ANARCHIST FUTURES

ASN ANARCHIST STUDIES NETWORK
CONFERENCE

Welcome to the 7th ASN Conference! If you have any questions or issues during the conference, please find Elizabeth V on Hopin. You can also email the organisers at asn.conference@protonmail.com

To register and find the panels during the conference go to:

https://hopin.com/events/anarchist-studies-conference-7-anarchist-futures

This programme is full of hyperlinks to help you navigate backwards and forwards and the days are colour coded. You can jump to:

Day 1 | Day 2 | Day 3 | Abstracts

Day 1 (24th August)

10am
Opening Plenary

10:45am – 12:15pm

Panel 1

> ### Art, Literature, Apocalypse
>
> Anastasia Murney – "We Make Space, Not States": Utopia and Apocalypse in the Artistic Practices of Nicoline van Harskamp and Larissa Sansour
>
> Can Çakır – Envisioning an Anarchist Future in Cory Doctorow's Walkaway
>
> Frankie Hines – "Everything Is Always Beginning": Contemporary anarchist science fiction and overdetermined apocalypse

Panel 2

> ### Anarchism in Ukraine: From the Late 19th Century until Today I
>
> Volodymyr Chop – Makhno and Napoleon: A Comparative Characterization
>
> Anatolii Dubovyk – Anarchists in the Workers' and Trade-Union Movement of Ukraine in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

Sergei Ovsiannikov – **Anarchist Underground in Kharkiv (late 1918 – early 1920s)**

Panel 3

Typologies for the Future

Zoran Markovich – **Anarchist ideas, literature and individuals, communities and movements realised in practise as a part of the Utopian Typology**

taller ahuehuete – **Mirrors and Mirages in Slumil K'Ajxemk'op**

1pm – 2.30pm

Panel 1

No Cells, No Borders

Sav Evans – **Abolition as an Anarchist Politic: Destroy Everything, Build it All**

Pratik Kute – **Abolition movement in India: Past, Present and future possibilities**

Simon Campbell – **Mutual ~~Humanitarian~~ Aid: Making a lexicon of border struggle**

Panel 2

Anarchism in Ukraine: From the Late 19th Century until Today II

Viktor Savchenko – **Anarchist Expropriations in Ukraine during the 1917–1921 Liberation Struggle**

Serhii Shevchenko – **Anarchism in Ukraine and the 2014–2022 War: Problems, Solutions, Perspectives**

Inna Shtakser – **Gender and Structures of Political Violence, the Case of post-1905 Odessa Anarchism**

Panel 3

Smash the System: Punk Anarchism as a Culture of Resistance

Maxwell Woods, Casey Robertson, Nathanial Amar

2:45pm – 4:15pm

Panel 1

Anarchist Utopianism

John Clark, Laurence Davis, Vandana Singh and Margaret Killjoy

Panel 2

Taking Space

Chad Frazier – **By Accident**

E.T.C. Dee – **Squatting and self-organization**

Panel 3

Mutual Aid for Survival

Jennifer Cole, Adam Badger, Phil Brown and Oli Mould – **Social Kropotkinism: the best 'New Normal' for survival in the post COVID-19, climate emergency world?**

Caroline Kaltefleiter – **Reimagining Anarchism and Care: Prefiguration, Anarcha-Feminism, Trebled Reflexivity, and Mutual Aid**

Rhiannon Firth – **Disaster Anarchy: Mutual Aid, Degrowth and Utopian Value**

4.30pm – 6pm

Panel 1

Future Bodies

Arianna Introna – **Crip Utopias and Dismodernist Revolutions for (Post-)Pandemic Times: The Promise of More-Than-Social Movements**

Alex Barksdale – **Speculating Autonomous Trans Care**

Mariel Acosta-Matos – **Gender-Inclusive Language Practices as Anarchistic Prefigurative Politics**

Panel 2

Prefiguring the Future: Twentieth Century Anarchist Visions

Nikita Shepard, Jacqui Sahagian, Spencer Beswick and Richard Saich

Panel 3

Anarchist Archaeology

James Birmingham, Lewis Borck, Elliot Helmer, James W. Brown, Steven Hackenberger, Coleen Morgan

Day 2 (25ᵀᴴ August)

9am – 10:30am

Panel 1

Excavating Utopia in Anarchist Historiography

Liz Stainforth – **Utopia as a Method of Historical Analysis**

Danny Evans – **Libertarian Communism in Spain: The Concrete Significance of a Utopian Project**

Pascale Siegrist – **Pragmatic Utopia: Reclus and Kropotkin's Scientific Anarchy**

Panel 2

Workshop: Solarpunk Surf Club

Panel 3

Ursula

Meltem Dağcı – **Anarchist Future in Science Fiction: The Case of Anarchist Feminist Ursula K. Le Guin**

Peter Seyferth – **Unknown Ursula: More utopian bits and pieces**

10:45am – 12:15pm

Panel 1

Workshop: The necessity of an anarchist programme

Perspektive Selbstverwaltung

Panel 2

Anarcha-Vegan Futures I: Being The Change

Tim Reysoo – **On Species Privilege**

Jennifer D. Grubbs – **Carceral Canines: Anarchist Abolition Beyond the Human**

Nathan Poirier – **Veganism As A(n) (Overlooked) Component of Anarchafeminism**

Gordon Meade – **Zoospeak - Animals in Captivity through Poetry and Photography**

Panel 3

Postanarchist Perspectives

Jonathan Eibisch – **Figures of (anti-) Politics in Anarchism**

James E. Willis, III – **Remaking Meaning: Re-mythologization in Politics**

1pm – 2:30pm

Panel 1

Anarcha-Vegan Futures II: Until all are Free

Jana Canavan – Interspecies Social Freedom

Matt York – The Anarchy of Love: Rediscovering the Deep Commons

Laura Schleifer – Post-Scarcity Veganarchism

Ophélie Véron – Berlin, November 2071

Panel 2

No Future? A discussion

Forged Books Reading Group

Panel 3

Struggles of the Inside

Nora Ziegler – Herd mentality, death bed radicalism and other things on my not to do list

James McArthur – The Anarchist Societies of the Future will Emerge from Everyday "Anarchist" Self-governance

Flick Griffin – Solidarity, Self-Determination and Sites of Conflict

2.45pm – 4:15pm

Panel 1

The Dawn of Everything

James Birmingham, Lewis Borck, James Flexner and Aris Politopoulos

Panel 2

Organising the Future

Simoun Magsalin – The Organization of the Anarchists is in *Our Struggles Interlinked*

Jon Burke – How do we imagine the future? What does an anarchist society look like?

Panel 3

Nuts and Bolts of the Future Society

Tomas Pewton – A Future Food System

Robin Hahnel, Jason Chrysostomou and Anders Sandstrom – A Participatory Economy: a vision for an anarchist economy

Bernardo De Urquidi Gonzalez – Democracy by Average – a new horizontal decision making process

4:30pm – 6pm

Panel 1

Workshop: 'Right Wing Attacks on Academics: The Case of Nathan Jun'

Panel 2

'Go Forth and Multiply'

Silvia K. Döllerer Martinez – Individual and social responsibility as the parting point for an anarchist future

carla bergman – Trust Kids: Autonomy Begins at Home

Panel 3

Biographies of the Future (Past)

Anna Rita Gabellone – Silvio Corio from Anarchism to Europeanism

Uri Gordon – Leviathan's Body: Recovering Fredy Perlman's Anarchist Social Theory

Ron Sakolsky – Anarcho-surrealism and the Utopian Imagination of Charles Fourier

Panel 4

Decolonise the Future!

Sarah Fathallah – **Pro-Palestinian Anarchism: Far From An Oxymoron**

Ole Birk Laursen – **Imaginary futures: anarchism, anticolonialism, and internationalism**

Mohamed Abdou – **Islam & Anarchism: Relationships & Resonances – BIPOC & Anarchist Futurities & Decolonial Struggles Beyond Racial Capitalism & Nation-States**

6:30pm – 7:30pm

Reading & poetry performance 'Good Times in Dystopia' by **George F**

Day 3 (27ᵀᴴ August)

9am – 10:30am

Panel 1

Negotiating Power

Michael Grooff – **The 'Anarchic' Problem**

Matti Eskelinen – **Anarchism as a Theory and Practice of Non-Dominating Recognition**

Alexander Andrason – **An Organizational "Mini" Monster:
An Anarchist Critique of the Hyper Hierarchization of a Small Department**

Panel 2

Is it Future or is it Past?

Saptadeepa Banerjee – **Imagining the anarchist future: Anarchism and social organisation**

Luciano O. Oneto – **Anarchist utopias, yesterday and today, from Córdoba and Madrid:
regarding Circular (1970-1976), and Legacy and Resistance to global fascism by Horacio
Suárez**

Raphael Cruz – **Anarchist futures in the capitalist periphery: constitutional practices and
political imagination in Brazil (1919-1945)**

10:45 – 12:15pm

Panel 1

Kropotkin in the Future

Ole Martin Sandberg – "Everything Changes": The Process Philosophy of Peter Kropotkin

Mitchell Verter – Granarchism: Becoming as Regeneration

Jakub Kowalewski – The Temporal Problem of Anarchist Illegality

Panel 2

Workshop: Sacred Anarchy

Vishwam Heckert

Panel 3

Imagining the City

Jon Burke – How does literature and art envision an anarchist future?

Thomas Mical – Anarchist Architectural Theory in the Future Tense

1pm – 2:30pm

Panel 1

Indigenous Utopias

Guilherme L J Falleiros – **Utopia, a foreign affair — An anarchist anthropological account on the constitutive character of foreign relations for non-Manichean utopias**

taller ahuehuete – **The indigenous roots of Magonismo: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mazatec Cosmovision**

Panel 2

T3chn0-Futures

Kim Foale – **How to create autonomous hyperlocal communities using technological interventions**

Thomas Winklmeier – **Rage Against the Machine or: There is no Anarchy in Cybernetics**

Panel 3

Music Will Free Us

Dorian Wallace - **Liberation Music Therapy: An emancipatory practice to community music-making, healing, and revolutionary change**

Levon Kwok – **A Cry for the Future of Hong Kong: Blackbird's The Return of the Orphan**

2:45pm – 3.30pm

ASN meeting and closing plenary

Thanks for coming! Please send us some feedback and stay in touch!

Asn.conference@protonmail.com

ABSTRACTS

Day 1, 10:45am – 12:15pm

Panel 1: Art, Literature, Apocalypse

Paper 1: "We Make Space, Not States": Utopia and Apocalypse in the Artistic Practices of Nicoline van Harskamp and Larissa Sansour

Anastasia Murney

What is the future of the nation-state in an era of escalating climate crises? This paper will examine two artists who use speculative fiction to interrogate the spatial and geopolitical complexities of crafting anarchist futures. Palestinian artist Larissa Sansour uses satire and science fiction to communicate the absurd realities of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, where settler-colonial violence is enacted through the fragmentation of space and time. Amid encumbered one- and two-state solutions, I argue Sansour's films question the logic of appeasement and accommodation within patriarchal, statist and colonial structures. This resonates with Palestinian scholar Sophia Azeb's (2019) vote for a 'no-state solution' for Palestine and the dangerous illusion of a 'solution': "I have argued before that we must refuse to be recognised as Palestinians within the confines and language of such a nation-state… we make space, not states." Unlike Sansour's films, where the state lurks as both promise and threat, Dutch artist Nicoline van Harskamp's short film PDGN (2017) takes place in the rubble of nation-states and corporations, where the characters are engaged in the labour of repair. It is modelled on the anarcho-syndicalist future imagined in Marge Piercy's classic novel, Woman on the Edge of Time (1976). The core of the film is an invented language built from the 'ruins' of the English language. But I focus on the distinct aesthetic of ecological exhaustion in PDGN, addressing the film's environment as the logical culmination of the so-called Anthropocene: a post-extractivist future where climate refugees (mostly women of colour) are the central actors. Both Sansour and van Harskamp eschew reductive binaries, such as utopia or dystopia, in their films. These artists instead offer speculative frictions, invested in articulating possible futures from the mess of the present.

Paper 2: Envisioning an Anarchist Future in Cory Doctorow's Walkaway

Can Çakýr

Is an alternative future possible? If so, under which socioeconomic configuration? These are some of the important questions with which many works and writers of utopian and dystopian literature grapple, and British-Canadian science fiction writer Cory Doctorow is no exception. In this paper, I argue that in his 2015 novel, Walkaway, Doctorow successfully uses the interplay between utopia and dystopia to take his readers through a speculative exercise of what an anarchist future could look like. Staying true to the tradition of science fiction where thinking and narrating alternative futures are strongly connected, the novel tells the story of the establishment and struggles of a non-hierarchical post-scarcity society. The book is set in the near future where humanity is divided between two parallel societies that are organized in fundamentally different socio-economic ways. Life in metropoles and cities continues within an accelerated version of our contemporary

surveillance capitalism. However, the technological advances which made this acceleration possible have also allowed those who no longer wish to participate in this society to walk away from it and establish their own. Thus, the self-titled walkaways have founded several communities that are connected through a decentralized network. Although conflicts occasionally arise between these communities, they all have one important thing in common: none of them are based on the tenets of a market economy, which allows them to employ anarchist social practices. By insisting on the existence of alternatives through the literary lens of critical utopia, I argue that Walkaway strongly mediates the relationship between the capitalist present and an anarchist future, allowing the reader to envision a prospective anarchist society.

Paper 3: "Everything Is Always Beginning": Contemporary anarchist science fiction and overdetermined apocalypse

Frankie Hines

Contemporary anarchist science fiction responds to the complexities and risks of societies marked by overlapping impending and actual crises. In bringing an anarchist hostility to all forms of domination to bear on the question of possible futures, anarchist sci-fi finds sources of catastrophe that are multidirectional and mutually reinforcing. In order to examine the workings of this narrative structure of overdetermined apocalypse, this paper will examine "A Letter of Solidarity from the Year 3017", an anonymous work of short fiction published as part of the zine *Commune Against Civilization* (2017). Rather than confirming critical accounts of science fiction that associate the genre with the possibility of envisioning utopian futures, in this text the anarchist project of total liberation engenders a heightened awareness of mutually reinforcing threats in the Anthropocene. From this text emerge anarchist futures that are dark and crisis-ridden, which speak to the violence done by present social formations. Yet the text is nonetheless a letter of solidarity, one that insists that "nothing is lost" in a cosmic circularity. As such, its apocalypticism is tempered by an awareness of the possibility of new, if circumscribed, alliances, and a commitment to a vision of the future that remains open-ended.

