Anarchism as a Culture?

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Sveučilište u Rijeci

Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci

Odsjek za kulturalne studije

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Rijeka, 23. rujna 2016.

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Abstract

The paper exemplifies an interdisciplinary approach to the concept of anarchism. It deals with the possibility of viewing the ideology of anarchism through the lens of the concept of culture.

Key words used in the paper: anarchism, syndicalism, culture, ideology, nature and plasticity of man, ethnographic fiction, and fiction as ethnography relate to the interdisciplinary approach I used in addressing the question of the possibility of anarchism as a culture by applying it to the novel *The Dispossessed* by Ursula Le Guin.

In the introductory part of the paper I deal with the concept of anarchism present in scholarly literature on the subject and propose a new understanding of the concept – anarchism as a culture.

The first part of the paper analyzes the concept of anarchism through a historical as well as a theoretical approach distancing the author from the vast majority of scholarly works on the subject of anarchism.

The second part of the paper introduces the concepts of culture as defined by Raymond Williams and Clifford Geertz and the concept of ideology utilized by Louis Althusser in an attempt to achieve a synthesis of these views.

The third part of the paper uses the novel *The Dispossessed* as testing ground for the anarchism as a culture hypothesis in the form of a fictive ethnographic account problematizing the relationship between anthropology and fiction.

KEY WORDS: anarchism, syndicalism, culture, ideology, nature and plasticity of man, ethnographic fiction, and fiction as ethnography

Introduction

The question of the definition of anarchism is still an open-ended one; anarchists and scholars alike struggle to define the nature, history and boundaries of the concept. The point of contention is the nature of anarchism: is it a coherent body of theory, a philosophy, a social movement, an attitude, a state of things, an umbrella term encompassing all (at times mutually contradicting) antistatist attitudes and theories, a collection of a variety of libertarian attitudes or something completely different? Deciding the nature of the concept determines what falls under its history and boundaries. I intend to add to this debate by introducing another possibility – the view of anarchism as a culture.

"Cultural studies represents the 'weakening of the traditional boundaries among the disciplines and of the growth of forms of interdisciplinary research that doesn't fit … within the confines of existing divisions of knowledge (Hall, 1992, p. 11)."[1] Belonging to this tradition has empowered me to take on a literary experiment drawing from and combining knowledge from the discipline of anthropology, cultural studies and political theory. With this experiment I am attempting to produce an integrated approach to the subject of anarchism, its nature, history, boundaries and possibilities. I will address not only the concept of anarchism but also those of culture and ideology, and their interrelation by utilizing the work of Raymond Williams, Clifford Geertz and Louis Althusser.

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[1] Janet Tallman, "The Ethnographic Novel: Finding the Insider's Voice," in *Between Anthropology and Literature*, ed. Rose De Angelis (London: Routledge, 2002), 2,
https://books.google.hr/books?id=hISCAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA4&lpg=PA4&dq=The Ethnographic Novel: Finding the insider's voice&source=bl&ots=L-AtuqOXkD&sig=9SrgJxEddy6y4HyyRyVi8038BkA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi4s-b1sIzPAhVGaRQKHdY0C2QQ6AEIJzAC#v=onepage&q=The Ethnographic Novel: Finding the insider's voice&f=false.

The structure of this paper is as follows: it is divided into three major sections, each dealing with a specific concept or idea. The first section deals with the concept of anarchism, its definition, points of contention, its history and influences, and its relationship to its core concepts, all in an attempt to provide a coherent depiction of a concept so often misrepresented. The second section deals with the concepts of culture and ideology utilizing the definitions provided by Raymond Williams, Clifford Geertz and Louis Althusser. In this section I will attempt to provide an integrated view of the relationship between ideology and culture and what that relationship means for the concept of man. In the third and last section I will analyze the literary work of author Ursula Le Guin, the novel *The Dispossessed* and discus the problematic positioning of the book within a literary genre. I will also introduce a hypothesis synthesizing the concepts of anarchism and culture and ideology from the first two sections – the view that anarchism can be viewed as a culture. I will touch upon the intricate relationship of anthropology and literature and embark upon a journey of the same nature – combining anthropology and literature in order to produce an ethnographic account of an anarchist culture based on the information acquired by a reversal of Geertz's concept of "thick description" into one of "thick reading" of Le Guin's novel and a creative attempt of inserting the author – myself – as an ethnographer into the work of fiction,[2] thus furthering the interdisciplinary agenda deeply ingrained in this paper.

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[2] Vito Laterza, "The Ethnographic Novel: Another Literary Skeleton in the Anthropological Closet?," Academia.edu, 131, accessed September 08, 2016,
http://www.academia.edu/726440/The_ethnographic_novel_another_literary_skeleton_in_the_anthropological_closet.

1. ANARCHISM

1.1. What is Anarchism?

I have already addressed the issues surrounding the definition of anarchism. Many authors have tried to define anarchism, with great difference between the definitions, thus creating a rich and confusing collection of scholarly work on the subject. In either scholarly work or the work of anarchists themselves on the subject there is a variety of understandings of the concept of anarchism. These definitions range from anarchism as the ideal of, firstly, the "equality of bread" followed by an equality of rights and reciprocity of services,[3] anarchism as order,[4] anarchism as "a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government"[5] and based on voluntary association, anarchism as an attitude,[6] anarchism as revolt,[7] anarchism as freedom,[8] anarchism as an eternal human tendency present throughout

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[3] Elisée Reclus, "An Anarchist on Anarchy," March 03, 2014, 3, accessed September 11, 2016, https://ia800809.us.archive.org/28/items/al_Elisee_Reclus_An_Anarchist_on_Anarchy_a4/Elisee_Reclus__An_Anarchist_on_Anarchy_a4.pdf.

[4] Daniel Guérin, *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), Pdf, 54.; and Alexander Berkman in Donald Rooum, *What Is Anarchism?: An Introduction*, ed. Freedom Press (London: Freedom Press, 1993), 60, accessed October 22, 2013, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/donald-rooum-and-freedom-press-ed-what-is-anarchism-an-introduction.pdf.

[5] Peter Kropotkin, "Anarchism," Peter Kropotkin Entry on 'anarchism' from the Encyclopaedia Britannica (eleventh Ed.), August 20, 2009, , accessed November 10, 2015, https://archive.org/details/PeterKropotkinEntryOnanarchismFromTheEncyclopdiaBritannica.

[6] David Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004), 4.

[7] Daniel Guérin, *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), Pdf, 29.

[8] Emma Goldman, "Chapter 1: What It Really Stands For Anarchy," in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, Second Revised ed. (New York-London: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1911), 23, February 15, 2009, accessed January 07, 2016, https://ia800300.us.archive.org/18/items/al_Emma_Goldman_Anarchism_and_Other_Essays_a4/Emma_Goldman__Anarchism_and_Other_Essays_a4.pdf.; Bill Christopher, Jack Robinson, Philip Sansom, and Peter Turner in Donald Rooum, *What Is Anarchism?: An Introduction*, ed. Freedom Press (London: Freedom Press, 1993), 66, accessed October 22, 2013, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/donald-rooum-and-freedom-press-ed-what-is-anarchism-an-introduction.pdf.; Errico Malatesta, "Anarchy," March 03, 2014, 3, accessed September 10, 2016, https://ia800801.us.archive.org/13/items/al_Errico_Malatesta_Anarchy_a4/Errico_Malatesta__Anarchy_a4.pdf.

history[9] - a complete disarray of confusion and incoherency if not contradiction resulting in analytical uselessness.

What further muddies the (anarchist) waters is the common popular misconception of anarchism as lack of order, utter and complete chaos resulting in the disappearance of civilized society.[10] Many, if not all, anarchist works on anarchism address the existence of this misconception following with their own idea of what the concept encompasses. A great number of authors have romanticized the "anarchist sentiment" and presented a picture of an ever-present anarchist tendency in all human societies from the beginning of man, devoid of all historical contexts. We can find this tendency in such authors as Peter Kropotkin, Elise Reclus, Peter Marshall, etc.

It is in the work of Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* that one finds a clearer picture. The authors provide an overview and critique of all other major works on anarchism. They identify the tradition responsible for the misconception of anarchism as an incoherent set of ideas as one established by Paul Eltzbacher's work *Anarchism: Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy*, the first major work on the topic, the conclusions of which had been incorporated into almost every study of anarchism. This work named seven authors, the so-called "Seven Sages" of anarchism: William Godwin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Benjamin Tucker, Mikhail Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin,

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[9] A view expressed in Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2010).

[10] "ANARCHY IS TERROR, the creed of bomb-throwing desperadoes wishing to pull down civilization. Anarchy is chaos, when law and order collapse and the destructive passions of man run riot. Anarchy is nihilism, the abandonment of all moral values and the twilight of reason. (…)In the popular imagination, in our everyday language, anarchy is associated with destruction and disobedience but also with relaxation and freedom. The anarchist finds good company, it seems, with the vandal, iconoclast, savage, brute, ruffian, hornet, viper, ogre, ghoul, wild beast, fiend, harpy and siren." Roget's Thesaurus (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), p.165 in "Introduction," in *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2010), ix.

