

THE SECOND ANNUAL

N A S N

NORTH AMERICAN ANARCHIST STUDIES NETWORK CONFERENCE



Welcome to Toronto. We are pleased to be hosting the second annual North American Anarchist Studies Network conference, and look forward to an exciting weekend of theoretical exploration, critical analysis and educational workshops. 2010 was a busy year for anarchism in Canada, and as 2011 kicks off, we eagerly look forward to another year of sustained growth and internal development. As the bankruptcy of Western capitalism transcends the purely moral plane to the economic, and as the ecological ramifications of our consumer spectacle continue to peel back the veneer of social sustainability, the need for a strong anarchist movement becomes more and more essential. Capitalism is in a period of intense transition, and it is during these transitional periods that societies are most ripe for social change. The direction of this change is up to us.

Exhibitors at the Second Annual NAASN Conference:

AK Press
Anarchist Free U
Arbeiter Ring
Autonomea
Between the Lines
Black Cat Press
Brunswick Books
Common Cause
Community Solidarity Network
Empowerment Infoshop
Fernwood Publishing
Kersplebedeb
KW Community Centre for Social Justice
Little Black Cart
Pluto Press
PM Press
Rebel Film Board
Spit Vicious: An APOC Distro
Thought Crime Ink
Transformative Studies Institute
Upping the Anti
Zed Books

*Childcare will be provided on site at the Steel Worker's hall for the duration of the conference - with the exception of the Saturday night social.

** The suggested conference fee is sliding scale \$10-25 or PWYC (no one will be turned away for lack funds), and all money raised at the door will be donated to the Toronto G20 Legal Defence Fund.

Sponsored by NAASN (www.naasn.org), OPIRG York (www.opirgyork.ca) and OPIRG University of Toronto (www.opirgtoronto.org).

Conference Schedule

Saturday, January 15th
 Steelworkers Hall - 25 Cecil St.

	Room 1	Room 2
8-9am	Registration and Coffee	
9-10:50am	Opening Plenary and Group Discussion The Past, Present and Potential Futures of Anarchism Jaggi Singh, Irina Ceric, Denis Rancourt, Lesley Wood Facilitator: Sharmeen Khan	
11-12:20pm	Contemporary Anarchism and the Arts Allan Antliff speaking on behalf of Adrian Blackwell - Anarchist Urban Design Sandra Jeppesen - Anarchist Literature Luis Jacob - Groundless Aesthetics Moderator: TBA	Anarchist Economics: History, Analysis and Vision Deric Shannon- An Overview of Anarchist Economics Chris Spannos - The History of Anarchist Economics as a Lens to See the Future Abbey Willis- Tools for Understanding Capitalism in the 2000s Wayne Price- The Anarchist Post-Capitalist Vision Moderator: Jasmin Mujanovic
12:30-1:30pm	Lunch!	
1:30-2:20pm	Workshop Alexis Shotwell- Practical Strategies for Anarchist Writing	Workshop Testament - Building Bridges and Working with Unlikely Allies
2:30-3:50pm	Movement Knowledge I: Movement Research Aziz Choudry- Activist Research: Mapping the Practices of Knowledge Production for Social Action Chris Dixon- Accountability to whom? Ethics and Activism in Movement Research Gary Kinsman- Mapping Social Relations of Struggle: Producing Knowledge for Social Transformation Research Group on Collective Autonomy- Ethics and Accountability in Prefigurative Participatory Antiauthoritarian Research Moderator: Kalin Stacey	Transnational Anarchism in the Americas 1 Kenyon Zimmer- 'Yiddish is My Homeland': A Transatlantic History of Jewish-American Anarchism, 1880s-1930s Kirt Shaffer- Panama Reds: Anarchist Politics and Transregional Networks in the Panama Canal Zone, 1904-1916 Steve Hirsch- Constructing a Working-Class Counterculture: Transnational Anarchism and the Anarchist Press in Northern Peru, 1898-1922 Moderator: Nathan Jun

Saturday, January 15th

Steelworkers Hall - 25 Cecil St.

	Room 1	Room 2
4-5:20pm	<p>Anarchism, Gender and (Dis)ability: Expanding the Anarchist Critique</p> <p>Mitchell Verter- Towards an Anarchafeminist Subversion of Politics Anne Goldenberg- Feminist Takes on Organizing in Critical and Technological Movements Liat Ben-Moshe- Queercripping Anarchism Timothy Luchies- Creative (Self-) Destruction: Critiquing White and Male Supremacy in North American Anarchism</p> <p>Moderator: Megan Cotton-Kinch</p>	<p>Challenging Conformity: Anarchist Memory and Prospects</p> <p>Andrew Hoyt- The International Anarchist Archives: A Report on Conditions and a Proposal for Action Nathan Jun- Flowers for the Fallen: The Romantic Anarchism of Pietro Gori Bryan Nelson- Orientation and Mappings: Anarchism, Marxism, Democracy: Traditions in Theory Ron Sakolsky- Mutual Acquiescence</p> <p>Moderator: Daniel Cairns</p>
5:30-6:50pm	<p>Greening Anarchy</p> <p>Micheal Loadenthal- Militant Not Terrorists: How the Radical Animal and Earth Liberation Movement Challenges the State and Capitalism Karl Hardy & Usman Mushtaq- Responses to Climate Change: Radical Critiques and Utopian Alternatives Andrea Palichuk- Alienation and Exclusion in Food Lifestyle Politics and Anarchist Organizing Michele Flippo Bolduc- Are Community Gardens Inherently Radical?</p> <p>Moderator: Deric Shannon</p>	<p>Anarchist Readings of Nietzsche</p> <p>Nick Day- Ubermensch, Overcoming and Direct Actor: Reconciling Nietzsche with Liberatory Praxis Laura Greenwood- Goldman's Nietzschean Anarchism: A Griemasian Reading of 'Minorities Versus Majorities' Grant Yocom- The 'Last Man' in Detroit: Timely Revisions and New Targets for the Arrows of Longing</p> <p>Moderator: Rachel Melis</p>
7-8:20pm	<p>Riot 2011: Direct Action, Revolt and the Question of Violence</p> <p>Kyla Bourne- Alterrepresentation and the Democratic Possibilities of Direct Action Edward Avery-Natale- 'We're Here, We're Queer, We're Anarchists': The Nature of Identification and Subjectivity Among Black Blocs Andreas Reichelt- When the universities were burning (with activism) in...2009 Madison Trusolino- The Emancipatory Struggle</p> <p>Moderator: Tammy Kovich</p>	<p>Perspectivas Anarquistas de America Latina</p> <p>Jorella A. Melendez Badillo- El Anarquismo En Puerto Rico: Su Influencia En La Cultura Proletaria En Las Primeras Dos Decades Del Siglo XX Octavio Cabrera Serrano- El Antropologo Autogestivo Adan Garcia- La trayectoria magonista en Norteamerica Megan Cotton-Kinch- Solidarity and Community Control against Canadian Mining in Latin America</p> <p>Moderator: Susana Caxaj</p>

Saturday Night Social/UPPING THE ANTI Launch Party Toronto Free Gallery- 1277 Bloor Street West

Doors open at 8:30pm until late!

Join us for the NAASN Conference Saturday night social/ UPPING THE ANTI's Issue #11 Launch Party.

-Featuring-

Musical performances by LAL and Test Their Logik.

Kick ass sets by DJs Nik Red and B#.

Plus refreshments, raffle prizes and more!

Admission \$10 with a copy of UPPING THE ANTI, \$5 without, and free for UPPING THE ANTI sustainers.



Directions from Steelworker's Hall (25 Cecil St)

By TTC: (\$3 per person. Approx. 25 mins)

- Walk two blocks west to Spadina Ave
- Hop on a northbound streetcar (headed towards College)
- Take the streetcar to the Spadina subway station
- Take a westbound train to Lansdowne station
- Walk south to Bloor
- Toronto Free Gallery is located at 1277 Bloor (across the street from Bike Pirates)

By Foot: (Approx 45-60 mins)

- Take Ross or Beverly north to College. Turn left.
- Walk west on College until St. Clarens Ave (a block before Lansdowne)
- Turn right and walk north on St. Clarens until Bloor. Turn left.

Conference Schedule

Sunday, January 16th

Steelworkers Hall - 25 Cecil St.

	Room 1	Room 2
9-9:30am	Coffee	
9:30-10:50am	<p>Postanarchism, The Specter of Primitivism and Song</p> <p>Gregory Kalyniuk- Jurisprudence of the Damned: Deleuze's Masochian Humour and Anarchist Neo-Monadology</p> <p>Daniel Murray- Social Tyranny of the State: Bakunin, Governmentality and Resistance</p> <p>Moderator: Ryan Mitchell</p>	<p>'Anarchizing' the Disciplines</p> <p>Dennis Fox- Anarchism and Psychology</p> <p>David Westling- Anarchism and Individual Psychology</p> <p>Dana Williams and Jeff Shantz- Defining an Anarchist-Sociology (A Long-Anticipated Marriage)</p> <p>Moderator: Courtney Cecale</p>
11-12:20pm	<p>Movement Knowledge II: Trajectories of Contemporary Movements and Possibilities For Change</p> <p>Kate Milbery- History Will Teach Us Everything: Towards a Praxis of Social Justice</p> <p>Andrea Eiland- Breaking Down the Wall: Anarchism and Social Change in the 21st Century</p> <p>Dawn Paley- Beyond Alternative Media: Building Space for Radical Journalism</p> <p>Michael Trusello- The Trouble With Social Media</p> <p>Moderator: Ryan Mitchell</p>	<p>Transnational Anarchism in the Americas II</p> <p>Geoffroy de Laforcade- Counter-Currents and Oppositional Trends Within a Syndicalist Labor Tradition: Locating the Anarchist influence on the Politics of Maritime Trade Unionism in Argentina, 1903-1950</p> <p>Amparo Sanchez Cobos- The Island and Beyond: Spanish Anarchist Networks in Cuba, 1900-1925</p> <p>Travis Tomchuck- The Radical Culture of Italian Anarchists in North America</p> <p>Davide Turcato- Biography, Anarchism and Transnationalism</p> <p>Moderator: Kenyon Zimmer</p>
12:30-1:30pm	Lunch!	
1:30-2:20pm	<p>Workshop</p> <p>Crimethinc - Fighting in the New Terrain: Anti-Capitalist Strategies in the 21st Century</p>	<p>Workshop</p> <p>Erin Skinner- No Masters! Animal Liberation and Anarchism</p>