Panel 2: Anarchism in Ukraine: From the Late 19th Century until Today I

The history of anarchism in Ukraine dates to the second half of the 19th century. In the century and a half that have passed, the Ukrainian anarchist movement has had its ups and downs, with, at times, tens of thousands of active supporters. Unfortunately, this history has so far been viewed almost exclusively within the context of the history of the all-Russian anarchist movement, operating in the territories of the former Russian Empire and the USSR. We say "unfortunately" because throughout its existence, the anarchist movement in Ukraine has had features that differ from those of the anarchist movement operating in the territory of today's Russian Federation. The differences between *northern*, namely Russian, and *southern*, namely Ukrainian, anarchism were first noted by scholars addressing the topic in the late 1900s: the latter had a more decisive, massive, militant character, which eventually culminated in the Makhnovist movement that was in control of a considerable part of the territory for some time during the civil war. This substantial difference means that the specific history of the anarchist movement in Ukraine deserves a more thorough study. The scholars, both professional historians and activists of the

anarchist movement in Ukraine, presenting their work in this panel engage in just such an endeavor.

Paper 1: *Volodymyr Chop* (Zaporizhzhia Polytechnic National University) – **Makhno and Napoleon: A Comparative Characterization**

Paper 2: *Anatolii Dubovyk* (independent scholar, Dnipro, Ukraine) – **Anarchists in the Workers' and Trade-Union Movement of Ukraine in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries**

The paper addresses the interrelations between the anarchist and the organized workers' movements in the territory of today's Ukraine between the 1870s and early 1920s. The central argument is that the anarchist organizations prioritized organizing workers over all other activities. This was true for all anarchist organizations – whether the members were workers, students, or from mixed social backgrounds. Moreover, the majority of anarchist organizations at the time were also workers' organizations. Members of such organizations initially got together based on their common employment background and engaged in political activism as a group. This contention is largely based on statistical and biographical data on workers' participation in anarchist movements in 1870s–1880s, 1903–1916, 1917–1921 compiled from biographical notes on participants in the anarchist movement in the former Russian Empire and the USSR between the 1860s and 1930s, collected by the author.

Paper 3: *Sergei Ovsiannikov* (independent scholar, Kaliningrad, Russia) – **Anarchist Underground in Kharkiv (late 1918 – early 1920s)**

The paper's main goal is to challenge the still excessive focus on Russia and Russians in history of the revolutionary movement of the Russian imperial and the early Soviet state. The main thesis, focusing on the anarchist movement, is that as of December 1918–January 1919, Ukraine, in particular the city of Kharkiv, became the center of an anti-Bolshevik anarchist underground within the newly emerging Soviet state. The paper's insights are important since until recently there were hardly any scholarly publications dealing with the anarchist underground, which was mainly due to the paucity of sources. The newly available sources, on which the paper draws, provide an opportunity for gaining valuable insights into the underground in general and the place of Ukrainian anarchists in it in particular.

Panel 3

Paper 1: Anarchist ideas, literature and individuals, communities and movements realised in practise as a part of the Utopian Typology

Zoran Markovic

The paper presents the results of Anarchist ideas, literature and individuals, communities and movements realised in practise, as a case study within a utopian typological classification.

The study is based on the typology of the corpus of utopian ideas, literature, films, groups, communities and movements, established during the 2016-2019. This utopian typological classification is the result of research which groups, explains and classifies the utopian

ideas (eutopian and dystopian, alike) in theory (ideas, literature, films, drawings and paintings) and in practical life (groups, communities and movements, that have tried to organize an alternative, utopian and/or intentional way of life) as a critique, resistance and alternative to the mainstream way of life. On the historical line, the classification began with prehistoric myths, through Pharaoh Akhenaten's attempt to create an ideal community, ancient Greek utopian literature, medieval utopian literature, utopias of the renaissance and enlightenment, social-utopian communities of the XIX century, to this day utopian literature and of free will and intention communities.

The study provides not only the position of the anarchists' ideas, literature and real life attempts within the utopian system, but also all the reasons for classification by different typological lines, types, sub-types, and elements, including detailed processes and protocols of classification. Only after a complete analysis, we could be able to see the true position of the anarchism within the entire corpus of utopian ideas and literature, as well as the real and full quality and uniqueness of it, as an individual and unique political, economic and social system. After evaluation, it will be possible to see much more clearly their possibilities and directions of potential further development.

Paper 2: Mirrors and Mirages in Slumil K'Ajxemk'op

taller ahuehuete

An aura of mysticism envelops the *appearance* of the Zapatista insurgent movement.
The exoticism towards the struggle of the autonomous indigenous people becomes palpable – almost *visible* – before the characteristic images that emerge from the *caracoles* generally disseminated and absorbed by the public without the textual mediation of the articles that accompany them.

They are then absorbed in the way the spectacle taught us to perceive the TV: static and two-dimensional, and rarely as *dialectical images*. From an aesthetic scope, the contrast between the darkly-hued balaclavas juxtaposed with the vivid primary and secondary tones on the clothing of the Tsotsil, Tseltal and other originary peoples generates an almost morbid curiosity in the mind of the spectator. In a system based on appearances, where social relations are concealed, commodified and objectified, we are dismembered to the marrow. That is, we are nothing more than entities merely capable of selling our labor-power in a predefined manner for the benefit of the capitalist.

This existential particularity, this shameful reality — or rather, identity — is our communal standardization: we share this characteristic, we are sisters in deprivation. And in turn, this same homogenization of the working class compels our non-identification with the reason for our subjugation: wage labor, or a double dependence to it.

The oppressed human being prefers to dispense of the characteristic that links her to the rest, choosing instead to define herself – or, as the spectacle would more aptly describe it, she prefers to *express* her *identity* in other ways.

The strongest incentive toward mobilizing, the Zapatistas argue, is not that of our palpable subjugation, the class struggle we experience daily, or exploitation as the norm. Through

a model of constellations, they prompt us to ask ourselves – understanding that the question is not addressed to a homogeneous audience – *"what would life be like if another world were possible? And why isn't it?"*

Day 1, 1pm – 2.30pm

Panel 1

Paper 1: Abolition as an Anarchist Politic: Destroy Everything, Build it All

Sav Evans (they/them)

Following the 2020 uprisings in cities across the U.S. Empire, sympathizing viewers and resolute participants found themselves in a position of reckoning with continued anti-black state violence.

Consequently, many began looking for ways to make sense of survival not only with the COVID-19 pandemic, but with how to respond and act to the seemingly inescapable dehumanization of oppressed communities across the globe. Some demonstrated commitment to educating themselves about antiracism, while others found themselves helpless in a doomed world. However surprising, prison and police abolition established itself as a mainstream discourse, yet the politics of abolition have been developing for decades. Rather than look for the decisive moment prison and police abolition became a horizon, we can look toward a history of radicalism that has been consistently developing. I propose one way of thinking abolitionist politics is to consider its anarchist disposition of understanding imprisonment and policing as an attack by the state. The state's use of carceral regimes as a mode of control and terror has been one of the most crucial ways for its sustained implementation of white supremacy through capitalism. Looking toward the work of political prisoner Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, gives us the opportunity to concretize abolitionist politics in anarchist principles particularly in the desire to see a project through to its end. Abolition as an anarchist politic demonstrates itself through creating life-sustaining programs while remaining militant and prepared for the joyful decimation of everything. Therefore, I would like to consider Ervin's work *Anarchism and the Black Revolution* as broadening abolition as a future-oriented project. The text provides critical arguments for those who consider themselves abolitionists; it expands our views of organization, collectivity, and the interdependency created through the state's destruction.

Paper 2: Abolition movement in India: Past, Present and future possibilities

Pratik Kute

This paper makes an attempt to trace the history of abolitionist practises and traditions in the context of India. The paper analyzes the present abolition movement in India and looks at the future possibilities in this direction. It discusses the various Indian philosophers and thinkers who had contributed to the cause of abolition. The paper traces the colonial institutions like the Police and Prisons and its impact on the marginalized people of India in the post-colonial State. The paper also assesses the influence of the global abolition movement on the Indian struggle for abolition.

Keywords: Caste, Colonial, *Dalits*, Indigenous, Police, Prisons

Paper 3: Mutual ~~Humanitarian~~ Aid: Making a lexicon of border struggle

Simon Campbell & Otto Wolf

Since spring 2022, together with a range of writers, we have been working on a lexicon which explores redefinitions and unlearnings on the topic of humanitarianism and mutual aid. Taking a radical critique of humanitarian aid, a system part and parcel of the border regime, the lexicon combines insights, anecdotes, photos and illustrations from activists, people-on-the-move and researchers. Each word entry is a generative moment to explore how mutual aid approaches can prefigure support beyond the care-control matrix which humanitarianism sustains. Some examples include "Queueing", where activists share experiences of the way NGOs act as gatekeepers and disciplining actors, and probe potentials for rethinking direct material support through mutual aid practice. Meanwhile, other entries such as "Camps", prompt us to look at spaces of humanitarianism and how solidarity activism interlocks with carceral border infrastructure, plotting lessons from detention visitors groups to understand what a border abolitionist approach means when engaging with architecture of the state. The lexicon is neither an A to Z of *what not to,* nor a prescriptive approach to solidarity, but we hope sharing it with students, activists and academics can contribute to a more critical appraisal of humanitarianism and how anarchist praxis can inform transformative resistance to the border. In the conference presentation we would like to explore the lexicon entries made so far, the faultlines of co-option and hierarchy which they navigate, and open up the opportunity to participants of Anarchist Futures to comment and contribute. We see it as a resource for movement and *for the* movement, something that will be updated overtime to reflect the challenges faced and tools of horizontal organising drawn upon within the border abolitionist struggle. The future is already being practiced by different groups in various nuanced and intricate ways, this lexicon aims to bring together these forms of prefigurative politics as a collective resource for joining together this knowledge produced on the ground.

Panel 2: Anarchism in Ukraine: From the Late 19th Century until Today II

The history of anarchism in Ukraine dates to the second half of the 19th century. In the century and a half that have passed, the Ukrainian anarchist movement has had its ups and downs, with, at times, tens of thousands of active supporters. Unfortunately, this history has so far been viewed almost exclusively within the context of the history of the all-Russian anarchist movement, operating in the territories of the former Russian Empire and the USSR. We say "unfortunately" because throughout its existence, the anarchist movement in Ukraine has had features that differ from those of the anarchist movement operating in the territory of today's Russian Federation. The differences between *northern*, namely Russian, and *southern*, namely Ukrainian, anarchism were first noted by scholars addressing the topic in the late 1900s: the latter had a more decisive, massive, militant character, which eventually culminated in the Makhnovist movement that was in control of a considerable part of the territory for some time during the civil war. This substantial difference means that the specific history of the anarchist movement in Ukraine deserves a more thorough study. The scholars, both professional historians and activists of the anarchist movement in Ukraine, presenting their work in this panel engage in just such an endeavor.

Viktor Savchenko – Anarchist Expropriations in Ukraine during the 1917–1921 Liberation Struggle

Serhii Shevchenko – Anarchism in Ukraine and the 2014–2022 War: Problems, Solutions, Perspectives

Inna Shtakser – Gender and Structures of Political Violence, the Case of post-1905 Odessa Anarchism

This paper will address the question of why rhetoric and culture of anarchist groups in Odessa made it difficult for women militants to be involved. The paper addresses the period from the end of 1905 until 1908, a period during which anarchism became attractive to many working-class revolutionaries from different organizations. The demise of the revolution and the resulting weakening of all revolutionary organizations meant that the only way for working-class militants to sustain their formerly established status as defenders of their communities was to fight over their influence locally, utilizing political violence against the police, employers, the extreme right wing and other perceived enemies of the working classes. This status, established during the 1905 revolution, permitted many working-class women to take part in various acts of revolutionary activism, including violence, which would normally attract social opprobrium within their communities. Indeed, this paper focuses on Odessa, since in Odessa, a multi—ethnic, vibrant, immigrant-attracting port city likely less conservative than communities with less geographically and socially mobile populations, women were especially prominent in actions of armed defense, including against the anti-Jewish pogroms. I will claim that the main reason the women found the anarchist groups unattractive was not political – working-class women militants experienced, with the demise of the revolution, the same oppression and loss of local status as working class men and, like men, could find a local-based alternative attractive. On the other hand the specific structuring of anarchist groups in post-1905 Odessa, focusing on offensive violence against what they perceived as an oppressive society and developing a discourse of knightly order of self-sacrificing heroes distanced them from the community. The community was not involved in the operations of these, strictly underground, groups and, getting tired of revolutionary violence, began perceiving them as outsiders. The fact that much of this violence, in particular expropriations, while necessary for financing of the groups' activities, were perceived as criminal rather than political, further distanced the groups from the community they were supposedly defending. The result, as far as women revolutionaries were concerned, was that participation in such groups did not, as during the revolution, legitimate their activism in the eyes of the community as defense of the said community. In fact, it attached opprobrium, since the women militants could not even discursively claim the image of the community-defending criminal, who was always perceived as male. Therefore, I will claim, working-class women could not utilize the post-1905 anarchist groups as community-legitimated venues for their political self-assertion as they could other, more mass-based, organizations.

Panel 3: 'Smash the System': Punk Anarchism as a Culture of Resistance

'Smash the System': Punk Anarchism as a Culture of Resistance offers a snapshot of anarchist punk as a culture of resistance across the globe. In the diverse and internationalist chapters in the book we witness struggles against racism and colonialism in South Africa, resistance to neo-liberalism and state oppression in Latin America,

resistance to police brutality and capitalism in Western, Central and Southeast Europe, struggles for equality and against patriarchy in the US, and anarchist resistance against injustice and authoritarianism in Asia. The common theme is that anarchist punks have consistently sought to SMASH THE SYSTEM, whether that system is capitalism, the police state, patriarchy, racism, ethno-nationalism, fascism, homophobia, colonialism, neo-liberalism, or the military industrial complex.

