of American Cities</p> <p>Alan Pyeatt: Thought Maps: Anarchism and Graphic Representations of the Ideological Universe</p>	<p>Adam Lewis: Settler Colonialism, Anarchism and Indigenous Resistance</p> <p>Patrick Anderson: An Anti-Colonial Look at Leftist Anarchism</p> <p>Joshua Holst: Indigenous Autonomy and Territorial Defense in the Ecuadorian Amazon</p>	<p>Nathan Jun and Shawn Wilbur: Mutual Aid for Anarchist Scholars: Goals and Mechanisms</p>
3:30 - 4:55	<p>The CNT Bot Team: Software that enables confederal organizing on top of Internet Relay Chat (IRC)</p>	<p>Howard Erlich Memorial: Elaine Leeder, Dana Williams, and Jeff Shantz</p>	<p>Michael Lodenthal: The Politics of Direct Attack: The discourse of insurrectionary communiqués</p> <p>Thomas Swann: Anarchism, organisational cybernetics and social media</p> <p>L. Wonder: Geometry of Mutual Aid</p>	<p>Andrew Hoyt: Collaborative Anarchist Mapping Project (CAMP)</p>
5:05 - 6:00	<p>RAC-LA: A Meeting with Revolutionary Autonomous Communities Los Angeles Talk, Film, Discussion. IN MAIN ROOM</p>			
6:00 - 6:30	<p>Closing Plenary IN MAIN ROOM</p>			

SUNDAY
March 22

TALK DESCRIPTIONS

The Aldeia Marakana Experience: an Anarchist Perspective

Federico Venturini

This paper aims at advancing the literature that considers the inner anarchist practices of indigenous people (Clastres 1977; Graeber 2004): indigenous community have been commonly seen as ‘anarchist societies’ due to their rejection of the state and their use practices that can be defined as direct action. Drawing from a militant researcher, this paper explore the struggle of the Aldeia Marakana collective, a group of indios (but not exclusively) that fight to preserve the ancient Museum of Indios in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil), in the area of the Maracana stadium. The collective occupied the building in 2008 that soon become a space for the indigenous culture, for living for several families, for rituals and hands-craft. The main objective of the occupation has been to persuade the public administration to refurbish the building and construct an Indigenous University. Here the indigenous culture would have been not restricted behind glasses or limited to bracelets selling, but kept alive with its ancients rituals and knowledge. The collective was evicted violently two times from the building and it is still trying to find a space where to develop its University. However, the experience of the Aldeia Marakana occupation was not only limited to indios: it become a space for debate and meeting for the whole social movements of the city, offering the chance to a cross contamination of two different worlds, the activists and the indios. After an historical part, this paper highlights the practices of resistance put in place by the Aldeia Marakana collective. Finally, it will explore the links with the social movements, underlining the common traits, the disagreement and the moot point.

Anarchism in Three Movements: Anarchism, Post-Anarchism, Anarchism

Duane Rousselle

This presentation shall provide a broad overview of three distinct moments which have occurred in post-anarchist political philosophy. First, I focus on the post-anarchists’ early characterization of ontological essentialism within the tradition of classical anarchism. Consequently, there was an insurgence of political and epistemological relativism/subjectivism. Second, I focus on the post-anarchists’ return to the question of affirmative ontological foundations, in light of recent debates surrounding speculative realism and new materialism. Finally, I raise the question of post-anarchisms’ next moment of opportunity. How might post-anarchism return to the classical anarchist questions without renewing its commitment to ontological essentialism or political democracy/relativism?

Anarchism, Philosophy, and Tradition

Nathan Jun

Although anarchism defies conventional definitions of political philosophy, it nonetheless offers a unique political-theoretical approach which has long been and remains deeply misunderstood by scholars. In this presentation, I argue that the best way to understand this approach is by examining the core, adjacent, and peripheral concepts that distinguish anarchism from competing tendencies. Furthermore, I discuss the extent to which the notion of “tradition” plays a role both in anarchist theory and practice as well as attempts to understand anarchism within political theory and the history of ideas.

Anarchist Interventionism: American Anarchists and the Spanish Civil War

Kenyon Zimmer

This paper examines the American anarchist movement's support for, and participation in, the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. After placing this conflict in the context of earlier uprisings that stimulated anarchist solidarity and volunteers from abroad, it will explore the three main avenues through which anarchists in the US sought to contribute to the cause of their comrades in Spain: publicizing and morally supporting the accomplishments of the CNT-FAI; collecting financial and material contributions; and traveling to Spain to take up arms or otherwise directly aid the struggle. In particular, it will highlight the forgotten role of the approximately 150 anarchists who took part in the fight against Spanish fascism, largely outside of the ranks of the famed Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the ramifications that the CNT-FAI's actions and ultimate defeat had in America.

Anarchist Media and the Continued Relevance of Print

Robert Eggplant, Joey Shemuel, Michael Clift, James Simmons and A. Iwasa

As the death of print continues to be widely touted, what are the roles of Anarchist and anti-authoritarian newspapers, newsletters and 'zines now? Four contributors to Slingshot Newspaper discuss continuing to help produce a quarterly, internationally distributed radical newspaper, and interactions with and production of other forms of media past and present.

Anarchists in Kronstadt: The divergence between Russian Workers and Peasants after October Revolution

Cheng Zhang

It is clearly true that Kronstadt uprising was one of the important incidents within Russian Revolution, both Trotsky and Zinoviev were criticized of suppressing it. This presentation will concentrate on why Kronstadt workers and soldiers were "betrayed" by Bolshevik whose emphasis had already transformed to peasants as late as that point. The construction of this presentation will be based on the economic difference between Russia Empire with Western European countries that contributed to the post-1917 transformation of Bolshevik, as is the dominant peasant household production in Russia that impeded the formation of a society whose proletarian workers as major working people. This unique economic structure of Russia created a stable and pervasive peasant stratum who consistently was the most influential political power in Russia and was also crucial during October Revolution, but essentially belonged to petite bourgeoisie rather than proletarian. The contrast between petite bourgeoisie peasants and proletarian workers emerged after the victory of the revolution but the political and economic dominance of the former attracted Bolshevik into the right wing, whose evidence were Trotsky's union policy and Bukharin's theories in his "Economics of the Transformation Period" that were inclined to bridle worker but liberalize peasants. That is why anarchism was chosen by Kronstadt workers and soldiers to express their appeal and proposition. The approval of new economic policy that was even more pro-peasants after their failure was also one of the evidences of the divergence between Kronstadt workers and peasants, as recreation always follows with revolution, which was also the inception of exploitative Soviet bureaucrat stratum.

Anarchy, in All Its Senses

Shawn P. Wilbur

In the summer of 2013, I discovered that John Beverley Robinson's translation of Proudhon's "General Idea of the Revolution in the Nineteenth Century" included some dubious choices about, of all things, the rendering

of the word “anarchie,” and that these choices rendered unintelligible a couple of otherwise baffling comments by Proudhon about “Anarchy, understood in all the senses.” With the translation corrected, there is still a good deal that is baffling about Proudhon’s use of the term, but we can at least approach the questions that arise with all the relevant data. Having now spent some time surveying Proudhon’s use of the language of “anarchie,” I would like to present some of the findings, compare Proudhon’s use to that of some of his contemporaries in the period 1840-1880, identify some possible influences, and suggest some possible present-day applications of a more complex, potentially problematic understanding of the concept of anarchy. My inclination is to provide a handout with fairly detailed findings, which I’ll then summarize, and open things fairly quickly to discussion focused on the questions of modern application.

The Anthropology of Non-State Spaces

Sara Maria Acevedo, Gerardo Lopez Amaro, David Escobar, Sudha Fatima, Andrej Grubacic, John Ryan Karlin, Claudia Lodia, James Simmons

Since the development of states, and even under clan society, groups of people either escaped or were exiled from their places of living. Some joined other clans or moved into other state jurisdictions but many established or joined self-governed communities outside of state jurisdiction and regulation. As nation-states and capitalism developed, and particularly as new regions were incorporated into the emerging capitalist world-system beginning in the sixteenth century, the problem was not simply how to escape states but also how to escape capitalist relations and processes of accumulation that were bundled up with state control. But people still did it. Well-known historical examples of escape include Russian Cossacks, pirates and escaped slaves or maroons. Contemporary examples of territorial escape include the Zapatistas in Mexico, land occupations, and even political prisoners. Structural escape has been identified in urban communities in the heart of Jamaica, in the shack-dwelling areas of African cities, and on the outskirts of large South American cities. In this panel, we examine exilic experiences comparatively and we ask what we can learn from them both historically and in contemporary society, and what they can tell us about possible futures.