Conference Schedule

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	Room 1	Room 2
2:30-3:50pm	<p>Settlers in Solidarity with Indigenous Struggle and Resistance Movements in Canada</p> <p>Tom Keefer- Politics of Solidarity Kate Milley- Narratives of White Victimhood: Who are the white settlers Missy Elliot- Struggles and Resistance Movements of Six Nations Shaista Patel- Settlers of Color in Solidarity</p> <p>Moderator: Alex Balch</p>	<p>Militant Methodologies and the Question of Authority</p> <p>Max Haiven and Alex Khasnabish - Radicalizing Methods: 'Convoking' the Radical Imagination in Halifax, Nova Scotia Paul McLaughlin- Methodologies Considerations on Anarchist Theory Michael Gutierrez- Two Poles of Authority</p> <p>Moderator: Michael Loadenthal</p>
4-5:20pm	<p>Anarchist Subjectivities: Discussions of the Self and Other</p> <p>Cameron Ellis- The Loving Anarchist: An Inquiry into the Nature of the Subject of Anarchy Kalin Stacey- Innocence and Complicity in Anarchist Discourse Joey Brooke Jacob- Why the 'Stranger' is Unequal: Towards a Manifesto for Inclusion Matthew Hayter- Understanding 'Power' as always both power-for and power-over: What can this Perspective do for the sake of anarchist social relations?</p> <p>Moderators: Ed Avery-Natale & Alex Balch</p>	<p>Anarchism, Education and the Strange World of Academia</p> <p>Paul Lemley- Navigating Respectability Dan Webb- 'The Left's Wrong Turn and the Postmodern Disavowal of Anarchism' Anthony Meza-Wilson- Educational Projects for Decolonization: Anarchist Allyship and Resistance Education in the Americas Joseph Todd Montclair- Triangulating Freedom, Power and Education: Learning Webs, Subjectivity, and Resistance</p> <p>Moderator: Alan Tang</p>
5:30-7pm	<p>Closing Discussion and Break Out Session!</p> <p>Facilitator: David McNally</p>	

Milena Alveo

Cultura anarquista, reflexiones a cerca de la cotidianidad

El texto expone las experiencias originadas a partir de la puesta en práctica de los principios autogestivos en grupos de afinidad de diferentes contextos espaciales en México y Panamá. Basado en el trabajo de campo, realizado de forma independiente, se efectúa una crítica a la manera elitista en que se construye y legitima el conocimiento científico, especialmente en la antropología. Mediante la construcción participativa de talleres con temáticas ecologistas y desde visiones femeninas, se pretende arrojar luz sobre las posibilidades de las prácticas socialmente comprometidas e iniciar un diálogo entre las propuestas contemporáneas del anarquismo y los usos y costumbres de los pueblos originarios y las comunidades urbanas latinoamericanas, con la finalidad de generar estrategias para la construcción de alternativas de vida libertarias.

Edward Avery-Natale

'We're Here, we're Queer, We're Anarchists': The Nature of Identification and Subjectivity Among Black Blocs

At the G20 protests in Pittsburg in 2009 a popular chant included the phrase, "We're here! We're queer! We're anarchists, we'll fuck you up." However, it is virtually impossible that every member of the black bloc using this chant self-identified as queer in their day-to-day life. In this article, I therefore argue that the presentation of self among black bloc participants, especially the masking of the face with a black bandana and the wearing of black itself, allows for the destruction of a previously held identification and the temporary recreation a new identification. In doing so, I emphasize theories developed by Deleuze and Guattari and Giorgio Agamben. I also use a zine produced by the organizers of the resistance to G20 in Pittsburgh to show that my interpretation of the black bloc subjectivity is reflected in the claims of black bloc participants.

Liat Ben-Moshe

Queercripping Anarchism

Anarchism, like feminism, is not a monolithic field; it has many branches, articulations and frames of thought. However, a few tenants can be identified which are shared by most anarchist thought and practice. These include opposition to any socio-political, economic, or religious hierarchy, domination, and authoritarianism; and for a decentralization and emphasis on freedom and autonomy. Some anarchists also have strong opposition to vanguardism, and challenge the intellectual and experiential elitism that is in entrenched in academia and in some collectives because of their claim to authority. Throughout this presentation we aim to demonstrate the relation of disability, as formulated by critical disability studies frameworks, or disability pedagogy rooted in critical pedagogy, to these and other tenants of anarchist thought and practice. We will therefore queer-crip anarchism by providing an analysis which takes disability critically as its analytical tool and asks what would a just queer-crip world look like.

Adrian Blackwell

Anarchist Urban Design

Urban design is a relatively new practice. Invented in the 1950s and put to work in municipal planning departments in the late 1960s, it functioned to valorize specific urban qualities and forms, which many historic cities shared, but were missing from the functionalism of modernist city planning. This new discipline emerges during the intensified urban social struggles of the 1960s, which demanded both autonomy from capitalism and collective forms of social life. Mainstream practices of urban design can be seen as an attempt to satisfy these desires, by clarifying the distinction between public and private space, and emphasizing the importance of urban life. We have lived through the effects of this practice, which has gentrified downtown spaces, causing the eviction of working class residents, and replacing them with a fantasy world of consumption. So far, most urban design practices have only succeeded in co-opting the imagination and provocations of anarchists, but what happens when anarchists design urban spaces? This paper examines radical urban design practices which reframe the production and use of city space as non-hierarchical, anti-exploitive acts.

Kyla Bourne

Alterrepresentation and the Democratic Possibilities of Direct Action

Both the concept and practice of political representation are under crisis. In the case of territorially-based representative institutions, inherent tensions with democratic values are exacerbated by the increasingly global scope of governance. The most vocal critics of representative government are familiar as disruptive fixtures at economic summits worldwide, yet the organizing methods of what I call the 'radical alterglobalization' movement are less well known. After exploring decentralized, network-based consensus decision-making grounded in the ethic of direct action, I argue that these practices offer an exciting solution to the 'global crisis of representation.' However, rejecting liberal representative government cannot entail the categorical rejection of political representation itself. I explain how the poststructuralist critique of essentialist ontology results in a dilemma wherein an expanded conception of political representation seems both inescapable and necessarily hierarchical. To dissolve this dilemma, I argue that prefigurative direct action is an instance of non-hierarchical political representation.

Octavio Cabrera Serrano El Antropólogo Autogestivo

El presente artículo tiene como finalidad hacer una reflexión a cerca del anarquismo no solo como filosofía política, sino como un complejo entramado que cuestiona radicalmente las distintas áreas de la vida social (economía, parentesco entre otras) y propone formas alternativas de organización no autoritarias, atendiendo a las características del contexto en el que se encuentra; para ello se hará referencia de las concepciones antropológicas del concepto de cultura advirtiendo que si una de las máximas aspiraciones del anarquismo es la creación de sociedades libres, es de vital importancia concebir a las sociedades desde una perspectiva compleja, recurriendo a categorías analíticas de las ciencias sociales que enriquezcan el análisis libertario con el fin de identificar en cada una de las instituciones fisuras donde sea posible subvertir su dinámica, generando espacios de autonomía. uno de los

aspectos de la vida social, es decir, en el ámbito de la cultura. Los anarquistas desde siempre han trabajado en distintas áreas por ensanchar las prácticas ácratas y difundirlas entre la sociedad, por lo que es importante identificar los obstáculos que dentro de la cotidianidad impiden lograr la emancipación de la humanidad, en ese sentido, el anarquismo no puede situarse solamente desde una perspectiva política, sino en cada

Aziz Choudry

Activist Research: Mapping the Practices of Knowledge Production for Social Action

Research is a major aspect of many movements for social change. There has been much academic literature on "activist research" and "activist scholarship", partnerships between university-based researchers and community organizations/activists, challenges and tensions. But there has been relatively little attention paid to the activist/movement research conducted independently of formal partnerships or collaboration with academic researchers (and in some cases, by activist researchers who have not had formal research training). Still less work has attempted to document, explicate or articulate the actual research practices of activist researchers in concrete locations outside of the academy in activist groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or social movement organizations. Drawing from examples from movement research on transnational corporate power and resistance to capitalist globalization, and particularly from within movement networks in the Asia Pacific region, this paper will explore how these activist researchers understand, practice and validate their research and processes of knowledge production, and how such research contributes to the struggles of social movements. Finally, it will discuss this research in relation to questions on the politics of knowledge and research methodologies for social change, and ask what university-based scholars can learn from activist research practice conducted outside of academe.

Crimethinc Fighting in the New Terrain: Anti-Capitalist Strategies in the 21st Century

Drawing on nearly two decades of individual revolt and international struggle, participants in the Crimethinc. ex-Workers' Collective will discuss previous strategies, review the economic and technological shifts that have occurred since the 20th century, and propose new points of departure for anti-capitalist resistance.

Nick Day Ubermensch, Overcoming and Direct Actor: Reconciling Nietzsche with Liberatory Politics

Many anarchist philosophers have criticized Nietzsche's concept of the overman for its apparent elitism and lack of faith in the victims of capitalism to perform their own emancipation. However, I argue that thinking Nietzsche's Genealogy of Morals alongside the realities of globalizing corporate capitalism and the power of moral majority can help us to theorize the role of the direct actor in the abolition of power. As Jonathan Purkis writes, "The strands of Nietzsche's work lead in all directions, but many can be appropriated to better understand the manifestations of power and the extent of the transformations that are necessary for the liberatory project to be realised."

Read this way, Nietzsche's 'egoism' does not have to be taken as derision of the emancipatory potential of the 'underclasses', but in fact can be seen as a way of locating the violence of Capitalism and modern democracy. Then, Nietzsche becomes a way to critique the depths to which humanity has fallen, and imagine the potential of human becoming.

My paper explores the idea of the overman, not to be read literally as one who dominates or one who is higher, but as an allegorical and conceptual tool. My argument will be that this narrative has vast liberatory potential in that it can free us to conceive, and become, the individual who could perform the constant overcoming and re-valuing necessary in the struggle against corporate capitalism, and indeed hierarchy and power of all kinds.

Geoffroy de LaForcade Counter-Currents and Oppositional Trends Within a Syndicalist Labor Tradition: Locating the Anarchist Influence on the Politics of Maritime Trade Unionism in Argentina, 1903–1950

The history of labor movements in Argentina, and of maritime workers in particular, deeply rooted in early 20th-century transnational expressions of anarchist and revolutionary syndicalist ideology, is also enmeshed with the unfolding of apolitical, conservative, nationalist, communist and populist ideologies of social reform and control. What emerges from an examination of the first five decades of mariners' and seamen's trade union history and relationship to the local society and culture, however, is a pattern of consistent adherence to anarcho-syndicalist organizational forms, strategies of direct action and autonomy, federation, cultural practices, rhetoric and trans-national activism. Their movements were routinely stigmatized as foreign and cosmopolitan, revolutionary and anti-national, from the foundation of their first anarchist resistance society in 1903 to the internationally publicized showdown of their unions with the Peronist State in 1950. This paper will examine the tensions between, and overlapping of, national and international factors in the emergence of one of the most powerful anarcho-syndicalist in Argentina and Latin American labor insurgency, as well as the ways in which the ideological and organizational precepts of early anarchists and syndicalists adapted and responded to the gradual nationalization of Argentine society, economy and politics in the interwar period, leading up to their annihilation by force at the hands of an authoritarian nationalist polity.