Max Stirner and Leo Tolstoy, as comprising the totality of anarchist theory. Eltzbacher's basis for inclusion of authors into the anarchist pantheon was their rejection of the state, regardless of other major differences. This resulted in the definition of anarchism as simple antistatism and has predetermined much of the later research and understanding of the subject matter as an incoherent set of ideas full of contradictions and inconsistencies. Many of the standard works on anarchism, state the authors, including those of Roderick Kedward, James Joll, Peter Marshall, David Miller, and George Woodcock, insist on the incoherency of anarchist doctrine. "If anarchism can encompass economic liberals, Marxists, radical Christians, Taoism, and more, it is hardly surprising that the standard works on anarchism describe it as 'incoherent,'"[11] and contradictory with numerous subsequent variants of anarchism so different amongst themselves that it is difficult to consider them as part of a single tradition. "We suggest that the apparently ahistorical and incoherent character of anarchism is an artifact of the way in which anarchism has been studied, rather than inherent in anarchism itself."[12] The current approach is not useful, since it fails at identifying the common and distinguishing features of anarchism, making it impossible to differentiate it from other doctrines, thus preventing effective analysis and research. Schmidt and Van der Walt oppose this view by stressing the coherency of anarchism's ideas and philosophy. In doing so, they leave out of the "who's who in anarchism" names that have traditionally been included: those of Pierre Joseph Proudhon, Leo Tolstoy, Benjamin Tucker and Max Stirner, leaving only Bakunin and Kropotkin as those who rightly belong to the broad anarchist tradition. They also reject the notion that anarchism had been present throughout human history as an eternal human tendency and criticize anarchist scholars who participate in the perpetuating of such a myth, as do they exclude such "anarchist" currents as anarcho-

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[11] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 41.
[12] Ibid., 44.

primitivism, anarcho-capitalism, philosophical anarchism and post-anarchism. The downside of this approach is the opening of the door for accusations of reductionism. In their defense, the case might be that the definition of anarchism needs to be cut down to size and "reduced" to its original.

So what is anarchism then? The etymology of the word is as follows: "The word anarchy is as old as the world. It is derived from two ancient Greek words, *αν* (an), *αρχη* (arkhe), and means something like **the absence of authority or government**."[13] "The word Anarchy comes from the Greek and its literal meaning is without government: the condition of a people who live without a constituted authority, without government."[14] Malatesta sheds some light on the reasons for the original misuse of the term anarchy – it is misused by the uninformed and by the opponent. "(…) since it was thought that government was necessary and that without government there could only be disorder and confusion, it was natural and logical that anarchy, which means absence of government, should sound like absence of order."[15] So, what is this theory/philosophy/ideology of anarchism then?

According to Schmidt and Van der Walt, anarchism is a revolutionary and libertarian socialist doctrine which strives toward the creation of a democratic, egalitarian and stateless socialist order through international and internationalist social (class-based) revolutions aimed at abolishing capitalism, landlordism and the state.[16] This order, i.e. anarchy, would be a free socialist society based on common ownership, self-management, democratic economic planning

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[13] Daniel Guérin, *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), Pdf, 27.
[14] Errico Malatesta, "Anarchy," March 03, 2014, 3, accessed September 10, 2016, https://ia800801.us.archive.org/13/items/al_Errico_Malatesta_Anarchy_a4/Errico_Malatesta__Anarchy_a4.pdf.2
[15] Ibid.,3.
[16] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 33.

from below, and production for need, not profit, where individual freedom and individuality would be developed in a context of democracy and equality.

The core ideas and principles of anarchism are direct action, participatory democracy, self-management, social and economic equality (as far as possible), non-authoritarianism and non-hierarchical social relations, the view that the means must match the ends, solidarity, a respect for the individual, a rejection of manipulation, a stress on the importance of freedom of opinion and diversity, and an opposition to oppression by race, nationality, and gender,[17] all within a class framework. The class-based struggle is a major characteristic of the anarchist doctrine and it is, also, the characteristic most often ignored by scholars.

"It is our view that the term anarchism should be reserved for a particular rationalist and revolutionary form of libertarian socialism that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. Anarchism was against social and economic hierarchy as well as inequality − and specifically, capitalism, landlordism, and the state − and in favor of an international class struggle and revolution from below by a self-organised working class and peasantry in order to create a self-managed socialist, and stateless social order. In this new order, individual freedom would be harmonized with communal obligations through cooperation, democratic decision making and social and economic equality, and economic coordination would take place through federal forms."[18] Libertarian socialism combined the view that individuals should be free (if they do not encroach on the freedom of others) with the view that there are economic and social inequalities inherent in capitalism which prevent this freedom from being attained. Liberty

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[17] Ibid., 25.
[18] Ibid., 72.

requires social and economic equality, so we must do away with these inequalities; but, they must be done away with from below.

"Both the anarchist analysis and vision of a better society were underpinned by a rationalist worldview and a commitment to scientific thought, albeit mixed in with a hefty dose of ethics. Anarchism was and is a political ideology, and one that embraces rationalist methods of analysis to inform its critique, strategy, and tactics. Its large moral component, however, is also important – and cannot be scientifically proven to be correct."[19] Although, much of Kropotkin's work has been dedicated exactly to that – to anchoring the ethical component of anarchism in science and evolution stating that the impulse of human solidarity is an evolutionary tool that serves to help man in his struggle for survival.[20]

1.2. The Enlightenment and Liberalism as Great Influences on the Emergence of the Anarchist Movement

"The ideas of anarchism themselves are still profoundly marked by the modern period and modernist thought. Its stress on individual freedom, democracy, and egalitarianism, its embrace of rationalism, science, and modern technology, its belief that history may be designed and directed by humankind, and its hope that the future can be made better than the past – in short,

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Kropotkin's works on this subject are: Peter Kropotkin, "Mutual Aid; a Factor of Evolution," March 29, 2016, , accessed September 16, 2016, https://archive.org/details/mutualaidafactor04341gut.; Peter Kropotkin, "Modern Science and Anarchism," April 16, 2009, , accessed September 15, 2016, https://ia800204.us.archive.org/29/items/modernsciencean00kropgoog/modernsciencean00kropgoog.pdf.

the idea of progress – all mark anarchism as a child of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, like liberalism and Marxism."[21]

Anarchism as a social philosophy, attitude, theory, and principle of freedom involves a particular view of man as a rational being.[22] Aristotle in *Nicomachean Ethics* first described man's soul as comprised of two elements (distinct, although not necessarily separate): one element which possesses reason and one which doesn't possess reason, but which partakes in it in that it can be persuaded by reason.[23] Aristotle does not claim that man necessarily *behaves* rationally, but that he is *capable* of doing so, capable of persuading his own non-rational part by the rational and acting upon it.[24] This concept was then either furthered or disproved by subsequent philosophers, especially during the Enlightenment[25] with its focus on man and human society. Eventually, it became an integral part of the theory of anarchism.

The success at explaining and understanding the natural world encouraged similar attempts in the social realm. Enlightenment philosophers found that the existing social and political orders do not withstand critical scrutiny, in fact, they are founded on obscure traditions, and that political and social authority is shrouded in religious myth and mystery.[26] During this self-reflection and self-criticism of the Enlightenment, another new idea emerged– the view of man

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[21] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 72.

[22] Reason is "the faculty or process of drawing logical inferences" either based on deduction (from generals to particulars) or induction (from particulars to generals), "Reason," Encyclopedia Britannica Online, , accessed November 21, 2015, http://www.britannica.com/topic/reason#ref142630.

[23] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. Roger Crisp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), accessed March 15, 2016, http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/samples/cam032/99036947.pdf.

[24] Ibid.

[25] "The Enlightenment is the period in the history of western thought and culture, stretching roughly from the mid-decades of the seventeenth century through the eighteenth century, characterized by dramatic revolutions in science, philosophy, society and politics." The era is marked by three major political revolutions: The English Revolution (1688), the American Revolution (1775–83), and the French Revolution (1789–99). William Bristow, "Enlightenment," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, August 20, 2010, , accessed January 20, 2016, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/enlightenment/#RatEnl.

[26] Ibid.

and society as perfectible. Since social order was created by human beings, if it fails at fulfilling its task – the guarantee of individual freedom and rights – it can just as easily be changed.[27] What ensued is political upheaval; attempts of re-making the social and political world based on rational models.[28] The third major contribution of the Enlightenment period is the introduction of social contract theory, the theory which originated with Thomas Hobbes and his *Leviathan* (1651), and was further developed by John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. "According to the general social contract model, political authority is grounded in an agreement (often understood as ideal, rather than real) among individuals, each of whom aims in this agreement to advance his rational self-interest by establishing a common political authority over all. Thus, according to the general contract model (though this is more clear in later contract theorists such as Locke and Rousseau than in Hobbes himself), political authority is grounded not in conquest, natural or divinely instituted hierarchy, or in obscure myths and traditions, but rather in the rational consent of the governed."[29]

This philosophical development is at the same time taken as the onset of classical liberalism characterized by a focus on the rights, equality and freedom of the individual ensured by society and/or government. The "father" of classical liberalism is thought to be John Locke. According to his *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) humans are initially equal in relation to

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[27] "The law of nature "teaches all mankind … that, being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions" (§6).(…) [T]he law of nature stands as an eternal rule to all men" (§135). Consequently, when established political power violates that law, the people are justified in overthrowing it." Ibid.
[28] "Enlightenment thought *culminates* historically in the political upheaval of the French Revolution, in which the traditional hierarchical political and social orders (the French monarchy, the privileges of the French nobility, the political power and authority of the Catholic Church) were violently destroyed and replaced by a political and social order informed by the Enlightenment ideals of freedom and equality for all, founded, ostensibly, upon principles of human reason." Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

each other [30] and in a condition of freedom, insofar as we may do with ourselves and our possessions as we please, within the constraints of the fundamental law of nature.[31] Government is endowed with the task of ensuring there are no encroachments on these rights and freedoms. His successor, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, differs in that he sees man as free only through political life and the community; a stance similar to Aristotle's man as "zoon politikon" – an inherently social being made for life in a polis – a political being by nature.[32] Human freedom, according to Rousseau's interpretation, is possible only through governance according to what he calls "the general will," which is the will of the body politic, formed through the original contract[33], concretely determined in an assembly in which all citizens participate."[34]

To sum up, we owe a great deal to this remarkable period of time stretching from the mid-seventeenth to late eighteenth century with regards to intellectual advancements both in the natural and in the social sciences. What's more, its import is felt far beyond the scope of the intellectual in the very real lives of people through the use of advancements made in political practice. "We owe to this period the basic model of government founded upon the consent of the

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[30] Although Lock found women to be less equal than men since he thought they had certain innate characteristics which made it justifiable for men to govern them; so the right of property wasn't extended to them. It is only with Jean-Jacques Rousseau that men are really thought of as equal.