Anti-Authoritarianism as Anti-Intellectualism: Stirner, Nietzsche and the Politics of Postfoundationalism

Joaquin A. Pedroso

This paper will examine Max Stirner’s and Friedrich Nietzsche’s challenges to metaphysics and epistemology and their connection to anti-authoritarian thought (especially anarchism). My purpose is to stress the importance of both Stirner and Nietzsche in thinking about an anti-authoritarianism of the intellect (i.e. an anti-authoritarianism aimed at the epistemic authority of Reason, the scientific method, and other authoritative accounts of knowledge, as well as against the ontological categories usually used to sustain them). I argue conceiving of such an anti-authoritarianism of the intellect facilitates new ways of thinking about important political notions in the postfoundationalist context (e.g. domination) and relating them to traditionally non-political notions (e.g. intellectualism). It is my hope to critically engage these infamous 19th century attempts at “anti-intellectualism” and assess their importance to the “postanarchist turn” of late. I will address Stirner’s rejection of the ostensibly emancipatory value of language, essentialism, and rationality while noting his views on self-legislation and autonomy. I will also focus on Nietzsche’s challenge to the authority of Reason in his analysis of the creative forces of the Dionysian, his rejection of transcendental moral absolutes, and his perspectivism. I will interrogate both Stirner’s and Nietzsche’s role in conceptualizing the beginnings of a postanarchism as well as their role in sustaining and continuing the anti-intellectualist strain of anarchist thought. This will be, in part, an engagement with complex issues in the anti-intellectualism of these two thinkers and a reflection on their connection to the anarchist tradition. I will pay particular attention to attempts to elude the hold of Reason (conceived both as a faculty and an ideal) on philosophy and what prominent social theorists have considered the “rationalization” of society. I will distinguish between Reason understood as an endeavor to command and control – an effort to instrumentally exploit the faculty of reason for the sake of an

imagined progress, order, and efficiency – with a view that see it as a satisfaction of the perennial philosophical and psychological need for certainty and even enjoyment in endeavoring towards an ideal that promised, especially for the classical anarchists, both liberty and equality.

An Anti-Colonial Look at Leftist Anarchism: Overcoming the White Supremacist Legacy

Patrick Anderson

When political theorists discuss notions of sovereignty today, they often rely on the standard historical and theoretical texts: 17th century English state theory (Hobbes, Locke), Weimar German thought (Walter Benjamin, Carl Schmitt), or contemporary Continental Philosophy (Giorgio Agamben). However, none of these theorists or traditions can account for the racial dimension of sovereignty. Racial sovereignty, rather than referring to a center of political power used over and against populations in general, refers to the power that all whites have over all people of color. Because we tend to treat racism and sovereignty as separate socio-political entities or phenomena, we have misunderstood the extent to which imperial white supremacy is perpetuated by all white people regardless of their politics, including left anarchists. In this presentation, I will draw from both Legal Theory and Anti-Colonial thought in order to construct a social ontology of racial sovereignty and describe the extent to which white leftist anarchists risk complicity with the continuation of racial domination. In order to do this, I will proceed in three steps. First, I will situate political individualism within the history of imperial white supremacy (Western philosophy) by revealing its origins within the civilized/barbarian dichotomy; toward this end, I will draw on political and legal historians who illuminate the problematic nature of methodological individualism. Second, I will develop an historical theory of racial sovereignty by turning to Martin R. Delany, Henry McNeal Turner, Huey P. Newton, and Derrick Bell (all representative of the Black radical tradition in the U.S.). Third, I will connect these theories by demonstrating their relevance to contemporary political issues, including the murder of Black men by police and white vigilantes, the Sovereign Citizens Movement, and leftist anti-statist activism. Ultimately, I hope to illuminate an important similarity between left-wing anarchism and racist ideology in order to begin the process of taking leftist anarchism beyond the trappings of international white supremacy.

Bringing Sacco and Vanzetti's anarchist background back home

Antonio Senta

The paper explains the main features of my last work, that is the translation into Italian of Paul Avrich, Sacco and Vanzetti. The anarchist background (Princeton University Press, 1991) published by Nova Delphi (Rome) in February 2015. 25 years have passed. Why, then, did I translate it? I give informations on the knowledge of Sacco and Vanzetti in Italy answering to such question: what did Italian public know about Sacco and Vanzetti's anarchist militancy before this translation? Moreover I give an account of the first reactions by the Italian public and in the end I clarify the next works I want to embark on in order to popularize Paul Avrich's studies concerning American anarchism in Italy

Choosing to be Free: A Life Story of Rick Turner

Billy Keniston

The apartheid government was not simply racist; perhaps even more importantly, it was a capitalist dictatorship. During the so-called "golden age" of apartheid (1960s and 1970s) the State used all possible methods of repression possible in order to terrorize and destroy any organization or individual that was even vaguely sympathetic to communism. Rick Turner was one of thousands of South Africans to be placed under a five year "banning order," in which he was forbidden to interact with more than one person at any time, to write, to teach, to enter any workplace, to engage in politics in any form. Turner was one of hundreds of radicals to be

assassinated by the apartheid state - murdered in his home in 1978. However, Rick Turner was unique amongst the opposition to apartheid because his vision of a socialist future was anti-authoritarian, de-centralized, and non-hierarchical. In the height of apartheid repression, Turner continued his Utopian approach, straight through the banning years. From Rick Turner's life, we can learn important lessons about what it means to live and struggle against a police state. All of the security police documents about his surveillance are now de-classified, so we can see exactly how the State infiltrates and neutralizes us. But most importantly, Turner demonstrated how to carry on, how to insist on a radical vision, no matter what the State brings.

Collaborative Anarchist Mapping Project (CAMP)

Andrew Hoyt

This is a workshop/discussion space for scholars interested in collaborating on large scale attempt to map the historical anarchist movement. We will discuss Geo-spatial mapping and network maps and the kind of data needed to start an individual project as well as how NAASN can function as a meeting place for large scale mapping projects. Anyone interested in digital humanities, network theory, or maps in general are welcome to participate. Of particular interest will be mapping the subscription/donation lists of anarchist newspapers, mapping the correspondence network of major anarchist propagandists, and mapping the interpersonal networks made visible in police files and other state run databases. We will also discuss the possibility of starting an online working group and organizing an annual meeting for people interested in mapping the anarchist world (Anarchist summer CAMP).

Critical Reflections on Anarchism & Education

Robert Haworth

Public education serves particular social, political, economic and cultural interests. State and market forces create and reinforce the landscapes of for-profit schools, enormous student debt and the privatization of our public spaces. Critiquing and transforming education from an anarchist perspective becomes difficult because it relies heavily on rearranging institutional structures. Do anarchists demand that new educational projects take place outside of the institution or are there spaces that can be disrupted both within and outside of the state? How can anarchist pedagogical examples inform contemporary educators? This presentation looks at education as a complex and situated process. The presenter will focus on some important anarchist political and educational perspectives of the past (Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre) in order to explore ways in which anarchist voices emerge in educational discussions/research both in and outside of institutions. The presenter will highlight various, dynamic anarchist theories and practices that are threaded throughout many current educational experiments -such as those found in social movements and collective organizations. Although under theorized, (Suissa, 2006) and in many cases regarded as "utopian", these educational processes have the potential to contest current trends in anti-dialogical relationships, neoliberalism and capitalist schooling. Finally, the presenter will discuss how anarchist experiments in education can construct "transformative possibilities" where individuals and collectives (in situated spaces) work to build informal, creative, horizontal and mutual relationships that function outside the constraints of the state and global capital.

Critical Self-Theory

Jason McQuinn

Critical Self-Theory is consciously-employed self-theory, the use of self-theory with an awareness that it is for each of us nothing more nor less than a technique for our practical negotiation and enjoyment of our world. Critical self-theory, most broadly, is consciously and critically thinking for oneself. At its deepest, most coherent levels critical self-theory involves a systematically self-critical attitude towards all of the tools we use to

conceptualize, communicate, analyze, investigate, and intervene in our world. It does not stop short in order to leave any aspect of theory out-of-bounds to critique and it does not stop short from refusing submission to every heteronomous power or dogmatic principle. It is our own theoretical grasping of our own lives, and is thus, unlike all other forms of critical theory, which always demand submission to heteronomous powers in one form or another.

Decentralism, Direct Democracy, and Federalism: Is a Decentralized Society Technically and Technologically Possible? How Should it Be Raised in a Radical Program?

Wayne Price

There is a growing interest in social, political, and economic decentralization—especially in the radical ecological/anti-climate change movement. This is something anarchists have advocated for a long time. Yet it is widely believed that big cities, big industries, big corporations, big states, and big nations are “efficient” and “productive.” However, there is evidence that this is far from true, and that a decentralized economy, with community and workers’ self-management, using modern technology, would be possible and productive—as well as ecologically necessary. This is not just an abstract idea, but something which could be presented in realistic proposals to working people, oppressed people, and those concerned about saving humanity from environmental catastrophe.