The (Anti-)Neoliberalism of Chilean Punk Anarchism

Maxwell Woods

Trans-Feminist Punk in the United States: Collective Action, Activism, and a Libidinal Economy of Noise

Casey Robertson

"Anarchy in the PRC": Anarchist practices and references in the Chinese punk movement

Nathanel Amar

Day 1, 2:45pm – 4:15pm

Panel 1: Anarchist Utopianism

John Clark, Laurence Davis, Vandana Singh & Margaret Killjoy

What roles do art and literature play in envisioning anarchist futures? In this panel we explore the rich but still relatively neglected phenomenon of anarchist utopianism, especially but not exclusively in its literary forms. Unusually for a panel at an Anarchist Studies Network conference, the aim of this session is to bring together in dialogue both scholars of the anarchist utopian tradition with specialist expertise on its history and theory, and writers of contemporary speculative fiction who have engaged in original ways with anarchist or anarchistic forms of utopianism. More substantively, we aim to elucidate the distinctive ideological features of anarchist utopianism, its historical and contemporary political significance, and the imaginative challenges and affordances of crafting anarchist literary utopias in a 21st-century context. Eschewing simplistic and reductive readings of literary utopias as fixed blueprints for an ideologically defined future, we will pay particular attention to the ways in which anarchist literary utopias engage the reader in a complex dialogue about what is, what might be, and the relationship between the two, inviting us to participate in a time-sensitive journey of the utopian imagination complete with fundamental moral conflict, meaningful choice and continuing change, by the end of which we may return to the non-fictional present with a broader perspective on its latent emancipatory possibilities. Consistent with this emphasis on the importance of critical dialogue, we also hope to leave plenty of time for comments and questions, whether academic or otherwise!

Panel 2

Paper 1: By Accident

Chad Frazier

This paper will assert that any possible anarchist future will be largely the effect of accidents and will explore how as anarchists we might accept and adapt to these accidental futures.

In 2016 an accidental fire burned down an art and social space in Oakland California, killing 36 people and sending tremors and fractures through continental social networks. In response the control apparatus of U.S. governmentality including the police, fire department, building commission, and community associations seized the opportunity to raid, fine, and shut down social spaces across the country. This is just one example of an ongoing transformation of urban space happening nationally. Urban centers are less accessible even as urban populations grow with new generations growing into ever more isolated though congested city schemes.

This paper will map the aftershock of punitive state measures and the emotional devastation of comrade's social networks as well as how anarchists built new spaces and initiatives not only to confront the catastrophe but to reveal new imaginaries. Many of the relations and forms of new expression that became bold--shaping new spaces--were drawn from minor affiliations. As the future becomes the present the background becomes the foreground.

In this paper I will engage the work of Jane Bennett's Vibrant Matter and the actant variability of objects, Paul Virillio's work on the politics of speed, time, and the "museum of the accident", as well as several anarchist architects and urban planners engaging with inhabiting ruins and destruction. Future scenarios may be accidental, but we can respond to them and relate to each other purposefully.

Paper 2: Squatting and Self-Organisation

E.T.C. Dee

I am writing a book about squatting and self-organization on the global scale. This research naturally leads to a focus on the quiet anarchism of everyday existence, when people engage in mutual aid with respect to housing. As well as providing a roof over people's heads, such solidarity practices can produce social movements and inform antagonistic struggles. I give examples from the UK social centre network, Brazil (MST), France (ZAD), Ukraine and Albania. There are also however limits to self-organization since people can end up living on toxic or dangerous lands, or indeed a dictator like Mugabe can wreak havoc.

I will present excerpts from my research and hopefully introduce some ideas which can lead to fruitful discussion afterwards. I am happy to do this in person, if it is online I would like to present a slideshow with a voiceover as I feel this would be the most engaging way both to present my research and to provoke a discussion (which I would be happy to be present for).

Panel 3

Paper 1: Social Kropotkinism – the best 'New Normal' for survival in the post COVID-19, climate emergency world?

Jennifer Cole, Adam Badger, Phil Brown, Oli Mould

"Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin was originally an evolutionary biologist, writing shortly after Charles Darwin, but pointed to collaboration rather than competition as the underlying driver of (human) evolution, development and survival. This paper questions why 'Social Darwinism' has entered the language when 'Social Kropotkinism' has not. We position Social Kropotkinism – an idea based on mutual support and community cooperation as opposed to Darwinian survival of the fittest – as having value as a new societal organising principle that can help to ensure social justice and equitable distribution of increasingly scarce resources in the post-pandemic, climate emergency world. In this article, through case studies observed through original research with food banks, community groups, faith networks, schools and others, we chart the re-emergence of Kropotkin's ideas of mutualism against the blossoming of community-level mutual aid during the COVID-19 pandemic, which has exposed and filled many cracks in UK Government provision of welfare and social care."

Paper 2: Reimagining Anarchism and Care: Prefiguration, Anarcha-Feminism, Trebled Reflexivity, and Mutual Aid.

Caroline K. Kaltefleiter

The COVID-19 global pandemic, now the subject of numerous studies, made clear the failures of market-led approaches and amplified the rise in mutual aid groups worldwide. Recent scholarship highlights an emerging dialectic of mutual aid (Firth, 2020; Jun & Lance, 2020; Lachowicz & Donaghey, 2021). However, discussions of responses to the pandemic fall short in their investigation of anarchism, prefiguration, capitalism, and futurism. The crisis, far from stagnant, opened up continuums of care and ways to (re)imagine crises as interstices for ongoing mutual aid not with designated ends (e.g., the end of the pandemic) but interludes of continued support and action.

This paper builds on existing literature within the framework of disaster capitalism and anarchism. Going beyond pandemic analyses, the rise of assemblies of volunteers engaged in direct action presents a context for reflection on the implications of prefiguratively community-based initiatives and anarchist contributions to evolving social justice movements. To add to these analyses, I focus on historiographies of anarchist collectives, prefiguration, and care through an anarcha-feminist lens and a theoretical framework I present as trebled reflexivity (Kaltefleiter, 1995; Kaltefleiter, 2022). This discussion draws upon my earlier work and participation in anarchist collectives such as the Positive Force House in Washington D. C.; Riot Grrrl D.C., Food Not Bombs, and Occupy Wall Street/Sandy. I employ histography and auto-ethnography, along with brief semi-structured interviews of mutual aid activists beyond/out of the pandemic context. The paper concludes with a discussion of localism, documenting activist temporalities, excavating conduits of anarchist spaces and experiences with attention to various local mutual aid actions and venues. Such spaces represent opportunities for (re)imagining anarchist futures that embody autonomy, responsibility, solidarity, and community.

Paper 3: Disaster Anarchy: Mutual Aid, Degrowth and Utopian Value

Rhiannon Firth

This paper will draw on the conclusion to my latest book, finally completed after 7 years (!) of research and writing: Disaster Anarchy: Mutual Aid and Radical Action (Pluto, 2022). In the paper, I explore the intersection of disasters as crises of capitalism with mutual aid as a prefigurative and utopian practice. The idea of 'disaster utopia' has conservative origins dating back to the 1950s and 1960s, when North American disaster researchers and media reporters would laud the community action that arose after a natural disaster. The terminology 'post-disaster utopia' would be used to describe a period where people would put aside differences to 'roll up their sleeves' and 'pull together' to selflessly help others during recovery. This ethos continues to the present day in the aftermath of hurricanes and pandemics, as governments laud community action to justify neoliberal rollback of welfare. During the Covid-19 crisis, we witnessed the irony of 'mutual aid' - an anarchist concept popularised by Kropotkin, being mobilised by the neoliberal state in support of a rapid return to the capitalist 'new normal'. Nevertheless, this paper argues that mutual aid and other disaster utopias prefigure new values beyond crises of capitalism. Disaster utopias problematise the orientation of utopia towards intention and the future. Nobody wishes for a disaster, yet they produce affects such as desire and hope for change, and the formation of grassroots infrastructures and technologies. Conservatives, socialists and liberals converge assuming that control ideologies are required to address wicked problems like pandemics and climate change. Anarchist thought and practice shows downscaling and localisation are effective responses to structural asymmetries.

Day 1, 4.30pm – 6pm

Panel 1

Paper 1: Crip Utopias and Dismodernist Revolutions for (Post-)Pandemic Times: The Promise of More-Than-Social Movements

Arianna Introna

The Covid-19 pandemic has been marked by the unequal dispersal of body-minded vulnerability and contingency across society, but also by the proliferation of crip world-making practices that have embedded a deeper commitment to accessibility within both activist and non-activist spaces. My presentation will explore this proliferation as indexing the unfolding of crip utopias and dismodernist revolutions in pandemic times, and as challenging us to make our movements and organizing more-than-social, beyond any state-defined delimitation of pandemic times, so as to be able to autonomously organize around the messy and unruly body-minds that constitute our movements – and the world. The first part of my presentation will discuss the collectivization of body-minded contingency in pandemic times as crip utopias in the Blochian sense of utopia as unfolding in the present, and as dismodernist revolutions in Eva Von Redecker's sense of the term of revolution, whereby interstitial practices change what is possible by 'rehearsing the future and repurposing the present' (2021). The second part of my presentation will imagine a crip future of organizing as more-than-social through the lenses of Dimitris Papadopoulos's concept of 'more-than-social movements', or movements that do not target existing political structures but build 'infrastructures of communal connectivity'

through autonomous experimenting which worlds and 'the materiality of life' (Papadopoulos 2018, p.3).

Paper 2: Speculating Autonomous Trans Care

Alex Barksdale

In this presentation, I examine radical visions and demands for autonomous trans care, particularly around gender-affirming medical care. These include speculative bio-art that imagines a world where hormone-users can create their own hormonal medicines via do-it-yourself (DIY) biohacking (Tsang 2017) as well as calls for DIY trans medical clinics (Gleeson and Hoad 2020). I argue that these radical imaginations offer both critique of presently existing healthcare and constructive visions of autonomous alternatives. In analyzing these examples of autonomous care, I utilize anarchist theory to locate the radical potential as well as the limits of DIY practices (Portwood-Stacer 2018). Drawing on reproductive justice and women of color feminisms, I argue that autonomy must be understood as collective and that struggles around autonomy need to be oriented towards intersections and coalitions. Finally, I reflect on how health autonomy and justice struggles can enrich anarchist thinking and practice, particularly around questions of healthcare and social reproduction.

Paper 3: Gender-Inclusive Language Practices as Anarchistic Prefigurative Politics

Mariel Acosta-Matos

Initiatives to create new forms of address that seek to include women and non-binary people, in otherwise androcentric or male-centered discourses, have become more prevalent in the last few years. These subversive language practices continue to challenge established grammatical norms and agitate the notions of linguistic purism and standard/ized language(s). These practices, known as *inclusive language* (IL), *gender-fair language* in Europe, include changes to the morphology of gendered words and the creation of feminized and gender-neutral pronouns, adjectives and nouns.

While using IL is not a practice exclusive of anarchists, in this presentation I will posit the argument that the use of IL can be considered an anarchistic practice. I will also argue that IL is an example of anarchists' prefigurative politics or the practices of building the desired future through their present actions (Kornegger 1996; Breton et al. 2012; Cohn 2015; Fians 2022). Beyond the imagination and theorization of futures, anarchist prefigurative politics entail the change of the current conditions through action. In general, through intentional practices that seek to challenge and transform traditional gender roles and relations, anarchists prefigure a more egalitarian society, and the use of IL reflects this possibility in/through language.

In order to illustrate my argument, I will first discuss definitions of key terms, as well as a description of grammatical gender in English, Spanish and French. Furthermore, I will present a cross-linguistic examination of IL use in the languages in question, by presenting examples drawn from previous work: on *lenguaje inclusivo* in late 1970s radical publications in Spain during the transition [to democracy] period (Bencoechea 2011, 2015) and in mid-2000s do-it-yourself anarchist Latin American journals and 'zines (Acosta Matos 2016, 2018); *l'écriture inclusive* or *langage inclusif* in French through Julie Abbou's work on anarchist 'zines and pamphlets (2011, 2015, 2018); and, gender-neutral pronouns and neopronouns in English, such as the "singular they" (Mathews, 1995). I am also

interested in discussing how anarchist politics influence speakers' language ideologies (Irvine 1989; Irvine and Gal 2000; Woodlard 2021) and what discourses surrounding such changes in language they utilize.

The use of IL and other changes to language that challenge male-centered language use and the masculine/feminine binary are part of broader efforts to combat gender discrimination and violence against women and LGBTQI people. The creation and use of new inclusive forms of address help further discussions of gender discrimination and operate against the linguistic erasure of women and queer people. These linguistic forms contribute to the dismantling hegemonic discourses that perpetuate discriminatory ideologies, including within anarchist circles.

Panel 2: Prefiguring the Future: Twentieth Century Anarchist Visions

Nikita Shepard, Jacqui Sahagian, Spencer Beswick & Richard Saich

Prefigurative practices are driven by an anarchist ethics that attempts to "build the new world in the shell of the old." But just what does this "new world" of the future look like, and how do we get there? This panel explores how visions of the future have shaped anarchist strategy and life across the twentieth century in the territory of the US state. Nikita Shepard argues that engagements with the future have been central to queer anarchist thought and practice for over a century, fundamentally shaping visions and practices of sexual and political liberation. Jacqui Sahagian explores how deindustrialization influenced the prefigurative practices and utopian visions of anarchists and artists in Detroit during the late twentieth century. Spencer Beswick explores competing visions of prefiguration and dual power in the 1990s through Love and Rage's critique of the infoshop movement and their positioning of the Zapatistas as a vision of the future. Richard Saich looks at the 1999 Battle of Seattle and uses the slogan "this is what democracy looks like" to understand the turn-of-the-century anarchist approach to prefiguring the future. Collectively, these papers use historical analysis to engage with enduring questions of anarchist political theory.

Nikita Shepard – "Not a Mere Theory for a Distant Future": A History of Queer Anarchist Futures

This paper surveys queer anarchist articulations of the future in the territory of the US state from the late nineteenth to the early twenty-first centuries. Critiques of futurity emerging from contemporary queer theory have proven influential on twenty-first century queer anarchists. However, I argue that a much longer queer anarchist trajectory has emphasized the significance of the future within visions of sexual and political liberation. I focus on the activism and writing of queer anarchists, by which I mean both radicals who articulated their sexual and gender dissidence through the political idiom of anarchism as well as anarchists who affirmed same-sex love as an aspect of their vision of anti-authoritarian social transformation. I begin by exploring the trans-Atlantic currents of political and sexual radicalism that informed the early US anarchist movement, including the works of Oscar Wilde, Edward Carpenter, and John Henry Mackay. I engage Dr. Marie Equi's work as a feminist agitator and abortionist; Emma Goldman's sex radicalism and its influence on Dr. Alan Hart, the first transmasculine person to seek and receive gender affirming surgery in the United States; poet Robert Duncan's vision beyond identity politics in his 1944 essay, the first on the politics of homosexuality by an openly gay writer

published in the US; gay liberationist Charles Shively and his anarchist vision of sexual revolution; and others. Among these figures I track a range of temporally inflected practices, including prefigurative politics, describing utopian futures within political manifestos, and linking sexual fantasy to political revolution. These themes, I argue, illuminate how engagements with the future have been central to queer anarchist thought and practice. I conclude with reflections on the recent turn towards negativity and against futurism in radical queer thought, and how reading these trends in conjunction with queer anarchist history can provide new insights into the limits and possibilities of revolutionary visions of the future.