[31] William Bristow, "Enlightenment," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, August 20, 2010, , accessed November 21, 2015, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/enlightenment/#RatEnl.

[32] Aristotle, *Aristotole in Twenty-three Volumes Politics: Volume XX1: With an English Translation by H. Rackham*, vol. 21 (London: William Heinemann, 1944), , accessed September 17, 2016, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:abo:tlg,0086,035:1:1253a.

[33] "The contract consists in the self-alienation by each associate of all rights and possessions to the body politic. Because each alienates all, each is an equal member of the body politic, and the terms and conditions are the same for all. The emergence of factions is avoided insofar as the good of each citizen is, and is understood to be, equally (because wholly) dependent on the general will. Legislation supports this identification with the general will by preserving the original equality established in the contract, prominently through maintaining a measure of economic equality. The (ideal) relation of the individual citizen to the state is quite different on Rousseau's account than on Locke's; in Rousseau's account, the individual must be actively engaged in political life in order to maintain the identification of his supremely authoritative will with the general will, whereas in Locke the emphasis is on the limits of governmental authority with respect to the expressions of the individual will." William Bristow, "Enlightenment," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, August 20, 2010, , accessed November 21, 2015, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/enlightenment/#RatEnl.

[34] Ibid.

governed; the articulation of the political ideals of freedom and equality and the theory of their institutional realization; the articulation of a list of basic individual human rights to be respected and realized by any legitimate political system (…)."[35] With regards to its influence on the emergence and articulation of anarchist thought, its emphasis on reason and one's own intellect in acquiring knowledge and governing action accompanied by skepticism towards all forms of authority such as that of the Church, monarchy, or tradition, along with the values of liberty, equality, and progress represents the legacy of the Enlightenment on future anarchist thinkers.

1.3.   The Origins of the Anarchist Movement

Anarchism, argue Schmidt and Van der Walt, is not a universal aspect of society or the psyche. Its origin is historically specific to 19th century Europe. "Not only is it the case that anarchism did not exist in the premodern world; it is also the case that it could not have, for it is rooted in the social and intellectual revolutions of the modern world."[36] It "emerged against the backdrop of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of capitalism"[37] and was "an integral part of modern socialist and working-class movements."[38]

As an identifiable and self-identified social movement, anarchism emerged in the 1860s with Mikhail Bakunin's entrance into the International Workingmen's Association (First

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[35] Ibid.
[36] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 72.
[37] Ibid., 14.
[38] Ibid., 72.

International)[39] and his involvement in The International Alliance of Socialist Democracy.[40] This is the point of agreement between all accounts on anarchism, even the ones who find anarchist sensibility present throughout human history. It is within the socialist milieu of the First International and the working-class movement that the anarchist movement came to being.

The International Workingmen's Association, also called the First International, was founded in London in 1864, largely at the hands of disciples of Proudhon and English unionist. Karl Marx was present from the beginning of the organization, but he did not represent any major section of the International. Still, he managed to take control of the organization along with his followers pushing out the mutualists[41] and minimizing their influence. With Bakunin's entrance into the International at the Basil Congress in 1869 Marx's domination started to be challenged. An alternative to political socialism began to form around Bakunin, César de Paepe, James Guillaume, Adhémer Schwitzguébel and Jean-Louis Pindy in the form of an anarchist conception of socialism.[42] "By 1871, the First International was divided into Marxist and Bakuninist sections, and it split the following year along these lines."[43] The Marxist section (political socialism), advocated a political battle against capitalism waged through a centrally organized workers' party whose aim was seizing State power and using it to bring about socialism. The Bakuninist section (libertarian socialism), rejected the state and hierarchy more generally. After being expelled from the International by Marx and his followers, the anarchist section gathered

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[39] A wonderfully informative depiction of the history of the First International can be found in Robert Graham, *We Do Not Fear Anarchy, We Invoke It: The First International and the Origins of the Anarchist Movement* (Oakland-Edinburgh-Baltimore: AK Press, 2015).

[40] Mainstream anarchist writings take Pierre Joseph Proudhon and his *What is Property?* as the origin of anarchism. This is a stance Schmidt and Van der Walt refute and I follow their lead; still it is necessary to stress that Proudhon was a great influence on the emergence of the anarchist movement.

[41] Followers of Proudhon's economic model of mutualism

[42] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 45.

[43] Ibid.

at the Swiss town of Saint-Imier where they formed what would be known as the "Saint-Imier International" which lasted until 1877.[44] "This new movement, this self-consciously 'anarchist' tradition, defined itself from the start in a clear manner, with a detailed social analysis along with strategies and tactics to change society. The new doctrine had none of the incoherence often attributed to it."[45]

Both Marx with his *Das Kapital* and Proudhon with his *What is Property?* greatly influenced the broad anarchist tradition, but neither can be considered as part of it. In building their theory, the anarchists adopted Marx's critique of capitalism (although they changed it slightly) and Proudhon's principle of federalism. According to the federalist principle, communes and workers' associations would come together to form a loose federation. This federation would consist of councils on a local, regional, national and international level, comprised not of representatives but delegates without executive authority who would at all times be subject to instant recall, the councils themselves being only coordinating bodies with no central authority. Anarchism combined liberalism with the ideas of socialism providing an alternative to governmentalism and classical Marxism.

1.4. Anarchism and the Concepts of Freedom and Equality

For the anarchists individual freedom is both a value in itself and the highest good. It is a common misconception that the freedom anarchists aspire towards is the absolute freedom of the

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[44] The Marxist led section continued until 1876. Ibid.
[45] Ibid.

individual.[46] On the contrary, it can only be attained and exercised in and through a new type of society – a classless society. "Society, far from decreasing…freedom, on the contrary creates the individual freedom of all human beings. Society is the root, the tree, and liberty is its fruit. Hence, in every epoch, man must seek his freedom not at the beginning but at the end of history…I can feel free only in the presence of, and in relation with other men… I am truly free only when human beings, men and women, are equally free, and the freedom of other men, far from negating or limiting my freedom, is, on the contrary, its necessary premise and confirmation."[47] Bakunin also says that only in society can man fully become a human being, that freedom is the product of the collectivity. "The anarchists did not therefore identify freedom with the right of everybody to do exactly what one pleased but with a social order in which collective effort and responsibilities – that is to say, obligations – would provide the material basis and social nexus in which individual freedom could exist"[48] – freedom harmonized with communal obligations; a society in which no one has the power to constrain his fellow beings and to use collective force to impose his wishes on others[49]. If those obligations aren't met, anarchists hold that a certain amount of coercive power is legitimate if derived from collective and democratic decision-making, the form of which would be some type of public pressure.

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[46] "But when one talks of freedom politically, and not philosophically, nobody thinks of the metaphysical bogy of abstract man who exists outside the cosmic and social environment and who, like some god, 'could do what he wishes' in the absolute sense of the word." Errico Malatesta, "The Idea of Good Government," March 03, 2014, 2, accessed September 02, 2016, https://ia600500.us.archive.org/29/items/al_Errico_Malatesta_The_Idea_of_Good_Government_a4/Errico_Malat esta__The_Idea_of_Good_Government_a4.pdf.

[47] Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin, *Bakunin on Anarchy*, ed. Sam Dolgoff, trans. Sam Dolgoff, First Vintage Books Edition ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 265, June 17, 2013, accessed September 18, 2016, https://libcom.org/files/Bakunin on Anarchy (1971).pdf.

[48] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 48.

[49] Errico Malatesta, "The Idea of Good Government," March 03, 2014, 2, accessed September 02, 2016, https://ia600500.us.archive.org/29/items/al_Errico_Malatesta_The_Idea_of_Good_Government_a4/Errico_Malat esta__The_Idea_of_Good_Government_a4.pdf.

Freedom is, for the anarchists, interlinked with equality. Anarchists aim, says Bakunin, "to organize society in such a manner that every individual, man or woman, should find, upon entering life, approximately equal means for the development of his or her diverse faculties and their utilization in his or her work."[50] Only such a man is free in the positive sense, in the sense that he is free to fully realize his own potential. Equality, in the sense that everyone is equally free and that everyone has the equal access to the means of life, is the prerequisite of freedom. The core of the problem which makes this equality impossible is the existence of class domination and exploitation in the form of landlordism and capitalism and their watchdog – the state.

