

HIST 497: Transnational Anarchisms, 1840-2014

Course Overview

This course will examine anarchism and anti-authoritarianism from a transnational perspective, paying particular attention to the ways in which geographic and sociopolitical contexts may have shaped anarchisms in a particular time and place. While concepts of antiauthoritarianism and egalitarianism have existed in a multitude of spaces and places throughout history, the political philosophy of “anarchism” was formally developed in Western Europe during the mid-nineteenth century. European anarchist thought emerged within the context of industrialization, the rise of the nation-state, and an expansion of leftist philosophies such as communism and socialism. Anarchism spread to the United States largely via European migrants, who brought with them many of their political causes and concerns across the Atlantic. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, antiauthoritarian movements developed on every inhabited continent; some of these movements were clearly influenced by the European anarchist “canon,” but many more shared fundamental principles without explicitly identifying as anarchist. How and why did radical antiauthoritarian movements develop in so many different settings throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? One of the goals of this course is to understand political resonances and affinities across space and time—in what ways were these ideas specific to a particular context, and where can we find convergences between movements? What is it about anarchism, autonomy, and antiauthoritarianism that people have found so compelling?

Although many political movements are studied within the borders of a state, a transnational perspective makes more sense for 19th- and 20th-century anarchism due to its rejection of the nation-state framework and its migratory character. For the same reasons, anarchist thought is an excellent model for studying transnational history methodology. This course will provide an introduction to the field and practices of transnational history through this model.

Course Expectations

Each week of the course will focus on a specific place or concept in anarchist historiography, with one day usually focusing on secondary literature, and the other day focusing on primary sources materials. Class time will be a mixture of lecture and discussion. Students are expected to complete the day’s reading before coming to class. Students should come to class prepared to discuss and critically engage with the course material for that day.

In this course, you will be required to write **three** brief (2-3 pages) **reading response papers** that critically engage with key themes and questions from that day’s readings. You may write these for any day you wish, although I request that you turn in at least two of them before week 7.

For this course you will also be expected to write a **final paper** (10-12 pages) that applies the methods and ideas from this course to a historical topic of your choice (must be approved by me). The paper does not need to be about anarchism, but must demonstrate an ability to think transnationally. We will further discuss the details of this project in class.

Grading Policies

Grades for this course will be calculated as follows:

Class participation 10%

Reading responses 45% (15% each)
 Final Paper 45%

Required Texts

For this course, please obtain a copy of Robert Graham's *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*, volume 1 (New York: Black Rose Books, 2005). The book is available online at an affordable price, and will also be available on course reserves in the library.

All other course texts will be posted on ANGEL.

Course Calendar

Week 1: The Western European anarchist "canon"

Day 1: Introduction

Day 2: Classical anarchist theory

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, "What is Property?" in *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*, vol. 1. 33-37.

Max Stirner, "The Ego and Its Own," in *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*, vol. 1. 45-50.

Mikhail Bakunin, "Statism and Anarchy," in *Bakunin on Anarchy*, ed. Sam Dolgoff. New York: Vintage Books, 1971. 324-350.

Week 2: Anarchism and Transnational history

Day 3: Transnationalism and anarchist history

Lewis & Wigen, "A Heuristic World Regionalization Scheme." In *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997. 187-206.

Kina, Ruth, and Prichard, Alex. "Anarchism: Past, Present, and Utopia." In *Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy*. Ed. Amster, Randall, et. al. New York: Routledge, 2009. 270-279.

Day 4: The beginning of transnational anarchist historiography

Altena, Bert. "A Networking Historian: The Transnational, the national, and the Patriotic in and around Max Nettlau's *Geschichte der Anarchie*." In *Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies*. Bantman, C., and B. Altena, eds. New York: Routledge, 2015. 62-80.

Van der Walt, Lucien, and Hirsch, Steven J. "Rethinking Anarchism and Syndicalism; The Colonial and Postcolonial Experience, 1870-1940." In *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution*. Ed. Steven Hirsch and Lucien van der Walt. Boston: Brill, 2010. Xxxi-lxxiii.

Week 3: Anarchist Geography

Day 5: Anarchist geography, then and now

Clark, John P., and Martin, Camille, eds. "Anarchism and Social Transformation." In *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity; The Radical Social Thought of Elisée Reclus*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2004. 61-86.

Springer, Simon, Anthony Ince, Jenny Pickerill, Gavin Brown, and Adam J. Barker. "Reanimating Anarchist Geographies: A New Burst of Colour." *Antipode* 44, no. 5 (Nov., 2012): 1591-1604.

Day 6: Primary sources from 19th-c. anarchist geographers

Reclus, Elisée. "The Feeling For Nature in Modern Society," in *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity*, 119-128.

Reclus, Elisée. "The History of Cities," in *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity*, 179-200.

Peter Kropotkin (1885). "What Geography Ought to Be." *The Nineteenth Century*. V.18, pp. 940-956.