Defining Nature: Notes on Anarchist Political Ecology

Kevin Suemnicht

Arguing that a particular form of subjection under capitalism develops through a key divide between non-human “nature” and the manifestation of “domestication,” this paper rethinks the potentiality of anarchist struggles through an engagement with the critical discourse of Political Ecology. In particular, this paper seeks to untangle the ways in which anarchists have posited a conception of nature based upon dichotomies between the Natural and the Social. Within the history of global, transnational capitalism, this discursive move has been strategic: the dominant ideology promoted by capitalism is that Nature is the property of Man, and against this anarchists have responded that the opposite is in fact true—“Humans are inferior to nature”—or, alternatively, that “Humans (or Civilization) is the dominant threat posed to nature. It is my argument that both positions regarding the human-nature/society-nature/culture-nature binaries are insufficient for a rigorous understanding of the relationship between humans and the rest of the natural world. Instead of the reductive and essentialist narratives posed, I argue that humans are an immanent force within nature; as such, the magnitude of their force within the capitalist mode of production, as caused by human agents, is devastating for both human and nonhuman forms of life. In outlining some preliminary notes toward an anarchist theory of Political Ecology, what is at stake, I claim, is that it is important for anarchists to have a clear conception of what humanity’s relationship to nature actually is composed of, and thus what the causes of natural destruction actually are (material forces it must be remembered), and how this affects human bodies within capitalist society. Progressing from these foundations, I suggest that anarchist political ecology should contain two strands of analysis. First, the political economic analysis of the tendencies of capitalist production as they relate to specific forms of natural destruction; how the State facilitates these economic tendencies and what sorts of non-capitalist economics that overcome capitalist production could look like without fetishizing or externalizing nature. Second, a critique of the subject formation that capitalist society imposes upon bodies; a description of how bodies are made to be distinct from “nature”; and also what another type of subject (or non-subject) could overcome capitalist subjectivities. In these regards, this paper seeks to unravel a critical anarchist political ecology, and subject the above themes to an interrogation with both recent political ecology monographs (for example, Heatherington 2011, White 1996, and Kohn 2013) and various tendencies influencing anarchist ecology (for example, Clark 2000, Black Seed 2014, and Perlman 1983).

A Discussion of Optimism, Pessimism and Anarchist Naivete

Aragorn!, Tom Nomad, Doug Gilbert

We have to come to terms with something integral for the anarchist project, we exist at a dramatic disadvantage in our engagement with state forces. The disproportionality of force that we are seeing is so profound as to be almost unimaginable, and this has raised some very core questions for anarchists and the anarchist milieu. We can see this disproportionality play itself out in the dramatic rise and collapse of the insurrectional tendency within the past decade. At times it felt as if we were making headway, but these moments were fleeting. As the project collapsed we began to see a retreating into small scale attacks against largely symbolic targets at irregular intervals, but little more. In the wake of the collapse of this inertia an impasse has begun to take hold, one that has spawned a series of possible approaches. Among these approaches are tendencies that are arguing for the movement of strategy into the center of anarchist calculus, and raising the discussion of ways in which force can be analyzed and understood through a separation of the question of political imperative and strategic imperative. Another of these approaches that has been gaining currency is an approach that is based in pessimism, not only a pessimism around the concept of “winning”, but a pessimism centered around the concept of engagement as such. In this discussion participants will discuss the impasse that we currently find ourselves within, the question of whether a solution to this impasse is possible or preferable, and ways in which this impasse, and the tendencies that have arisen from this impasse, problematize many of the given assumptions that have formed the core of the anarchist project in North America.

Emma Goldman’s Women

Kathy E. Ferguson

Numerous commentators have asserted that anarchism was a male-dominated movement. While Emma Goldman has been widely studied, it has become ordinary in Goldman scholarship to say that she was “ahead of her time.” Yet I find this assessment to be misleading. It is based largely on the historical visibility of anarchists who wrote and published material that has stayed in, or come back into, print, rather than on a close reading of a greater variety of textual and organizational marks within anarchist landscapes. Many, many women were active in anarchist circles in various capacities, and some of them have left traces behind. By looking at the lively global network of anarchist women from 1880-1945, we see that Goldman was very much of her time; her time, like all times, was not one thing, but a fluid layering of many different spaces and times. Focusing on a critical mass of radical women rather than a few distinct individuals gives us a more robust and useable radical history.

Exploring the Common Ground of Chicanismo and Anarchism

Imri Rivas

This presentation will delve into discovering the anarchist and libertarian tendencies found within the Chicano Movement, finding its origin in the American Southwest. Following US occupation, Mexican-Americans resisted in whatever way their context permitted, creating a culture of resistance that would reach its peak in the 1960s as the Chicano Movement. The search for community self-determination, resistance to American domination, the beliefs in open borders and resolve against cultural appropriation all have common themes of anarchism. The histories of both Chicanismo and anarchism can help advance each other, and in many ways, already overlap. Looking into the successes and even some unfortunate mistakes, both the modern Xicano/a and anarchist movements can still learn much from each in other in terms of tactics and theory in our contemporary times.

Films From The Frontlines: A Film Screening With Global Uprisings

Brandon Jourdan & Marianne Maeckelbergh

Global Uprisings is an independent film series and news site dedicated to showing responses to the economic crisis and authoritarianism. Since 2011, filmmaker Brandon Jourdan and researcher Marianne Maeckelbergh have produced 25 online viral documentary films about the uprisings, rebellions, revolts, and revolutions that have spread around the world. All of their films can be viewed free online at www.globaluprisings.org.

Their short films detail social movements in Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the UK, and the US. Their films cover strikes and demonstrations in the UK, the large-scale housing occupations and street mobilizations in Spain, the various general strikes, protests, and factory occupations in Greece, the revolution in Egypt, the Gezi Park uprising in Turkey, the 2014 social explosion in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the revolt against austerity in Portugal, and the occupy movement and the recent protests over police impunity and racism in the United States.

‘A Fire Bending Backwards’: The Novad Online Art Collective

Chris Moylan

How is an anarchist art collective possible, given the practical and political constraints of life in a neoliberal economy? The Novads was started as a post-Occupy online social gathering, a way for people disbursed after the breakup of the encampment to stay in touch. It quickly evolved into a space for collaborative generation of texts, visual works, audio works, mashups of all these and presentations of these in galleries, performance spaces and a zine. The group encouraged the use of pseudonyms and avatars to encourage improvisation and open form, and to discourage ownership and all that goes with it. Novads spread rapidly, attracting members in South America, Egypt, Tunisia and various regions in the U.S., and production was both voluminous and ambitious. The advantage of an online community is that it is cheap to free and so can simulate an actual anarchist community, a kind of already existing anarchism. The disadvantage is that it struggles to avoid an insular, academic ‘in’ discourse, a bit grad school and self-consciously cool. And the NSA is probably reading through the transmissions. And yet, however compromised the medium and style of the community, Novads represents a non-market, non-state, horizontal testing space for cultural formation.

Freeway Takeovers: The Reemergence of the Collective through Urban Disruption

Jael Vizcarra and Troy Araiza Kokinis

This paper explores the novel form of freeway takeovers in the context of Mexico and the US. It historicizes the emergence of this sporadic form of collective action among racialized and marginalized groups in urban and non-urban spaces. Acknowledging the city as an important site for the reproduction of labor (Castells 1977), we focus on freeways as sites of collective consumption inherently serving the purpose of reproducing the capitalist mode of production. We recognize the freeway as a historically contested racialized space and we draw from the examples of Chicano Park in San Diego and the ASCO art collective from East LA. In a post-Fordist era of capitalism, production is diffused among different transnational sites that position the highway as a node in the reproduction of racial and class difference. We analyze this tactic of collective disruption in a postindustrial and NAFTA moment that refuses to recognize the legitimacy of public interests. We argue that freeway takeovers are tactics that demonstrate the endurance of racialized collective experience despite tendencies of hyper individualization and atomization. The freeway takeover has become a crucial site of disruption because of its ability to convey a message to thousands using one of the last symbols of socialized collective consumption: the highway. We draw our evidence from both sides of the border, focusing on the Mexican cases of the 2014 Yaqui highway blockades in Sonora, the protests supporting slain students in Ayotzinapa, Guerrero, and the seizing of public roads in Michoacan by citizen patrols. Similarly, we look to the US blockades inspired by the 2014 Mike Brown and Eric Garner verdicts. Through analyzing these cases, we elucidate the ways race and class continue

to shape our uses of space on both sides of the border.