1.5. Anarchism and Democracy

Anarchists, in general, are not advocates of representative democracy due to the lack of sovereignty of the people and the lack of power in their hands under such a system. Although, anarchists do admit that it is a step in the right direction, a step towards progress, and do not advocate a returning to either monarchy or dictatorship of any kind.[51] For anarchists anarchy and democracy[52] are irreconcilable: "Anarchists are against the surrender of power, and therefore against democracy[53]. Not just against the perversion of democracy (though that is often

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[50] Mikhail Bakunin, "Stateless Socialism: Anarchism," , accessed September 12, 2016, http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bakunin/stateless.html.

[51] Daniel Guérin, *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), Pdf, 35.; Malatesta Democracy and Anarchy p. 2

[52] Meaning representative democracy

[53] Again, democracy as representative democracy

mentioned), but against the democratic ideal. They do not want people to give power to whoever they choose; they want people to keep their power for themselves."[54]

There is another type of democracy much more compatible if not inherently present in anarchism – direct democracy – and many anarchists today even choose to "work" under this name thus shedding the negative connotations which have plagued the term anarchism and widening their audience. "(…) the ideal to be pursued must surely be this direct democracy which, if pressed to the limits in both economic self-management and territorial administration, would destroy the last vestiges of any kind of authority."[55] The self-governing the anarchists advocate takes place within the framework of direct democracy. "Anarchism would be nothing less than the most complete realisation of *democracy* – democracy in the fields, factories, and neighbourhoods, coordinated through federal structures and councils from below upward, and based on economic and social equality."[56]

1.6.   Anarchism and its Relationship to Coercion

The authors stress that the broad anarchist tradition does accept a measure of coercion, which is frequently ignored by scholarly works on anarchism that stress individualism and antistatism. Legitimate coercion is one that is derived from collective and democratic decision making and its

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[54] Donald Rooum, *What Is Anarchism?: An Introduction*, ed. Freedom Press (London: Freedom Press, 1993), 13, accessed October 22, 2013, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/donald-rooum-and-freedom-press-ed-what-is-anarchism-an-introduction.pdf.

[55] Daniel Guérin, *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), Pdf, 70.

[56] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 70.

aim is the creation and sustaining of a libertarian and socialist order, state the authors.[57] Since membership in an anarchist society is voluntary and is based on the acceptance of fundamental values, those who disagreed with them are under no obligation to remain in that society; equally, society is under no obligation to maintain a person who disagrees with its values. "The linkage between rights and duties had to be maintained."[58]

When crimes or conflicts would happen, and they inevitably would, the emphasis would be on conflict resolution or reparations of some sorts. If the person perpetrated a crime due to a mental illness, the community would provide the individual with medical help. In the case of more serious transgressions such as rape or murder, an anarchist society would have the right to exercise legitimate coercive power, in severe cases even call on the (community based) militia to intervene. The use of prisons, though, would be completely out of the question since they only serve as a mode of creating new societal evils. In general, though, it is expected that a vast majority of crime would not happen in the first place, since the majority of crime is property-related and stems from economic inequality. Furthermore, according to anarchists, public pressure would discourage crime, and the threat of withdrawal of cooperation would be enough to discourage the repeating of crimes that did occur.

1.7.   Critique of Capitalism and the State

Society, say the anarchists, consists of two opposed classes – the ruling class and the oppressed class. The ruling class, according to the anarchists, consists of the capitalist class, the

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[57] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, "Socialism from Below: Defining Anarchism," Zabalaza Books, January 25, 2016, , accessed September 22, 2016, https://zabalazabooks.net/2014/11/19/socialism-from-below-defining-anarchism/.

[58] Ibid.

landowning class and the managers of the state apparatus – the "bureaucratic aristocracy."[59] The oppressed class is comprised of the working class and the peasantry. The working class includes wageworkers from all industries, who lack control of their work, their families and the unemployed; the peasantry includes all small farmers who are subject to control and exploitation of other classes, including sharecroppers and labor tenants.[60] These two major opposing classes are in a state of class conflict, state the anarchists, in which the ruling class exploits and lives off of the work of the oppressed class.

The anarchist critique of the state is twofold. It arises from an opposition to hierarchical social relations, and from an opposition to class domination. "The state is seen as a defender of the class system and a centralized body that necessarily concentrates power in the hands of the ruling classes; in both respects, it is the means through which a minority rules a majority."[61] The anarchist understanding of the state is, thus, more than a 'body of armed men;' it is also a structure of centralized power.

The critique of capitalism is based on the critique of exploitation and private property. The exploitation consists of the capitalist taking the value produced by the worker for himself, and paying the worker only his wage which in theory should cover basic needs, but often doesn't even do that. "This was a system of exploitation, which the anarchists evidently understood as the transfer of resources from a productive class to a dominant but unproductive one. Exploitation in the capitalist system took place at work and through the wage system."[62] Distribution of goods, in the capitalist system, is done according to the ability to pay, and not

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[59] This is where the anarchist view of the concept of class differs from the Marxist
[60] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 7.
[61] Ibid., 52.
[62] Ibid., 50.

according to need; goods and services are distributed through the market, say the authors.[63] A result of this system is often overproduction, since production is guided by profit and not actual need for the product. Considering that the working class – the vast majority of the population – doesn't have the necessary purchasing power to acquire the products, they pile up in storages and are eventually destroyed. Overproduction also leads to wars, according to the authors, since there is a constant struggle for domination in the world market between countries.[64] All of the stated above is the reason why the anarchists oppose private property. "Private property in the means of production therefore meant, for Bakunin, 'the power and the right to live by exploiting the work of someone else, the right to exploit the work of those who possess neither property nor capital and who thus are forced to sell their productive power to the lucky owners of both.'"[65]

The State and capitalism are inseparable concepts. "Just as an economically dominant class entails a state, a state entails an economically dominant class."[66] The State is both a defender of the class system and a pillar of ruling class power, state Schmidt and Van der Walt, which is why, for anarchists, the State cannot be a weapon in the fight against capitalism, like it is for the Marxists. "The emancipation of the working class and peasantry required a radical democratic form of social organisation that maximised popular self-activity and self-management – and this was entirely at odds with the state."[67] The capture of state power in the role of emancipation would only produce the same results – class domination through authoritarian centralization, state the authors.[68]

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[63] Ibid., 51.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., 50-51.
[66] Ibid., 54.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.

With regards to law, anarchists reject law because all of legislation had been made within the State and with regard to the interests of the ruling classes. "The field of law must then be understood as shaped by class struggles, yet dominated by the ruling class, and unable to provide the means of popular emancipation."[69] The vast majority of human history, says Kropotkin, was as well governed not by law but by custom, and the vast majority of societies still are.[70]

1.8. Anarchism and Syndicalism and the Class Struggle

Anarchism is a child of the unions and the class struggle that bore it. It is only logical to claim that the concept of class struggle is at the heart of the broad anarchist tradition. "A class struggle from below, assuming a radically democratic form and taking place outside of and against the state, and aiming to replace capitalism and the state with collective ownership of the means of production, collective and participatory decision-making, and an international, federal, and self-managed socialist system is at the heart of anarchism."[71] Anarchism is, in the view propagated here, an ideology which is class-based in its origin and its outlook. For anarchists class struggle has to be antistatist and antiauthoritarian.[72] This class struggle is also international and internationalist. Furthermore, it focuses on other issues besides those of class, such as gender, race, and nationality, linking those struggles to the class struggle. "There is a powerful anti-imperialist, antimilitarist, antiracist, and feminist impulse – 'feminist' in the sense of promoting women's emancipation – in the broad anarchist tradition, all within a class

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[69] Ibid., 53.

[70] Peter Kropotkin, "Law and Authority; an Anarchist Essay," September 11, 2007, 13, accessed September 15, 2016, https://ia802703.us.archive.org/19/items/lawauthorityanar00kropuoft/lawauthorityanar00kropuoft.pdf.

[71] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 54-55.

[72] Ibid., 65.

framework,"[73] which is why " 'Class struggle' anarchism, sometimes called revolutionary or communist[74] anarchism, is not a type of anarchism; in our view, it is the *only* anarchism."[75] It is, therefore, incorrect to talk about a legitimate anarchist tradition that is against class struggle or is antisocial, state Schmidt and Van der Walt.[76] Following this, it is impossible to talk about Christian-anarchism, individualist anarchism, philosophical anarchism, lifestyle anarchism, anarcho-capitalism and so forth, simply because these are not variants of anarchism, but different variants of the *libertarian* tradition. "The point is not to dismiss other libertarian ideas and the wide range of antiauthoritarian ideas that have developed in many cultures but to suggest that we need to differentiate anarchism and syndicalism from other currents, including libertarian ones, the better to understand both anarchism and these other tendencies."[77]

Schmidt and Van der Walt view syndicalism as a variant of anarchism, a type of anarchist strategy and the syndicalist movement, with all of its main variants as part of the broad anarchist tradition.[78] It was Bakunin who introduced the idea of a federation of workers' groups as *the framework* of a socialist society, not just a weapon in the struggle, which represented a syndicalist turn within the movement, making Bakunin, and not George Sorel as is often claimed, the key theorist of syndicalism.[79] "(…) syndicalism is explicitly anticapitalist, antilandlordist, and antistatist, and envisages the union structures as the building blocks of a self-managed, stateless, socialist order. From this perspective, immediate struggles are important in

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[73]Ibid., 8.

[74] Communism refers to the distribution of goods according to need.

[75] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 19.

[76] Ibid., 84.

[77] Ibid., 19.

