Anarchism PO53022A (Spring 2013)

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This unit focuses on the history, politics and ideology of anarchism chiefly from its origins in the nineteenth century to 1939. There will be a discussion of anarchism in the post-1945 period but the main aim of the unit is to trace the origins and development of anarchist ideology (Godwin, Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Goldman, etc.) and the associated social and labour movements in Europe and the Americas (from the Paris Commune of 1871 to the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939, and the Haymarket Riot of Chicago of 1886 and the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920 to the Russian Revolution and Civil War of 1917-1921). We will investigate anarcho-collectivism, anarcho-communism, anarcho-individualism and anarcho-syndicalism. The relationship between anarchist movements and terrorism will also be discussed, but so too will the relationship of art and education to anarchism. But these will also be a substantial time devoted to anarchist-type movements and ideas, which developed throughout the world before 1800 and as well a discussion of the ‘ism’, anarchism, its reception and interchange with thinkers, ideas and movements in Asia and Africa.

Course Aims

- To examine the concepts and values which are central to anarchist thought.
- To consider the place of anarchism in key historical events.
Learning Outcomes

- Be able to understand critically the nature of anarchism.
- Understand the place of anarchism in a broad historical context.

Requirements: Students will submit one research essay of 4000 to 5000 words. You may use the topic questions for any given week for your essay.

Please note plagiarism is not permitted: by now you know the consequences.

For the deadline for the submission of the essay please consult your student handbook or the departmental office.

These are important overviews of and engagements with anarchism.


**I suggest you buy Kinna and Marshall.**

**Useful Anthologies**


If you want an anthology of anarchist writings I suggest you buy Graham’s three volumes or Guerin or get a second-hand copy of Woodcock (I believe it is out of print). And then there is Iain McKay’s *An Aarchist FAQ* (Volume One), AK Press is, 2008. This a very useful dictionary of anarchism (one of a kind).

For the broader Utopian Tradition see

L. Davis and R. Kinna (eds.), *Anarchism and Utopianism*, Manchester University Press, 2009 and :


**Websites**

There are some extremely useful websites. Ronald Creagh has created a multi-lingual site called R.A Forum (Research on Anarchism). It takes a while to get the hang of it but just google RA Forum (Research on Anarchism) ([www.raforum.info](http://www.raforum.info) etc) and then go to the site map. There you will found a wide variety of approaches to academic
references (ideology, biography, history, philosophy, current events etc. by country and theme). Pitzer College also has a very good website: 

www.dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives. You can download texts by Chomsky, Goldman, Kropotkin, Malatesta and Reclus. Then there is the Kate Sharpley Library for anarchist history and research: www.katesharpleylibrary.net.

You should also check the website of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, which has a tremendous archive (built around the former personal archive of the ‘Herodotus of anarchism’ (Max Nettlau)) and the IISH’s journal, *International Journal of Social History*. Google IISH, International Institute of Social History and *International Journal of Social History*. The other site to visit is the anarchist studies network sponsored by the Anarchist Studies Group of the Political Studies Association (the professional association of those who teach politics in the UK, who my follow Yanks call ‘political scientists’. asn@lists_anarchist studies_network.org.uk. Ask to join up and you will be connected to a lively discussion group.

Three journals are essential: *Anarchist Studies*, *Social Anarchism*, and *Anarchy: A Journal Desire Armed* (google them).

The website of Freedom Press and the Freedom Bookshop is also very useful. The journal *Freedom* was founded in London by Kropotkin in 1886. It is still publishing. For an East End tour and a wonderful sense of history, a visit to the bookshop is worthwhile (which is very well stocked): 84b Whitechapel High Street, London EC 7QX. It’s down Angel Alley and there is a lovely mural on the side of the wall.

**Seminars:**

**Topics will be the theme questions and other issues discussed by the groups.**
Essay questions are the theme questions posed in each session as listed below.

1 and 2. Introduction: The Origins of the Ideology of Anarchism: The Historical Context

To what extent is anarchism a product of the European Age of Ideologies, the rise of the modern nation-state and the emergence of industrialism?

During these two weeks you should read one of the introductory texts such as Ward, 2004(pp. 1-13); Marshall, 1993 (pp. 1-142), Woodcock (many editions), chapter 2 (‘The Family Tree’); Joll (1979), pp. 3-44; Kinna, 2005, pp. 1-43.


3. Godwin and Stirner

1. What were the connections between William Godwin’s political philosophy and English radicalism?

2. In what ways did Stirner affect the histories of anarchism and Marxism?

Core Reading: Marshall, Chapter 15, ‘William Godwin: The Lover of Order’, or Woodcock, Chapter 3, ‘The Man of Reason’.

**Other Readings**

Godwin and the British background:


Stirner:


4. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon

1. Was Proudhon a man of paradox?

2. In what ways did Proudhon anticipate anarcho-syndicalism?


Other Reading:


5. Bakunin

1. A great thinker or a man of action? How did Bakunin shape anarchism in the 19th century?


**Core Reading:** Marshall, Chap 18 (‘The Fanatic of Freedom’) or Woodcock Chap 6 (‘The Destructive Urge’) or Joll Chap 4 (‘Bakunin and the great schism’)

**Other Reading:**


6. Kropotkin

1. How did science affect the anarchism of Kropotkin?

2. What role did Kropotkin play in developing anarcho-communism?

**Core Reading:** Marshall, Chap. 19, ‘The Revolutionary Evolutionist’ or Joll, ChapVI, ‘Saints and Rebels or Woodcock, Chap 7, ‘The Explorer’.

**Other Reading:**


15. P. Kropotkin, *Fugitive Writings*, Montreal, 1993


7. Errico Malatesta and Emma Goldman

1. ‘Malatesta’s anarchism was a unique blend of voluntarism, socialism and anarcho-communism. Discuss.