Geometry of Mutual Aid

L. Wonder

“Cooperation” has been a front-burner project for science since the late 1960s, when the “tragedy of the commons” and the “selfish gene” were introduced. This research program seeks to explain cooperation among humans and other creatures by means of quantified models that seek to explain how altruism might arise when selfishness and betrayal are the norm. Unpacking the dynamics of mutual adaptation in simple quantitative models of biological and social communities, I arrive at a geometrical argument strongly suggesting that mutual benefit is the “default” outcome when community members adapt to one another, and that it’s most natural to explain what factors are blocking the emergence of cooperation when it does not arise, rather than seeking to explain instances of cooperation as exceptions to a rule. I will present examples and a sketch of what such an upended theory of cooperation might look like.

Hidden Histories of Bay Area Anarchism: Opening Plenary

Kenyon Zimmer, “Anarchism and Interethnic Alliances, 1880s-1930s”

Andy Cornell, “Missing Links: Anarcho-Pacifism and the Counterculture, 1940-1970”

Chris Carlsson, “The Contemporary Anarchist Scene, 1980s-Present”

San Francisco, the site of this year’s NAASN conference, has a long and rich anarchist past that is only now being recovered and brought to light. This session is intended as an opening plenary for all conference attendees, and will bring together scholarly and participant perspectives to narrate the Bay Area’s anarchist history, from pre-World War I immigrant anarchist groups through the multiethnic International Group of San Francisco in the 1930s, poet Kenneth Rexroth’s Libertarian Circle, the Beat Generation, the New Left, Critical Mass, “anti-globalization,” and today’s ongoing struggles. Each presentation will be accompanied by numerous PowerPoint slides illustrating these events and their significance.

Indigenous Autonomy and Territorial Defense in the Ecuadorian Amazon

Joshua Holst

In remote parts of the Ecuadorian Amazon rainforest, indigenous groups have been defending against state-capitalism since their first encounter with oil companies in the 1950s, but the movement has gained a great deal of traction over time. The Shuar politicized *tarimiat pujustinin *in the 1980s, the Shuar concept of harmony with nature, as an alternative to growth-oriented development that they had seen ravage the petroleum-rich north. Thirty years later, the Quichua equivalent, *Sumak Kawsay* has made waves in development discourse at national and international levels. Having scrapped “development plans” the government invited autonomous indigenous nationalities to develop “life plans” or *planes de vida* oriented by *Sumak Kawsay.* Examining the varied way these *planes de vida *have been formed and implemented throughout the Amazon reveals a new axis of struggle. How have indigenous groups defended (and not defended) their territory against political economies of exploitation? What are their most urgent needs in continuing the fight?

International Charity and/or Transnational Solidarity: The role the Cronaca Sovversiva plays in raising and distributing financial relief for disaster victims of the 1909 earthquake in Calabria/Sicily and for political prisoner’s following the 1909 insurrection in Barcelona

Andrew Hoyt

This paper examines the role the Italian language anarchist newspaper Cronaca Sovversiva (1903-1919) plays as a financial hub. I look at a case of disaster relief and a case of political suppression to examine the way in which the paper participates in charity/solidarity actions. More deeply, I want to question and examine the difference between raising money for victims of a disaster and for fellow radicals facing the full force of State authority. I also highlight the important role that the anarchist network plays in facilitating the movement of funds to victims of both situations without relying on the Red Cross or other mainstream organizations.

Learning From Freedom Schools and Related Programs

Aj Segneri

My presentation will examine what freedom schools are, both in 1964 and today, plus review related programs and how they inject topics; such as racism, classism, liberation, and reconceptualising ideas while traditional educational institutions have have constructed a spectacle for the youth. Based on research, learning from those that established programs (ie BPP Liberation Schools), and through my experience facilitating in freedom schools and free skools. I will also be drawing examples from those of Henry Giroux, Paulo Freire, Ella Baker, bell hooks and more.

Military Veterans and Their Role in Revolution: A brief history and applications

Michael Clift

This presentation focuses on the role that ex-service members have played in various rebellions and resistance movements throughout United States history; how returning service members and veterans can contribute militarized skill sets into productive anti establishment activities. The presentation discusses the exploitation of youth and valuable resources in order to further a capitalist-imperial objective, the current GI Resistance movement, the broad scope of veterans' involvement in the anti-war movement as well as the over exposure of aberrant veteran behavior in the media as opposed to the positive work being done by veterans. The presentation introduces the concept of "regreening" ourselves through involvement in grass roots community activism and the path to more radical, and thus more liberating lifestyles. Green Anarchism is the preferred ideology by which many veterans I have worked with have chosen to identify with, and it is through this concept that veterans may continue to live a lifestyle unaffiliated with the US Government which they have rightly come to mistrust. It is our belief within the Occupy Veterans movement that ex-military radicals are essential as a counter lever to State security forces, that we are dedicated to crowd protection, medical and communications/ logistical roles within the broader context of a US Resistance Movement.

The migrant justice movement in Southern California: an insider perspective, an antiauthoritarian perspective

Benjamin Wood

The migrant justice movement/immigrant rights movements is one of the most active political movements (if not the most active) in Southern California. There are some historical and ideological reasons why anarchists and anti-authoritarians are attracted to this movement, and some ways that the migrant community and its organizers necessary organize along lines outside of the state and outside of beyond traditional political boundaries. These circumstances create fertile ground for trans-border organizing and for the sowing and cultivation of anti-authoritarian and anarchist ideas and practices.

Nonetheless, even in the more remote reaches of SoCal (such as the Inland Empire where I do most of my organizing) traditional elements of social control such as the political parties, armed agents of the state, and increasingly, the foundations and the non-profit industrial complex, tame the movement and channel it along

lines that do not challenge the status quo. What are some of these points of divergence and convergence between the migrant justice movement and anarchist organizing? How does experience on the ground and in the community inform organizing as strategies are tested and selected, as workers and migrants confront injustice, and as we seek to develop organizations and movements oriented toward justice and empowerment? What do incidents such as attacks by racists like the one in Murrieta last summer contribute to our efforts and our understanding of our role in the larger movement for justice and human rights, and in the world as a whole? This talk hopes to engage these and other ideas, as well as the community, in a conversation that contributes to our collective understanding and processes.

Mutual Aid for Anarchist Scholars: Goals and Mechanisms

Nathan Jun and Shawn P. Wilbur

While anarchist studies continues to advance and grow as a field of study, we still lack much of the disciplinary apparatus that scholars in other fields take for granted. As a small and comparatively young scholarly community, we face a range of difficulties that can lead to feelings of isolation, duplication of effort, inadequate circulation of findings, etc. As a partial compensation, however, we have a very immediate connection to the anarchist tradition of mutual aid and, at its best, anarchist studies has benefited from that legacy. But we can almost certainly do better, if only by clarifying what needs exist in our community. For our workshop, we would like to propose a short list of mutual aid goals for consideration, discussion and amendment, and to solicit feedback from anarchist studies scholars on the difficulties specific to our discipline that might be addressed by practical mechanisms (working groups, indexes, shared bibliographies, etc.) Come prepared to share your experiences.

The Never-Ending Game of Utopian Action

Ronald Creagh

Definitions of utopia are framed through the power relations of a particular society. More often than not, the dominant parties dictate the accepted meaning in a particular culture. In contrast, an anarchist approach to utopia is presented as a non-linear event, with unexpected results. It appears when unexpected events temporarily open up new possibilities to expand the social achievements of past generations in areas such as individual liberties, equality and solidarity. It is compatible with but different from the anarchist project of radical social change.

This presentation examines how this utopian approach might translate into a social practice in the event of a catastrophe. It will be argued that the main contemporary political systems inevitably engender a growing number of calamities. It is therefore urgent to resort to utopian resources to deal with such tragedies. This may be illustrated for instance by Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans or Tahir square in Cairo, Egypt. In conclusion, utopia is not seen as a state of perfection, nor even as a game that ends with a winner, but as a never-ending game.