Jacqui Sahagian – **Anarchy in Detroit: Prefigurative Politics in a Postindustrial City**

This paper will explore how anarchists in Detroit during the late twentieth century saw what Black Studies scholar Ashon Crawley has called "otherwise possibilities" in the city's deindustrialized space during an era often cast as a nadir for both Detroit and radical politics. Detroit's activists, artists, and musicians built utopias and practiced prefigurative politics within a city that has long been rendered abject, but their stories are not often told side-by-side, though they were at work re-envisioning urban life in the same place at the same time. My paper will examine how the city's legacy of radical activism from the first half of the twentieth century lived on in the decades following the 1960s, and how deindustrialization influenced these later utopian visions. Some of the most important anarchist thinkers and institutions of the late twentieth century were based in Detroit, including Fredy Perlman, Peter Werbe, and the *Fifth Estate* newspaper. I will analyze the performance spaces and zines created by the hardcore punk and techno subcultures, which rejected the suburbs in favor of the city, as well as the influential anarcho-primitivism theorized by Perlman and in the pages of the *Fifth Estate*. I ultimately argue that modern day urbanites have much to learn from the Detroiters who spent decades resisting the adverse conditions neoliberalism created in their city. As anarchists and punks, ravers and radicals continue to practice prefigurative politics in Detroit, we can look at these models as ways to live creatively outside and beyond capitalism and the state, pursue a future with a more just urban life, and ultimately imagine and create a post-neoliberal city.

Spencer Beswick – **Prefiguration or Dual Power?: Infoshops, Infrastructure, and Anarchist Organizing in the 1990s**

Anarchists establish infoshops as "permanent autonomous zones" that prefigure the future while claiming radical space in the present. At their best, infoshops expand our organizing capacity, build community, and meet our needs outside the capitalist system. They are a living example of the new world we seek based in mutual aid and solidarity. But at their worst, infoshops suck time and energy away from other organizing projects and fracture the communities that they aim to bring together. In this paper, I discuss the historical roots of infoshops, their proliferation in the United States, the anarchist vision of a national network of infoshops in the Network of Anarchist Collectives, and the "social anarchist" critique of infoshops advanced by members of Love and Rage. Anarchists in Love and Rage attempted to emulate the Zapatistas in building dual power; infoshops would play a role within this broader revolutionary movement, rather than serving as ends in themselves. Ultimately, I argue that the discussions and debates around infoshops reflect broader disagreements in the anarchist movement about the nature of power, revolution, and what it means to "build the new society in the shell of the old."

Richard Saich –Political Protest and Prefigurative Politics: "This Is What Democracy Looks Like"

The mass mobilization against the World Trade Organization in Seattle in late 1999 constituted a moment of political rupture at the very end of the twentieth century. It was during these protests that the slogan "This Is What Democracy Looks Like" was used by activists to underscore the distinction between the type of politics that they practiced amongst themselves within their communities and the type of politics that empowered the political elites that had sheltered themselves behind the closed doors of the WTO conference hall. The mantra was made effective by the fact that it highlighted the deficiencies of corporate globalization in a way that had a broad resonance beyond activist circles. However, the protests in Seattle were made possible by the evolution of a radical democratic tradition that had its roots in the earlier civil rights, feminist, peace, and anti-nuclear movements, and came to be associated with a model of "prefigurative politics" by the 1980s. This tradition provided activists with a practical model for anarchist politics during an era of neoliberal ascendency, one that combined direct action to combat the evils of late capitalism with the promotion of a broader utopian vision of a society no longer organised by hierarchy, domination, and exploitation. In this paper I will explore the meaning of the slogan and the history that gave rise to it, highlighting the dialectical relationship between political protest and movement building. I will argue that reflecting upon the recent past can be a way for us to develop anarchist theory suited to the needs of the present and can ultimately help us to develop effective anarchist strategies for the future.

Panel 3: Anarchist Archaeology

Paper 1: Anarchist Athurmata: From Pins to Political Theory

James Birmingham

This presentation argues that one of the ways many of us became anarchists in the first place is through the exchange of objects that inspire us to explore ideas more deeply.

Paper 2: The Past is a Radical Archive: Thoughts for a Breaking World

Lewis Borck

In some ways similar to the radical imagination, the past as a radical archive is about bringing possibilities from the past to work on the present, to inspire action and new forms of solidarity and community today. This talk will discuss some of these lessons and their applications.

Paper 3: Anarchic Diversities and Anarchist Futures

Elliot Helmer

This presentation explores the divergences and convergence in the form of anarchic political systems in the Pacific Northwest of North America. In their successes, these societies teach us to break down essentialist political categories and to move towards diverse anarchist futures that prioritize local, land-based, and Indigenous-led solutions over ideological purity and a European anarchist canon.

Paper 4: Archaeological Pasts Informing an Anarchist Present and Futures: Indigenous Resource Management on the Columbia-Fraser Plateau of North America

James W. Brown and Steven Hackenberger

Evolutionary models justifying social hierarchy are contested in the case of some traditional trans-egalitarian communities. Anarchist theory better positions socio-political organization of resource collector/manager economies allowing for the interpretation of autonomy, mutual aid, and resistance to central authority. The ethnography and archaeology of Columbia-Fraser Plateau peoples, and their trans-egalitarian communities and related storage-based economies, provide a context for contextualizing anarchist interpretations. Anarchist interpretations of the lifeways of these peoples places active social resistance to internal and external political-economic controls. Inference of past lifeways can be used to inform current and future resource management and indigenous self-governance.

Paper 5: Anarchist Archaeologies in the UK

Colleen Morgan

As the Black Trowel Collective stated in a recent twitter thread for the "anarcho-curious" "We've found archaeologists to be particularly open to anarchism–it may be all that knowledge of non-state societies, or the experience of doing things together, working toward a common goal in the trench or in the museum. Or maybe we're a bunch of cussed misfits." In this presentation I unpack this statement within the UK context, and discuss possible directions for future mobilisation within the profession.

Day 2, 9am – 10:30am

Panel 1: Excavating Utopia in Anarchist Historiography

In this century, anarchism is rarely invoked as a utopian ideal: for both its supporters and detractors, anarchist practice takes precedence over anarchist theory. By contrast, in the final decades of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth, anarchists regularly referred to 'the ideal', considered their anarchism in terms of fidelity to a set of ideas about how society ought to function, and sought to sketch out the parameters of a future ideal community. This panel will consider aspects of the anarchist utopian imaginary as it existed in this period. It will make the case for taking anarchist ideas seriously, in the interests of both historical enquiry and a reinvigorated utopian sensibility for the present.

Liz Stainforth – 'Utopia as a Method of Historical Analysis'. Argues for the significance of utopia in expanding the modalities within which history has been written and thought. Utopia is positioned both as a historical form of modernity and as a method of historical analysis. *Communal Luxury* (2015), Kristin Ross's exploration of the anarchistic currents of the Paris Commune, is the lens through which this method is discussed, specifically the utopian potential of the commune form to provide the basis for a transformed future.

Danny Evans – 'Libertarian Communism in Spain: The Concrete Significance of a Utopian Project'. Discusses the debate within the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist organisation, the CNT, as to the definition of libertarian communism, which came to a head at the Zaragoza Congress of May 1936, on the eve of the Spanish civil war. The paper establishes the scale and urgency of the debate against a backdrop of social ferment and revolutionary expectation, and outlines its subsequent significance to the Spanish revolution.

Pascale Siegrist – 'Pragmatic Utopia: Reclus and Kropotkin's Scientific Anarchy'. The charge of 'utopianism' was a common criticism levelled at anarchist ideas in the nineteenth century, meant to discredit its political project as detached from reality, ideologically motivated and, on account of both: potentially dangerous. In this paper, I show how geographers and anarchists of the period sought to counter such accusations with a new vision of anarchy – a worldview that rested on a redefinition of anarchism as thoroughly scientific, rooted in the material conditions on the ground and, in the case of Kropotkin, a new conception of the relationship between theory and practice.

Panel 2: Solarpunk Futures Workshop

The Solarpunk Futures Workshop utilizes the table-top artist's game, *Solarpunk Futures*, to engage attendees of the Anarchist Studies Conference in a process of visionary social storytelling around the collective struggle necessary to build our utopia. The game employs backcasting, whereby groups of 1-8 role play for 45–60 minutes from the perspective of a utopian future — a "Festival of Remembrance" — in which players "remember" how their Ancestors utilized Tools and Values to overcome a set of real-world Challenges. Players embody positions of world-historical consequence while encountering the words and ideas of revolutionary figures such as Murray Bookchin, Mikhail Bakunin, Fred Hampton, Pericles, and Ursula K. LeGuin.

Through the workshop, intergenerational groups will engage in serious yet joyful dialogue on: the nature of the social-ecological Challenges we face; the roles of interrelated individuals working in collaboration; the contradictions and opportunities presented by different "Tools"; how to anticipate and overcome reactionary opposition to liberation struggles; how different Ancestors, Values, and Tools can combine in emergent ways; and more. Workshop participants will report back on their utopian scenarios, any lessons learned, and how they might apply ideas generated in the game to their present situation while contextualizing their organizing work within a global legacy of freedom.

Panel 3

Paper 1: Anarchist Future in Science Fiction: The Case of Anarchist Feminist Ursula K. Le Guin

Meltem Dağcı

Anarchism is first and foremost a perspective, a window. It is to look at the world from the window of freedom, not power. Once you grasp the libertarian perspective, anarchism becomes a cultivable capability. This ability is the ability to understand and grasp power in structure, practice, discourse, and institutions. Anarchism speaks the language of freedom, not power; trying to talk. And finally, anarchism is to act and act with the awareness of our anarchist responsibilities, to the extent of our anarchist abilities, in the world we look at from a libertarian perspective. So anarchism is revolution. However, this

revolution, as Ursula K. Le Guin puts it, is eternal, it never ends; It's not linear, it's cyclical. Seeing the slightest possibility of authoritarianism or introversion and overcoming it is a constant struggle. To be constantly renewed is to be in motion. This process ranges from individual individuals to society and even the global.

Feminist utopia literature, which was first planted with utopian, semi-delusional and fantastic fictions written by women who were active in fields such as politics, literature and philosophy in the 18th and 19th centuries, began to diversify especially after the 1970s. Ursula K. Le Guin's writing world stands in a place that takes us out of the limits of reality and prevents our lives from being trapped in this world. As those who follow his writing world and ideas will know, Le Guin is an anarchist writer.

Since Ursula K. Le Guin is an anarchist feminist writer, women's utopias are aware that language is one of the most important ideological tools that make women dependent. Based on this view, he finds the way to get rid of the male-dominated symbolic order by going out to the non-linguistic field or breaking the language patterns. This study will focus on the future of anarchism from the perspective of women through the science fiction feminist literature of Ursula K. Le Guin.

Paper 2: Unknown Ursula: More utopian bits and pieces

Peter Seyferth

If you look for anarchist utopias, Ursula K. Le Guin's novel *The Dispossessed* (1974) is probably the first thing you will find. If you dig deeper, you may find her later novel *Always Coming Home* (1985), which develops her utopian writing in several ways. These two full-blown utopias have been acknowledged in utopian studies as masterpieces that changed the field. But this is by no means everything Le Guin has contributed to utopianism. Let us look at (almost) all her science fiction novels, novellas, and short stories (almost 50 fictional texts) to get an overlook and some deep insights into how Le Guin depicts alternative societies, criticizes contemporary society and invites readers to co-create utopian speculation. On the one hand we will find texts that are almost or partly utopian because they use fiction to describe aspects of utopia ('homoeo-utopia'); and texts that discuss utopianism as such by using fictional examples ('hyper-utopia'). Homoeo-utopias comply with some, but not all, criteria of utopia. They can be differentiated into:

- Micro-utopias that depict very small groups that are organized in a good way, e.g. functional and cooperative teams;
- Hemi-utopias that depict societies with some utopian aspects, but other aspects are either not utopian or not depicted, e.g. ecological or feminist societies that are hierarchical or where there is no description of the economy;
- Fictional ethnographies that depict alternative societies (like utopias do) but do not evaluate them as good (utopia) or bad (dystopia);
- Pre-utopias that depict what was before utopia, i.e. how a utopian society has been founded or been fought for (successfully or not) without fully describing this society; e.g. stories of revolutions.

Most (but not all) hyper-utopias are homoeo-utopias. They use utopian aspects to say something about utopia in general. Le Guin uses hyper-utopias to caution against the hybris and short-sightedness of utopists. She criticizes the idea that social conditions can be fully planned and will then be reproduced rationally. The hyper-utopias are criticisms

of perfectionism and blueprint-thinking. All full and half-utopian texts of Le Guin are thought experiments. We can grasp her utopianism only if we include the texts that stay under the threshold of utopia. And we should try to understand her utopianism, because it is quite useful to learn how to envision anarchist futures.

Day 2, 10:45am – 12:15pm

Panel 1: Workshop: The necessity of an anarchist programme

Perspektive Selbstverwaltung (Perspective Self-Governance) is a developing organisation in Berlin, Germany. We have been working on an anarchist program for about 2 years and have published certain parts of it, we continue to work on others (feel free to have a look on our website: https://perspektivesv.noblogs.org/program)

We'd like to share with you our motives behind our programme and present our experiences and present our experiences in the process developing it. After that, we would like to have a discussion about what role such a programme could fulfil and how we can bring anarchist politics about as a serious alternative and challenge the status quo.

Topics we will discuss are anarchism and organisation, relation to society, class, feminism, ecology, internationalism, collectivity, education and propaganda. Our workshop consists of a short input (½ hour), followed by discussion. We will do the workshop in English.

Panel 2: Anarcho-Vegan Futures I: Being the Change

Tim Reysoo – On Species Privilege

This paper discusses and critiques Gloria Wekker's work White Innocence: The Paradoxes of 400 years of colonialism. The notion of white innocence that Wekker distils from the social privilege of race or whiteness, is used to shed light on yet another social group category that tends to be hidden for most part, namely species. The reason for doing so is that similar to how white privilege and male privilege expose the unfair and exploitative relations that result from oppressive systems such as racism and sexism, human privilege can expose the mechanisms (epistemic, institutional, psychological, etc.) that ensure successful reproduction of animal oppression. Getting a clear picture of how species privilege operates can help make us more privilege literate (Joy, 2020), with regard to our unexamined privilege we enjoy in virtue of belonging to the socially constructed human group. In order to argue for the related concepts of species privilege and human innocence, the paper discusses the structural similarities among animal and human oppression by looking at how animals have been oppressed, both materially and discursively. Physical violence against animals is enabled first and foremost by different types of discursive violence, and this discursive/epistemic violence is essential for our human privilege to remain unchallenged.