Chris Dixon Accountability to whom? Ethics and Activism in Movement Research

At the heart of ethics of research on activism are questions of accountability: To whom are we, as movement researchers, responsible? How should we manifest this responsibility? And how should we be held responsible? For those of us concerned with not only studying but also contributing to radical social

movements, these are particularly thorny questions. Despite our best intentions, I argue, academic structures and norms frequently guide us toward a felt sense of accountability primarily to other professional scholars in our fields and departments. These, after all, are the people with whom we are often in most immediate dialogue, and they ultimately are the ones who evaluate our work, both formally and informally. In this presentation, I make the case for cultivating a different relation of accountability – one between researchers and movements. I explore the ways in which building this sort of relation affects how we formulate questions, how we interact with activists, how we write, how we share our work, and, indeed, how we understand ourselves. I suggest that, while accountability always involves navigating difficult dilemmas in imperfect circumstances, we can craft tools to orient ourselves and carry out our work with integrity. Drawing on my experiences with movement-based research involving in-depth interviews and long-term participation, this presentation digs into practical dilemmas and offers some potentially useful tools for researchers striving to be responsible to movements.

Andrea Eiland **Breaking Down the Wall: Anarchism and Social Change in the 21st Century**

The purpose of this presentation is to share a brief paper which focuses on a new direction of social change in the 21st century, which Anarchism can form by using creativity and the imagination. This paper will describe a different path that Anarchists can use to bring down the power of the State (which is described metaphorically as “The Wall”). In order to do so, Anarchists can utilize their basic set-up of small decentralized groups which will gradually wear “The Wall” down, by choosing to focus on a few small “holes” that are in the overall system of the State—instead of trying to smash the State in larger political blows. Therefore, Anarchists must organize their decentralized groups to create a support system. This support system will then regularly perform insurgent acts on the “holes” in “The Wall”. The “holes” must be small enough that the State will barely recognize the attack; some examples of the “holes” in the

system that people are already fighting against are: the foreclosures in America (by helping people not give their home over to the banks), debt (by refusing to pay back the debt altogether) and factories (by literally taking them over and keeping the jobs of the people). This strategic plan along with the creativity of the Anarchist groups (in the form of their acts of insurgency) will bring down “The Wall” without Anarchists being easily targeted and stopped.

Cameron Ellis **The Loving Anarchist: An Inquiry into the Nature of the Subject of Anarchy**

Marxism and Anarchism both advance ideological frameworks that assert a utopian telos. The anarchists moved away from Marx and his doctrines because prospect of a proletariat ruling class was equally as dreadful as a bourgeois ruling class. This resulting proletarian ruling class would be a true dystopia in the eyes of Bakunin and Proudhon. Anarchists espouse a prospective utopia to be brought about through radical change. But what about this ‘radical’ change? Anarchists are perceived as quite violent in nature, and as such, no more desirable than Marxism with respect to the prospects of a utopia resulting from their actions. This is the context for the question that I want to explore in this paper: what kind of subject is the anarchist subject: violent, aggressive or ambiguous? Is violence the only way, or can love be equally as anarchic? By delving into the primary anarchist literature (i.e. Bakunin and Proudhon) as well as some of the primary utopian literature (i.e. Fourier and Ernst Bloch) I hope to add to the dialogue pertaining to the nature of the anarchist subject and what ‘practice’ is most desirable for the supposed utopia of anarchy to emerge.

Michele Flippo Bolduc **Are Community Gardens Inherently Radical?**

A rich history of anarchist theory provides an often-overlooked body of knowledge that can be useful in constructing and understanding social action. Historical and contemporary anarchism, in searching for new ways to fashion political and social life, often emphasizes the intersection between theoretical inquiry and activism. The purpose of this presentation is

to provide a relatively brief outline of several key tenets in anarchist theory in order to show their applicability to direct action projects such as community gardening. Drawing from my experiences working in a small community garden, I hope to illustrate how anarchist theory can help to bridge disparate political views in order to create a more viable and equitable food system through its focus on community and empowerment. Lastly, I will conclude with some limitations to the use of anarchist theory following some lessons learned from the Common Ground Community Garden in Athens, GA.

Dennis Fox

Anarchism and Psychology

Anarchist political positions often reflect challenges to widespread ideological assumptions about human nature and the kinds of societal structures that would best take into account human needs and values. This is the case, for example, in relation to power, hierarchy, decision making, justice, competition, individualism, and the consequences of various forms of organizing. Anarchist theory and practice are especially relevant to a tension, emphasized by psychologists from various mainstream and critical traditions, between individuality (autonomy) and community (mutuality). This tension can be seen in arenas as varied as psychotherapy alternatives; communal living, polyamory, and other alternatives to the nuclear family; schooling and unschooling; and direct-action organizing. In this discussion we will explore these and other connections between anarchism and psychology, focusing in part on critiques of mainstream psychology's individualist underpinnings.

Anne Goldenberg

Feminist Takes in Organizing in Critical and Technological Movements

Based on a first collection of interviews with feminists analysing or participating to critical social movement (G-20, Zapatistas, post-porn production), as well as techno-activism (HackSpace, FreeSoftware communities and OpenSpace facilitation), this communication will consist in a reflexive thinking about some contemporary feminist takes on organisation. The participants to these interviews will be asked two simple questions: What a critical movement

would be if it was led by feminists? (This question wants to seek the formulation of ideals, as well as critics about what is still to be done). What feminist do when they take the power in a critical organisation?(This second question is aimed at analyzing the typical failures as well as some interesting successes). This communication will be the first public exposition of a broader collaboration project led by feminists activists and researchers from Denmark, Canada and Germany. We want to gather interviews and reflexions about the premiss that a 4rd wave feminism might be rising up, consisting in women taking leading positions, having removed the sweet in the care to engage with critical approach to action, activism and organisation.

Laura Greenwood

Goldman's Nietzschean Anarchism: A Griemasian Reading of 'Minorities Versus Majorities'

In this paper I conduct a close reading Emma Goldman's essay "Minorities Versus Majorities," published in her *Anarchism and Other Essays*, taking methodological cues from the work of semiotician Algirdas Julien Greimas. Specifically, I aim to construct a Greimas rectangle (or semiotic rectangle) to open expose in Goldman's work traces of the possibility of political praxis moving beyond the dichotomy in the essay's title. Though the essay might be read as an elaboration of a simplistic dichotomy between autonomous individual actor on one hand and the mass, society, or "the herd" on the other, Greimas rectangles can be used to expose underlying concepts in the essay and move beyond supposed dichotomies, incorporating both textual and historical clues.

In conducting this close reading, I aim to illuminate the Nietzschean influence that resonates throughout the essay (and indeed which Goldman herself acknowledges in the book's preface), which I would argue has often been misread as meaning a complete denial of the possibility of emancipatory action organized collectively in favour of a radical individualism. In discussing "Minorities Versus Majorities," I wish to complicate some of these criticisms as well as some of the arguments against the possibility of "Nietzschean anarchisms" more generally, and discuss in concrete terms what Goldman's essay means for anarchist political action.

Michael Gutierrez Two Poles of Authority

This paper takes the etymology of “authority” as a point of departure from which to analyze Western style notions of authority as both a linguistic and a cultural/political event that triggered somewhere around the 13th century, linking both ancient and modern notions of political power.

Before the advent of the word “authority” as we recognize it today, the ground for its articulation was prepared by a notion of power/authority that can be found in the earliest and most influential texts of the Western tradition: that of natural power/authority. An individual, class, or polis, exerts command on the basis of divinely-gifted superiority and favor, without need for any justification (or participation of the ruled classes in the drama of their own subjugation). I will primarily pull from Aristotle (the idea of the natural slave) and from Plato’s political writings.

After the advent of the word, the idea and real world execution of authority became associated with a need for outside confirmation over and above any natural seat of power/authority. Different philosophers would demonstrate this well, social contract theorists, utilitarians, Marxists- I hit upon Hobbes’ political philosophy as a particularly pure example of cultural enacted political authority, free of the imputation of natural inborn superiority in the Sovereign.

I will argue that natural is not simply a precursor to cultural authority, but rather that they are codeterminative. In the landscape of natural authority, cultural authority waits as a possibility waiting to be uttered. (For this reason I call the first the silent pole of authority, the second the vocal) And this utterance is the dramatic enactment of political determination, both for those with authority (I rule you) and those without (you rule me). At the moment of utterance (constitution signings, tennis court oaths, establishment of a union) the silent and vocal pole of authority are at their most intimate. I will speculate that the most productive political possibilities of anarchism in the contemporary scene lies in the seeking out these original moments of utterance.

Matthew Hayter Understanding ‘Power’ as always both Power-for and Power-over: What can this Perspective do for the sake of anarchist social relations?

We use the word ‘power’ to refer to an energy of capacity (often referred to as power-for), which we express in a positive sense to refer to our own empowerment to do good in the world (the power of the people, the power of love, the power of our dreams, etc...). But then, we also use the very same word ‘power’ to refer to ‘the Power’ of the State, an orchestration of control and exploitation (often referred to as power-over), which we invariably use as a negative term to describe the forces of evil in our world. I think there’s something important in this ‘contradiction’ (literally, a ‘contra-diction’ is a ‘conflict of the word’ – the conflict of meaning in the same word, this paradox in the meanings of power). Why is it that for us the word ‘power’ means both the most good and the most evil, both what is most empowering to us and what is most disempowering, both the power that we build in our fight and the Power that we fight against?

Historically, the traditions of anarchism have had an especially difficult time with this contradiction. In the practice of our actions, as well as in our practical ideas, we act as if these two forms of ‘power’ – the power-for of our own empowerment and the power-over of the forces which repress – are actually completely separate things, two forces which are by nature absolutely different. We act as if our own empowerment and the Power of exploitation and control are locked in the mortal combat of a zero-sum battle: where one wins, the other loses; either we gain the freedom of power-for, or we are crushed by the oppression of Power-over.

I want to say: what if they are inevitably locked together? – What if power-for and Power-over come together no matter what? This would mean that every time we enact a power-for our own freedom, even though this act may be in keeping with all the best ideals and principles of communalist equality, it will still always be charged with some form of Power-over. This would mean that every power-for is a power-over something else. If this were the case,

what would it mean for the anarchist dream? – How would we have to revise our understanding of the practical ways of achieving anarchist ideals if we were to understand ‘power’ as necessarily always both liberating and constraining?

I want to address this question as the topic of my presentation at the NAASN conference in January. I will try to structure my presentation by first bringing up the question, as I have done above, and then laying out some fundamentals of how I have attempted to conceive of any articulation of ‘power’ as simultaneously always both power-for and Power-over, and finish by addressing how I think that understanding power in this way can actually serve anarchist endeavours to achieve more success in constructing revolutionary egalitarian and empowering social relations.