Non-Reductionist Founding of Ethics on “Facts”: A Weak Case for Kropotkin and Mauss

Toru Oda

Burgeoning disciplines called new materialism, speculative realism, and a few other names offer new possibilities for post-anarchism to rethink its own ontological ground. Duane Rousselle writes in *After Post-Anarchism* that his meta-ethical exploration of classical- and post-anarchism might have been put into dialogue with speculative realism which, according to Steven Shaviro, considers that the world is neither given to us nor for us. This dethronement of the cognizing agency would require a non-anthropocentric ethics. In face of this

overdetermined, highly sophisticated discourse over nature and ethics, nothing appears more dated than old, positivist, and seemingly essentialist discussions on morality. However, this presentation proposes that late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century reflections on life still have many things to teach us. Indeed, it argues that they would allow us to think the question of founding in a non-reductionist way. For this purpose, it revisits Peter Kropotkin and Marcel Mauss in a comparative manner. At the time when state-formation, imperialism, and capitalism increasingly encroached on the realm of private and public life in an organized and pro-efficiency manner, both of these militant anthropologists/sociologists seriously reflected on other possibilities of living, collecting various geological and historical facts and accounts from other sites of the planet. This presentation hopes to offer a deliberately “weak” reading of *Mutual Aid* and *Essai sur le don*, suggesting that instead of prescribing the human nature and ethical commands and thus committing the naturalist fallacy, both texts maintain in a somewhat performative manner that “mutual aid” and “gift” are the remains that have been inherited from old times, something our material, affective, and spiritual life can’t do without and no coercive or utilitarian power yet succeeded in eradicating, thus a hopeful site and praxis for better lives at the present as well as for the future.

Notes for the (still) unwritten handbook: from crisis and disaster to autonomy and self-reliance.

Pavlos Stavropoulos

In 1958 Colin Ward wrote a short essay for *Freedom* titled “The Unwritten Handbook” where he laments the lack of serious effort that had gone “into the search for those ‘new forms of organization for the social functions which the State now fulfills through the bureaucracy.’” He talks of an anarchism which “recognises that the choice between libertarian and authoritarian solutions occurs every day and in every way, and the extent to which we choose, or accept, or are fobbed off with, or lack the imagination and inventiveness to discover alternatives to the authoritarian solutions to small problems is the extent to which we are their powerless victims in big affairs. . . . Thus the State, in its role as a form of social organisation rather than in its basic function as an instrument of internal and external compulsion, is not so much the villain of the piece as the result of the inadequacy of the other answers to social needs.” Whether is it “natural” disasters like Katrina or Sandy, or entirely anthropogenic ones like the financial crisis and austerity measures, we are continuously witnessing events in which the current social infrastructure collapses or is dismantled, with catastrophic consequences for ordinary people. When electricity is either unavailable or unaffordable, when trash or debris piles up, when clean water is a rarity, when food and medicine can no longer be easily found, the people are often presented with two choices: either become even more dependent upon the State and Capital, or find false comfort within religious fundamentalism and fascism. Assuming that neither of these options are acceptable to us, we must then take matters in our own hands and figure out a way to survive and thrive as communities. Efforts like the popular assemblies and solidarity societies in Greece, as well as around the world provide powerful examples of grassroots libertarian forms of organization as a response to crisis and disaster that are guided by mutual aid, not charity, militarization, or privatization.

But beyond the immediate, we need to figure out how to evolve and transform emergency and crisis responses to the kind of long term liberatory institutions which we will need to sustain the world we want and deserve. The current crisis, with the effective collapse of the welfare state, gives anarchists and radicals an opportunity, and I would argue a responsibility, to develop viable alternatives which support the needs of society, and do it in a way which promotes and celebrates human freedom and solidarity. Drawing on a variety of traditions and efforts we will discuss how we can build a new world within the ruins of the old.

The Object of Destruction: “Brisantic” Anarchism in a Brutal World

Michael Truscello

While the counter-globalization movement of the past 30 years focused much of its tactical energies on temporary autonomous zones and other impermanent forms of solidarity and obstruction, global capitalism

was engaged in the largest urbanization project in human history. This apparent contradiction -- the disconnect between the capitalist emphasis on engineering megaprojects and unbounded urbanization, and the forms of resistance to capitalism that overlooked its infrastructural mandate -- is where I wish to begin thinking about what I will call “brisantic anarchism” and the object of destruction. In part, this talk is a response to Richard Bach Jensen’s recently published pro-statist account of *The Battle Against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878-1934*. Jensen argues that much of the mania over “anarchist terrorism” at the turn of the century was generated by the collective anxieties of mass media and state officials, and that in fact anarchists were responsible for relatively few “terrorist” attacks during this period; however, as a consequence of the collective perception of anarchism as (in my terms) a “brisantic” political force, new forms of policing emerged worldwide. Jensen also argues, correctly, that political anarchism was a relatively marginalized phenomenon, in terms of actual numbers of anarchists at the height of its popularity. I believe anarchism must become the brisantic political force it never was, if it is to become the revolutionary force necessary to, among other things, halt global warming before it passes into a catastrophic condition capable of driving humanity to extinction. That is, the accusation against anarchists in corporate media is that they are bomb-throwing fanatics; our response is often to deny this, and instead to point to the largely nonviolent quality of anarchist philosophy and actions. I believe anarchism must become more destructive -- far more destructive -- but remain largely nonviolent; in a sense, we must live up to the caricature of the anarchist as a bomb-thrower. The difference between the caricature and what I am calling brisantic anarchism is the substance of my talk. “Brisance” is the term used to describe the shattering effect of an explosive. In this talk, I propose two qualities of a “brisantic” anarchism: first, I will discuss the profound impact of infrastructure on political formation in a world that produces 7.5 billion cubic metres of concrete every year; second, I will theorize brisantic anarchism not as a philosophical analogy with the ironic anarchist rejoinder “make total destroy,” but rather as a recognition of actually existing anarchism’s inadequate capacity to “shatter” the suicidal infrastructure of industrial capitalism, especially the petromodern state form and its extractive industries, before the threshold of human survival is eclipsed.

On War, Patriarchy, and the Origins of Capitalism

Francis Tillyard

Anarchists often lack a comprehensive analysis of the hierarchies we oppose. Why is the world dominated by capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy, nation-states, militarism, and many more oppressions degrading to human dignity? This paper reviews the history of hierarchies in Europe from the 15th century onward, primarily building on Silvia Federici’s *Caliban and the Witch*. History sources suggest that a system of hierarchies began to emerge in that period, initiated by European rulers in reaction to anti-feudal struggles and major changes in warfare. Through several means—including witch-hunts, enclosures, state formation, war, and colonization—the European ruling class shaped the modern system of hierarchies and made capitalism possible. Racism and nationalism were later developed, and are key components maintaining this system. The hierarchies we oppose complement each other in their origin and function today. Studying the historical context of modern hierarchies can help anarchists improve our critiques of what we are fighting.

The Philosophy of Politics: Anarchism, Foucault and the Primacy of Resistance

Derek Barnett

In recent critical scholarship the work of the French philosopher, Michel Foucault, are coming to play an increasingly pivotal role in the retheorization of the political consequent upon what has aptly been referred to as the “anarchist turn” (Critchley, 2012) in radical Continental thought and political practice. Contributing to the further development of the “anarchist turn”, the aim of this paper is to think through the philosophical and political problems underlying the terrain which reduces the question of politics to the spacing and problem of government in light of what I posit as a key intersection between the resurgence of anarchist

thought and what might be referred to as Foucault's philosophy of resistance. Taking seriously the potential of Saul Newman's claim that the goal of contemporary political theory is to "affirm anarchism's place as the very horizon of radical politics" (Postanarchism, 84), it is my contention that what must be at stake in contemporary debates about political theory hinges on a unique relationship between Foucault's philosophy of resistance and anarchism—a nexus which forms the possibility of creating the conditions, both historically and philosophically, for a new theory of politics emancipated from the principle of governmentality. Over the past two decades, Foucault's thought has been increasingly mobilized by anarchist philosophers in a variety of important ways. Most directly, this has been achieved in the work arising out of what has been called, following Todd May (1994), Lewis Call (2002), and Saul Newman (2010) respectively, "post-structural anarchism," "postmodern anarchism," and "postanarchism." While such preliminary advancements help to uncover new possibilities between Foucault and anarchist philosophy, I argue that Foucault's fifth thesis on power as found in *History of Sexuality* Vol. 1.—which posits that resistance is primary with power, or what I will elaborate here as the primacy of resistance—incorporates a radical and ethical claim regarding the essence of politics. Taking Foucault's project as an exemplary attempt to affirm what he refers to late in his life as "the art of not being governed" ("What is Critique," 28), I suggest that Foucault's work intervenes in the history of political and anarchist thought precisely by attempting to redefine the terms of the political through resistance. Through an exploration of the intersections between Foucault and anarchism, this paper culminates in a call for a redefinition of the terms of the political as the taking place of resistance that animates the counter-history of archipolitics, and as such prefigures the condition of possibility for life without government.