2. ‘The Lenin of Italy and the socialist Garibaldi.’ Assess the role of Malatesta in the politics of Italy from the 1870s to the 1930s.

3. Assess the role of Emma Goldman in the development of anarcha-feminism

4. To what extent was Emma Goldman an elitist?


**Other Reading: (Malatesta)**


**Other Reading (Emma Goldman)**


8. History: 1860s-1930s: Overview – Themes and Tendencies

The lecture and next week’s will be devoted to the history of the ‘classical anarchist’ movement. Thus we return to the opening remarks of the first two weeks. In this week’s lecture I will cover the key events in the development of anarchism:

1. The anarchists and the First International.

2. The anarchists and the Second International.

3. Anarchism and Syndicalism

4. The anarchists and the rise of Communism.

Discussions concerning terrorism and anarchism, art and anarchism, and education and anarchism, and anarchism and imperialism will be advanced. Next week I will examine in depth a comparative case study of the Spanish and Italy anarchist
movements. I will give an extensive bibliography from which, you may also develop an essay for the course requirement. Therefore there will be several more questions posed here than has been the case previously.

1. How far did the anarchists control the First International?
2. ‘Anarchism was marginalised by the rise of electoral socialism’. Discuss.
3. To what extent did anarchism become a global movement in the period 1880 to 1914?
4. Was terrorism an intrinsic part of antebellum (pre-1914) anarchism?
5. ‘Did syndicalism provided anarchism with a new lease on life?’
6. How did anarchism inspire art or education in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
7. To what extent did the anarchists fall prey to nationalist or militarist tendencies before 1914?
8. In what ways did anarchists partake in the origins of communism and the Third International?

**Core Reading:** Marshall, Part Five or Joll, Part Three or Woodcock Part Two or Levy, 2004 and R. Darlington, ‘Syndicalism and the Influence of Anarchism in France, Italy and Spain’, *Anarchist Studies, 17*, 2, 2009, pp. 29-54. If you are interested in anarchism and the Global South, then you should purchase, M. Schmidt and L. van der Walt, *Black Flame. The Revolutionary Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism, Counter-Power*. Volume One, Edinburgh, 2009: see Part 3.

**Other Reading:**

*The First, Second International and Third Internationals and the Anarchists 1864-1939* (National case studies are listed here, except Italy and Spain which are in the next lecture):


42. J. Horrox, *Living Revolution. Anarchism in the Kibbutz Movement*,


45. R. Knowles, *Political Economy from Below. Economic Thought in

    2010.

47. C. Levy, ‘Max Weber, Anarchism and Libertarian Culture: Personality and
    Power Politics’ in S. Whimster (ed.), *Max Weber and the Culture of Anarchy*,


    Landauer*, University of California, 1970.


    individualists anarchists).

54. C. B Maurer, *Call to Revolution: the Mystical Anarchism of Gustav Landauer*,


1. J. Adams, Non-Western Anarchisms: Rethinking the Global Context, google RA forum.


**Anarchism, Art, Education and Literature**


34. O. Lang, Pa Chin and His Writings: Chinese Youth between Two Revolutions, Cambridge, Mass, 1967.


41. C. B. Maurer, *Call to Revolution: The Mystical Anarchism of Gustav Landauer*, Wayne State University Press,


**Anarchism and Syndicalism**


3. D. Berry and C. Bantman (eds.), *New Perspectives on Anarchism, Labour and Syndicalism: The Individual, the National and the Transnational*, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 2010, See Chapters One (overview of pre-1914 syndicalism), Five (Spanish syndicalists and the Bolshevik Revolution), Chapter Six (the 1896 Congress of the Second International and syndicalism), Chapter Eight (Polish anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in the twentieth century) and Chapter Ten (the role of community in syndicalism).


42. K. H. Tucker, French Revolutionary Syndicalism and the Public Sphere, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Anarchism and Terrorism


9. **History: Italian and Spanish Comparisons**

This session will examine the Italian and Spanish cases. The Spanish movement was the most prominent in Europe during the period of ‘classical anarchism’, and succeeded to last as a mass movement well into the twentieth century. It reached its apogee of influence in 1936 when the most industrialised region and city in Spain (Catalonia and Barcelona respectively) were run in large part by the anarchists and the anarcho-syndicalists. The Italian movement was always much smaller but retained an important role in the Italian left and labour movement until rise of Fascism (1922-1926). Both national cases share many similar political and sociological characteristics.

1. ‘Italian anarchism punched over its weight’. Discuss.

2. How and why did Spanish anarchism survive and prosper from the 1870s to the 1930s?

3. ‘Government anarchists’: discuss the paradoxes of Spanish anarchism during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

**Core Reading:** For Italy – C. Levy, ‘Italian anarchism, 1870-1926’, D. Goodway (ed.), *For Anarchism. History, Theory and Practice*, London, 1989, pp. 25-78. or Marshall, Chap. 28 (chapter on Italy) or Woodcock Chap. 11 (chapter on Italy).

For Spain, Marshall, Chap. 29 or Woodcock, Chap. 12 (chapter on Spain).
Other reading:

Italy (and its Disapora)


(Also see references under session seven on Malatesta.)

**Spain**


10. Post-Scarcity Anarchism, Primitive Anarchism and Post-Anarchism:

Anarchism after 1945

1. Compare and contrast classical anarchism with anarchism after 1945.

2. What is post-scarcity anarchism?

3. What is the relationship between post-anarchism and post modernism?

4. What is the relationship between new social movements and post-1945 anarchism?

5. What is anarchist primitivism?


Other Reading:


70. F. Perelman, *Against His-Story, Against Leviathan*, Montreal, 20002.