[78] There are differences and debates between anarchism and syndicalism but they share a core set of ideas which make it a coherent tradition which the authors label the broad anarchist tradition.

[79] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 16.

themselves, but also because they contribute to the confidence, organisation, and consciousness of the working class that syndicalists believe is essential to *revolution* from below."[80]

In the authors opinion an anarchist movement has to be strong in two areas: it has to be a counterpower to the ruling class backed up by the state, and it has to create a popular counterculture that can and will challenge the values of the old society based on class with new ones based on equality, democracy and solidarity. The syndicates or labor unions are important because they are capable of both counterculture and counterpower: "there is no-one, or almost no-one amongst us who would deny the usefulness of and the need for the labour movement as a mass means of material and moral advancement, as a fertile ground for propaganda and as an indispensable force for the social transformation that is our goal."[81]

The anarchists also stress the need for the seeds of the new society to be planted within the ground of the old – the syndicates being the seedsmen – in order to ensure the creation of the basic framework of the new society within the old. Through daily struggles unions build a radically democratic practice and education of their members, both of which are crucial for the revolution, and can even serve as the nucleus of a free socialist order.

It can be deduced that the authors of *Black Flame* argue that syndicalism is the most important strand in anarchism precisely because the syndicates (unions) are the only ones capable of building both a counterpower and counterculture and of providing the nucleus of the new socialist order. In their struggles syndicalists reject the existing political party system as a tool, stressing "the significance of building popular counterpower outside of and *against* the state

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[80] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 22.

[81] Errico Malatesta, "On Synicalism," March 03, 2014, 3, accessed September 02, 2016, https://ia601008.us.archive.org/11/items/al_Errico_Malatesta_On_Syndicalism_a4/Errico_Malatesta__On_Syndicalism_a4.pdf.

apparatus,"[82] and the self-management of society on all levels of society in order to create libertarian socialism.

Schmidt and Van der Walt advocate organizational dualism. It is a stance which implies the existence of two instances within the anarchist movement: the syndicates or labor unions, on one hand, and organizations specifically anarchist in nature whose role is to keep the syndicalist movement in accordance with anarchist principles, on the other. This is a view already expressed by Errico Malatesta in 1927 in his text "A Project of Anarchist Organization": "Hence there is an impelling need for specifically anarchist organisations which, both from within and outside the unions, struggle for the achievement of anarchism and seek to sterilise all the germs of degeneration and reaction."[83] It is also a view present in the, in anarchist theory somewhat infamous, work "The Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists."[84] This is the document which attempts to address the problem of anarchist organization by offering a homogeneous program – one of unity of theory, unity of tactics, collective responsibility and federalism.

1.9. Anarchism and Organization

It is a common misconception among the uninformed that anarchism is synonymous with disorganization. The anarchists themselves, on the contrary, put the greatest stress on the need

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[82] Ibid., 22.

[83] Errico Malatesta, "A Project of Anarchist Organisation," Anarchy Archives: An Online Research Center on the History and Theory of Anarchism, , accessed September 02, 2016, http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/malatesta/project.html.

[84] The "Delo Truda" Group, "The Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists," The Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists, 2006, , accessed September 19, 2016, http://www.nestormakhno.info/english/newplatform/org_plat.htm.

for organization and on its inherentness in the human condition: "it seems to us that organization, that is to say, association for a specific purpose and with the structure and means required to attain it, is a necessary aspect of social life."[85] It is a logical consequence of the struggle of the human species for survival. Out of disorganization arises authority and organization proves to be the only cure,[86] but organization based on necessary principles of independence and complete autonomy balanced with full responsibility both for individuals and groups.[87] The nature of the organization that anarchists propose is a horizontal one, not a vertical one – "a community organized without authority, that is without compulsion."[88] When the need arises, people organize, when it ceases they dismember.

As stated earlier, the anarchists are for a horizontal organization based on the principle of federalism. From the most bottom level towards the higher ones, people would organize into a federation. This federation would consist of councils on all levels, comprised of delegates as opposed to representatives, who do not possess executive authority and are at all times subject to instant recall. This type of organization would cover all aspects of society.

1.10. Anarchist Economy

Economy, according to the anarchist doctrine, would be democratically planned from bellow, self-managed, stateless and federatively coordinated. The means of production would be, as would the products of labor, owned collectively and controlled by the working class and

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[85] Errico Malatesta, "Anarchism and Organization," March 03, 2014, 2, accessed September 10, 2016, https://ia600501.us.archive.org/13/items/al_Errico_Malatesta_Anarchism_and_Organization_a4/Errico_Malatesta__Anarchism_and_Organization_a4.pdf.
[86] Ibid., 3.
[87] Ibid., 4.
[88] Ibid., 2.

peasantry with distribution based on the communist principle of need. A planned, or at least federally coordinated, economy is necessary since there are services that cannot be produced and consumed locally and because resources are naturally unequally distributed making the local economies mutually dependent. "Seeing the new society as making use of the most advanced technologies, and aware of the possibility that regional unevenness would provide a recipe for future conflicts, they saw the need to plan distribution and production, and coordinate production chains as well as large-scale public services."[89]

"Federalism linking neighbourhoods and workplaces, producers with other producers as well as consumers, would allow large-scale but participatory and democratic economic planning."[90] The principle of federalism in the economy was seen as allowing coordination and exchange to take place without a state or market to govern it. The federation would be linked by councils of mandated delegates who would be accountable to local groups and subject to instant recall if the community felt its interests were being betrayed. In practice, an economy based on the principle of federalism would produce "a vast economic federation of self-managing enterprises and communities, with a supreme assembly at its head that would balance supply and demand, and direct and distribute world production on the basis of demands from below."[91] This type of economy is a prerequisite for individual freedom since it provides the individual with social and economic equality.

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[89] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 68.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid., 68-69.

1.11. Anarchism – Conclusion

"Social solidarity is a fact from which no one can escape: it can be freely and consciously accepted and in consequence benefit all concerned, or it can be accepted willy-nilly, consciously or otherwise, in which case it manifests itself by the subjection of one to another, by the exploitation of some by others;"[92] in other words: "The fact is that human life is not possible without profiting by the labour of others, and that there are two ways in which this can be done: either through a fraternal, equalitarian and libertarian association, in which solidarity, consciously and freely expressed unites all mankind; or the struggle of each against the other in which the victors overrule, oppress and exploit the rest…"[93] We all need each other and depend on one another in the struggle for survival, say the anarchists – it is what we do with that information that determines the ideology we follow and propagate. The anarchists propagate solidarity, mutual aid, fraternity, equality of conditions and rights, (direct) democracy, voluntary association and liberty balanced with societal obligation.

Anarchism "invokes rationalism, critical thinking, and science, and couples it with a passion for justice and for the creation of one world and a universal human community, free of economic and social inequalities and hierarchies."[94] It propagates the doing away with these inequalities which are inherent in the forms of capitalist economy, capitalist/landlordist private property and statist organization. Only when these are done away with can man become truly free, not absolutely free, but free to be both a member of society and truly himself realizing his

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[92] Errico Malatesta, "Mutual Aid: An Essay," March 03, 2014, 3, accessed September 02, 2016, https://ia800703.us.archive.org/21/items/al_Errico_Malatesta_Mutual_Aid_An_Essay_a4/Errico_Malatesta__Mutual_Aid__An_Essay_a4.pdf.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 7.

potential to the fullest. Anarchism is, therefore, not simple antistatism, as had been previously claimed by mainstream scholarly work on anarchism, nor is it simple libertarianism. It is not full of inner contradictions and incoherencies, nor is it an umbrella term which encompasses all types of libertarianisms. On the contrary, anarchism is a specific and coherent libertarian socialist doctrine which aims at achieving full individual liberty, in the positive and negative sense, within the framework of a free, egalitarian, classless, stateless, lawless society, democratically self-managed in all its aspects the role of which is the complete fulfillment of the needs of its members.

2. CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY

The concept of culture has been a heavily contested concept throughout the academia, in all of the disciplines studying it or utilizing it in the study of related concepts. "Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. This is so partly because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought."[95] The concepts that are of interest to us in this paper are the ones utilized by the disciplines of anthropology and cultural studies – the concepts of culture and ideology –in the works written by Clifford Geertz, Raymond Williams and Louis Althusser.