Karl Hardy & Usman Mushtaq Responses to Climate Change: Radical Critiques and Utopian Alternatives

We propose a panel discussion on responses to climate change. First, we intend to survey mainstream climate change discourse, offering radical critiques of technocratic, capitalist, statist, and hegemonic responses to climate change. Second, we will engage with climate justice movements and other alternative discourses, highlighting overlapping values and strategies, while taking care to identify oppressive tendencies in those movements. Finally, the panelists will seek to articulate a tentative sustainable framework of both theory and practice that is accountable to anarchist, anti-colonial, and ecological concerns.

Max Haiven & Alex Khasnabish Radicalizing Methods: ‘Convoking’ the Radical Imagination in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

If a reminder was needed that structural crisis is not enough to provoke the emergence of radical mass movements and catalyze processes of radical social transformation, surely the most recent global economic meltdown provided just such a moment of illumination.

So what’s missing? We are convinced that at least part of the answer to this troubling question lies in the equally conspicuous absence of the sorts of radical imaginations of social transformation, visions of struggle, possibility, and futurity which arise out of collective spaces and processes of encounter. In this presentation, we reflect critically upon two key phenomena: first, the relationship between radical imagination and collective struggles for radical social transformation; second, the contribution – and limitations – of engaged social research in convoking or provoking the political imagination in the context of radical social change struggles. Drawing upon our ongoing research project (The Radical Imagination: A Research Project About Movements, Social Change, and the Future) with radical activists in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in this presentation we explore the preliminary findings, methodological and theoretical issues, and socially transformative contributions (and the difficulties and challenges therein) that have emerged out of it. What is the relationship between radical imagination and radical movements for social transformation? How can engaged research help “convoke” the radical imagination? Can it contribute significantly to radically socially transformative struggles? If so, how? What are its limits? Reflecting upon our research collaboration with radical activists in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in this presentation we aim to offer our own admittedly incomplete answers to these questions.

Steve Hirsch Constructing a Working-Class Counterculture: Transnational Anarchism and the Anarchist Press in Northern Peru, 1898–1922

During the 1890s until the 1920s, anarchism flourished in three geographic zones in Peru: the metropolitan area encompassing Lima and Callao, the southern highland region (centered on the Arequipa-Cuzco-Puno axis), and along the northern coast from Trujillo to Piura. Focusing on the northern departments of La Libertad and Lambayeque, this paper will analyze the influence of transnational anarchism and the local anarchist press on the formation of a working class counter-culture. It seeks to highlight personal, organizational, financial, and informational connectivities between European and Latin American anarchist and anarcho-

syndicalists movements and the anarchist press and working-class organizations in northern Peru. It intends to show that transnational anarchism in concert with four local anarchist papers was instrumental in fostering a radical proletarian counter-culture among urban workers in Trujillo and Chiclayo, and rural workers in the surrounding valleys. The paper draws on previously untapped anarchist publications, private correspondences, union records, and government documents.

Andrew Hoyt **The International Anarchist Archives: A Report on Conditions and a Proposal for Action**

Archives have influence over the narratives which give our lives meaning and over our ties to nation-states and other economic systems. Since the French Revolution, archives have also played an important role in constructing social perception and in centralizing governmental power. It is no wonder then that the anarchists, one of the groups most active in opposition to Capitalism and the State, have received marginal coverage in archival records (at least outside of police files). However, the anarchists have always been a self-reliant bunch of rebels, and as such no more depended on capitalist archives than they did capitalist publishers. Thus, in the context of the anarchist movement, archives demonstrate both the negative implications of power in constructing historic understanding and the self-affirming potential of organic, community-based, archival projects. This paper hopes to examine the relationship between radical social movements like the anarchists and their volunteer archives, report on the general characteristics of these archives, and suggest ways that historians and activists can help improve archival conditions.

Joey Brooke Jacob **Why the 'Stranger' is Unequal: Towards a Manifesto for Inclusion**

Working from anarchist principles of abolition of unequal power relations, inclusion for the excluded, and community building, my research explains who is labeled as a 'stranger'. Incorporating both historical and contemporary conceptions of the 'stranger', I analyze the power

structures that create and maintain fear and avoidance of the 'stranger'. The 'stranger' is examined as immersed in a neoliberal political atmosphere and cultural individualism in terms of institutionalized social inequalities of race, class and gender. The constitution of the 'stranger' as feared and avoided has consequences for the 'stranger' when experiencing a personal crisis in public. Case studies are examined for depictions of 'strangers' in public crisis as featured in mass news media.

Luis Jacob **Groundless Aesthetics**

An exploration of the idea of groundlessness in aesthetic experience, making reference to my own recent work.

Sandra Jeppesen **Anarchist Literature**

Nathan Jun **Flowers for the Fallen: The Romantic Anarchism of Pietro Gori**

Pietro Gori (1865-1911) was an Italian anarchist poet, playwright, songwriter, criminologist, lawyer, agitator, and philosopher. During his brief lifetime, Gori rose to a position of great prominence within the international anarchist community and widely esteemed among Italian and Italian-American comrades as the movement's trovatore ("bard"). In this presentation, I discuss of Gori's major theoretical and aesthetic contributions to anarchism: first, that revolutionary activity is, among other things, a memorial activity ("flowers for the fallen") – an ongoing moral duty discharged not only for the benefit of future generations, but also as a way of redeeming those who came before; and second, that anarchism can and should be understood as a living tradition which, like all traditions, involves complicated moral, political, cultural, and emotional intersections between past and present. I conclude by discussing the relevance and importance of Gori's ideas for contemporary anarchist theory and practice.

Gregory Kalyniuk **Jurisprudence of the Damned: Deleuze's Masochian Humor and Anarchist Neo-Monadology**

Until relatively recently, little scholarly attention has been paid to the affinity between Gilles Deleuze's philosophy and the political thought of the anarchist tradition. Deleuze and Guattari's collaborative work admits some sympathies to Marxism, but aside from allusions to the institutions of perpetual motion of Sade or the crowned anarchy of Artaud, Deleuze never makes any sustained references to anarchism in his philosophy. Thanks to some recent scholarship in this area however, the thought of a Deleuzian-anarchist hybrid is beginning to appear as a much more worthwhile undertaking, not simply as a pedantic theoretical exercise, but with the promise of imparting some practical impetus to the anarchist ethos. While Sade and Artaud may be of use in productively dispelling the "dark side" of anarchism, and Nietzsche may be of use in revising Stimer's individualism beyond a humanistic egoism, it is a little known fact that Sacher-Masoch's subversion of the social contract in the context of sexuality was inspired by the peasant uprisings in the Habsburg Empire, and had the aim of abolishing the myth of property along with the debtor-creditor relationship upon which it was founded. Deleuze claims that Sacher-Masoch's work provides all of the ingredients for a political philosophy radically oriented against the mechanisms supporting institutional power, through contracts which would undermine the legitimacy of the law by dramatising its absurdity. While Deleuze positions Sade's subversion of institutional power as operating according to an art of irony, Sacher-Masoch's subversion of the contract relationship is likened to an art of humour, exemplified in such dispositions as mocking by submission and working to rule.

Inspired by Proudhon, Daniel Colson has already begun a rehabilitation of Leibniz's monadology for the anarchist project, but there is a way to implicate Deleuze's Sacher-Masoch in this undertaking as well. A common point between Deleuze's reading of Sacher-Masoch and Leibniz (as well as Kafka) is the replacement of the absolute Good with a relative Best as the foundation of the law. According to this, the man who obeys the law no longer become

righteous as he did when the appeal was made to the absolute Good, but instead, according to the appeal to the relative Best, guilty in advance, like the debtor who inherits a debt which can never be repaid. While Leibniz positions God as determinant of the Best to ensure the greatest diversity in the world as well as the greatest continuity between its diverse elements, the unseating of God would presumably unmask a radically discontinuous disparity animating the law, along with the absurd sense of guilt which acts as its accessory. What would the appeal to the Best be like in such a Godless, chaotic world of co-existing impossibles, and what role might the subversive force of humour play in relation to this appeal?

Gary Kinsman **Mapping Social Relations of Struggle: Producing Knowledge for Social Transformation**

Drawing on the perspective of political activist ethnography developed by George Smith in his article "Political Activist as Ethnographer" and in my own "Mapping Social Relations of Struggle: Activism, Ethnography, Social Organization" (both in *Sociology for Changing the World: Social Movements/Social Research*) this paper explores how university and movement based activists can collaborate in mapping the social relations of struggle our movements are engaged in. This mapping produces knowledge that can lead to more effective forms of activism and organizing as confrontations with ruling relations allow us to develop a much more grounded analysis of what we are up against and who are allies can be. Arguing that effective forms of activism/organizing and movement based knowledge production are grounded in analysis of social relations and social organization, this paper engages with questions relating to activist breaching experiments as a research strategy, how autonomist marxism can assist us in examining compositions of social struggle, and how those of us located in university contexts can avoid the disciplinary and class practices of professionalization and institutionalization. The concrete grounding for this presentation will be the practices of the global justice movement in Seattle, Quebec City, and at the G20 protests in Toronto 2010.

Sandy Krolick **A Specter is Haunting America**

What is haunting the globe today is the specter of primitive anarchy, a feral tendency buried deep within the marrow and musculature of the human species. It is a powerful instinct, an irrepressible will to survive the artfully constructed but cold hierarchical systems of domination that have been enslaving the planet for six millennia, and which are now failing. It is anarchic in the truest sense of the word: it seeks to be leaderless not merely in a political sense, but to be free from the tyrannical hegemony imposed by the civilizing logic of syllogistic reasoning itself. It seeks to make each person, each interaction, each moment unique, unclassifiable, open to will and chance. It seeks freedom in the polysemy of the senses, of the physical body—not the body politic. This specter is not imaginary: it is real, and it is upon us. It is now everywhere and has a will of its own. It can no longer be brought under control, through force or through reason, and there will be no escaping it. It is not interested in you; it is coming after who you are.

Paul Lemley **Navigating Respectability**

Anarchism has traditionally not been a part of the Western academic tradition. However, as some have remarked this current generation of students has shown an increased interest in radical politics, specifically anarchism. Thus, the dual narratives of this paper seek to address issues encountered by young anarchists* in an academic context. Specifically, despite our institutional differences, we will both illustrate how issues of social justice, inequity/oppression, and institutionalization affected both of our educational experiences and the alienation we experienced as anarchists within such a context. Additionally, we seek to address how anarchism can enrich the discourse surrounding our respective fields. Outside of these narratives, we will attempt to draw out how academic credentials are also potentially empowering by allowing us to position ourselves as subjects and to address potentially mainstream academic authorities. One of the major focuses of our discussion will be our experiences as young adults navigating one year masters programs as anarchist intellectuals. However,

it is not our contention that our experiences are necessarily the same or that they are universal, however, we do believe that from our disparate fields of study (Education and Philosophy respectively) there are important issues to be discussed within the context of anarchism and the academy.