Week 4: European anarchisms I

Day 8: Intellectual and political currents in 19th-c. European Anarchism

Avrich, Paul. "Kropotkin's Ethical Anarchism." In *Anarchist Portraits*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. 53-78.

Avrich, Paul. "The Paris Commune and Its Legacy." In *Anarchist Portraits*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. 229-239.

Day 9: Primary sources from European theorists

Kropotkin, Peter. "The Conquest of Bread" (1892). In *Graham*, vol. 1. 114-116.

Cafiero, Carlo. "Action" (1880). In *Graham*, vol. 1. 152-153.

Tolstoy, Leo. "On Non-violent Resistance" (1900). In *Graham*, vol. 1. 157-160.

Week 5: European Anarchisms II – anarchism & revolutions

Day 10: The Russian Revolution

Avrich, Paul. "The Stormy Petrel." In *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*. Documents of Revolution. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973. 9-34.

Goldman, Emma. "Persecution of Anarchists." In *My Further Disillusionment in Russia*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, & Company: 1924.

Day 11: The Spanish Civil War

Ackelsberg, Martha A. "'Separate and Equal'? Mujeres Libres and Anarchist Strategy for Women's Emancipation." *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 1 (April 1, 1985): 63-83.

Breitbart, M.M. 'Anarchist Decentralism in Rural Spain, 1936-1939.' *Antipode* 10-11,3-1 (1979): 83-89.

Garcia-Ramon, D. "The Shaping of the Rural Landscape: Contributions of Spanish Anarchist Theory." *Antipode* 10-11,3-1 (1979): 71-82.

Lucía Sánchez Saornil, "The Question of Feminism" (1935), in *Graham* v. 1, 460-465.

Week 6: US immigrant radicalism

Day 12: Western European anarchisms in the US

- Messer-Kruse, Timothy. "The Black International." In *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012. 69-99.
- Goyens, Tom. "Facing America: German Anarchists' Political Culture in New York." In *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914*. University of Illinois Press, 2007. 143-182.

Day 13: Case study – Italian-American anarchism

- Guglielmo, Jennifer. "Surviving the Shock of Arrival and Everyday Resistance." In *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 110-138.
- Avrich, Paul. "Sacco and Vanzetti: The Italian Anarchist Background." In *Anarchist Portraits*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. 162-175.

Week 7: US anarchist-feminism

(You should have turned in two reading responses by the end of this week)

Day 14: Anarchism and the "woman movement"

- Falk, Candace. "The Daughter of a Dream." In *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. 1984. Preface, and 1-56.
- Marsh, Margaret S. "The Anarchist-Feminist Response to the 'Woman Question' in Late Nineteenth-Century America." *American Quarterly* 30 no. 4 (1978.): 533-547.

Day 15: Primary sources on love and marriage

- De Cleyre, Voltairine. "Those Who Marry Do Ill." In *The Voltairine De Cleyre Reader*. Ed. A.J. Brigati. Oakland: AK Press, 2004. 11-20.
- Goldman, Emma. "Marriage and Love." In *Anarchism and Other Essays*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.: 1969. 227-239.

Week 8: South and Southeast Asia – antiauthoritarianism outside of the Western frame

Day 16: Antiauthoritarianism, anarchism, and postcoloniality

- Ramnath, Maia. "Introduction." In *Decolonizing Anarchism: An Antiauthoritarian History of India's Liberation Struggle*. Oakland: AK Press, 2011. 1-11.
- Ramnath, The Highest Form of anarchism" (15-40)

Day 17: Transnational antiauthoritarian movements in South Asia

- Ramnath, Maia. "Two Revolutions: The Ghadar Movement and India's Radical Diaspora, 1913-1918." *Radical History Review*, no. 92 (Spring, 2005): 7-30.
- Scott, James C. "State Evasion, State Prevention: The Culture and Agriculture of Escape." In *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. Yale Agrarian Studies Series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. 178-219.

Week 9: East Asian anarchisms

Day 18: Chinese and Korean anarchisms from a postcolonial perspective

Dirlik, Arif. "Anarchism and the question of Place: Thoughts from the Chinese Experience." In *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution*. Ed. Steven Hirsch and Lucien van der Walt. Boston: Brill, 2010. 131-146.

Hwang, Dongyoun. "Korean Anarchism Before 1945: a Regional and Transnational Approach." In *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*. 95-130.

Day 19: Primary sources – examples of East Asian anarchisms

He Zhen, "Women's Liberation" (1907), in Graham v. 1, 336-341.

Shifu, "Goals and Methods of the Anarchist-Communist Party" (1914), in Graham v. 1, 348-353.

Li Pei Kan, "On Theory and Practice" (1921-1927), In Graham v. 1, 358-366.

Takamura Itsue, "A Vision of Anarchist Love" (1930), in Graham v. 1, 383-387.

Week 10: Latin American anarchism

Day 20: Histories of Central and South American anarchism and syndicalism

Shaffer, Kirk. "Tropical Libertarians: Anarchist Movements and Networks in the Caribbean, Southern United States, and Mexico, 1890s-1920s." In *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*. 273-320.