Jennifer D. Grubbs – Carceral Canines: Anarchist Abolition Beyond the Human

Animal exploitation connects and diverges with human exploitation in both insidious and overt ways. Breeding, transports, and slaughterhouses have informed genocidal practices throughout modern history, as well as industrialized human incarceration. As critical animal scholars have astutely pointed out, animal bodies and human bodies are racialized

and sexualized through speciesism as a means of subjugation. Human incarceration is one manifestation of such mechanized violence. While attending a training inside of a prison in Michigan, the men went back to their housing units to get the dogs they were currently training. One of the men explained, "I find so much joy in taking care of him [the service dog]. I made sure to get him the biggest crate they had. It takes up most of my cell, but I don't care. Nothing but the best for this guy."

This paper looks at the ways in which incarcerated people participate and disidentify with other-than-human exploitation. Placing cages within cages, the interconnectedness of violence is pervasive. Rather than fracture the authoritarian structures of incarceration from other species, this paper centers animal exploitation in an anarchist abolition framework. Until we take seriously the carceral realities of animal lives, anarchist perspectives on abolition are incomplete.

Nathan Poirier - Veganism As A(n) (Overlooked) Component of Anarchafeminism

Writings that combine anarchism and feminism frequently leave out veganism. Chiara Bottici's recent Anarchafeminism is the first systematic and holistic theorization of the convergence of anarchism and feminism. While wide in its scope, veganism is conspicuously absent. In loving solidarity with this pioneering work, I build from Chiara's admittedly (and necessarily) incomplete book to argue that anarchafeminism should explicitly include veganism as, and into, its liberatory praxis. Thus this presentation will draw together anarchism, feminism and veganism by presenting an overview of writings on anarchafeminism and use them to illustrate how veganism could be included by using eco/feminist theory. It will position veganism as a logical and helpful addition to anarchafeminism in its quest to oppose all forms of domination. In addition, it will offer an interpretation of veganism by taking cues from Black anarchism/anarcho-blackness to highlight how veganism could be viewed by anarchafeminism as a form of rejection of current hierarchical, authoritarian and deadly systems.

Gordon Meade - Zoospeak - Animals in Captivity through Poetry and Photography

It is my intention to give a presentation of a reading from the collection, Zoospeak, a collaboration between myself and the Canadian photographer and animal activist, Jo-Anne McArthur, which uses poetry and photography to attempt to express the experiences of non-human animals in captivity throughout the world in zoos, aquariums, fur farms, and breeding facilities. The presentation will consist of my reading a number of poems from the above collection alongside the visual images to which the poems refer. I would imagine that the above presentation would be best suited to the theme of Prison Abolition and Animal Liberation.

Panel 3

Paper 1: Figures of (Anti-)Politics in Anarchism

Jonathan Eibisch

There are plausible reasons, to dislike, criticise reject politics of governments, statist institutions, political parties and NGOs. At the same time, people in self-organised groups

want to develop their own forms of politics. Anarchist are generally sceptical in reference to politics altogether. In the political theory of anarchism the individual, the social, the society, the economy and the commnunity where reasoned as antipoles to politics, whereas the last is associated with the statist mode of political domination.

Is political acting insofar actually something that we should pursue? When, under which conditions and how do we act on the political field? Is there an autonomous politics and what might be its criteria?

Those are some of the basic questions, that I investigated with a postanarchist approach in my PhD thesis. I interpret them as paradoxes and suggest furthermore to understand anarchism on the whole as paradoxical. In my talk I will present some insights of my up to now not published dissertation on the political theory of anarchism.

Besides the contents I will also talk about, how I found this topic and why I wanted to engage in basic theoretical terms of anarchism. I will show insights to my nearly five years lasting working process and my experiences in critical distance to academic institutions and forms of knowledge.

Paper 2: Remaking Meaning: Re-mythologization in Politics

James E. Willis, III

In the concluding remarks of *The Dawn of Everything*, Graeber and Wengrow suggest that we should "rediscover" our human capacity to "create new and different forms of social reality" through the creation of new myths, or ways of making meaning (p. 525). This is a challenge to think about not just the past, but also the future: making new myths is nothing short of remythologizing our collective politics. But, how can this be done without recreating some of the utopian-styled ideologies which led to violent disasters of the 20th century? Here, I suggest that politics is where we remythologize our values and "social realities" (p. 525). To pattern what this might look like, I turn to Saul Newman's prefigurative postanarchist methods that are driven by what he calls "indifference to power" (p. 91). In other words, politics is formed outside of the state apparatus in communities which have vested interest in problem-solving; politics at the statist level are instead shriveled in "indifference to power." Newman's treatment of "docility" (p. 92) and "obedience" (p. 95) in his reframing of human freedom indicate a way out of our own "submission" (p. 103). The re-mythologization of politics, then, requires not just a new myth, but an *entirely new* way of thinking about our collective stories beyond the limited frame of the human self (in relation to others). Here, I propose turning to a great mythmaker, Nietzsche, as a way to reframe new mythologies out of the shell of the old, a type of pre-figurative meaning-making: Nietzsche's concept of the madman who announces the death of God is, paradoxically, a *holy madman* who summons an inverted and perverted prophecy. The Nietzschean prophecy of divine madness suggests a new politics of ungovernability in the melancholy dissolution of the self.

Day 2, 1:00pm – 2:30pm

Panel 1: Anarcha-Vegan Futures II: Until All Are Free

Jana Canavan, *Matt York*, *Laura Schleifer*, *Ophélie Véron*

Jana Canavan - Interspecies Social Freedom

This paper draws on anarchist theory to discuss the potential of imagining an interspecies society in which humans and other animals live in co-constituted relations. I approach the goal of such a posthuman future by seeking to develop a conception of interspecies freedom. Extant accounts of anthropocentric freedom rule out other animals as legitimate subjects worthy of consideration which goes beyond the human-identified purpose that is attached to their existence. Appreciating other animals as sentient and social beings who have an interest to live and direct their own lives just like humans do, this paper seeks to conceptualise freedom in ways that integrate other animals so as to recognise their subjectivity and status. Rethinking freedom in this way not only criticises how we view and treat other animals, it also entails a critique of conceptualisations of freedom as privilege founded on the domination of an Other. Anarchist views on freedom provide useful theoretical tools to conceive of freedom as individual capacity and social good arising from conditions of peaceful social living.

Matt York - The Anarchy of Love: Rediscovering the Deep Commons

This paper will discuss ongoing research exploring the conditions of empathic entanglement that provide the basis for both individual and societal formation, and for the radical loving-caring praxes which underpin many contemporary struggles. By extending popular conceptions of the commons to include our more-than-human psycho-socio-material relations, this 'deep commons' will be proposed as a ground through which a (r)evolutionary love might circulate in order for new political intersubjectivities to manifest. The apparent binary tension between personal autonomy and social solidarity that exists in much of contemporary political/philosophical thought will be re-examined in light of these more-than-human loving entanglements, and activist accounts of their profound intimate entanglement with(in) a more-than-human plurality will be brought into dialogue with classical and contemporary anarchist thought on such matters. As the bizarre disconnect persists between calls for action to protect 'the environment' and the daily terror, torture, murder, and dismemberment of non-human animals in order to satisfy the insatiable desire for humans to consume their flesh, finding ways to ground our struggles in this deep commons might create openings to address this widespread cognitive dissonance in pursuit of anarcha-vegan futures.

Laura Schleifer - Post-Scarcity Veganarchism2.45pm – 4:15pm

At a time when the Capitalist construct of manufactured scarcity is colliding with ecological collapse-induced real material scarcity, how can veganarchism help move us into a post-scarcity future? Inspired by Murray Bookchin's classic "Post-Scarcity Anarchism", this presentation will explore how combining Bookchin's, Kropotkin's, Reclus's and other anarchists' visions of a non-hierarchical, directly democratic, egalitarian, ecological, mutual aid-based communalist society can be combined with a mass transition to plant-based food systems, interspecies sanctuaries for humans and other animals, directly democratic schools that engage children with non-human animals and teach them ecologically-regenerative veganic farming, and an end to the idea that anyone can cage, fence or "own" another human, animal, or part of nature, moving us from

the current scarcity paradigm--of ideas, imagination, and basic needs--to one of abundance in all of the above.

Ironically, irrational fear of scarcity has led Capitalist societies to hoard, over-consume, and overproduce, causing us to now face real shortages of life-sustaining natural resources. A societal transition to veganarchism would free vast land masses and regenerate forests, soil, species and ecosystems through halting animal exploitation and Capitalist industries. Moreover, eradicating Capitalism and the State would end manufactured scarcity by allowing humanity and other species equal access to earth's bounty and ending the depletion and poisoning of nature, as profit-seeking would no longer influence humans to take more than needed.

Additionally, reconnecting with humans and other species as equals/comrades would free us from Social Darwinian conceptions of competition for scarce resources being the state of nature. Through seeing other animals in their natural state, rather than through the lens of speciesism and oppression, we can re-learn lessons about mutual aid, inter-dependence, cooperation, etc.

Finally, this presentation will consider how cultivating an ethics of care for humans and other species can foster a mindset of abundance for all.

Ophélie Véron - Berlin, November 2071

Writing from a world where animal exploitation is on the verge of being totally abolished and where veganism is becoming the norm, in this creative piece I trace the history of events that have led to such a development. From climate change and zoonotic pandemics to autonomous politics, I explain how the world has become meat-free, and what challenges remain in dismantling the legacy of speciesism. Attempting to provide a glimmer of hope and inspiration based on critical thought, I highlight the need for efforts towards animal liberation and environmental and social justice to be made outside the parameters of contemporary neoliberal, statist politics. Half-measures and cosmetic changes will not help build a more socially just and environmentally sustainable society, I argue, only structural changes will.

James Birmingham, Lewis Borck, James Flexner and Aris Politopoulos

Panel 2: No Future? A Discussion.

Forged Books Reading Group

Like the depths of the ocean and the darkness beyond the stars (and much in between) the future is a mystery to us mere mortals. Perhaps the fish and the birds see what's coming, but any man or woman who tells you the future will be like X has either watched too many post-apoc movies or has been smoking hopeium. All we can really do is dream.

How would you like things to be, or not to be? Is there a way there from here? Are you living for tomorrow, today, or the day after tomorrow?

Forged Books Reading Group invite you to discuss our futures. All welcome! If you don't like talking in public, typing in public is fine by us. No prior reading needed

Panel 3

Paper 1: "Herd mentality, death bed radicalism and other things on my not to do list"

Nora Ziegler

There are two overlapping and paradoxical barriers for people to engage in radical climate action. The resources that enable people to engage in militant and sustained activism also make us dependent on the very structures that we are trying to challenge. Whereas, to the extent that we are excluded from these structures and have a more immediate interest in radical social change, the material and personal costs of activism are higher.

Power relations therefore undermine effective climate action, not only through exclusion but also through the complicity that comes with inclusion. Rather than trying to manipulate or "mobilize" people into action, we need to build reciprocal communities across differences of power that can give us the material means as well as the sense of belonging and collective purpose that we need to engage in serious radical organising.

Paper 2: The Anarchist Societies of the Future will Emerge from Everyday "Anarchist" Self-governance

James McArthur

What is needed to change the future and how we act now for the future cannot just be questions for a select few, but questions for all and so they must be addressed through everyday "anarchist" self-governance. Anarchism is avowedly anti-vanguardist yet we get so caught up in what we few need to do that we end up acting somewhat like a vanguard nonetheless. If anarchism is to succeed or fail it must do so on the merits of its principles, which most people in our societies need to pass judgement on based on personal experience if we are to avoid vanguardism and pursue means suited to our ends. To do this we need to offer our friends, families, neighbours, classmates and colleagues an opportunity to experience anarchist principles in their everyday lives so that most of them have a fair basis on which to pass judgement on anarchism. This means that we need to reduce the impacts of any negative bias towards anarchism by choosing not to initially call what we are advocating anarchism. To achieve these aims this presentation makes three arguments. First, we need to build support for anarchist principles by creating cooperatives, mutual aid groups, educational institutions and other organisations with our friends, families, neighbours, classmates and colleagues which practice everyday anarchist forms of self-governance. Second, to avoid the impacts of most of the negative bias towards anarchism on participation rates in these organisations it is better to not initially refer to the forms of self-governance these organisation's practice as anarchistic. Lastly, if we can get to the point in a society where most people are part of an organisation practicing anarchist forms of self-governance we have a fighting chance of generating sufficient support for the cultural shifts needed to successfully transition that society to the anarchist society of the future.

Paper 3: Solidarity, Self-Determination and Sites of Conflict

Flick Griffin

Anarchism, like other political-philosophies, has splintered over how to realise itself through praxis. A core anarchist vision might be a society made up of multiplicitous cultural, political, and economic identities, living through consensus. Anarchist communities must therefore strive to provide space for contradiction, but also equilibrium. The pandemic has invigorated many non-anarchists to replicate praxis from anarchist principles, like voluntarily organising welfare services from a sense of responsibility to their local community. Yet many of these attempts received criticism from proponents of anarchism(s) for a lack of anti-authoritarian purism; such as, coopting funding from local or national government grants; or, disregarding the economic impacts of enabling Tory welfare cuts.

In a world currently saturated by political, economic and social hierarchies, it seems impossible to imagine any future free of such power structures. Still we do find contexts in which autonomous spaces and communities both emerge and dissipate, as seen in the pandemic. Drawing upon anarchist, queer and decolonial theories, this multimedia presentation will analyse recent examples of anarchist praxis. Critiquing (what shall be referred to as-) 'sites of conflict' in the UK, particularly squats and social centres. These sites whilst fallible, act as temporary spaces, which align with some core principles of anarchism; eg. autonomy and mutual aid. Political projects can use Temporary Autonomous Zones as a means to practise at anarchist praxis, to overcome theoretical tunnel vision, and critically reimagine. These sites of conflict also highlight criticism in how current understandings of anarchism can lack relevant intersectional experience, which is necessary to achieve the goals of an anarchist society. Similarly to the political work of decolonising and queering, being free is a presently continuous act, yet much of present-day anarchy still exists at the level of imagination.

