

## INTRODUCTION

**Renewed interest** in Anarchism due to organization around Trade Protests  
Leading up to WTO Seattle protests in November, 1999.

**I.** Organizers saw themselves as anarchist, employing anarchist forms of  
Organization and direct action.

One Group: Small Town Sleazy Cowboys and Lady Puppet Rodeo  
Association -- Greener students. (Read Statement)

Started watching them move – opened up my office – Organized a preparatory  
Conference to WTO in October, 1999. (Shut it down poster)

**II.** Began to remember my own interest: -- Read in the late 60s, basement  
Full of Anarchist anthologies. And experience with Anarchists  
At NYU –

**An activist teacher named Lynn Dodge –**

Personal: Absolute Commitment to be his social stance  
Pacifism and non-discrimination. (Prison) WWII resister

Embodiment of Anarchist Principal: The revolutionary process  
And the revolutionary goal is the same. (No, After the Revolution  
Notion)

Use of Technology: Holding Currant Hall in May 1970  
Come Unity Press – 24 hours if you learned to do it yourself.  
Technology and Bookchin

**Murray Bookchin**

Post Scarcity Anarchism – (booklets in a Florida PO Box)  
No longer assume “Scarcity” due to technological capacity  
Small Scale society (freedom/dream) was possible now –  
face to face.

At this point in my life, I was interested in community organizing  
And how to create communities and self-governance.

Here's a quote from Murray:

“Viewed from a broad historical perspective, anarchism is a libidinal upsurge of the people, a stirring of the social unconscious that reaches back, under many different names, to the earliest struggle of humanity against domination and authority. Its commitment to doctrinal shibboleths is minimal. In its active concern with the issues of everyday life, anarchism has always been preoccupied with lifestyle, sexuality, community, women's liberation, and human relationships. Its central focus has always been the only meaningful social revolution can have – the remaking of the world so that human beings will be ends in themselves and human life a revered, indeed, a marvelous experience.” (19. post scarcity.)

### III. **Offered a course in Summer of 2000: Anarchism and the New Global Order.** Question: Why Anarchism reappearing??

Preliminary ideas:

#### A. **System Rigidity**

Maybe it appeared in places like Russia and Spain during end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century due to the rigidity of those ruling systems combining Monarchy and Church – stopping liberal reforms.

Maybe it is re-appearing now in the face of TINA and a form of Globalization that refuses to bend, that implements only one form Of economic/social order – neo- liberal.

#### B. **Decline of the Welfare State**

Maybe it's reappearing because this avenue for redistribution of social surplus via the state and in response to political parties is closing. (The crisis of the political parties – won't stop neo-liberal parties, won't deliver benefits)

#### C. **Increasing Danger of the State Apparatus.** (Patriot Act, Military Commission Act, etc.)

Means anarchist forms of fluid organization becomes more Useful when faced with a militarized state apparatus.

## **OUTLINE OF MY TALK**

How is the Revolution Constructed (Political/Social Principle)

Anarchist Organizational Principles

Anarchist Social Order

Historical Expressions Within the US

Expression at the WTO in Seattle

What to do about the State?

What to do about Corporate Capital?

## **POLITICAL PRINCIPLE OF REVOLUTION**

Revolutionary forces must Take State Power: (Socialist Election, Marxist Leninist, Vanguard Party, Armed nationalist force)

State is seen as an Instrument: Use its authority, hierarchy and violence to Implement the Revolution and replace, repress capitalist class.

Turn centralized/industrialized economy to distribute goods and service differently- More equitable Social distribution

State Withers Away eventually. No longer a means.

Basis of many revolutionary efforts and quite successful in taking the state. The 20<sup>th</sup> century from Russia (Marxist Leninist) to China (Maoist) to Third World. Questions about whether it lead to a social revolution, however.

## SOCIAL PRINCIPLE OF REVOLUTION

Unlike Marxists, Anarchists do not say that “material conditions determine consciousness.” Marx materialist conception of history - History as humans collectively creating the means to live --

Anarchists posit that there is an innate consciousness that is liberatory in nature, that demands freedom – a natural instinct for social solidarity.

The State is **not** something that can be used for liberation, even temporarily. The State (and Church) – hierarchy, formal authority is the enemy to this liberatory consciousness and must be abolished.