Micheal Loadenthal **Militant Not Terrorists: How the Radical Animal and Earth Liberation Movement Challenges the State and Capitalism**

Throughout its 38 year history, the radical animal and earth liberation movement has been successful in advancing a strategy of economic sabotage through vandalism, animal liberations, arson and a number of tactics collectively known as sabotage. Despite the movement's history of largely avoiding violence against human life, many global governments have classified these movements, embodied in the Animal Liberation Front and Earth Liberation Front, as "terrorists." Contained in this rhetoric is the State's justification for a police strategy that includes the use of aggressive surveillance, agent provocateurs, paid informants and malicious sentencing. This talk will examine the history of these movements focused on their tactics and strategies. This history will be used to argue that the movement does not qualify as "terrorist," and will allow for a discussion of the Statecraft concerning the defaming and disruption of these groups. We will examine how this movement challenges State control in regards to the production of violence, and we will examine how it challenges capitalism's promise of protected private property. These themes will allow us to discuss the conclusion that while the movement clearly does not use terrorism, it does advocate a radical anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist politic that challenges State capitalism.

Timothy Luchies **Creative (Self-)Destruction: Critiquing White and Male Supremacy in North American Anarchism**

My research works from an anarchist perspective to engage with critical analyses of masculinity and whiteness in North America. In this paper, I discuss a number of internal critiques of male and white supremacy in anarchist practices (such as the dialogue around 'manarchy' and the work of APOC). Anarchism holds powerful practical and theoretical potential for pulling apart power relations adhering to dominant constructions of whiteness and masculinity in North America. But this orientation is not automatic. Forms of strategic (eg. focus on state/market) or ontological (eg. poststructural) reasoning in anarchist thought can function to silence anti-racist and feminist voices. They do so by dismissing the politicization of oppression and marginalization experienced inside collectives as hypersensitive and/or regressive identity politics.

These interventions point to issues crucial to anarchist thought and practice: the direct and indirect ways in which hierarchies of privilege impress upon alternative political praxis. Anarchism means action, often direct action through affinity and spokescouncil politics. It also means the destruction of privilege and practice of anti-oppressive (dis)organization. Many forms of privilege and penalty can remain operative and naturalized in anarchist collectives; cultural and social histories do not magically disappear in 'autonomous zones' or 'interstices'. I contend that these anti-racist and feminist critiques should be internalized as a (re-)intensification of the anti-hierarchic ethic at the heart of anarchism. They signal the need for increased attention to implementing anti-oppressive (dis)organization and continuous (re-)assessment of anarchist politics' relation (erosive or complicit) to hierarchies of gender and race, sexuality, ability, age and class.

Paul McLaughlin **Methodological Considerations on Anarchist Theory**

In a recently published paper (McLaughlin 2010), I argue that theoretical work is neces-

sary (though clearly insufficient) for the anarchist cause. This argument is directed at those who identify anarchism with activism of a specific (rather 'pure') kind. In this paper, I will argue for a number of further claims: (1) that the current state of anarchist theory is highly questionable; (2) that a number of theoretical options are open to anarchists; (3) that one such option is philosophical; (4) that anarchist philosophy should be pursued in a more systematic fashion than it has been to date (including in my own work (McLaughlin 2007)); (5) that a necessary preliminary to systematic work on anarchism is conceptual analysis; and (6) that many of the criticisms of such analysis can be overcome. Overall, then, I hope to clarify at least one methodological approach to anarchist studies.

Jorella A. Melendez Badillo **El Anarquismo En Puerto Rico: Su Influencia En La Cultura Proletaria En Las Primeras Dos Decades Del Siglo XX**

The history of anarchism has been consigned to oblivion by Puerto Rican historiography. This omission has tried to bury the life and work of several individuals who dedicated their lives to promulgate the anarchist ideal. Although it did not go as far as organizing a mass movement or create syndicates aligned with the ideal, it did mark and influenced substantially the workers' movement through an alternative pedagogical project and various *Círculos de Estudios*, or study circles, in which a great number of workers absorbed and elaborated ideas to create a better future. It is through the study of newspapers, pamphlets, propaganda sleeves, archival documents and the analysis of their literary work, along with the study of specific individuals, that we attempt to encode the influence of the anarchist ideal inside Puerto Rico's labor movement. Through this historical investigation we pretend to rescue several individuals and events that demonstrate the existence and materialization of the anarchist idea in the first two decades of the twentieth century hoping to create new alternatives for future radical historians.

Anthony Meza-Wilson Educational Projects for Decolonization: Anarchist Allyship and Resistance Education in the Americas

This paper considers movement schools for decolonization in the Americas including such projects as: autonomous schools, free schools/free universities, and indigenous community-based educational projects. In her book *Red Pedagogy*, Sandy Grande outlines how critical pedagogy, with its foundation in Marxist theory, has failed to adequately address the educational issues faced by indigenous people on Turtle Island. This paper is an examination of the ways in which Anarchist educational theories and projects both succeed and fail in addressing Grande's criticisms. Examples from historical and current educational projects that contextualize Anarchism and decolonization in real-world struggles demonstrate the practical aspects of building a movement for a decolonizing Anarchist education. Such projects include: Indigenous Free School, Unsettling Minnesota at the Experimental College of the Twin Cities, the EZLN educación autónoma, among others. Special attention will be paid to the relationship between Anarchist educational projects and the cultivation of Anarchist allyship for decolonization through education.

Kate Milbery History Will Teach Us Everything: Towards a Praxis of Social Justice

The rise of "new social movements" (NSMs) in the 1960s countercultural revolution issued a strong challenge to union-style organizing that focused on the state, targeting instead a range of social antagonisms such as racism, sexism, homophobia, and environmental destruction, and articulating complex critiques of the ways in which multiple forms of power intersect. Despite winning some social reforms, it became clear that the symbolic dissent and oppositional identity formation proffered by NSMs would not win societal transformation. The global justice movement(s) arose in the wake of post-industrial euphoria and the promised "end of history," erupting onto the global stage with 1999's "Battle of Seattle," the massive street demo-

nstration against the dominant neoliberal agenda. Strategies in the "newest social movements" (Day, 2005) shifted from centralized, hierarchical and organization-based to decentralized, horizontal and nodal, informally based on the affinity group model. Where NSMs rejected Marxist interpretations of politics as class struggle against economic exploitation, with state power as the ultimate goal of working class movements, the newest social movements reclaimed a socialist anarchist tradition rooted in consensus decision making (Downing, 2001), direct democracy, self-determination, mutual aid and autonomous collaboration. The global justice movement(s) embraced a unity of diversity, naming neoliberal capitalism as the common enemy in their diverse and often intensely localized struggles.

The new mode of social justice organizing took the state by surprise, not least its leaderless mobilization and adoption of new tactics such as direct action, which was added to a repertoire of contention based on Gandhian non-violence adopted by NSMs. The global justice movement(s) suffered a huge blow in the aftermath of 9/11 and the binary politics of terrorism/counterterrorism, which resulted in the resulting criminalization of dissent. Law enforcement began to learn from the GJM's decentralized, nodal, internetworked style of organizing, responding to major public demonstrations with increasing sophistication and force. This paper considers the evolution of anarchist organizing within the newest social movements, particularly the efficacy of the *blac bloc* tactic within the North American context. In the wake of the G20 economic summit in Toronto in 2010, it examines the sloganeering of "diversity of tactics," and searches for praxis rather than reactionary politics. Finally, this paper challenges anarchists within contemporary social justice movements to be reflexive and self-critical in the struggle for social justice; to look unflinchingly at past failures in order to build viable future alternatives; and to develop humane, effective and comprehensive strategies for societal transformation, ones that deepen and broaden our cause(s), undivorced from movement tactics, philosophies, and objectives.

Carrie Yvonne Mott Music in the Anarchist Movement: Radical Politics and Solidarity Through Song

Music has long been a historical force attracting people to the anarchist movement, allowing stories to be shared, and playing a key role in fostering solidarity through shared musical experience. My presentation entails a brief historical overview of anarchist music in the United States, including a look at music connected to the labor movement of the early 20th century, the 1960s civil rights movement(s) and protests against the Vietnam War, the role of folk music in the Earth First! movement, as well as punk rock and “alternative” music in more recent decades. Beyond a mere historical overview, my presentation will also include details of existing scholarship on the role of music in radical movements. This overview culminates in a focused exploration of music currently produced in the U.S. Southwest that focuses on border and immigration politics, specifically, a recent compilation album produced by a number of bands out of Phoenix, Arizona, *The Chronicles of Sheriff Joe Arpaio*. All songs on the album focus on Sheriff Joe Arpaio, figurehead of right-wing immigration politics in Arizona and a key proponent of the controversial SB-1070. Broadly, this presentation is designed to provide background to my upcoming trip to Arizona in the summer of 2011, where I will be interviewing musicians, Arizona anarchists, and others involved in the production and release of the album. My research hopes to answer the following questions: What were the goals of producing this album? What do anarcho-DIY musicians and scenesters in Arizona feel was/wasn't achieved by the project? How does this same group of people see the role of radical music in a broader political sense?

Joseph Todd Montclair Triangulating Freedom, Power, and Education; Learning Webs. Subjectivity, and Resistance

Ivan Illich and Michel Foucault both began their careers with sweeping critiques of modern society; Illich focusing on the contradictory aspects of industrialization while Foucault analyzed disciplinary power. With similar points of origin,

each set out on somewhat parallel paths to discover new forms of subjectivity and social organization that could counter such manipulative institutions and disciplinary powers. In light of the features of their critiques and the models they proposed, the school represents a space where the subject is unable to emerge. Only by changing the individual's relationship to learning and the structure in which this learning occurs, can an educational model encourage the arrival of the subject. The often-overlooked democratic aspects of Foucault's disciplinary power, coupled with the autonomous structure of Illich's learning webs can facilitate an understanding of freedom and education that encourages creativity and innovation in radically anarchic ways.

David Murray Social Tyranny of the State: Bakunin, Governmentality and Resistance

Bakunin argues that the individual is socially produced and that individual liberty and social equality are not mutually limiting but mutually constitutive. The state works to sever these social bonds and mediate all relations through the dominating forces of the state. Some postanarchists have argued that classical anarchists posit an essentially corrupt state against an essentially good society, but Bakunin's conception of society is more complex. Poststructuralists such as Foucault and Deleuze have illustrated a paradigm shift in contemporary society from sovereignty to control, from rule by law to rule by norms. Similarly, Bakunin analyzes the dark underside of society, the social tyranny that is more subtle, insidious and pervasive than the state. While Bakunin clearly distinguishes State domination from social tyranny, these forms of domination are increasingly superimposed, the state functioning through social tyranny, maintaining norms of inequality and possessive individualism. This heterodox assemblage of state and society characteristic of Empire poses new challenges to revolutionary action, increasing the importance of networked local actions, liberated spaces and the development of democratic practices beyond the state.