The Politics of Direct Attack: The discourse of insurrectionary communiqués

Michael Loadenthal

Following the new millennium, and the massive discursive shifts witnessed as a reaction to the 9/11 attacks, an era of globalized protest culture emerged. Around the world, individuals and collectives empowered by transnational shifts in political culture facilitated a newly invigorated challenge to state authority. These post-millennial assemblages reimagined resistance beyond older modes of sectarianism, Soviet socialism, and vanguardist cadres. Beginning with the decline of the international anti-globalization movement (~1999-2006) was a corresponding rise in networked, clandestine movements adopting political violence—vandalism, sabotage, arson and explosives—for an anti-capitalist and anti-state agenda. These networks, embodied in the Informal Anarchist Federation, Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, and the Earth Liberation Front, have rapidly deterritorialized through the exporting of moniker "brands" and adoptable calling cards. These forms of leaderless resistance have spanned national borders, ethnic ghettoization, and class boundaries to collectively advocate a revolutionary politic that is against the state and capital whilst embracing the tendencies of free association, autonomy, total liberation, solidarity and direct confrontation. This project focuses on these emergent networks of anti-state attack through a detailed examination of their textual ephemera. These texts—which span more than 1,500 pages—were gathered from the so-called 'international counter-information and translation service of the new generation of incendiary anarchy and global anti-civilization attack.' This network serves as an anonymous recipient for claims of responsibility which are then translated into multiple languages and distributed widely. These translations have become part of a growing canon of theory known under a variety of names: 'anarchists of praxis,' 'nihilist urban guerillas,' 'neo-insurrectionary' and the ominous 'Black International.' For these thousands of individuals, cells and networks, each time a window is broken, tire slashed, bank burned or bomb placed, a communiqué is issued, translated and sent to a global audience. Utilizing an 'open source intelligence' approach, a corpus of communiqués was developed comprised on claims issued by clandestine, rhizomatic networks (2008-2014). These 1,000+ texts have been collectively analyzed through a number of intersecting frames including Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics. These methodological toolsets are buttressed by the core argumentation of Critical Terrorism Studies and Critical Security Studies, which seeks to locate emancipatory, non-securitization motives for the analysis of political, non-state violence. This insurrectionary corpus is assembled to answer a number of key questions: What does the collective theory, as developed through the object of the communiqué, contribute to our understanding

of violence, power and authority? What can we conclude about the adoptable moniker and the anonymous communiqué in terms of form? What does an internationalized movement mean for our understanding of space and place? Drawing on post-Marxist, anarchist, and poststructural critical theory, we will explore what the deterritorialization of the “Black International” has meant for the modern articulation of resistance and its resulting discursive battles waged on the web.

Prefigurative Politics and Anarchism

Uri Gordon

This contribution highlights the explicitly anarchist genealogy of prefigurative politics, clarifies its conceptual underpinnings in light of this lineage, and critiques the limitations of prefigurative agendas that are decoupled from an explicit rejection of the state – a decoupling which is among the most striking features of the contemporary global wave of protest and occupation. The paper opens by questioning the general definition of prefigurative politics as merely the present-tense realization of desired social change, or “the attempt to work directly from basic values to daily practice” such that social movements’ goals are “recursively built into daily operation and organizational style” (Buechler 2000:207). An immediate conundrum is raised by the observation that movements across the political spectrum are prefigurative on this definition. Liberal political parties practicing electoral democracy, monarchist movements led by a pretender to an abolished throne, and neo-Nazi movements practicing the Führerprinzip – all anticipate their desired social order, and thus render the notion of prefiguration trivial. The conundrum is solved through attention to the one major political tendency whose ends and means do not correspond in this way: various branches of authoritarian Marxism, who posit a stateless communist society as their end goal but seek to achieve it through a proletarian dictatorship instituted by vanguard party’s coup d’etat. This pinpoints the historically and politically specific context in which the emphasis on prefiguration received its relevance, namely the anarchist opposition to authoritarian Marxism and the former’s emphasis on the correspondence of means and ends in the struggle for a classless society. Indeed, while the term itself may have emerged in the 1970s, the anarchist stress on prefigurative politics is a century older. The next section of the paper outlines this genealogy, locating the first major expression of prefigurative politics in Mikhail Bakunin’s *Statism and Anarchy* and his polemics against Marx in the wake of the Paris Commune and the split in the First International (Bakunin 1871/1972, 1873/1990). Further milestones include Kropotkin’s articles in *Freedom* (Kropotkin 1988); Landauer’s spiritual anarchism (Landauer 2010); Goldman’s disillusionment with the Russian Revolution (Goldman 1923); anarchist interventions in French and Spanish syndicalism (Rocker 1938/1990, Thorpe 1989, Christie 2000); the subterranean role of anarchism in the 1960s counterculture and social movements (Ehrlich et al. 1979, Davis 2010); Colin Ward’s “everyday” anarchism (Ward 1973, 2011) and expressions in the context of recent alter-globalization and anti-war movements (Bookchin 1994, Black 1997, McKay 1998, Crimethinc 2001, Milstein 2010, Maeckelbergh 2011). It is argued that the explicitly anarchist emphasis on fitness between means and ends is the mainspring of prefigurative politics as a political tradition, and that its centrality to contemporary struggles should be credited to the defining influence of anarchist practices and discourses (Graeber 2002, Carter and Morland 2004, Graeber and Grubacic 2004, Gordon 2008).

Based on this account, the next section goes into a fairly detailed conceptual discussion of prefigurative politics. A central insight here is that prefiguration is by no means limited to small scales but is more accurately qualified by decentralization and the refusal of hierarchy and representation. Prefiguration, on this account, is primarily a question of eschewing mechanisms of enforcement and ipso facto of any blueprint for a post-revolutionary society, in favour of an experimental politics (Yates, 2014) and the creation of a setting that encourages participants to “deprogram” their own socialization into regimes of domination including patriarchy, racism and classism. Next, I discuss two complementary aspects which, on this account, lend prefigurative politics its value. The first attributes to prefiguration an instrumental value, whereby it is understood in terms of path dependency. Here, prefiguration’s main function is to act as a sort of insurance policy against “successful” revolutions deteriorating into authoritarian regimes, or else against movements’ absorption into the politics of the status quo – both of which scenarios are expected to be rendered structurally impossible as long as

prefiguration persists. The second lends prefigurative politics an intrinsic value, whereby inhabiting social settings which at least partly realize a desired society is a good in itself. On this reading, prefigurative politics involves a transition from a politics of self-sacrifice towards a politics of self-realisation and revolutionary lifestyle (Haenfler et al. 2012, Portwood-Stacer 2013) wherein personal liberation and confrontation with the oppressive social order each supply the other's motivation, and both confrontational and constructive action are by themselves a site of liberation. The final section of the paper examines prefiguration in the contemporary wave of global protest, calling attention to a skewing of prefigurative politics' significance and a commensurate weakening of its instrumental value as a bulwark against absorption into status quo politics (Smith and Glidden 2012). In this sense, anarchists have been far less successful in influencing the content rather than form of recent resistance. Movements like Occupy Wall Street and the Spanish Indignados, while incorporating key aspects of prefigurative politics in their consensus decision-making processes and anti-oppression politics (Sbicca and Perdue 2013), have more often than not geared them towards a politics of demand towards governments, protesting policies rather than structures. Evidence from these movements' own declarations and protocols indicates that they largely articulated the root causes of the crisis in terms of a corruption of democratic government by corporate interests, calling for the (re)establishment of a welfare state and/or an end to plutocratic corruption (Adbusters 2011, OWS-GA 2011, Anon 2012, Aragorn! 2012, Bamyeh 2013). The main argument here is that the decoupling of prefigurative politics from its anti-statist roots falls into a neoliberal trap (Lindsey 2013) which privatizes the non-oppression agenda, leading to an emphasis on purity of individual behaviour and causing participants to turn on one another rather than opposing their practice to that of reformist and authoritarian forces. The article closes with a series of questions about the future of the relationship between prefigurative politics and anarchism.

Principles for Society

Arthur Noll

It is observed that future expectations for society are based on superstition instead of science, often even with scientists. It is further observed that money market systems commonly now used as a value system for societies, inherently demand superstitious or mystical beliefs about the future. They also are in conflict with observations about the interdependence of people. An alternative set of social values based on interdependence and scientific measures like energy, rates of use of resources, is given. Consideration is given to known human psychology with regard to radical change, and predictions are made of what can be expected between those who accept radical social value changes based on science, and those who reject it.

Public Performance and the Freak Left: ASCO, Metropolitan Indians, and the Politics of Disrespectability

Troy Araiza Kokinis

The mainstream Left often finds itself struggling to construct a respectable image within a liberal political sphere whose survival is based on the marginalization and exclusion of radical political thought and practice. As a result of appealing to notions of respectability the mainstream Left has historically policed behavior within the movement, denouncing autonomous manifestations of social psychological anxiety that challenge the dominant party line. Although the bureaucratizing impetus behind Leftist political projects leaves a sterile social and cultural climate, East LA's ASCO and Rome's Metropolitan Indians have proven the importance of misbehavior and disrespectability within mainstream Left political movements. Both ASCO and the Metropolitan Indians shared a similar disdain for the orthodox Left's respectability politics and failure to develop an intersectional analysis. Their performance art pieces embodied the realities of an urban youth in crisis, which could not be captured in the rigid programs of the hegemonic Chicano Movement nor the Italian Communist Party.