2.1. Brief History of the Concept of Culture

The word culture, as we learn from Raymond Williams, comes from the Latin word *cultura*, i.e. *colere*, meaning, at first, to inhabit, cultivate, protect and honor with worship, but ending in mainly meaning cultivation or tending, a meaning connected to husbandry, the tending of natural growth. Later in the 16th century, its use was metaphorically extended to include the tending of natural growth in people (their mind or intellect) which continued to be the main sense of the word until late 18th and early 19th century.[96]

At the beginning of its German (and most important) usage the term culture (borrowed from French, first spelled Cultur, and later Kultur) was used as synonymous with another term,

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[95] Raymond Williams, "Culture." In *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 87, accessed April 07, 2014, https://www.scribd.com/book/234805850/Keywords-A-Vocabulary-of-Culture-and-Society.
[96] Ibid.

that of civilization, firstly meaning an abstract sense of a general process of becoming "civilized" or "cultivated" and secondly meaning the secular process of human development (established for *civilization* by the historians of the Enlightenment, in the popular 18th century form of the universal histories).[97] The usage of the concept was drastically changed by Herder and his *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784-91) in which he made *Cultur* into a plural noun – cultures and not culture. The Romantics had taken up this use in opposition to the French term *civilization*. It was first used to emphasize national and traditional cultures (including the new concept of folk-culture) and later to distinguish between 'human' and 'material' development, says Williams.[98] Culture was mainly used to describe the spiritual development, while civilization was used to describe the material one. From mid-19th century onwards, *Kultur* was used as *civilization* had been in the 18th century (in universal histories) with the decisive moment of Gustav Friedrich Klemm's introduction of cultural history of mankind through the stages of savagery, domestication and finally freedom in his work *Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*. This ushered in the anthropological use of the term by Edward B. Tylor in his *Primitive Culture* who directly followed Klemm's sense of culture: "CULTURE or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."[99] Ever since Tylor introduced the term into anthropology it has been reevaluated, contested, changed, widened or narrowed within the discipline and outside of it. In the second half of the 20th century its existence and usefulness, along with the ontological status of its

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[97]Ibid., 89.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Edward Burnett Tylor, Sir, "Primitive Culture : Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom," June 27, 2007, 19, accessed April 02, 2016, https://ia902205.us.archive.org/32/items/primitiveculture01tylouoft/primitiveculture01tylouoft.pdf

mother discipline, i.e. anthropology has been called into question even by anthropologists themselves.

2.2. Raymond Williams: Culture as a Way of Life

A new approach to the concept of culture emerged with the development of a new discipline within the humanities in the 1960s, that of cultural studies. Raymond Williams, a key figure in this new discipline, addressed the term differently than his predecessors in anthropology (based on Tyler's definition). He names three broad categories of usage of the term culture: "(i) the independent and abstract noun which describes a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development, from C18; (ii) the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general, from Herder and Klemm. But we also have to recognize (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity."[100]

In his better known work *The Analysis of Culture*, Williams puts forth a slightly different and more extensive version of his threefold distinction of the term culture. He names three general categories in the definition of culture: the ideal, the documentary and the social category. The 'ideal' definition of culture is one in which "culture is a state or process of human perfection, in terms of certain absolute or universal values. The analysis of culture, if such a definition is accepted, is essentially the discovery and description, in lives and works, of those

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[100] Raymond Williams, "Culture." In *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 90, accessed April 07, 2014, https://www.scribd.com/book/234805850/Keywords-A-Vocabulary-of-Culture-and-Society.

values which can be seen to compose a timeless order, or to have permanent reference to the universal human condition."[101] The 'documentary' definition is one in which "culture is the body of intellectual and imaginative work, in which, in a detailed way, human thought and experience are variously recorded. The analysis of culture, from such a definition, is the activity of criticism, by which the nature of the thought and experience, the details of the language, form and convention in which these are active, are described and valued."[102] Thirdly, the 'social' definition is one in which "culture is a description of a particular way of life, which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour. The analysis of culture, from such a definition, is the clarification of the meanings and values implicit and explicit in a particular way of life, a particular culture. Such analysis will include the historical criticism always referred to, in which intellectual and imaginative works are analysed in relation to particular traditions and societies, but will also include analysis of elements in the way of life that to followers of the other definitions are not 'culture' at all:[103] the organization of production, the structure of the family, the structure of institutions which express or govern social relationships, the characteristic forms through which members of the society communicate[104]."[105]

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[101] Raymond Williams, "The Analysis of Culture," in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, ed. John Storey, Second ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 48, accessed April 06, 2016, https://www.amherst.edu/media/view/88660/original/Williams - The Analysis of Culture.pdf.

[102] Ibid.

[103] In cultural anthropology and archeology, culture is thought of as material production (which changed with the work of Clifford Geertz and his reframing of the concept of culture to mean a web of significations, a symbolic web of meaning), where in cultural studies and history it is thought of as a signifying or symbolic system, says Williams. Ibid.

[104] This will be important to remember once we reach the third part of the paper where I will approach the fictive world of Anarres through the lens of this Williams's definition.

[105] Raymond Williams, "The Analysis of Culture," in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture*, ed. John Storey, Second ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 48, accessed April 06, 2016, https://www.amherst.edu/media/view/88660/original/Williams - The Analysis of Culture.pdf.

This last aspect of the concept of culture, culture as a way of life, is of greatest interest to my current analysis; as is the analysis of culture as the study of those elements in the way of life which tell us more about the meanings and values of the studied society. It is this variant of Williams's concept of culture I plan to combine with the following concept developed by Clifford Geertz for the interpretation of culture of the imaginative society of Anarres.

2.3.   Clifford Geertz: Culture as Webs of Significance

Clifford Geertz changed anthropology's perception of the concept of culture (stemming from Tylor's definition) drastically, thereby changing with it the discipline and its focus. The history of the concept within the discipline reminds one of the motions of the universe, created in a sudden and fantastic bang steadily growing and expanding until it reached a point where it became increasingly difficult to see its outer boundaries, thus starting the process of contracting. Clifford Geertz's take on the concept is a deliberate attempt at narrowing its scope, or as he says "cutting of the culture concept down to size."[106] With this in mind, he introduces a semiotic concept of culture according to which culture is manmade webs of significance, and the study and analysis of it an interpretation in search of meanings. In order to find those meanings it is necessary to do ethnographic work, but with Geertz, ethnography is the attempt to provide a thick description of culture, the unveiling of or, better even, the sorting out of the structures of signification and determining their social ground and import.[107] For Geertz, culture is public in that human behavior and the meaning behind it is public; it is a symbolic action – action which signifies – its ontological status, whether it is subjective or objective, being irrelevant. What is

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[106] Clifford Geertz, "Chapter I: Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays.* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), I, accessed March 15, 2016, http://www.sociosite.net/topics/texts/Geertz_Thick_Description.php.
[107] Ibid., II.

relevant is the meaning behind/within the symbolic action, i.e. "what is being said"[108]. Culture consists of socially established (public) structures of meaning in terms of which people do certain symbolic acts, it is an interworked system of construable signs (symbols)[109], it is a context within which those signs can be intelligibly described. What usually stands in our way is the unfamiliarity with the imaginative universe within which those acts are signs, the conceptual world in which the subjects live.

Geertz emphasizes observing real human behavior all the while trying to see past it, or through it, attempting to get at the meaning which shapes it, because it is in behavior, i.e. social action that cultural forms find articulation through. Ethnographic research as a scientific endeavor consists of trying to formulate the basis on which one imagines, the imaginative universe that makes up the framework for acts as signs.[110] The goal behind it being to converse with the ones we are trying to study and understand, making the aim of anthropology the enlargement of the universe of human discourse for which the semiotic concept of culture is well adapted. There are no conclusions to be reported, says Geertz, only debate and discussion to be deepened.

In portraying a culture of a people, anthropologists necessarily interpret that culture, which is why Geertz finds it pivotal to emphasize that anthropological interpretations are exactly that, interpretations and not the reality they are describing; an ethnographer does not capture

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[108] It is important to note that "code does not determine conduct and what was said need not have been." Ibid., V.

[109] "(…) words for the most part but also gestures, drawings, musical sounds, mechanical devices like clocks, or natural objects like jewels – anything, in fact, that is disengaged from its mere actuality and used to impose meaning upon experience." Clifford Geertz, "The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man," in *New Views of Man*, ed. John R. Platt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 17, accessed March 17, 2016, http://academic.regis.edu/rlumpp/PDF files/Geertz _ Impact of Culture.pdf.

[110] Clifford Geertz, "Chapter I: Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays.* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), V, accessed March 15, 2016, http://www.sociosite.net/topics/texts/Geertz_Thick_Description.php.

primitive facts in faraway places and carry them home like a mask or a carving, but clarifies what goes on in those faraway places, as Geertz says. The ethnographer inscribes the meaning, "the said" of an event, not the raw social discourse, but a small fragment of it we have access to through the help of informants. But in this lies the appeal and importance of anthropology – it is a process of constructing a reading of what happens.

The concept of culture is not only important, but also indispensible when talking about man and society. Man is inherently a cultural animal. His behavior is governed by cultural patterns, a set of control mechanisms (plans, rules, instructions) which Geertz compares to computer programs. Without these control mechanisms (organized systems of significant symbols), "man's behavior would be virtually ungovernable, a mere chaos of pointless acts and exploding emotions,"[111] states Geertz maintaining, thus, that culture is an essential condition for human existence. There is no man without culture.

"When seen as a set of symbolic devices for controlling behavior, extra-somatic sources of information, culture provides the link between what men are intrinsically capable of becoming and what they actually, one by one, in fact become."[112] This is the main importance of culture in our lives and in our/human history. "(…) we all begin with the natural equipment to live a thousand kinds of life but end in the end having lived only one."[113]

Such a conceptualization proves to be a stepping stone on the path of further human evolution and if it turns out that it can be guided or consciously influenced by ideas, even comprised, based or mainly built on those ideas, then arguably it is possible to talk about

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[111] Clifford Geertz, "The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man," in *New Views of Man*, ed. John R. Platt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 18, accessed March 17, 2016, http://academic.regis.edu/rlumpp/PDF files/Geertz _ Impact of Culture.pdf.
[112] Ibid., 26.
[113] Ibid., 17.

ideology and culture interchangeably. This opens the door for the conversation about anarchism and/as culture. Drawing on Aristotle's conception of man as a rational being, not necessarily rational in behavior, but *capable of acting rationally*, let us apply the metaphor and think of anarchism and man in terms of man as *capable of anarchism* if immersed and shaped by an anarchist culture, not because human nature is predisposed to anarchy, but because man has 'the natural equipment to live a thousand kinds of life', including an anarchist one. What is needed then in the theory of anarchism built upon the theories of the Enlightenment[114] is an anthropology of anarchism which as its founding stone rejects the concept of human nature as immutable but in its turn rests on the concept Geertz introduces, man as an inherently cultural animal, shaped by culture and infinitely variously so.