Day 2, 2.45pm – 4:15pm

Panel 1: The Dawn of Everything

The recent book by David Graeber and David Wengrow, "The Dawn of Everything," ranges widely through time and space to craft some unique arguments about the history of humanity. From gatherers and hunters on the plains and in the forests to early and modern nation-states, humanity has always experimented with both hierarchy and egalitarianism and, Graeber and Wengrow argue, many of these horizontal political practices can be and often were scaled to state or state-like levels. A panel of anarchist and anarchist adjacent archaeologists will discuss their responses to the book, both positive and negative, and then open the panel up to a wider discussion with the participants.

Panel 2

Paper 1: The Organization of the Anarchists is in Our Struggles Interlinked

Simoun Magsalin

Abstract: The anarchist milieu I am a part of developed two theories that guide how we organize for anarchist futures: Our Struggles Interlinked and Self-Directed Militancy. Our Struggles Interlinked recognizes that people are already fighting their own struggles, a Self-

Direct Militancy. Our model of organizing is not like the Communist Party of the Philippines which directs struggles from on high top-down. Rather, we connect people self-directing their own militancies to one another in a process we call interlinking our struggles. Instead of the party form, the organization of the anarchists is in Our Struggles Interlinked. In this framework, we act as liaisons that connect sites of struggle to one another. This framework was also developed out of cognizance of our marginalization. Our goal is not necessarily to convert the whole world to anarchism, but rather to encourage people to self-direct their own struggles and interlinking these. Instead of a party with its cadres we imagine a rhizomatic network united through interconnections rather than a party apparatus. The anarchist futures from this is a strong coalition impervious to decapitation or co-option due decentralization.

Paper 3: How do we imagine the future? What does an anarchist society look like?

Jon Burke

Envisioning future anarchist societies is inevitably complicated by the lack of concrete analogs in the present. Further difficulties arise when attempting to identify a community as specifically anarchist, and when assessing the extent to which its success is a product of its anarchism. One under-studied subject for such analysis is Qalang Smangus, an isolated aboriginal community in Taiwan. Although this community has been recognized in economic and anthropological literature for its successful sustainable eco-tourism and preservation of aboriginal culture and traditional knowledge, it has not yet received an explicitly anarchist analysis.

This paper argues that Smangus' success is directly attributable to its Christian anarcho-collectivism, a classification justified by analysis through classical anarchist theory and modern anarchist commentary. Describing current and future challenges facing Smangus, this paper also contains previously unpublished interviews with Smangus' elders.

Panel 3

Paper 1: A Future Food System

Tomas Pewton

The production, distribution and consumption of food is at the centre of any society and, therefore, if an anarchist society is to offer a viable alternative it must take the question of food seriously. As Kropotkin states: "the question of bread must take precedence over all other questions," and that it is "we, the utopian dreamers - we shall have to consider the question of daily bread." In this paper I will first give a critique of our current food production system that is concentrated upon efficiency and profit before presenting what this might look like within an anarchist society. I will draw upon my own experience as a member of the workers food co-operative OrganicLea, related anarchist literature, such as Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops,* and finally other groups such as the Landworkers Alliance, Via Campesina, the Zapatistas and the Mondeggi Bene Comune.

I will discuss how such groups are working towards a more just and sustainable food production system, one that puts people before profit with the aim of better access to land,

seed and water for all, prioritises ecologically and sustainable methods, with these helping towards the overall aim of food sovereignty. I will illustrate how such "utopian" ideas can flourish in a far from utopian present by following anarchist principles such as decentralisation, mutual aid and equality. The growing of food is also one of the most accessible and easy revolutionary acts that almost anyone can partake in. We are the actors of change and all have the capability of doing so.

To conclude I will show how the production and distribution of food is only a small part of the fight and that it is linked to the wider fight of social justice, including topics such as the fight against climate change.

Paper 2: A Participatory Economy - a vision for an anarchist economy

Robin Hahnel, Jason Chrysostomou and Anders Sandstrom

Three advocates for the alternative to capitalism known as "a participatory economy" will explain why we believe at this point in history anti-capitalists need to make concrete proposals that go beyond generalities about what kind of an economy we want, and what the main features of our proposal are. We will briefly explain our proposals for:

1. How self-managed worker councils, and neighborhood consumer councils might function.
2. How these worker and consumer councils can coordinate their interrelated activities and create an efficient and fair annual economic plan without resort to either markets or a central planning agency.
3. How to generate reasonably accurate estimates of the damage caused by different forms of pollution so these "costs" can be taken into account when deciding how much of different things to produce, and how to produce them.
4. How investment planning and different kinds of long-run development planning can be carried out so the interests of future generations will not go unrepresented
5. Taking both access to information and motivation into account, how federations of consumer and worker councils can best participate in formulating long-term plans.
6. How inevitable errors in estimates of how technologies and preferences are likely to change can be identified, and how long-run plans can then be updated to reduce losses in wellbeing.
7. How a country with a participatory economy might benefit from international trade and investment without violating its core principles in a world where most countries still have capitalist economies, and where there are still large differences between standards of living in more and less developed countries.

We will also briefly report on several new projects advocates for a participatory economy are engaged in before opening up for Q&A.

Paper 3: Democracy by Average – A new horizontal decision-making process

Bernardo De Urquidi Gonzalez

Democracy by average is not a system, but a decision-making process that can be added into the catalog of horizontal-democratic-anarchic decision-making processes. Democracy by Average can be used to compliment or substitute democracy by sortition, democracy by consensus, and democracy by majority vote.

Democracy by average is a new democratic, anarchic, and collective decision-making process in which the decisions of citizens are averaged to obtain the midpoint of society. This process is easy to apply for collective decisions that involve numbers. Democracy by average is very simple: Every single person in the community presents their own proposal, and everyone's proposal is averaged to obtain the collective decision.

Example:
You propose to spend 30dls on diner, I propose to spend 50dls. Our collective decision would be: (30 + 50) / 2 = 40dls
By using democracy by average we decide to spend 40dls on our dinner.

This process is perfect for people that live in large societies where arriving at a consensus might be very difficult, and where majority vote would imply generating a group of winners and losers. Right now, at this very moment, without a lot of preparation, people can use this process to decide things like minimum wage, the maximum of working hours, mandatory vacation days, or the retirement age. With a more preparation, we can use Democracy by average to decide the taxes, or the municipality or national budget, a cap on rent by zones or neighborhoods, the percentage of the amount of green or public space on neighborhoods or cities, the year the country should transition out of fossil fuels, etc.

Day 2, 4.30pm – 6pm

Panel 1: Workshop – Right Wing Attacks on Academics: The Case of Nathan Jun

Nathan Jun with Benjamin Franks

A presentation and discussion which outlines the campaign against the contemporary anarchist academic (and long-time ASN participant) Nathan Jun by national chauvinists with the active acquiescence of managerial liberalism. It describes the campaign of harassment and intimidation (including vandalism and multiple death threats) against Nathan and the severe impact on him. In doing so, it draws out development in right-wing thought and practice and areas of convergence between neo-liberals, conservatives and the nationalist far-right forces pointing towards likely developments. It also provides useful reflections on the function and operation of University management, which are particularly pertinent to anarchists operating within higher education. It also describes the links of solidarity in defending Nathan and routes for strengthening the movement and networks of mutual support.

Panel 2

Paper 1: Individual and social responsibility as the parting point for an anarchist future

Silvia Katharina Döllerer Martínez

The topic I would like to present, if given the chance to, is the decisive role of individual and social-collective responsibility to achieve an anarchist future. For this purpose, I would do a brief introduction of what I believe the concept of responsibility means and what it involves in practical cases.

In the concept of social responsibility, I include knowledge, not in a strictly academic sense, but more in a sense of curiosity of one another, of how we interact, what values we believe should represent our actions and our community. We must be aware of change and be glad the world is dynamic and allows different approaches, diverse perspectives, and experiential trials of our methods.

Nevertheless, as part of a society we must also assume a role in the change we want to see. That is one of the main motivations for social movements, but we must also regard the individual responsibilities for the world we want to achieve. Therefore, there is a huge connexion between the individual and the collective we must not disregard by stating these two spheres as if they exclude each other. The false dialectic between the individual and the community tends toward two extremes, individualism versus authoritarian communism, that cannot be compatible with the libertarian values.

This paper is based on the writings of Piotr Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, Errico Malatesta and other authors not linked strictly to anarchism such as Hannah Arendt.

Paper 2: Trust Kids: Autonomy Begins at Home

carla joy bergman

This presentation will focus on how together we can create *more* autonomous communities through deepening our relationships with children. And how, if we can shift these relationships, continue to bust open the patriarchal-nuclear family, create strong intergenerational connections, even in our radical communities, we may have a chance at long lasting change by co-creating a future that is local, decolonial, and autonomous, all amid the ongoing destruction of capitalism. I, and many others, feel these relationships across ages are vital to nurture and grow because, as long as there are seeds of hierarchy in our relationships, we will never fully escape our subjugation—those oppressive seeds will grow and spread, thwarting our collective capacity to be fully free. I am particularly interested in exploring the social borders between adults and youth, and also the ones between home life (whatever your configurations, but especially those beyond the nuclear family) and radical organizing life. In particular, I am interested in amplifying and affirming all the ways these borders and walls are continuingly being dismantled.
The deepening hold of capitalism on our everyday lives has made it more difficult than ever to imagine and enact autonomy. From a certain perspective at least, the history of autonomous social movements over the last century is a history of failure: capitalism and the state remain in place, perhaps stronger than ever. Drawing on currents of feminism, youth liberation, and Indigenous resurgence, this presentation will suggest that rather than a global movement for autonomy, the means and ends of autonomous organizing should be our everyday lives. In short: autonomy begins at home, with the human and more-than-humans we depend on. In particular, I suggest that relationships between adults and children is a neglected ground for understanding and enacting autonomous social transformation.

Panel 3

Paper 1: Silvio Corio from Anarchism to Europeanism

Anna Rita Gabellone

The present work intends to analyse the political thought of Silvio Corio (also known as "Crastinus" or "Luce" - born in Turin 1875-1954), until now neglected by international academic culture. Corio was an Italian anarchist exiled in London in the early twentieth century, who adhered to the anarchist school of Errico Malatesta. In the British capital he founded several anarchist magazines and established a popular school, open to workers, to support the rights of workers. During the Second World War he joined the Italian-English antifascist movement, in collaboration with Carlo Rosselli, to support the need for a federal and socialist Europe. For this reason it is considered necessary to highlight the anarchist and Europeanist elements in the political thought of Silvio Corio, especially recalling some of the most important ideas of collaboration with the liberal socialism giellista. In this regard, Silvio Corio will draw up a Manifesto for Europe which will be worth discussing.

Paper 2: Leviathan's Body: Recovering Fredy Perlman's anarchist social theory

Uri Gordon

Fredy Perlman's scholarship, pamphlets and parodies from 1969-1972 show his anarchsit maximalism taking shape well prior to his critiques of technology and domestication. Decisively adopting a politics of direct action, Perlman was also implicitly working towards an original and distinctly anarchist social theory of domination. This article aims to recover Perlman's social theory from its diverse stylings, tracing the influences of Rubin, Lefebvre, Mills, and quite possibly Kropotkin. Perlman's breakthrough it so generalise a heterodox marxian critique of social reproduction to include but exceed productive relations. Thus he explicitly sets the State in analytical parity with Capital, theorising authority as a fetish distinct from exchange value. Implicitly, he points to other containers for alienated powers, including the family, religion and scholarship. A critical reconstruction of Perlman's model of self- and community powers leads to a discussion of constitutive violence, and potential engagement with newer theories of intersectional, reproductive and State power.

Keywords: Perlman, Fredy (1934-1985); alienation; New Left; power; the State

Paper 3: Anarcho-Surrealism and the Utopian Imagination of Charles Fourier

Ron Sakolsky

What has attracted both anarchists and surrealists to the idea of "absolute divergence" associated with Fourier is precisely that it is not based on an unquestioning acquiescence to a rigid utopian blueprint, but that it actually demands the opposite. The ludic quality of Fourier's utopian imagination can be understood in surrealist terms as attempting to poetically resolve the false dichotomy between dream and reality by imagining and acting to create new anarchic possibilities that are based on affective desire. By his positing of "passional attraction" as the basis for not only love and play but work and community, he identifies desire as a pivotal force in the process of individual and social transformation. Since Fourier does not locate the essential nature of humanity in reason but in the passions, his core affinity with surrealism is evident

As anarcho-surrealist Don LaCoss once explained, "A revolution in Fourierian terms meant not only freedom from despotism, but freedom from the patterns of thought that make despotism possible". Or as Max Blechman has put it, "The surrealists sought a revolution that would not only be political, but would be absolute in the sense that it would

redefine not how to live, but what it means to live". In this regard, surrealist revolt continues to be a refusal of "miserabilism" and unbridles the disruptive power of absolute divergence to challenge the tired version of reality on offer. Surrealism refuses to be limited in its politics or in the forms of artistic expression associated with it to a realist view of "what is" or even "what is possible". Rather, it invokes the spirited interplay of radical form and content as manifesting complimentary possibilities that can embolden resistance to the dead weight of reality and facilitate the imagining of diverse worlds of anarchy.

Fourier's clarion call for utopia essentially moves us beyond the liminal doorstep of realism to demand the impossible, and in doing so we become impossible in our demands on reality. It is this imminent utopian tension of becoming which is at the heart of surrealism that has driven its most anarchic potential. While the utopian dimension of surrealism has been too easily dismissed by some as a romantically escapist turn from revolutionary activity, it can more accurately be understood as offering a subversive glimpse of "that which will become real".

Panel 4

Paper 1: Pro-Palestinian Anarchism: Far From An Oxymoron

Sarah Fathallah

Little has been written about the relationship between anarchism and the struggle for Palestinian liberation, and whatever has been written indulges in discussing that relationship as an impasse, a dilemma, or an antithesis. Considering that simultaneously having a pro-Palestinian and an anarchist stance is oxymoronic is founded on three assumptions that merit challenge and further nuance: (1) anarchism values the abolition of the state above all else, which is a reductive and singular understanding of anarchisms and its ethical commitments; (2) anarchism as a political formulation is not compatible with anti-colonial struggle, which is confined in Eurocentric and Western traditions of anarchisms; and (3) Palestinian liberation can only be achieved through the formation of a nation state, which both reflects a narrow and neoliberal framing of the Palestinian struggle and its debates around nationalism and does not take into account Indigenous conceptualizations of sovereignty, citizenship, and/or nationhood that don't revolve around the modern nation-state formation. This paper argues that it is indeed possible to be hold a pro-Palestinian anarchist political project, when that project is situated in a plural and solidaristic understanding of anarchism; a decolonial and Indigenous critique of anarchism; and a nuanced commitment to Palestinian resistance and liberation.