A radical doubt: a poetry reading

Phillip Barron, Andrew Joron, Amy Narneelooop, and Eric Parkison

This reading by San Francisco Bay Area poets begins with the belief that oppressive behaviors and epistemological certainty go hand in hand. We admire the comfort that poetry finds in uncertainty, in the liminal spaces between convention and challenge.

RebAl – the anarchist and libertarian libraries network

Gaia

RebAl is a collaborative network of libraries, archives and documentation centers focusing on/ specializing in the history, the theories, and the cultures of anarchist and libertarian movements. (NB ‘libertarian’ understood here as ‘left libertarian’, not the right-wing, ‘Californian’ variety). RebAl is born out the desire to facilitate access to the libertarian cultural heritage, in the belief that a broader circulation of such ideas is an important tool for the social transformation process, and for spreading anti-authoritarian principles and practices. The RebAl project is an initiative by a collective of Italian archives and libraries, but seeks to become an international reference to foster the collaboration between those centers which share the same objectives. RebAl’s core instrument is the collective virtual (publications) directory, offering one-click access to, as well as search and retrieval of, the full stack of documents held by the various participants to the scheme. Its single and simple format allows for a simultaneous query of the various participating centers’ OPAC directories—emulating a browse through a single directory for the user. In order to offer maximum coverage, it includes also non-RebAl members institutions when these hold a sizable collection of documents pertaining to anarchism and libertarian culture - and are willing to share it with RebAl. Every participating institution shall remain autonomous and independent with regard to the management and choice of contents of its directory, and it will remain actually separate from other members’ directories while continuing to be accessible over other channels, as, e.g., the institution’s own website, national repertories, and other collective directories. The collective directory is set up using VuFind open source software (<http://vufind-org.github.io/vufind/>) which is hosted on the site www.rebal.info independently from the sites of the libraries and archives participating. It will enable the inclusion of library directories, but also of additional resources such as digital libraries, archives inventories, bibliographies, and open access publications - all this so as to make RebAl a full-fledged cultural portal. General and technical site maintenance of the collective catalog are under the responsibility of a voluntary, unwaged working group, which will also be tasked with integrating new members’ directories and share the necessary technical maintenance how-to with them.

Reconceptualizing Anarchy: An Anarchist Theory of International Relations

Alexander Kolokotronis

The principle objective of this paper is to posit an anarchist theory of international relations. The concept of “anarchy” is central to the various theoretical frameworks comprising the field of international relations. In this paper I illustrate the different concepts of anarchy that have historically dominated the field of international relations. I show how these differ from other concepts of anarchy, or rather anarchism. I assess and tease out the implications of incorporating alternative concepts of anarchy into the field of international relations. I also make clear the possible implicit and explicit aims of an anarchist theory of international relations. In short, this paper suggests and posits elements to an anarchist theory’s descriptive and prescriptive project as it relates to international relations and politics. This is largely informed by Alex Prichard’s writings on international relations and anarchism – including his book *Justice, Order and Anarchy* – as well as Carol Gould’s *Interactive Democracy*. Over the course of this paper, I explicate the necessity of an anarchist theory of international relations, or at least why anarchists must delve into questions of international relations and politics. In this respect, this paper wrestles with what a variance of an anarchist theory of international relations rejects,

transposes and integrates from other theories of international relations (e.g., Feminist, Liberal, Realist, Marxist, and Critical Theory), but also tackles the question of what the field of international relations can contribute to anarchist thought and practice.

Recovering the Lost Histories of Italian Immigrant Women's Anarchist Feminism in the U.S.

Jennifer Guglielmo

This presentation will discuss my recovery of the histories of activism of working-class Italian immigrant women anarchists in the United States as a window into the world of early twentieth-century transnational feminism and anarchism. Emerging from a diasporic, multi-ethnic network of labor radicals, the women in this movement were largely textile and garment workers who created autonomous spaces for working-class and poor women to articulate their particular struggles and embody l'emancipazione della donna (women's emancipation). Together, they asked a question that formed the heart of their politics: "Why does the pleasure of some have to create misery for many?" They never acquired the fame of Emma Goldman, Lucy Parsons, and other notable women, for many reasons (including that they spoke and wrote almost exclusively in Italian). I will discuss why they remain absent from many movement histories but also their significance to Italian anarchism and working-class feminism in particular. I will share my discoveries in their histories in transnational archives, which formed the heart of my book *Living the Revolution*, but also how my knowledge of these women's lives (and their contributions to the anarchist movement) has deepened and grown more complex after publication, as their descendants have come forward to share their own recollections and personal archives.

(Re)radicalising Birth: The labouring body under capitalism

Alana Apfel

This paper presents current efforts being made by birth workers and activists to (re)radicalise birth and the reproductive process. It starts from the standpoint of the body, specifically envisioning the reproductive and/or labouring body as the focal point for larger social transformation. Reproductive activism is concerned with dismantling systems that control and regulate reproductive experiences recognising the reproductive body as deeply steeped in political ideologies of race, class, and gender that shape the type of reproductive experience to which different people have access. At the same time it seeks to reimagine the very possibilities of birth and reproduction acknowledging the immense power and potential for personal and systemic transformation inherent in reproductive bodies. This paper is rooted in a theoretical discourse of reproductive justice as well as the ethnographic experience of the author, a birth worker and activist serving diverse reproductive communities in the Bay Area. The analysis concludes by demonstrating the potentials for intersectional transformation inherent in reimagining the unfolding of birth and reproductive care today.

Revising the Future: M[ike] Gilliland's *The Free*, 1986-2011

Jesse Cohn

I'd like to talk about just a few of the fascinating aspects of this classic anarchist novel, both in its original Thatcher-era incarnation and in its post-2007 reincarnation, a transformation which reflects, in many ways, the renaissance of anarchist movements in the real world (both the size of the novel and the scope of its aspirations multiplied). Key concepts to include "the carnivalesque," "utopian desire," "discursive intermixing," and "taking the mickey."

Safety, Danger, and Fear: Cognitive Maps and the Making and Re-Making of American Cities

Alex Leigh

How do perceptions of safety and danger shape the cognitive mapping of the city and in turn influence the production of urban space? This developing project seeks to unite literatures on fear of crime, cognitive maps of urban spaces, and the intersubjective construction of safety and danger to understand how imaginaries of the city might impact the changing built environment. This presentation will consider how collective discourses of situated fear and danger lead urban growth coalitions to co-opt spaces and places mapped with fear in furtherance of neoliberal redevelopment. Focusing on open air drug markets and public housing in New York and Philadelphia, I will explore the ways in which the cognitive-spatial terrain of safety, danger, and fear might serve as a critical battleground for people-first development and the right to the city.

Savage Reds: Anarchism and Civilization, 1877-1920 U.S.

Tariq Khan

In the United States in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century, there was a spirited, dynamic, and relatively large anarchist movement. Anarchist revolutionaries were particularly influential in the militant labor movement, especially among working-class immigrant radicals and the growing pool of unskilled labor in industrial cities. Anarchist organizations and individuals in cities such as New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Chicago served as important nodes in a transnational anti-capitalist/anti-imperialist/anti-colonialist network of networks. The ruling class in the United States viewed the anarchist movement as a serious threat from below and employed counter-insurgency techniques developed in the “Indian Wars” to suppress anarchism and militant labor. I propose a paper that will discuss some of the cultural peculiarities of anti-anarchist counter-insurgency in the United States: particularly ruling-class cultural notions of the suppression of anarchism and militant labor as the continuation of the “taming of the Wild West.” In the dominant discourse of the era (1877-1920), political and economic elites along with law enforcement officials spoke in terms of a war between “Civilization and Savagery” and, interestingly, they very explicitly used the white supremacist language of Indian-hating to justify violence against anarchists and militant labor, who were for the most part of European descent. Indeed, the term “savage reds” was used in mainstream discourse to refer both to anarchists resisting capitalism and Native Americans resisting US settler colonialism, and this was not mere coincidence. This paper will shed light on the historical relationship between racialization and counter-insurgency in the United States.

The Spanish Civil War, a cross-border affair. The anarchist network in North Africa

Andreu Rosés

Our research aims to produce a documentary film about the around 700 people from the Arab World who travelled to Spain to fight against fascism during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Among them, some Arabs and Imazighen (Berbers) joined the Spanish anarchists columns. It is an unknown phenomena that we are trying to enlighten, not only through the archival research but through the memory of their relatives.