2.4.   Culture and/as Ideology

What kind of a relationship does culture have with ideology? The answer is, as always, greatly shaped by how we define those terms. Ideology has been painted in a predominantly negative light, as prejudice, bias, oversimplification, or to quote Geertz "(…) the conception of ideology now regnant in the social sciences is a thoroughly evaluative (that is, pejorative) one."[115] As Geertz said: "A concept that once meant but a collection of political proposals, perhaps somewhat intellectualistic and impractical but at any rate idealistic (…) has now become, to quote *Webster's*, 'the integrated assertions, theories, and aims constituting a politico-

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[114] "The Enlightenment view of man was, of course, that he was wholly of a piece with nature and shared in the general uniformity of composition which natural science (…) had discovered there. There is, in brief, a human nature as regularly organized, as thoroughly invariant, and as marvelously simple as Newton's universe. Perhaps some of its laws are different, but there are laws; perhaps some of its immutability is obscured by the trappings of local fashion, but it is immutable." Ibid., 18.

[115] Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," September 27, 1996, accessed March 19, 2016, http://www.gongfa.com/geertz1.htm.

social program, often with an implication of factitious propagandizing."[116] Geertz pleads for a nonevaluative concept of ideology, but emphasizes that that is not the same as pleading for the nonevaluation of ideologies. He simply wishes to use the concept neutrally so that it can be of use to the social sciences.

The two main approaches to the study of ideology, the interest theory[117] and the strain theory[118] both have the same fatal flaw according to Geertz – they do not explain the way in which the consequences of ideologies happen, they simply state the consequences but leave out the necessary explanation of the process of symbolic formulation (how we assign meaning), "the question of how symbols symbolize, how they function to mediate meanings has simply been bypassed."[119] Here, again, Geertz emphasizes that assigning meaning is a social process and not something that happens "in the head". He calls his theory the extrinsic theory which states that "thought consists of the construction and manipulation of symbol systems, which are employed as models of other systems, physical, organic, social, psychological, and so forth, in such a way that the structure of these other systems – and, in the favorable case, how they may therefore be expected to behave – is, as we say, 'understood',"[120] or to paraphrase Geertz, the matching of the states and processes of symbolic models against those of the wider world.[121] The cognitive and the expressive symbols have one commonality and that is that they are both sources of information, or 'programs' for patterning of human life.

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[116] Ibid.
[117] This theory sees ideology as a mask and a weapon in the struggle for advantage and pursuit of power. Ibid.
[118] This theory sees ideology as a symptom and a remedy in a chronic effort to correct sociopsychological disequilibrium in face of anxiety. Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.

As stated earlier, for Geertz, "Culture patterns – religious, philosophical, aesthetic, scientific, ideological – are 'programs'; they provide a template or blueprint for the organization of social and psychological processes, much as genetic systems provide such a template for the organization of organic processes."[122] In this sense, ideology is one of the patterns of culture, one of the programs which humans use to organize not only their symbolic worlds but also their real lived worlds. These templates are necessary due to man's plasticity, says Geertz. "The extreme generality, diffuseness, and variability of man's innate response capacities mean that the particular pattern his behavior takes is guided predominantly by cultural rather than genetic templates, the latter setting the overall psychophysical context within which precise activity sequences are organized by the former. The tool-making, laughing, or lying animal, man, is also the incomplete – or, more accurately, self-completing – animal. (…) it is through the construction of ideologies, schematic images of social order, that man makes himself for better or worse a political animal."[123] There is no man without politics in the Aristotelian sense, thus there is no man without ideology.

This hypothesis leads us to another writer, 20th century Marxist Louis Althusser, who proposes a different view of what the concept of ideology represents. In his work *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* Althusser uses the term ideology to explain how societies reproduce themselves, more exactly how the conditions of production, which from a Marxist point of view determine (in the last instance) the rest of how society functions, reproduce themselves. In this process of reproduction, ideology plays a key role.

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[122] Ibid.
This is what I take from Geertz's theory; the previously stated thesis which I find supports my claim that the Anarresti culture, the way of life of the people of Anarres, which will be portrayed in the next part of the paper, can primarily be understood as an anarchist one, i.e. an anarchist culture.
[123] Ibid.

Ideology[124], which is in Althusser's opinion always the ideology of the ruling class (one which makes possible and safeguards its rule) serves as a mechanism for the reproduction of the productive forces, specifically the reproduction of labor power (along with ensuring the material conditions it needs to reproduce itself) and the existing relations of production.[125] It is through the workings of ideology which in turn works through the ideological state apparatuses (the school, church, family, trade-union, political parties, sports, art, literature, etc.) that individuals learn the rules of the existing order and its socio-technical division of labor along with class domination (the dominant position in capitalist society belongs to the educational ideological apparatus). "The reproduction of labour power thus reveals as its *sine qua non* not only the reproduction of its 'skills' but also the reproduction of its subjection to the ruling ideology or of the 'practice' of that ideology, with the proviso that it is not enough to say 'not only but also', for it is clear that *it is in the forms and under the forms of ideological subjection that provision is made for the reproduction of the skills of labour power.*"[126] In a class society, in order to hold state power for a long time, the ruling class has to not only control the repressive state apparatus, but also exercise hegemony through the ideological state apparatuses which are plural and omnipresent.

Ideology (ideology in general and not ideologies) for Althusser is a non-historical eternal reality present in the same form throughout history. It represents the imaginary *relationship* of individuals to their real conditions of existence (in the last instance their relationship to their real

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[124] Althusser names ideology as one of two instances of the superstructure (the other being the legal instance); the superstructure along with the infrastructure (the economic base) is what constitutes every society. This is known as the Marxist conception of the social whole through the edifice metaphor. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses(Notes towards an Investigation)," Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses by Louis Althusser 1969-70, accessed July 14, 2016.
https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.

relations of production) and not the real conditions themselves: "Ideology is a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence"[127] or in other words: "all ideology represents in its necessarily imaginary distortion not the existing relations of production (and the other relations that derive from them), but above all the (imaginary) relationship of individuals to the relations of production and the relations that derive from them."[128] Ideology is imaginary, a distortion, an illusion, but also an allusion to reality insofar as it alludes to that reality. It is not ideal, but material, present in material practices and material rituals of the individuals performing the practices: "an ideology always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices. This existence is material."[129] "I shall therefore say that, where only a single subject (such and such an individual) is concerned, the existence of the ideas of his belief is material in that *his ideas are his material actions inserted into material practices governed by material rituals which are themselves defined by the material ideological apparatus from which derive the ideas of that subject*."[130] This represents a similarity with Geertz's position regarding culture being the imaginative universe present and visible only through material social actions.

It is in relation to ideology that we become subjects – "I as an individual" becomes "I as a subject" through subjection to ideology and through the process of interpellation. The subject is a constitutive category for all ideology**.** Althusser adds that "*the category of the subject is only constitutive of all ideology insofar as all ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects.*"[131]

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[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.

Even though his use of the term ideology falls into the category of the negative usage, Althusser does something quite interesting – he posits that there is nothing outside of ideology; that we are all completely immersed in it, it is that which shapes us as individuals, as subjects. Even though it seems like there is nothing outside ideology, there are two spheres that in reality are, according to Althusser: the scientific realm and the realm of actual reality.[132]

2.5.   Conclusion

To sum up Althusser's view and its relevance for this paper, let me stress the statement he makes on the nature of man: "man is an ideological man by nature,"[133] which, again, resonates Aristotle's view that man is a political animal considering there is no politics without ideology. Since there is no man without ideology, there can be no human life and human society without ideology. For Althusser, we are all completely immersed in ideology, but in ideology that the ruling class created and now uses to further its interest and secure the status quo, regardless of the appearance of difference and sometimes even contradiction within that ideology. Let us close the circle with the return to Geertz. For Geertz, ideology is part of a bigger reality – that of culture. It is according to those (culture) patterns (among them are ideological ones) that man organizes his inner and outer reality, the symbolic world along with the real one. The culture patterns (and ideology) are necessary because of man's plasticity, because of the fact that he is capable of an infinite number of different lives and realities. To repeat Geertz: " *it is through the construction of ideologies, schematic images of social order, that man makes himself*

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[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.

for better or worse a political animal[134]."[135] There is no man without politics, there is no man without ideology, there is no culture without ideology, there is no man without culture.

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[134] Italics by author

[135] Clifford Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," September 27, 1996, V, accessed March 19, 2016, http://www.gongfa.com/geertz1.htm.

3. ANARCHISM AS CULTURE

I would like to introduce at this point a possible approach to anarchism, a synthesis of the views on culture and ideology stated in the earlier sections of this paper. It is a view according to which anarchism can take the form of a totalizing ideology outside of which there is nothing – only within – a specific individual/ity – a specific subject which the anarchist ideology constructs through the process of interpellation, to appropriate Althusser's terminology. The culture of thusly created subjects is inextricably linked to the ideology which was used as a blueprint for the conscious creation of those subjects' society. At the beginning there was ideology. It was then consciously used for forming institutions, organizations, values, norms, morality, relationship, etc. of the new society. The ideology became an Ideology – a totalizing ideology proliferating indefinitely and boundlessly. It morphed into an intricate web of significance embodying all of the Ideology's core idea(l)s and values – a culture. It continued to shape individuals through cultural patterns – organized symbolic systems – governing their behavior and equipping them with the meanings of their world, providing them thusly, out of all the thousand (ways of) lives they could have lived, with an anarchist one.