Paper 2: Imaginary futures: anarchism, anticolonialism, and internationalism

Ole Birk Laursen

The political projects of anarchism and anticolonialism share a distinct future-oriented vision. Yet, for historians of anticolonialism, this vision has often been obscured by historical attention to the power of nationalism's nostalgic looking to the past for its valency. Indeed, the argument goes, if colonialism – and colonial governmentality – rested on a belief that colonial subjects could not govern themselves, anticolonialism often found its legitimacy in projecting a backward-looking claim to the past in order to imagine a future-oriented nation-state in place of colonial rulers. Following this logic, there has been a tendency to overlook anticolonialism's embrace of 'imaginary futures' (Goswami

2012) and shared affinities with anarchist futurity. Focusing on the British anarchist periodical *Freedom*, this paper explores questions about how anarchists viewed anticolonial struggles in the twentieth century, how anarchist futures aligned with post-colonial realities, and how anticolonialists approached anarchism. This opens a window onto debates around the meaning of freedom, self-governance, and anarchism's role in anticolonial struggles.

Paper 3: Islam & Anarchism: Relationships & Resonances – BIPOC & Anarchist Futurities & Decolonial Struggles Beyond Racial Capitalism & Nation-States

Mohamed Abdou

My ASN discussion will address how discourses around Muslims and Islam often lapse into a false dichotomy of Orientalist/Fundamentalist tropes. In turn, a popular reimagining of Islam is desperately needed, and anarchist political philosophical traditions offer the most towards this pursuit and affects in turn affects non-Euro-American Anarchist futurities. Drawing on my forthcoming book my talk will commence from the historical marker of 1492 that ushered in Columbus' invasion of the Americas, coinciding with Muslim, Sephardic, and Mizrahi Jewish eviction by Crusaders from Andalusia, Spain, in the same year, and hence addresses the casting of these communities alongside Indigenous and transatlantic Black peoples as 'savages' and 'heathens.' My book *Islam and Anarchism* argues that the 'War on Terror' represents an ongoing crusade on Islam and Muslims, while casting doubt on 'secularity' in the U.S./Canada given their undergirding in Protestant Ethics, anthropocentric conceptualizations of land and non-humxn life, as well as Doctrines of Manifest Destiny and Discovery. *Islam and Anarchism* does this by asserting the inseparability of race from spirituality, politics from religion, and capitalism from the nation-state. This book simultaneously disrupts two commonly held beliefs – that Islam is necessarily authoritarian and capitalist; and that anarchism is necessarily anti-spiritual. Deeply rooted in key Qurʾānic concepts and interdisciplinary textual sources and drawing on radical BIPOC social movement discourses in an effort at connecting the flames of the Tahrir uprisings with that of NoDapl/INM and BLM, my book proposes 'Anarcha-Islam.' By constructing a decolonial and abolitionist, non-authoritarian and non-capitalist Islamic anarchism, *Islam and Anarchism* philosophically and theologically challenges authoritarian and capitalist inequalities in the entwined imperial context of post-colonial societies like Egypt, and settler-colonial societies (the U.S./Canada) that never underwent decolonization and are symbolically, historically, and materially interrelated.

In re-interrogating the genesis of how we can dangerously learn to re-dream Anarchist Futures differently my talk seeks to address a biodiverse strategy of liberation that does not alienate spiritual-anarchist and non-Euro-American activists given the pretext of classical anarchist anti-religious views and the fact that most anarchist circles are predominantly white-centered. My talk will address:

- Postcolonialism and modern identity politics' limits as well as spirituality and violence's roles relative to liberation and Anarchist Futurities
- An Ethics of Disagreements and a Politics of Friendship (In Islam, *Uṣūl al-Ḍiyāfa* and *Uṣūl al-Ikhtilāf*) in facilitating an appreciation of the similarities that bring these anarchist and Muslim traditions as well as social movement participants together, while also valuing the differences that drive them apart.

- Settler-diasporic responsibilities to Indigenous peoples and all our relations beyond rhetorical land-based acknowledgments, which must, instead, be anchored in habitual solidarity relative to the rematriation of stolen land and the abolishing of afterlife to slavery projects.
- How we can undo border imperialism and combat internalized fascism given that the nation-state is not set over civil society, but rather we all govern one another via a complex web of capillary relations.
- Explore political theology's role in addressing an ethics of disagreements between spiritual and non-spiritual leftists given rampant Islamophobia on the left and mainstream Muslim aversion to commitments like queerness beyond Euro-American homonationalist narratives of it.

Day 3, 9.00am – 10:30am

Panel 1

Paper 1: The 'Anarchic' Problem

Michael Groff

In this article, I discuss the 'anarchic' problem, which I identify in Maurice Merleau-Ponty's political philosophy. Merleau-Ponty's conception of power has been characterised as paradoxical because it has no absolute ground: power's existence is always dependent on the faith in it of those through whom it functions. As a result, Merleau-Ponty, following Machiavelli, warns of the possibility of the complete dissolution of power. Despite these warnings, neither author provides an explicit escape out of this dissolution of power into so-called 'anarchy'. Hence, there remains 'the anarchic problem'. This problem must be addressed if we accept Merleau-Ponty's position that power relations are necessary for the institution of politics and, consequently, human society. Specifically, I discuss the two traps which follow from this problem, and which both historical and contemporary anarchist philosophers have fallen into: political nihilism and terror. In response, I posit that a possible Merleau-Pontian approach to the 'anarchic' problem is one which advocates a plurality of political grounds, which I develop in terms of forgetfulness and attention. I conclude that a pluralism of grounding allows for the institution of non-dominating power relations, and that future anarchist thought and practice would benefit from utilising this conception of plural political grounding to avoid past and possible future political mistakes and failures.

Paper 2: Anarchism as a Theory and Practice of Non-Dominating Recognition

Matti Eskelinen (he/him)

My presentation seeks to investigate intersections of anarchism, republican theory's non-domination, and Hegelian-inspired recognition theory. Due to the recent rise of interest in the political philosophy of Quentin Skinner and Philippe Pettit's rekindled republican tradition, anarchist scholars have made interventions into the theory of republicanism as well. Anarchist scholars such Ruth Kinna & Alexis Prichard (2019) and Matthew Adams (2019) have brought renewed attention to anarchism's connection to republican theory, especially through its main concept of non-domination, as well as emphasising issues within republicanism that undermine its most emancipatory potential, namely the strong commitment to private property and nation-state. In addition to the already established strain of anarchist republicanism, I want to bring explicitly into the field of anarchist

theorising the recognition theory. Having its basis in Hegel and brought to its modern form and attention most famously by Axel Honneth, recognition theory has been one of the most discussed frameworks of social philosophy for quite some time, not unlike the republican theory. By using Arto Laitinen's (2015) work on the similarities between republican and recognition theory as a springboard, I make the argument that there is considerable overlap between anarchism, republicanism, and recognition theory. I make the case to see anarchism to be the practical manifestation of republicanism and recognition theory's most emancipatory elements. References used will include amongst others following articles: Kinna & Prichard's "Anarchism and non-domination" (2019), Adams' "Utopian civic virtue: Bakunin, Kropotkin, and anarchism's republican inheritance" (2019), and Laitinen's "Broader contexts of non-domination: Pettit and Hegel on freedom and recognition" (2015).

Paper 3: An Organizational "Mini" Monster: An Anarchist Critique of the Hyper-Hierarchization of a Small Department at a South African University

Alexander Andrason

The present article is dedicated to the hyper-hierarchization of small-scale organizational spaces (and the most immediate ones for most academics) – university departments. By using the anarchist critique of hierarchies to deconstruct the architecture of a small department located at one of the South African universities, the author demonstrates the potential organizational monstrosity of such rudimentary educational environments. While, in purely quantitative terms, the hierarchical architecture observed may not seem extreme – the structure involves nine members, four echelons, and 17-19 governing positions – it is overwhelming and absurd from a qualitative perspective and complies with all maladies of hierarchies identified in anarchist scholarship: it is panoptical, informationally unidirectional and, thus, organizationally unintelligent, as well as opaque for both lower and upper layers. In order to combat this oppressive structure, a series of subversive tactics with which one can sabotage hierarchical systems and work towards their destruction, are proposed. These tactics constitute the first steps that must precede the construction of more horizontal types of organizations.

Keywords: higher education, hierarchical organizations, panopticism/panopticon, anarchism

Panel 2

Paper 1: Imagining the anarchist future: Anarchism and social organisation

Saptadeepa Banerjee

Since anarchism calls for the destruction of all authoritarian institutions, it has usually come to be associated with lawlessness and chaos in common parlance. The call for the creation of stateless socialism has often led to anarchism being understood as essentially being destructive, thereby overshadowing the constructive elements inherent in the theory and practice of anarchism. Beginning with classical anarchists like Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin, the construction of a vision for future anarchist society had been one of the major pre-occupations of anarchist thinkers. Some of these thinkers helped create blueprints for post-revolutionary anarchist social organisation which were later developed by their anarchist disciples and associates. Central to this anarchist imagination was the

idea of organisation itself which continued to pose a problem for the anarchists who talked of a decentralised mode of social organisation in the post-revolutionary period. This dichotomy between the need for some form of organisation on one hand while preserving the anarchist spirit of decentralisation based on the principles of federalism and collectivism or communism came to be reflected in anarchist discourse in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In my presentation, I would take a look at the manner in which classical anarchists conceived of post-revolutionary social organisation and how these ideas were modified by later anarchists in order to create the vision of an anarchist future. Such visions of post-revolutionary anarchist society were not altogether devoid of contradictions, thereby often being critiqued as a 'utopia', but the means of resolving those contradictions were also outlined in the blueprints. It is not merely the demolition of the edifice of authoritarianism but its replacement by a more constructive libertarian alternative that underscores the essence of the theory and practice of anarchism. Anarchists talked of a future free from the shackles of centralised authoritarian institutions and this vision of a free anarchist society became significant during the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in specific historical contexts. Such visions of an anarchist future constituted the language of libertarian socialism in the twentieth century projecting possibilities of creating anarchist alternatives in the age of increasing centralised control in state structures.

Paper 2: Anarchist utopias, yesterday and today, from Córdoba and Madrid: regarding *Circular* (1970-1976), and *Legacy* and *Resistance to global fascism* by Horacio Suárez

Luciano Omar Oneto

In 1970 a group of anarchist militants settled in the Colonia Lola neighborhood of Córdoba Capital, Argentina, and began an intense task of activism. That same year they began to publish *Circular* (1970-1976). After the military coup in Argentina in March 1976, many of its members went into exile. Several, such as Hipólito Ripas Irañeta, Carlos Lorenzo and Horacio Suárez escaped to Spain. The latter, after decades of militancy throughout the Spanish geography, published two books. The first of them, *Legado*, recovers his years of militancy in Córdoba as a member of Colonia Lola and the editorial group of *Circular*. The second, *Resistance to global fascism. Anarchism Today*, proposes a re-updating of the anarchist ideology in the light of current world events. In this paper we intend, first, to characterize the type of future that the anarchist group in Córdoba, of which Horacio was a member, imagined and proposed in the 1970s. Secondly, we intend to investigate the elements that Horacio ponders in his memoirs about the seventies and in his second book to think about anarchism today as an emancipatory proposal.

Paper 3: Anarchist futures in the capitalist periphery: constitutional practices and political imagination in Brazil (1919-1945)

Raphael Cruz

In "Against Kamikaze Capitalism", David Graeber (2011) stated that since the 2008 financial crisis, "we have been left in the bizarre situation where it is clear to everyone that capitalism doesn't work, but it's nearly impossible for anyone to imagine anything else.

The war against imagination is the only one the capitalists have really managed to win". By undermining creativity, the very existence of other worlds would be compromised. Indeed, imagination is a battleground. To imagine future egalitarian societies is to do politics by other means.

Since Mikhail Bakunin, the destruction of the old world of state domination and capitalist exploitation is not a nihilistic act, but a constructive one. It was he himself, under the pseudonym Jules Elysard (1842), in his formative years as a Left Hegelian, who emphasized the necessary dialectic between destruction and creation by stating that "die Lust der Zerstörung ist zugleich eine schaffende Lust!"

In a period in which the capitalists seemed not yet to have won the war against political imagination, Brazilian anarcho-syndicalist and anarcho-communist militants elaborated between 1919 and 1945, anarchist constitutions for the country. In this communication, I will present three constitutional texts written by militants who sought to imagine anarchist republics in Brazil. I seek to identify the statements of principles, institutional arrangements, rule-making processes, and decision-making procedures proposed in these constitutions (Kinna, Prichard, Swann, 2019).

I argue that the texts 1) express ways of imagining futures of equality and freedom for the Brazilian people; 2) through an "anarchist constitutional politics" (Kinna, Prichard, Swan, 2019) ; 3) in the period of the capitalist world wars; d) from an anarchist perspective located in the economic and post-colonial periphery of the world-system.

Day 3, 10:45am – 12:15pm

Panel 1

Paper 1: "Everything Changes": The Process Philosophy of Peter Kropotkin
Ole Martin Sandberg

Kropotkin, and with him other early anarchists, is often misrepresented (first by Malatesta and later by so-called "postanarchists") as advocating an essentialists view of human nature and a mechanistic or even deterministic view of social progress. While one can find some support for these claims in Kropotkin's writings, there is a strong line throughout is works that contradict them. First of all, Kropotkin explicitly rejects the notion that there is an essential "core" to human nature and instead posits a "multitude of varied forces." Secondly, he rejects both the idea that there are any "preconceived" or permanent causal laws of nature let alone human history. The only absolute claim he makes is that "everything changes in nature" and so much every society. This claim, and many others, brings Kropotkin closer to an old tradition that later got the name "process philosophy", represented by thinkers such as Heraclitus, Nietzsche, Whitehead and Deleuze – all of whom are usually seen as antitheses to the essentialist humanism that Kropotkin is claimed to represent. In this presentation I give an outline of Kropotkin as a process thinker, emphasising his idea of change as the only constant in nature, and ask what this interpretation might imply for anarchist futures? To give the answer in advance, the only thing we can know for certain is that they too will only be temporary and will constantly have to change.