Bryan Nelson
Orientations and Mappings:
Anarchism, Marxism, Democracy:
Traditions in Theory

Anarchism, Marxism, Democracy: how do we situate these three great traditions of the Left in the twenty-first century? What is their relationship to one another historically, their points of agreement, their tensions and contradictions? How should we think of them conceptually? This paper intends to raise a broad range of issues which address these questions. At a time when we may feel very distant from the origins of these movements in modern industrial era Europe, this paper will attempt to offer a contemporary theoretical orientation highlighting some of their most significant features for today's struggles. Since the Second International, Anarchism and Marxism have developed in opposition to one another, theoretically and practically, each carving out its own struggle, its own strategies and its own critique. In our own time where the traditional Left has experienced so many setbacks and new movements have emerged (Civil Rights, Feminism, Environmentalism, Peace Movement) what is the relevance of this divide? What are their approaches to struggle and what are their visions of the future? My central thesis is that every liberatory struggle is, at its root, a struggle for autonomy: not a demand for more benevolent or more responsible governors, but a demand for self-rule and self-legislation, according to the principles of democracy and equality of condition. This is both a political and economic project. Therefore, the criteria in which we should ultimately evaluate Anarchism and Marxism today is one of democracy in its most radical form

Dawn Paley
Beyond Alternative Media:
Building Space for Radical
Journalism

Expands on notions of radical journalism, and rejects the reformist role that is imposed on radicals when democratizing media and media reform are the stated end goals of organizing. It is a response to an essay written by SFU School of Communications Professor Bob Hackett.

Andrea Palichuk
Alienation and Exclusion in Food
Lifestyle Politics and Anarchist
Organizing

My current research examines the commodification of food in a neoliberal, capitalist society. I am exploring not only the cultural and political implications associated with the shift from understanding food as a basic need to be fulfilled to viewing food as a commodity to be sold and marketed; I am also examining some of the counter movements that have arisen out of this shift. I am looking at different resistances based on food politics, including 'vegan,' 'go local,' and 'organic' food movements from a critical perspective. I am interested in how these food lifestyle movements, which originated as a resistance against the increased industrialization of food, continue to work according to a neoliberal logic within capitalism. These movements, or lifestyles, are fraught with differing intersections of power relations, and work within a pattern of consumption, which makes them inaccessible to many people. In my own research, I will be using queer theory critiques of identity politics to consider how food lifestyle movements work as a sort of performed identity of consumption that creates boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. These movements in particular are an excellent focus that encompasses broader questions and considerations regarding the accessibility of resistance initiatives, not only from a race and class perspective, but also from a cultural perspective. That is, how do the discourses and cultural aesthetics of different resistance movements alienate people?

The overall goal of my current research project is to examine how the commodification of food, and newly developed counter movements that work according to similar commodity logic, reproduce patterns of inclusion and exclusion and relationships of power. However, for this conference, I am particularly interested in considering politics of resistance in looking at these lifestyle movements. I hope to look at what anarchist discussions of resistances would look like. Furthermore, I would hope to complicate anarchist discourses of resistances. We can consider these critiques of identity politics, and particularly alienation as a result of cultural aesthetics within anarchist movements. How

do anarchist cultural presentations within organizing and resistances reproduce patterns of consumption and how do they also work to alienate potential allies? It is this question I will be exploring, using my critical explorations of food lifestyle movements.

Shaista Patel

Inviting Settlers of Color in Nation Building Projects of White-Settler Colonies

Several anti-racist and anti-colonial theorists have critically examined the presence of people of color in white-settler colonies (Amadahy, 2008; Fujikane & Okamura, 2008; Haig-Brown, 2009; Lawrence & Dua, 2005; Thobani, 2007; Trask, 2000). While some of us have argued that regardless of how we first came here, we people of color are indeed settlers on this land, along with recognizing that our relationship to this land is different from that of white settlers (Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009; Patel, 2010), there is still a common understanding in anti-colonial literature that whiteness is a pre-condition for being a settler on Turtle Island. This, I argue, allows settlers of color to ?race to innocence? (Fellows & Razack, 1998) and deny their responsibilities and complicity in the ongoing dispossession of the First Peoples here. My paper begins with a firm belief that white settlers today are no less guilty of genocide than the ?original? white settlers, and that as such, we have to critically examine the role of settlers of color too who live on this land and benefit from the settlement process today. My paper will specifically address the following questions: Who are the settlers of color in Canada? Where do we think we have come to, and most importantly, how are we invited into a white-settler subjecthood in a white-settler colony? I will examine critical anti-racist and anti-colonial literature on multiculturalism, along with examining liberal discourses of ?minority rights? in white-settler colonies in order to look at the material and psychic constitution of settlers of color in Canada.

Wayne Price

The Anarchist Post-Capitalist Vision

Research Group on Collective Autonomy Ethics and Accountability in Prefigurative Participatory Antiauthoritarian Research

We are a small research collective, embedded within the anarchist and antiauthoritarian milieu in Montreal, engaged in Participatory Action Research (PAR), researching for and with our activist groups and networks. As such, it is grass-roots activists who are directly engaged in all phases of the research: from developing research questions to elaborating methods; from conducting and participating in interviews to validating findings; and from disseminating findings within the academic milieu to creating tools for action. The heart of our research is our commitment to antiauthoritarian values and practices, which ground our ethics: cooperation, mutual aid, liberation, direct democracy, collective autonomy, lived equality and mutual respect. At the same time, this research project is situated in the academic milieu, where we are trying to make an impact. What are some of the ethical challenges for antiauthoritarian action research in a hierarchical university context? How do we bridge the seemingly insurmountable gap between grass-roots knowledge producers and more traditional methods of scholarly knowledge production? How can we provide space for activists to document histories and produce useful tools, while challenging traditional academic research methods in the process? How do we negotiate the tensions that arise when we run the risk of recuperation of our research by the state, on the one hand, and of alienating the very activist networks we are a part of, on the other? These are some of the questions we wish to address, based on our own experiences, as participants on the panel "Movement Knowledge-Movement Research".

Our research collective has faced many ethical challenges that have put our integrity to the test. In the process of getting ethics approval, we confronted the possibility that our data may be subpoenaed by the police, and collectively decided that we would risk jail time rather than put participants at risk by releasing data. Other challenges occur around funding, because some collective members are neither academics nor students and can thus not be funded

by our SSHRC government research grant, whereas we believe it is our experience as anti-authoritarian activists rather than our level of education that qualifies us as researchers. Our status in the university brings its own set of challenges to our activism, such as acknowledgement of privilege acquired through academic work, and accountability to our communities and social movements. Is our research achieving goals consistent with these a priori commitments? These are complex questions, not easily yielding to an academic vs. activist binary, particularly as some of us are both. Rather we are engaged in a constant struggle to build on pockets of resistance inside the university system, and to maintain a strong ethical position where our collective autonomy and other activist values are not compromised. The ethical commitments of our collective thus both derive from and extend beyond accountability to our participants and academia, to answer to the more profound project of radical social transformation that is at the heart of all of our work.

Andreas Reichelt When the universities were burning (with activism) in...2009

The largest lecture halls taken over (squatted) for over two months. Thousands of students participating. Young people articulating demands well beyond the admissible spectrum of opinion. Mass-demonstrations with over ten thousand attending. A diverse participatory community emerges, building up its own social infrastructure for a myriad of working groups, an alternative "curriculum" of workshops and international conferences for networking. The protest spreads from the venerable University of Vienna to over 40 universities mostly in the German speaking countries. 1968? 2009!

The education protest movement started in Vienna, Austria, in October 2009, grew explosively and was sparkling with the energy and imagination of a thousands of students well into the late November. The movement has since then shrunken to a core of dedicated activists. I'd like to give a brief report for "new-worlders" on what has been the social and politically defining experience with democratic community building for many of my generation in Austria and beyond. After a basic introduction to some of the development and demands of the stu-

dent uprising and the political context, I would like to focus on what I believe we can learn from this movement, including:

- Activists naturally gravitated toward structures of participatory democracy in a pretty large community (in a privileged sector), experimenting with collaborative structures and
- (Re-)inventing a culture of dialog and techniques of moderation aiming at showing respect for every individual and making visible and fighting discrimination within the movement itself.
- Students and (some) teachers marched together under the banner of education for personal and social growth and development – an impromptu mixture of conservative and radical values and in so doing
- Managed to appeal to (young) people across party divides and were (at first) impossible to place in the political landscape.
- The movement was/is characterized by a blend of lifestyle, activism, and intellectual inquiry which will be generally familiar to anarchists.
- Unlike previous student ferment, there was no split in the movement – diverse groups managed to coordinate and co-exist.

This happened in the hotbed of radicalism ... Vienna. Thus it can happen here as well.

Ron Sakolsky Mutual Acquiescence

What I will refer to here as "mutual acquiescence" is the social adhesive that cements the bricks of alienation and oppression which structure our daily lives into a wall of domination. It is a major obstacle to the practice of what anarchists refer to as "mutual aid" in that the latter is concerned with providing the cooperative means for vaulting that wall. While cooperation can take many forms, for Peter Kropotkin, who developed the evolutionary theory of mutual aid in relation to human behavior, its quintessence in the political realm is anarchy. With that in mind, I will take the liberty here of referring to the concept of mutual aid only in the anarchist sense, and will consider those cooperative human relationships associated with welfare state capitalism and state socialism as being built upon forms of mutual acquiescence because of their implicit or explicit statist assumptions

which run counter to anarchy.

Even in its least cooperative and most authoritarian forms, mutual acquiescence cannot simply be equated with unmediated mass conformity to societal norms. It is instead composed of the paralyzing intermediary social relationships which are the scaffolding of that conformity. What makes mutual acquiescence so insidious is that it is a form of social control which is rooted in the everyday relationships which compose the lived experience of domination. Accordingly, an analysis of how mutual acquiescence prevents and immobilizes individual and collective forms of direct action allows for a more nuanced model of the processes of domination and resistance than can be afforded by merely referencing the devastating effects of conformity imposed from above.

Amparo Sanchez Cobos **The Island and Beyond:** **Spanish Anarchist Networks in** **Cuba, 1900–1925**

The independence of Cuba in the late Nineteenth century changed the situation of the anarchists in the island. Until then their groups and activities have been located mainly in the city of Havana and in areas near the capital, being thus related to the urban world. The Twentieth century would go beyond this framework to spread the libertarian ideology through the rest of the island and, at the same time, to connect this movement with other countries, mainly with Spain. It is true that the connections of workers in Cuba with others outside the island, especially with those of Spain, were reinforced during the middle decades of the Nineteenth century and, as far as anarchism is concerned, the ties began in the seventies reaching its peak in the eighties and nineties through the receipt of libertarian press from Spain and through the arrival of some Spaniards leaders who emigrated to Havana. However, we have to take account two realities for that period: first, Cuba was still a Spanish colony; and, secondly, the presence of Spanish anarchists then was much lower compared with the influx that occurred after the emancipation. As demonstrated by Joan Casanovas Codina, during the final decades of Nineteenth century, most Spaniards became engaged in the anarchist current in Cuba.