Since the Spanish Civil War began in July 1936, the anarchist organizations in the Arab World, and specially in North Africa, carried through with an intense transnational activity trying to stop the extend of fascism and to gain supports for the antifascist cause in Spain. Cities like Tangier, Tunis, Oran or Algiers, among others, were the scene of intense social and political confrontations. From Europe, CNT and FAI had regular connections with their members and supporters settled in North Africa. They made use of an historical anarchist mutual aid network that crossed the Mediterranean and through which they supported the antifascist cause by sending money, helping exiled people and families in Morocco, Tunis or Algeria or joining as combatants the anarchists columns in Spain. Even though most of them were French, Spanish and Italian activists, there were also some Arabs and Imazighen on whom we are focusing our research.

Little is still known of these lives. Biographies have been hardly reconstructed. Only few cases remain relatively well-known, such as Sail Mohamed, anarchist from Kabyle (Algeria) who was already engaged in the anarchist movement in Algeria and France when the Spanish Civil War broke out and joined the Durruti column fighting in the battle front. However, we are finding out some other cases who left traces in the archival documentation, while we are seeking to contact some of their relatives in North Africa.

subMedia.tv: A Decade of Subversion

Frank López

In 2003 subMedia.tv produced its first anarchist film “Join the Resistance: Fall in Love!” inspired by the writings of Crimethinc. 10 years later and subMedia.tv is still bringing anarchy to the screen with its newest offering ‘To Change Everything’ and accessible introduction to anarchism. “A Decade of Subversion” is a mish-mash of subMedia.tv’s video sabotage, with picks from the best videos from the over 200 it produced during the past 10 years. The program will include clips from “It’s the end of the world as we know it and i feel fine”, shorts about shoplifting, mash-ups and short docs, plus an introduction by Franklin López.

The Surveillance and Criminalization of Anti-Capitalist Movements in North America

Robert Hltaky

This paper explores the development of the surveillance of social movements and the criminalization of dissent in Canada and the United States. Specifically, this includes cases of state sponsored monitoring, infiltration and disruption of social movement organizations and the entrapment of movement participants, particularly in the context of anti-capitalist and anarchist organizing. For instance, this paper will examine cases in which undercover officers have pretended to be participants within social movement organizations to monitor the group’s decisions and to attempt to disrupt groups by proposing or instigating dangerous tactics. The governments of Canada and the United States have begun to treat social movements within the context of counter-terrorism, justifying the approval to spy on and control social movements that are democratically exercising their rights to question authority and to organize political actions. These issues will be highlighted by cases around the criminalization of dissent, such as during the 2012 Quebec student strike and the 2010 Toronto G20 protests, in addition to the network of state and corporate sponsored surveillance of the anti-globalization movement and the more recent Occupy Movement throughout North America.

Thought Maps: Anarchism and Graphic Representations of the Ideological Universe

Alan Pyeatt

Humans rely on concepts to interpret sensory data and understand the world around us. In the field of political thought, our concepts are often represented visually. Several models have been developed to describe the “political spectrum,” but there has been little work done to compare different models, especially with regard to how well they represent anarchist thought. We will examine some of the common visual models of political thought, paying particular attention to how well each model represents anarchist thought. Some of the models we will analyze are Plato’s description of governmental forms, the “left/right” spectrum common in American discourse, and the Nolan Chart. The goal of this presentation is to clarify where anarchism fits in relation to other ideologies, and to identify models that are useful for explaining these relationships. Many activists rely on education to bring about an anarchist society. But the people they try to educate are often unclear about how anarchism relates to other ways of thinking. Therefore, identifying useful models of anarchism’s relationship to other ideologies will have the practical application of helping activists in their educational work.

Transatlantic Trenches in Spanish Civil War Journalism: Félix Martí Ibáñez and the Exile Newspaper España Libre (Free Spain, NYC 1939-1977)

Montse Feu

Félix Martí Ibáñez (Cartagena 1911- NYC 1972) was appointed General Director of Public Health and Social Services in Catalonia in 1937 during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Two years later, he was made Under-Secretary of Public Health in Spain and was named Director of Wartime Health Education in Catalonia. When Barcelona fell to the armies of Francisco Franco, Martí Ibáñez trudged through the Pyrenees into France and then traveled to the United States. While in his US exile, Martí Ibáñez became a prolific author and editor as well as Professor of Medicine at New York University until 1972, the year of his death. This article examines Martí Ibáñez's uncollected literary journalism published in the Spanish Civil War exile newspaper *España Libre* (Free Spain, NYC 1939-1977). Despite the irregular frequency of the publication (weekly to monthly) and its modest circulation (3,000 to 5,000 copies), *España Libre* was read by affiliated organizations in the United States, Latin America, Europe, and even smuggled into Spain. Raising funds to assist refugees and political prisoners, along with the publication of *España Libre* as a rhetorical tool against the Francisco Franco dictatorship, were the main objectives of the *Sociedades Hispanas Confederadas*, the voluntary and self-governed confederation that published *España Libre*. Martí Ibáñez's contributions to the newspaper marked his personal transformation from anarchist doctor in revolutionary Spain to author, editor, and professor in the United States. The fight against fascism in Spain, central to the history and development of European and American democracies, marked Martí Ibáñez's belief on the fundamental role that literature played in his anarchist project for an emancipated society. In Martí Ibáñez's earlier works, the Spanish Civil War, messy and mythical, preoccupies the author. Later in his exile, Martí Ibáñez embraces a dialectic enquiry of reality. In particular, this study is concerned with Martí Ibáñez's opinion columns and short stories that crafted his understanding of literature. While Spanish Civil War exile writers participated in a resistance antifascist print culture that focused on denunciation, Martí Ibáñez turned to fiction writing as a place where to generate new emancipatory ideas. I build on anarchist, exile, antifascist, and postmodern humanist theory to examine the hopeful and dialectic characteristics of Martí Ibáñez's literature.ⁱⁱ By exploring reality through multiple approaches, Martí Ibáñez's fiction asserts the possibility to improve the human condition through collective action, without demanding uniformity or universality. Martí Ibáñez's thought illustrates the adaptation of Spanish antifascist and anarchist culture to the United States. More broadly, the study of his fiction enlightens the connections between Hispanic, antifascist, exile, radical, and postmodern humanist literatures that converged in twentieth-century America.

The Way Out of Mass Infantilization and System Collapse

Susan Cain and Mark Mason

Critical analysis of US socioeconomic conditions suggests that mass psychological manipulation guided by the ruling class' control of education and the mass media produces passive obedience through infantilization--a condition of stunted cognitive maturation. The result is a nation of adult children incapable of recognizing the abuse of our brutal money-power system (systemic parent), a population unable to think for themselves and question authority. Major influences in our emotional development infantilize us, molding us into adult children who exist to serve the money-power system of the ruling class and never question its institutions. From the parent, to the school, to the church, to the boss at work, our infantilization lasts our entire lives. We serve the ruling class, and because of this, we are facing environmental and economic collapse. However, the throes of change can happen by reaching cognitive maturation. The key to achieving that maturation is in becoming aware of the betrayal of the money-power system, its abuse and its lies. Only when we recognize the depth of betrayal can we mature into thinking adults. Activists must work to show the public that they are not alone and isolated; there IS another alternative than "going postal." The best way to do this lies in direct local action - action that produces results that can be seen both by activists and the public. By establishing physical and

emotional support in our communities, locally, we can begin to work together as thinking adults to confront our problems. This paper hopes to explore the pattern of our infantilization and what can be done by activists to help us reach cognitive maturity and possibly survive the inevitable collapse.

Writing Alterity: (Thinking) Through Solidarity

Daniel Berti and Ana Karina de Morais

With the rise of academic interest in social movements comes the reemergence of concerns around writing margins - be they social, political, economic. These concerns became central to anthropology from the 1970s to the 1980s, from the rise of feminist ethnography to the influence of what can alternately be called the textual, reflexive, or postcolonial turn. Despite these appeals, much anthropological writing continues to be informed by vertical logics that - in one way or another - dehumanise their subjects. Solidarity emerges as a counterpoint. This paper unpacks solidarity as the gateway to ethical engagement with oppressed groups. An affective political ethics rooted in horizontality, solidarity is grounded in assumptions of personhood. We consider the impact of solidarity for the writing of marginal movements, thinking through both its strengths and its potential weaknesses, while bearing in mind how it can be rendered altogether impossible for many scholars by the constraints of academic accountability, scholarly sophistication, publication, tenure - amongst others - that are necessary for survival, legitimacy, employment. In closing, we open the question of how to write alterity ethically on occasions where solidarity is impossible or - more often - incomplete.