Revolution does not reside in the State, but where people come together Our of a common need without interference from the state, hierarchy, Formal authority or externally imposed power.

## ANARCHIST ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES

Voluntary	Individual Freedom to join or leave (low threshold) (Contrary to “discipline?”)
Functional	Focus on a specific task to accomplish
Temporary	Organization form assumed. Avoid Permanence
Small	Face to Face – Discourages Hierarchy
Direct Action	No reliance on intermediaries/state/etc.
Spontaneous	Organization arises to meet needs which are Meet via trial and error
Leadership	Rotational and varied, matching time and need to different leaders.
Education	Holistic form of education. Self development And expression of the whole person. Individuated from the mass. Preparatory and The glue that holds it all together.

**Examples: Look at Evergreen's pedagogy** – no requirements to graduate, only Credit. Freedom to choose across entire curriculum. No boundaries between disciplines, no departments, rotational deans and provost internal, no permanent offices to avoid hierarchy. Use of DTFs – functional and disappearing to avoid permanence. Small face to face seminars. No reliance on intermediaries for conflict resolution. Direct relation.

**Organizing examples:** Jack in the Box story. Decatur Raiders. I wanted to use it form a larger, permanent organization leading to a political party, etc. But no agreement. Operated on these principles.

## ANARCHIST SOCIAL ORDER

The Commune	Associated with land, village, spirituality of the Land. Russian Mir. Mexican Zapatistas. Usufruct Principle.
The Syndicate	Associated with industrial enterprise. Industrial Democracy from the bottom up.
Federation	Federative principle, not Federal principles. Not a central authority, but A means to coordinate both commune and syndicate, Land and labor. (Swiss cantons)

Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women by Martha Ackelsberg – best notion

## LONG HISTORY OF EXPRESSION IN THE UNITED STATES (Chart)

Community Utopian	Individual Sovereignty within Collective Thoreau and Robert Owen, for example Utopias on Puget Sound – experiments Home still exists.
Immigrant Socialist	Post civil war. Anarchist Congress (1881) Michael Bakunin. Parsons, Emma, Alex Internat'l Working Peoples Association Social solidarity. Class to abolish the state
Union Syndicalist	Mid 1900s. French Syndicalists Foster, Flynn, Haywood IWW. Industrial Democracy OBU, General Strike Sacco and Venzetti (1926)
Catholic Pacifist	Mid-1930s Peter Maurin, Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennacy Catholic Worker Movement Voluntary poverty and pacifisms Link Food Farms and Urban Houses.
Counter Culture	Mid-1960s (New Left – This culture mobilized) Albert Camus – existentialist Paul and Percival Goodman (Growing up Absurd) Student revolt. Yippie Party. (Abbie Hoffman) Personal liberation. Communes. Tune in, turn on and drop out.

## EXPRESSIONS TODAY

- I. The young organizers of the WTO protests in Seattle definitely followed Many anarchist principles:

Strong commitment to education – Art and Revolution Tours, WTO analyzes, action work Puppetry, Civil Disobedience, Jail Solidarity – **Preparation for social analysis**

Small Face to Face Affinity groups as basic building bloc. Personal Secure and sovereign in action decisions.

Functional and Temporary – Function: Shut it Down. No Plan B Post Seattle action.

Federated via convergence space and spokescouncil with affinity Group sovereignty.

Direct Action – Unmediated approach to the WTO.

**Parallel Organizing** – Creation or not? Organizational achievement. Anarchists (Shut it down) and Labor, Environmental (Turn it Around)

- II. Many of the first responders to NOLA were anarchists youth – health clinics, Common Ground work, etc. Hope to explore this in Summer Class.
- III. Modern Day Zapatistas. Post NAFTA formation. Armed politics Of defense of cultural space and land.

LET ME CLOSE WITH CHOMSKY -- Tasks for the student left. September 1970. Just after a nation wide student strike that held universities across the nation in reponse to bombing of Cambodia. (Libertarian analysis)

Addresses our task in this class --

He sees student movement as cutting edge of the growing movement for social change, but he's worried about its search for confrontation and its distinguishing between "radical and liberal tactics." - avoid the hard work...

The major task for the student movement is to: "try to assess and to understand the present state of society and how it might change, what alternative forms there are for a future, to try and persuade and to organize and ultimately to act collectively where they can, and individually, if it comes to that."

Pass out chart, WTO booklet, Letter to Alice