Therefore, it can be said that the penetration of Cuban libertarian movement within the international anarchist networks organized in the Atlantic world from the final decades of the Nineteenth century occurred, more properly, since 1899. And in that process, the role played by the Spanish anarchists was fundamental. The repressions against workers, common in Europe at the end of the Nineteenth century, and the globalization and spread of means of communication on both sides of the Atlantic, provided the causal and technical support to these specific migrations. In that sense, the ties established by the Spanish anarchists in Cuba, which transcended national Cuban boundaries, allow us to examine the anarchism in Cuba from a transnational perspective. We're interested in analyzing the relations of Cuban anarchist communities with those of other countries, mainly Spanish, also in revising the travels of anarchists back and forth the island, the transfer of ideas, as well as the transplantation and adaptation of practices and experiences from other countries in Cuba. In other words, we sit the Cuban anarchist transnationalism in terms of circuits of activities, networks, and mutual influences revised beyond the borders of the island and provided mostly by Spanish anarchists.

Kirt Shaffer **Panama Reds: Anarchist Politics** **and Transregional Networks in the** **Panama Canal Zone, 1904–1916**

This paper is part of a larger manuscript project on transnational anarchism in the Caribbean from the 1890s to 1920s. During that time, anarchist groups and movements emerged in Cuba, Mexico, Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone. Historically, these groups have been studied in isolation, usually as part of their "countries" labor movements or more recently as cultural and social movements—but again within a national framework. This paper illustrates how anarchists in the Panama Canal Zone utilized their international and transnational linkages to not only build a movement in the Zone during the construction phase from 1904 to 1914 but also how the Zone became the home to two rival anarchist movements who themselves were linked to two rival anarchist networks that stretched from Panama

outward to Argentina, Cuba, Spain, Mexico and California. While anarchists in the Zone pressed for better working conditions for all laborers and attacked US, Panamanian and Catholic elites in the Zone, these same anarchists became the financial backbone for new anarchist periodicals in Havana and northwestern Spain as well as organizers of an anarchist federation with branches in Panama, Cuba, Spain and Canada. However, ideological rivalries tore apart these efforts when the most active anarchist activist in the Zone, M.D. Rodríguez, began to use his transnational network to attack rival anarchists in Cuba, the Zone, and especially in the Partido Liberal Mexicano led by Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón along the US-Mexico border. This paper then illustrates how the rival transnational network sprung into action to attack Rodríguez. Overall, the paper illustrates how anarchists, who never considered themselves in nationalist terms but instead as internationalists, put these international perspectives into practice. At the same time, the paper illustrates how these same transnational and transregional networks could be used as a means of “policing” the international movement and attacking those they saw as undermining the global anarchist cause.

Deric Shannon **An Overview of Anarchist Economics**

Alexis Shotwell **Practical Strategies for anarchist writing: A workshop**

Writing is an important way to communicate about, work through, and reflect on our movements and struggles. It is also a vital part of our struggles. The capacity to write with ease, joy, and fluidity is rare: it is crushed in us through formal schooling, bad teachers, and a world that fundamentally doesn't mind if radicals have a hard time putting our thoughts to paper so that they can be shared. Many of us deal with the challenge of writing by waiting for deadlines to run us down so that we have to produce something, anything -- using crises to force ourselves through the panic and boredom writing can induce. Others simply don't write at all.

Usually, the ways that writing is bad and useless come directly out of the conditions and methods that school has trained us to use. Writing with ease is about class, race, rurality, gender, and more; people raised with money, time, “good” schools, parents who didn't work nights, and so on tend to read and write more easily, and have more entitlement in their writing. People who write from lived experiences that counters these norms are frequently told, implicitly and explicitly, that they have nothing worthwhile to say, or that they are constitutionally incapable of writing.

When writing is not understood as an important part of our movement work, the people who end up producing writing about anarchist currents and movements are academics and journalists; because they are often not directly engaged in organizing (or are attempting to use their reflections on work they are involved with also for their own academic or journalistic careerism), they document and reflect on our work badly. Successful academic writers have dysfunctions specific to academe, which are carried into attempts at writing that might be relevant or useful to activists, organizers, regular non-academic people, and movements.

In this workshop, I offer some strategies for writing inside and outside academe, from an anarchist sensibility. I focus on: beginning the writing process; dealing with anxiety, procrastination, and panic about writing; organizing the material realities of the writing process; knowing when to stop writing; communicating with people who can give you feedback; setting up support structures for writing.

I was a writing teacher for five years. Now that I teach in a university setting (and not in the writing program), I focus particularly on trying to support people who are not enabled by current social relations in finding writing tools for struggle. I've taught versions of this workshop to grad students and undergrads, offered it formally at the 2010 Montreal Anarchist Bookfair, and informally given versions of it to activist and organizer friends. My experience with all these groups tells me that activists both in and outside of schools can gain a lot from developing intentional writing practices and strategies.

Erin Skinner
**No Masters! Animal
Liberation and Anarchism**

Chris Spannos
**The History of Anarchist
Economics as a Lens to See the
Future**

Kalin Stacey
**Innocence and Complicity in
Anarchist Discourse**

Anarchism is often defined as a political theory dedicated to the abolishment of the state, capitalism, and law. Many anarchists extrapolate this anti-authoritarianism towards a struggle against all forms of domination or oppression; however, there continues to be tension within contemporary anarchist movements between enemy-focused political struggle on the one hand and critical reflection on the intersectional, multiplicitous nature of oppressions and their accompanying privileges on the other. In this discussion I hope and explore critical race theory, feminism, and identity politics as they relate to anarchism, and probe/question to what degree these analyses can be helpful in informing a prefigurative politics that addresses the complicity of anarchists in the power relations they seek to overthrow.

Testament
**Building Bridges and Working with
Unlikely Allies**

Travis Tomchuck
**The Radical Culture of Italian
Anarchists in North America**

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries constituted a period of intense cultural output by the left. Anarchists were no exception. They created an enormous diversity of artistic and cultural forms to challenge capitalism, unite activists, and direct political action. These forms included newspapers, political cartoons, drama societies, and radical “holidays” among

others. Whether it was the radical plays of Pietro Gori performed by *filodrammatiche* or the numerous social events organized to raise funds for the movement, anarchists used art and culture to resist the role of government and capital in creating patriotic and hard-working citizens committed to the perpetuation of the status quo. As Salvatore Salerno notes, these forms were also “a means of unifying workers and ... a basis [from which] to move against the repressive social conditions of industrial development that extended beyond the point of production.” As an “oppositional ideology,” anarchism not only had to demonstrate that there were alternatives to the capitalist liberal democratic order, but was also required to develop strategies for building and maintaining these movements. This paper will argue that culture was invaluable not only as a means for Italian anarchists to maintain, reinforce, and expand their transnational movement, but also laid the basis for mobilization.

Michael Truscello
The Trouble With Social Media

This paper will consider some of the social theories that suggest social media are by themselves not sufficient to generate real social change. The goal of the paper is to outline some social theories, and then to have the audience contribute experiences with social media and radical organizing. The social theories in question are: Nigel Thrift’s “knowing capitalism” (via David Beer), Jodi Dean’s “communicative capitalism,” and Malcolm Gladwell’s recent piece in the *New Yorker* (“Small Change”) on the inability of social media to produce what sociologists call “strong social ties,” something essential to a radical social movement. I see this paper as an opportunity to educate some activists on the potential pitfalls of social media, and an opportunity for activists to educate each other on social media practices and radical organizing. That is, I would very much like to use half of my time for discussion.

Madison Trusolino
The Emancipatory Struggle

Violence used for the purpose of protest is often heavily contested. Common uses of violence during a protest such as violent destruction of

property, the clash with the police and the screams and shouts of chants are often questioned and thought of as unnecessary, but the resort to violence shows the hidden message: that there are limited options outside of violence to meaningfully oppose the state. The small portion of protests that are allowed by the government in their right to free assembly give the illusion that the protester is participating in a free and open forum for democratic discussion. Like being given the right to vote, the right to strike or participate in and organize peaceful assemblies keeps the protesters in the confines of the system. I argue that in order to truly reach emancipation the protest must be an act of breaking free from the system. The protest must do what is outside of the law, protesters must retaliate against their rights and embrace the violent nature of their protest uniting against oppression in the emancipatory struggle. I will begin by define and elaborate on the emancipatory struggle. I will then provide an analysis of state and bourgeois control through the discourse of rights with an emphasis on the class conflict. I will make extensive use of examples including the mandate of the G-20 protests and the recent struggles in the Paris suburbs. Using the theoretical concepts of Benjamin, Zizek, Virilio and Sorel I will discuss divine and mythical violence in relation to the emancipatory struggle and the spectacle of the protest demonstrating the strength of the solidarity of the people.

Davide Turcato Biography, Anarchism and Transnationalism

In studying anarchist movements should we prioritize "the forest" or "the trees"? In fact, collective history and biography benefit from each other in identifying the most fruitful common framework of analysis, which is the transnational one. The cross-border mobility of individual anarchist militants reveals the inadequacy of collective histories confined to national territories. Conversely, individual lives cease to seem the wanderings of displaced knights errant and exhibit instead a coherent pattern once they are set on the backdrop of a transnational movement. I illustrate my argument by comparing the lives of three foremost Italian anarchists: Francesco Saverio Merlino, Pietro Gori, and Errico Malatesta. Their intersecting

journeys draw an Atlantic map that ranges from England to Argentina and the United States. Focusing especially on the respective sojourns in this last country I show that there was a common pattern in their transnational action in the United States: each of them sought to establish an organ with a well-defined tactical perspective, provide their Italian comrades with a programme, and promote the development of an anarchist federation. This common pattern of action reveals a continuity of action and a focus on organization that clash with the received view of anarchism as synonymous with spontaneity and lack of organization.

Mitchell Verter Towards an Anarchafeminist Subversion of Politics

In my presentation, I will argue that anarchism must strive to subvert not merely the dominant political order but the order of politics itself. From its ancient beginnings to its modern incarnations, political thought has tried to determine the correct form of rulership, instituting various forms of domination and repressing femininity. Aristotle commences the *Politics* by differentiating different types of human communities, arguing that the polis is superior to the household (*oikos*). Whereas man can demonstrate his masculine virtue in the polis, he exerts absolute power over the *oikos* by his practice of *oikonomos*, the ordering of the household and the acquisition of property. Aristotle therefore reduces the household to a domestic sphere, a space established by the dominus through a process of domestication and domination. In contrast to this political domestication, I will investigate the home as something with its own integrity, as something that does not depend on its location within the state. Using work on care ethics and maternal thinking, I will discuss a non-patriarchal notion of the home as a site for empathic human relationships, a communal model which could potentially undermine the hierarchies instituted by the state. I will further argue that this reconsideration of communality would also reorient the way that we consider human economy. Rather than focus on what rights to ownership are accrued through the acts of production, we could instead consider human the human need for sustenance, both dignifying our own and accepting responsibility for others'.