Paper 2: Granarchism: Becoming as Regeneration

Mitchell Verter

This talk will investigate Kropotkin's description of mutual aid as being critical for the evolution of a species. The idea of "evolution" will be considered as a theory of Becoming, the way that identity and non-identity are persisted and not-persisted over time. We will contrast our theory those that derive from Heraclitus (materialism, empiricism, Hume, Hobbes, Spinoza, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Deleuze, Simondon, Bottici...)), which posit Becoming as emerging from the dynamic clashes within a field of anonymous forces. My analysis, taken from Emmanuel Levinas, articulates Becoming a mode of relating to other persons through two moments: (1) the *metabolics* of consumption describe the process by which the material being of the other becomes the self, which Levinas explores under the motifs of eating and breathing; (2) the *genetics* of regeneration describe the way in which the material being of my self becomes the other, which Levinas describes under the motif of maternity. I will explore "maternity" through what Sarah Ruddick calls *maternal practice* that preserves the life of the child, nourishes their growth and prepares them for acceptance in wider society. Feminist anthropologist Sarah Blaffer Hrdy clarifies that what is important is not merely the person of the mother, but the community of *allomothering*-- particularly the *grandmother*, the person who takes care both of the child and the mother of the child, as the most fundamental reason for the evolution of human understanding and prosocial behavior. The talk will end by reflecting on thinking across generations, as many native peoples do, about how we can enrich our regenerational thinking and practice as anarchists.

Paper 3: The Temporal Problem of Anarchist Illegality

Jakub Kowalewski

The aim of this paper is explore the temporal tension at the heart of anarchist arguments against the law.

In this talk I will focus on Peter Kropotkin's essay "Law and Authority" (1886) and the pamphlet "Be Gay Do Crime" by the Mary Nardini Gang (2019). I will demonstrate that in both texts the rejection of the law and the embrace of illegality is informed by *past* non-legal norms capable of undermining the present legal system and of structuring a future lawless world. However, both texts are also committed to a position which views any past-oriented political projects as reactionary, affirming instead a revolutionary future which would be radically separated from the past. The temporal problem encountered by both texts, therefore, can be formulated as a following question: if the anarchist future aims to break with the past, how can it be informed by anarchist illegality grounded in past norms? I will then argue that Kropotkin is unable to overcome the aforementioned problem; he operates with a *single timeline* where the past non-legal norms (furnished by our natural social habits) simply pre-exist legal systems. By contrast, on my reading, the Mary Nardini Gang splits time into *two* antagonist currents: the time of the world and the "spectral time" of the dispossessed ancestors. Although the latter is grounded in fiction, it is nonetheless effective since it generates "spectral norms" which oppose the law of the world. The two currents of time, in turn, enable us to solve our temporal problem: the anarchist rejection of the past applies to the worldly time and its law; however, the spectral past and its non-legal norms – by virtue of being ontologically distinct from its worldly counterparts – can still play a constitutive role in the future lawless society.

Panel 2: Sacred Anarchy Workshop

Vishwam Heckert

This workshop is a warm invitation to come together, to listen to each other and to explore how ideas and experiences of the sacred or the spiritual might overlap with anarchy and anarchism. The session will include a direct experience of heart meditation as a way to, at least potentially, come into a different mode of awareness than we may be used to and open up to discussion in a different form. If we might wish to consider anarchy as "the art of relating freely as equals," it may be that meditation is a helpful practice for clearing away mental patterns that encourage is to see ourselves as more or less worthy than others. As societal awareness of the impact of trauma (including, but not limited to social oppression) on our relationships with ourselves, each other and life itself continues to grow, the inclusion of healing practices in radical social movements seems to be essential. In this sense, spiritual practice can be seen as prefigurative for an ecologically, psychologically & socially healthier future. Of course, all perspectives respectful of others are welcome to join the discussion.

Panel 3

Paper 1: How does literature and art envision an anarchist future?

Jon Burke

Anarchist futures are typically envisioned from a political perspective, as problem solving exercises for contemporary socio-economic ills. Consequently, their discussion is often confined to special interest groups within academic and activist circles, rendering anarchist futures less visible and accessible to broader society. The arts offer media through which anarchism can be imagined, depicted, and distributed outside these contexts, and architectural designs and installations in particular, whether virtual or physical, can provide the public with concrete, interactive experiences with anarchist futures, making anarchism more accessible and comprehensible.

This paper outlines the history of anarcho-architecture, or anarchitecture, describing its inception by an artistic collective in the 1970s, its later influence on both architecture and pop culture through the work of outsider architect Lebbeus Woods, and examples of its contemporary revival and application to architecture, and its promotion through physical installations such as Ruin Academy in Taiwan. The paper concludes by presenting an argument for using both virtual and physical anarchitecture to educate broader society in the benefits of anarchist futures.

Paper 2: Anarchist Architectural Theory in the Future Tense

Tomas Mical

The anarchist theory of architecture has not yet been written, as the practice of architecture (as a command-and-control system of valves and filters and terminals and cold spaces) historically subsumes geometry to power and freezes images of life into structures of spaces (only loosely tied to structures of thought). Another architectural theory is possible, not one of the shining utopian image but one of processes within processes, worlds-within-worlds. The structures of thought and the structures of experience are a double-pincer movement of the sense of architecture. For an anarchist architectural theory, we should focus on processes, and to think how processes

articulated in anarchist thought can produce micro- and macro- forms of liberation at diverse timescales, diverse durations. An anarchist architectural theory thus would not attend to construction of limits but the liquification of modernity for opening of aleatory spaces-within-spaces: diversified, divergent, differentiated.

To support this process philosophy project of an anarchist architectural theory in the future tense, we will make some intellectual labor by moving beyond Anke Henning and Armen Avanessian's *Present Tense* poetics fused with the traces of future creative tendencies aligned with anarchist liberation models of possibilities concealed within Bifo's *Futurability*. We seek to construct a present tense for architecture that does not terminate in a homogenous utopia/dystopia representation or singularity. Utopia or Madness? Here we can seek the creative undertows in *Utopia as Method* (Ruth Levitas) to twin with concept genesis in *Madness as Method* (Ken Gale) for discovering new forms of *Architecture for a Free Subjectivity* (Simone Brott) and for discerning strange and wonderful architectural theory latent in lo-res mode in *Bare Architecture* (Chris L. Smith). To splash this project of an anarchist architectural theory in the future tense across the range of topics adjacent (spaces, subjectivity, socius) we will zoom into a close reading of Foucault's "Manual for Anti-Fascist Life" from the Introduction to Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus*, specifically these three claims: (2) "Develop action, thought and desires by proliferation, juxtaposition and disjunction, and not by subdivision and pyramidal hierarchisation;" (3) Prefer what is positive and multiple, difference over uniformity, flows over unities, mobile arrangements over systems. Believe that what is productive is not sedentary but nomadic;" (4) "It is the connection of desire to reality (and not its retreat into the forms of representation) that possesses revolutionary force." We then investigate Eugene Holland's amplification of these schizoanalytic proliferations of liberation, where desire as a revolutionary force produces our reality, which produces infrastructure, free flow spaces, new subjectivities that can animate an anarchist architectural theory and give rise to a world where re-enchantment seeds forms of liberation.

Day 3, 1:00pm – 2:30pm

Panel 1

Paper 1: Utopia, a foreign affair — An anarchist anthropological account on the constitutive character of foreign relations for non-Manichean utopias

Guilherme Falleiros

This is an inquire departing from anarchist critical hypotheses on what International Relations theory have called 'international anarchy', considering how historical transnational anarchism dealt with certain features of utopia and its structural role in prefigurative direct action in relation to international politics, then comparing it to certain Amerindian perspectives on foreign affairs and utopic happenings in order to reveal elementary anthropological features to inform anarchist futures. An anarchist trend in IR and some Amerindian political forms agree about the importance of exogenous relations (the transaction among alien peoples) to the internal constitution of human collectives: a fundamental 'federative principle', to use Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's terms. Notwithstanding, when considering utopian exercises as anticipation of future events, anarchists and Amerindian peoples have differed in their moral approach to it — and I

argue this difference may be a heterotopic lesson for anarchism, given the constitutive character of foreign affairs to utopia.

Paper 2: The indigenous roots of Magonismo: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mazatec Cosmovision

taller ahuehuete

We would like to suggest our analysis of beloved anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón's oeuvre, "<u>The indigenous roots of Magonismo: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mazatec Cosmovision</u>" as presented by Heriberto Paredes. The journalist, filmmaker and writer – part of our collective – has researched the ancestral anarchist roots of the populations that comprise the Sierra Mazateca, where Magón was born, for many years. Additionally, Heriberto has reported on the ongoing conflict perpetuated by the State apparatus in Eloxochitlán de Flores Magón.

This excerpt, in particular, is significant when trying to envision not only the future, but also the ancestral and surviving autonomous forms of organization by the community in the Sierra, and the potential keys we should examine to understand our present predicament, from originary communities historically better versed in the subject:

In Ricardo's time, to speak of a political connection with indigenous intellectual thought was something unconceivable, an anachronistic imposition, an absurdity. It was not recognized.

But Flores Magón has texts on the subject. And he does feel that there is a link with the Mazatec culture that prevents him from disconnecting, that prevents him from escaping from his ethno-historical context, which is still palpable there. It is necessary to read Flores Magón's texts in a much more current code to find those links because before this was not taken into consideration. A deeper talk with him has always been pending. But Flores Magón is present. He is present in the community, in the people. There is a notion that one of their inhabitants, born in that community and one of them, became a very important figure in history. It is rare to find statues of Flores Magón everywhere in that town, but it is also nice to see how people yearn for him.

The children... well, there is a school named after Ricardo. And the children talk about him, and if you ask them,
"Who was Flores Magón"?
they answer,
"He was an anarchist who fought a lot for the land. He fought a lot for our communities".

Panel 2

Paper 1: How to create autonomous hyperlocal communities using technological interventions

Dr Kim Foale, Geeks for Social Change

How can technology be genuinely created by and for marginalised people? This talk describes the "community technology partnership" approach, in which resident-led multi-stakeholder partnerships work together to create communities of practice around greater

access to more equitable technologies. Building on the "asset based" or "capability" approach described by Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen, I present a new approach to using inclusive community development to create inclusive technologies that then enable further community development.

Our main focus is a keen attention to detail of "communities of place" (our neighbours) and "communities of practice" (people who we share interests or hobbies with). I believe a lack of attention by anarchists to the scale and focus of our efforts is at least partly responsible for the overall sluggishness, lack of results and malaise that faces those trying to create positive change.

This paper describes how we can start to theorise the polarising effect of the last decade of tech totalitarianism, and shift the focus back to hyperlocal communities while not losing sight of our vision for a better world. It has a few examples of our attempts to do this in Manchester, UK.

Paper 2: Rage Against the Machine or: There is no Anarchy in Cybernetics

Thomas Winklmeier

How to organize is one of the major questions when it comes to thinking about how to hit the road for anarchist futures. Being one of the main issues in the history of anarchist discussions, the debate recently got new inputs by taking up ideas from cybernetics. Especially Thomas Swann's monograph *Anarchist Cybernetics – Control and Communication in Radical Politics* gave new impulses to the debate. With reference to Stafford Beers organizational cybernetics Swann develops a theory of anarchist organization mainly based on cybernetic ideas of self-organization. While this approach is justifiable from an organizational point of view, it is missing out on other relevant perspectives – especially ethical ones.

With my presentation I want to close this gap by raising the question of the ethical implications of anarchist cybernetics. My thesis is that anarchist cybernetics – as cybernetics in general – is ethically neither good nor bad and therefore implies an intrinsic worldview and conception of human beings that should not be considered anarchist at all. This is true because cybernetics in general is a theory of machines that in its history has been applied to almost everything – from technological innovations to society in general to the human psyche. And a theory that describes society and human beings from a cybernetic point of view as machines is not compatible with anarchist principles.

To proof my thesis, I first want to give a brief resume of Swann's reasoning for anarchist cybernetics. In a second step I want give an overview of general cybernetic ideas, especially by drawing back to the classic Introduction to Cybernetics by W. Ross Ashby. In a third and final step I want to summarize and discuss my findings with special regards paid to the ethical implications of anarchist cybernetics and what it would mean for future anarchist organizing.

Panel 3

Paper 1: Liberation Music Therapy: An emancipatory practice to community music-making, healing, and revolutionary change

Dorian Wallace

We experience life through vibrations. Music has been a vital part of our evolution since the Paleolithic era and is an integral part of our history. Music can bring people together, encourage social, political, economic, or environmental change, facilitate healing, and illuminate human transcendence through peace and solidarity. In other words, music can connect with the human psyche in ways that, when practiced with focused intention, have the potential to treat entire communities that have undergone transgenerational trauma at the assault of colonialism and Capitalism.

My name is Dorian Wallace, and I am both a composer and a music therapist, concentrating on existential and sociopolitical issues from a socialistic perspective. In a colonialist definition, music therapy is the clinical and evidence-based practice of music interventions within a therapeutic relationship by a credentialed professional. While there are valid reasons to maintain accountability procedures for monitoring practices and interventions affecting the human psyche, there is also a valid critique of the current paradigm we use and how it consciously and unconsciously targets specific groups of people for oppression. Given that modern psychology was built within a colonizer paradigm, it is reasonable to suspect that an innate bias exists within its structure. Let us consider that this structure elevates the colonizer while depressing the colonized. What are we to do?

Paper 2: A Cry for the Future of Hong Kong: Blackbird's The Return of the Orphan

Levon Kwok

Professor Jeroen de Kloet asserted that "In the global imagination, Hong Kong is not known for its political counterculture" (de Kloet 2018, 152). However, there were anarchists in Hong Kong who dedicated themselves to cultural activism against "existing social norms [with] disrespect for authority" (Kallen 2003, 12). Blackbird, a Hong Kong-based "anarchist rock/punk/folk band" (Discogs n.d.) which is generally acknowledged as "one of the godfather bands of Hong Kong indie music" (Radio Television Hong Kong 2017), is a prominent example of them. From its emergence in 1984 to its disbandment in 1999, Blackbird was composing and singing "many songs representing the voices of the grassroots [against] the entire Establishment" (Chu 2007, 131), including The Return Of The Orphan, a hit song included in Blackbird's fifth album: *Uniradical Subversion* (1995), that sharply criticizes the arrangement for the handover of Hong Kong settled by the United Kingdom and the People's Republic of China in an undemocratic manner in 1984 as well as explicitly foresees the arrangement's negative outcome after the handover in 1997 (e.g., the Chinese Hong Kong authorities' clampdown on Hong Kongers' freedom of expression since the 2019 Anti-Extradition Bill Protests). Through analyzing every line of the song's lyrics using a semantic exploration method, this article aims to examine how Blackbird's rebellious spirit is embodied and how Hong Kongers' fervent desire to be free from political constraints – that remains existent today – is clearly expressed in the song.

Keywords: Blackbird, The Return Of The Orphan, The Anarchist Culture in Hong Kong, The Handover of Hong Kong