De Laforcade, Geoffrey. "Straddling the Nation and the Working World: Anarchism and Syndicalism on the Docks and Rivers of Argentina, 1900–1930." In *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*. 321-362.

Day 21: Latin American radical thought

Ricardo Flores Magón, "Land and Liberty" (1911-1918), in Graham v. 1, 259-267.

Manuel González Prada, "Our Indians" (1904), in Graham v. 1, 320-324.

"The American Continental Workers' Association." In Graham, v. 1. 330-335.

Week 11: Anarchisms in Colonial Northern and Southern Africa

Day 22: Egypt and the Middle East, then and now

Gorman, Anthony. "'Diverse in Race, Religion, and Nationality . . . But United in Aspirations of Civil Progress': The Anarchist Movement in Egypt, 1860-1940." In *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*. 3-32.

CrimethInc. "The Egyptian Revolution" (2012). In Graham, vol. 3. 93-98.

Gordon, Uri. "Israel, Palestine, and Anarchist Dilemmas" (2007). In Graham, vol. 3. 135-138.

Day 23: Nineteenth-century South Africa and twentieth-century Central Africa

Van der Walt, Lucien. "Revolutionary Syndicalism, Communism, and the National question in South African Socialism, 1886-1928." In *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*. 33-94.

"An African Anarchist Manifesto" (1981). In Graham, vol. 3. 324-326.

Mbah, Sam, and I.E. Igariwey. "African Anarchism" (1997). In Graham, vol. 3. 326-334.

Week 12: Post-WWII anarchisms in US and Europe

Day 24: Anarchism, art, and ecology

Bookchin, Murray. "Ecology and Anarchy" (1965). In Graham, vol. 2. 272-280.

Chomsky, Noam. "Notes on Anarchism" (1970). In Graham, vol. 2. 317-325.

Hakim Bey, "Temporary Autonomous Zones" (1985). In Graham, vol. 3. 68-72.

Breton, André. "The Black Mirror of Anarchism" (1952). In Graham, vol. 2. 127-130.

Day 25: Anarchism and "second-wave" feminism

Kornegger, Peggy. *Anarchism: The Feminist Connection*. London: Black Bear, 1977.

Week 13: Anarchism and late-20th c. culture

Day 26: Punk and anarchism

Donaghey, Jim. "Bakunin Brand Vodka: An Exploration into Anarchist-punk and Punk-anarchism." *Blasting the Canon* (2013.1). 139-170.

Day 27: Anarchism and gender politics in the US

Kaltefleiter, Caroline K. "Anarchy Girl Style Now: Riot Grrrl Actions and Practices." In *Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy*. Amster, Randall, et. al., eds. New York: Routledge, 2009. 224-235.

Daring, C.B., Rogue, J., Volcano, Abbey, and Deric Shannon. "Introduction: Queer Meet Anarchism, Anarchism Meet Queer." In *Queering Anarchism: Addressing and Undressing Power and Desire*. Oakland: AK Press, 2012. 5-18.

Week 14: 21st Century radical liberation movements – The Zapatistas and the Kurdistan Workers' Party

Day 28: Zapatismo

Stahler-Sholk, Richard. "The Zapatista Social Movement: Innovation and Sustainability." *Alternatives* 35 no. 3 (2010): 269-290.

Lynd, Staughton, and Andrej Grubacic. "Zapatismo." In *Wobblies & Zapatistas: Conversations on Anarchism, Marxism, and Radical History*. Oakland: PM Press, 2008. 3-10.

Day 29: Autonomism and Confederalism in Kurdistan

Stanchev, Petar. "From Chiapas to Rojava: Seas Divide Us, Autonomy Binds Us." *ROAR Magazine*. 2015. <http://roarmag.org/2015/02/chiapas-rojava-zapatista-kurds/>.

Dirik, Dilar. "What Kind of Kurdistan for Women?" *International Journal of Socialist Renewal*. 2014. <http://links.org.au/node/4109>.

"Kurdistan: Anarchism and Confederalism." In Graham, vol. 3. 384-393.

Week 15: Anarchism and contemporary Western politics

Day 30: "Occupy" and anarchism

Graeber, David. "On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs." *Strike! Magazine* (August 2013).

Dixon, Chris. "Defining Ourselves in Opposition: The Four 'Anti's'." *Another Politics: Talking Across Today's Transformative Movements*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2014. 57-81.

Day 31: The future of US anarchisms

Blumenfeld, Jacob. "Postface: Occupation and Revolution." In Blumenfeld, Jacob, Bottici, Chiara, and Simon Critchley, eds. *The Anarchist Turn*. New York: Pluto Press, 2013. 235-245.

Scott, James C. *Two Cheers for Anarchism: Six Easy Pieces on Autonomy, Dignity, and Meaningful Work and Play*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012. Preface and Fragment 19 (88-94), Fragment 28 (133-141)

FINAL PAPER DUE THE FIRST DAY OF FINALS WEEK