Dan Webb

'The Left's Wrong Turn and the Postmodern Disavowal of Anarchism'

My paper explores what might be called the "post-Marxist" moment in academia, otherwise known as the "postmodern turn." More specifically, I am interested in asking the question: when the academic Left largely abandoned Marxism in the late '60s and early '70s, why did the intellectual vacuum get filled by postmodernism? In hindsight, this was a disastrous turn of events for the academic Left, and it appears that it could have turned out differently. That is, what if the erstwhile Marxists shifted their allegiance not to the depoliticising discourse of postmodernism but instead toward anarchism – a living, breathing political position, with a long tradition of political activism? My paper argues that, in some ways, the academic left did in fact turn their attention and loyalties toward anarchism, but in a disavowed form. Various forms of the most popular expressions of postmodernism, I argue, contain within them anarchist ethical principles and political insights that, if articulated in a properly avowed anarchist framework, might go a long way toward reconstructing genuine left-wing thought today. It should be noted that my approach to this question is firmly situated within a critique of the dominant "critical" approaches to political theory today. Therefore, this is not a discussion of the "postanarchist" thought of theorists like Todd May or Saul Newman, although they may be referred to tangentially in the paper.

David Westling

Anarchism and Individual Psychology

The ideal of anarchism has been with us for centuries, but in order for this ideal to cross over into the realm of practice, one must look beyond the futile moralism of many of its early exponents and find a way to integrate this dream into the practical concerns of everyman and everywoman. The discipline of psychology, still, after all, in its infancy, has been the only one which has shown any promise of moving us forward in this endeavor. From Wilhelm Reich's *Mass Psychology of Fascism* to Otto Gross' *Revolutionary Unconscious*, Marcuse's non-repressive society and Stirner's excoria-

tion of the fixed idea, it is psychology which holds the most promise of transforming the shattered interior life of the embattled person into something which could accept the conditions for a self and society without the need for law, in any forthright estimation, the fundamental obstacle to an anarchist society worth the name. In this essay, I wish to inventory and examine certain landmarks in this quest for a new psychology with an eye towards coordinating these visions of a new individual and social structure and eliminating the contradictions and detours preventing clarity.

Dana Williams & Jeff Shantz Defining an Anarchist-Sociology (A Long-Anticipated Marriage)

There is no established intellectual tradition of an "anarchist-sociology"—yet. A vibrant synthesis of anarchism and sociology has yet to be generated, whether that synthesis would be mere subject matter or a subfield within Sociology, or if it were an established ideology or theoretical tradition. Here, we compare these two distinct traditions, with an eye towards potential overlap. A definition for anarchist-sociology rooted in praxis—a critique of society and a transformative vision of societies—is created. As anarchism has a strong—yet unfocused—sociological theme already, we focus on anarchizing the discipline of Sociology in-line with core anarchist values, namely freedom, anti-authoritarianism, direct action, mutual aid, and decentralization.

Abbey Willis

Tools for Understanding Capitalism in the 2000s

Alden Wood

'On Bernadette Corporation's Get Rid of Yourself': An Anarcho-Autonomist Critique of the Mimetic Representation of Revolt

Known for being collaborators with such groups as Tiqqun, The Invisible Committee, Claire Fontaine, and Theorie Communiste, the art collective simply known as the Bernadette Corporation has been exploring the relationship between mimesis and insurrection in aesthetic forms as disparate as fashion, film, and

literature since the mid-1990s. Their 2003 documentary film, "Get Rid of Yourself" indirectly functions as a means to examine how ingrained Biopower has become within the Spectacle of Empire, in that it frames the supposed anti-capitalist opposition present in Genoa for the G8 counter-summit in 2001 as revolt which is mimetic, and as such is merely recuperated into the logic of representation within the Spectacle. The film is influenced both by neo-Situationist thought and the early writing of the autonomous-marxist journal *Tiqqun*. As such, the Bernadette Corporation calls into question the very act of resistance as representation, and in so doing desubjectivizes the authorial roles of "anticapitalist", "anarchist", "activist" and a whole host of other subject-signifiers. This paper will draw both from Guy Debord's *Society of the Spectacle* and *Tiqqun's* trajectory of autonomist thought as a means to underscore the ways in which the Bernadette Corporation uses the medium of film as a means to not only desubjectivize the "actors" within the context of the "documentary" and its de-essentialized representation of the events of the 2001 Genoa summit protests, but to desubjectivize the viewers of the "documentary" itself as a means to call into question the dichotomized nature of contemporary anticapitalist resistance. This subtle recuperation into the logic of capital is explored by examining what happens when "resistance" to Empire begins to function as representations of representations, and how this trend is indicative of the ways in which the Spectacle contains within its own pretense, its very antithesis.

Grant Yocom

The 'Last Man' in Detroit: Timely Revisions and New Targets for the Arrows of Longing

There are at least three reasons why a North American city in crisis like Detroit represents an interesting puzzle for a Nietzschean form of criticism. First, Nietzsche distrusts all forms of empty idealism. By focusing a Nietzschean criticism on a city like Detroit we provide a 'touchable' case that can at once make plain the weight of the particular forms of metaphorical criticism offered by Nietzsche, and their shortcomings in the present cultural context we inhabit. Put simply, as a case study Detroit works well as an immediate experiential

framework centered within the concrete biological needs of its population. By so focusing, we avoid the general, all too general forms of abstract cultural criticism and emphasize, as Nietzsche would, the natural, material and biological. As will become clear through this exposition, such a concretized contextual approach is vital for the appropriation of the Nietzschean position.

Secondly, Nietzsche centers his critical emphasis on the interplay between the creative individual and their culture. Generally, while Nietzsche issues most of his prescriptive analyses for the benefit of the critical and creative individual, his criticisms are aimed at the embodiments of mass-culture and the various forms value that these embodiments instantiate. An off-the-cuff understanding of Nietzsche would treat him as a normative solipsist. Specifically, it is all too easy to understand the idea of a morality "Beyond Good and Evil" as a statement that we can do whatever we want. However, looking at Nietzsche in terms of the concretized case study of post-industrial Detroit reveals that the meta-arguments and normative criticisms offered in his work only make sense when viewed in terms of a particular crisis. Specifically, on the fringe of Detroit we find a number of community gardening organizations that instantiate embedded substantive and needs based forms of normative criticism – still themselves beyond good and evil and emerging from the crisis-context in which we find them. This project will recognize such communities and organizations as fine examples of embodied Nietzsche-styled criticisms in action.

Thirdly, Nietzsche does not try to overcome human suffering as a 'problem,' but rather focuses on productive frictions emerging from such suffering. More simply, since strife breeds innovation, a post-industrial city in crisis with concrete forms of suffering both motivates and demands a response. Detroit, then, provides us with a fine contemporary example of the 'splendid tension of spirit' which Nietzsche discusses as absolutely necessary for spiritual progress, while the modern context we examine will necessitate inversions and revisions of Nietzsche's critical position which are edifying in and of themselves.

This research project will explore a contextual analysis of Nietzschean criticism intended to shed light on both necessary theoretical revisions to Nietzsche's position in light of the Detroit case, and the particular criticisms of the cultural situation within Detroit in light of such revisions. In this project it will be necessary to delineate between what I would like to call Nietzsche's meta-arguments, and what can be taken to be historically and contextually rooted particular criticisms. Accordingly, this project will maintain several elements of Nietzsche's meta-argument, while revising in a timely manner the particular prescriptions for a culture in crisis issued by Nietzsche to suit the contemporary crisis situation faced by Detroit.

Kenyon Zimmer
**'Yiddish is My Homeland': A
Transatlantic History of Jewish-
American Anarchism, 1880s-1930s**

This presentation summarizes the origins and evolution of the Yiddish-speaking anarchist movement in the United States. At its peak in the 1910s, Yiddish anarchism was the largest segment of American anarchism and proportionately the most influential anarchist movement within an American immigrant population. Special attention is given to the place of anarchism in the Jewish-American community, transnational influences on this movement (and its own influence abroad), and anarchist debates over "the Jewish Question" and Zionism.

G20 Legal Defence Fundraising!

The G20 has come and gone; the heads of state and finance ministers of the world's twenty richest countries and central bank governors have left Toronto to further their policies of systematic exploitation and destruction elsewhere. That said, our communities are still very much reeling in the aftermath of the G20 summit. Following the wave of brutal police repression that swept down upon the streets of Toronto, and the ongoing criminalization of dissent in the city, a Legal Defence Fund has been established to provide financial support for all those facing G20 related criminal charges.

Over the course of the summit weekend 1,105 people were arrested, a number unprecedented in Canadian history. Community organizers were picked up on preemptive morning house raids. Others were picked up by snatch squads of plain clothed police in unmarked vehicles. Others still were picked up in one of the countless rounds of mass arrests. Of those who were arrested, many are facing criminal charges, dozens of whom are facing severe conspiracy charges.

The legal battle that now stands ahead of these respected community activists, our cherished friends and allies, will be incredibly costly. By conservative estimates legal costs will be in the ballpark of a quarter of a million dollars. In light of this fact, all of the money generated by this conference will be donated to the G20 Legal Defence Fund.

Upon registering for the conference, and paying the sliding scale fee we ask that you keep this in mind, and in the spirit of mutual aid, for those with extra disposable income please be extra generous.

2011 Toronto Anarchist Bookfair April 15-17 @ The Steelworkers Hall

It's time to pause for a minute, think about the city and the world we want to live in, celebrate all we've done and make plans for what comes next. It's time to take inspiration from each other and make connections. It's time to build bridges in and across our fractured city and our disparate movements. And it's time to read a few good books.

On April 15th-17th, the Toronto Anarchist Bookfair will be putting forward new theories and kick-starting them into practice with a weekend of workshops, actions, speakers, conversations, new friends, festivities, books and zines. We're calling out to all anarchist publishers, artists, infoshops, zinesters, activist groups, community organizations and like-minded folks. Tell us what workshops you want to facilitate! Tell us you want to table! Tell us you want to perform! Tell us what other sorts of things you'd like to see happen this year! Dream big!

toanarchistbookfair@gmail.com

The Toronto Anarchist bookfair will be held at Steelworkers' Hall, a barrier-free venue with accessible washrooms. Attendant care, childcare, and food will be available. More details on accessibility will be forthcoming as we put things together, but please get in touch if you have specific questions, thoughts, or requests.