There have been scholarly works that studied the connection between anarchism and culture, but their focus was either on the so-called "lifestyle anarchism" the inclusion of which into the anarchist tradition I had debunked in the previous sections; or on anarchism as a form of political culture, "a shared orientation towards ways of "doing politics" that is manifest in common forms of organisation (anti-authoritarian, non-hierarchical, consensus-based); in a common repertoire of political expression (direct action, constructing alternatives, community outreach, confrontation); in a common discourse (keywords, narratives, arguments and myths);

and in more broadly "cultural" shared features (dress, music, diet);"[136] or exploring the connection between the ideology of anarchism and culture understood as "high culture". None of these apply the concept of culture in the sense of a (complete) way of life – an intricate web of structures, relationships, institutions, values and meanings – nor does it explore the theoretical relationship between the concepts of ideology and culture. And most, if not all, of them define anarchism in the way criticized in the previous sections of this paper – as simple antistatism – as encompassing such different currents and thinkers as to make it completely contradictory and incoherent, depriving it of its accuracy and analytical power.

I will argue that the ideology of anarchism – the very coherent set of ideas, values and principles – can, when brought to life by a living people, at least imaginatively, take the form of an anarchist culture. In exemplifying this thesis I will use a literary example of Ursula Le Guin's novel *The Dispossessed* and not a living example of anarchist society because it provides us with the "purest" form of an anarchist culture, one that is outside time and space, and which, due to its imaginative nature, has the possibility and unlimited freedom of severing all connections to the old society, thus making it possible to posit the view that it is indeed a culture and not just an ideology. There are numerous examples of living and real anarchist societies – parts of Spain during the time of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the Paris Commune (arguably), the innumerable anarchist communities, workers organizations etc. – but they are all so complex in their individuality that it would not do them justice to butcher them in such a way as I would necessarily have to due to lack of space in this paper. Furthermore, they all strive towards "an ideal" that is encompassed in the fictional example of the Anarresti society, but fall short of it

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[136] Uri Gordon, "Anarchism and Political Theory: Contemporary Problems," The Anarchist Library, 2007, , accessed September 10, 2016, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/uri-gordon-anarchism-and-political-theory-contemporary-problems.

because the individuals who compose them have largely been shaped by other cultures (beside the anarchist one) and have to share this world with individuals who reject anarchist principles so they have to make compromises which in turn makes it hard to take those examples as examples of anarchist culture (since they are overwhelmed by other, more dominant influences).

I will argue that the culture of the Anarresti, the imaginative people from *The Dispossessed* is an anarchist one, i.e. a culture predominantly determined by its aspects which are directly drawn from the ideology of anarchism – its economy, its organization, its relationships, its core values and idea(l)s. This will, hopefully, open the door for a new understanding of (the possibilities) of anarchism, not only as an ideology, but with people bringing it to life in the form of a societal way of life, also as a culture. I will conduct a literary experiment to test this hypothesis by utilizing all means at my disposal drawing from several disciplines: cultural studies, anthropology, literary studies, and political theory morphing them into an interdisciplinary depiction.

3.1. The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia by Ursula Le Guin: Science Fiction, Utopia or Novel?

The placing within the confines of a genre of Ursula Le Guin's book *The Dispossessed,* first published in 1974 has been a point of debate in literary analysis. It tells the story of a brilliant physicist named Shevek and his ethical dilemmas about the nature and use of scientific and technological knowledge intertwined with the reexamining of his belonging to the (anarchist) community of his native planet Anarres, the story of his real, as well as symbolic, outward journey and return. Most consider it to be part of the tradition of literary utopian writing. There is

some disagreement on whether it is a classical utopia or a new type of utopia, sometimes referred to as "critical utopia", but rarely is it perceived as anything more. It has also been debated whether the work is a novel or a science fiction work, the difference being in the focus of the work – the novel focusing on the state of the human condition, the development of characters and their relationships, as opposed to a work of science fiction focusing more on the abstract ideas, technological advances, where the characters have no particular depth.

It is in Tony Burns's *Political Theory, Science Fiction and Utopian Literature: Ursula Le Guin and The Dispossessed* that we can see a different take on Le Guin's work. He finds that the book can more accurately be understood as a "novel with a scientific theme," a novel about utopianism in politics, rather than a mere literary utopia or dystopia, which combines both the utopian and dystopian elements within its structure and that can only be understood when both elements are viewed combined in their (Hegelian) totality.[137]

"Le Guin is, of course, an anarchist, and it has often been said that *The Dispossessed* is an attempt on her part to embody the principles of anarchism in a novel, and hence that, so far as its political implications are concerned *The Dispossessed* is best thought of as Le Guin's contribution to the cause of promoting anarchism, or of recommending what Le Guin considers to be the anarchist way of life to her readers."[138] In this regard, it is a slightly different, but still a contribution to political theory. But Burns tells us that if we look to Le Guin's own telling of the story of the origins of the book we can see that these origins "lay not in the fact that she is an

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[137] Tony Burns, *Political Theory, Science Fiction, and Utopian Literature: Ursula K. Le Guin and the Dispossessed* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008), 11, accessed August 10, 2016, https://books.google.hr/books?id=zzOkOTaKebEC&pg=PA114&lpg=PA114&dq=anthropological science fiction dispossessed&source=bl&ots=IgOXJQ-R4C&sig=49f7ZGSNi0-9pn7tFciTzHx8SMY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiMmID0tMLJAhUHiywKHZExBHw4ChDoAQgsMAI#v=onepage&q=anthropological science fiction dispossessed&f=false.
[138] Ibid., 1.

anarchist with a definite political ideology and framework of beliefs which she wishes to 'embody,' in the sense of advocating them to her readers in a particular literary form by providing them with a spokesperson, or a mouthpiece. It is not to educate her readers in *that* sense. It is not to tell them what she thinks they ought to think. For that, in Le Guin's view, would not be a genuine education at all. Rather, it lay in the development of a character."[139] The protagonist of the work, the Anarresti physicist named Shevek, and his individual story of his real, as well as symbolic, outward journey and return, is what makes the work a novel. It is through his character that Le Guin shows us, what she wants us to see, both in the world of Anarres, and in the world of its opposite, Urras. It is through his character that Le Guin tells the story, the story of the individual, the story of the society, the story of the different ideologies, the story of science and technology, the story of the journey and the return. But, she does not show us a specific dogma, doctrine or ideology; to the contrary, she shows us the positive and the negative, the utopian and the dystopian elements, stressing above all else their *interaction* and the dialectical integration of both into one totality. "The Dispossessed is a *novel* the main theme of which is precisely this tension between two different forms of utopian/dystopian thinking and writing, as it is played out in the lives of its individual characters, and especially its central character, Shevek."[140]

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[139] Ibid., 137.
[140] Ibid., 115.

3.2. Ethnography as Fiction/Fiction as Ethnography – The (Ethnographic) Analysis of *The Dispossessed*

"My father studied real cultures and I make them up - in a way, it's the same thing. - Ursula Le Guin, daughter of Alfred Kroeber"[141]

My focus while analyzing the book was the structure, i.e. the architectural design, of the anarchist society of Anarres and the web of significance interwoven in it.[142] The fictive society of Anarres has the appearance not of an imaginative creation, but of a real functioning society, with all its complexities and contradictions due to Le Guin's philosophy of dialectical integration, the learning about which takes the form of knowledge acquired through real ethnography, rather than from a work of fiction. The society she portrays in not black and white; it is full of different shades of grey, just as a real, living society would be. Still, the principles which she used to imagine this society are very clear, consistent and coherent – they are the principles inherent in the broad anarchist tradition[143] with emphasis on syndicalism, and as such

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[141] Geoffrey Samuel, "Inventing Real Cultures: Some Comments on Anthropology and Science Fiction," March 03, 2002, I, accessed September 08, 2016, http://users.hunterlink.net.au/~mbbgbs/Geoffrey/invent.html.

[142] "the first and basic ideal of ethnographic field-work is to give a clear and firm outline of the social constitution, and disentangle the laws and regularities of all cultural phenomena from the irrelevances. The firm skeleton of the tribal life has to be first ascertained. This ideal imposes in the first place the fundamental obligation of giving a complete surve of the phenomena, and not of picking out the sensational, the singular, still less the funny and quaint." Bronislaw Malinowski, "Introduction: The Subject, Method and Scope of This Inquiry," in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1922), V, accessed September 19, 2016, http://www.bohol.ph/books/Argonauts/Argonauts.html.; also "One of the first conditions of acceptable Ethnographic work certainly is that it should deal with the totality of all social, cultural and psychological aspects of the community, for they are so interwoven that not one can be understood without taking into consideration all the others." Bronislaw Malinowski, "Foreword," in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1922), xvi, accessed September 19, 2016, http://www.bohol.ph/books/Argonauts/Argonauts.html.

[143] Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread* is a template of sorts for the society Le Guin created. For an outline of an anarchist society see Peter Kropotkin, "The Conquest of Bread," July 17, 2011, accessed September 18, 2016, https://archive.org/details/theconquestofbre23428gut.

are worthy of our study in testing the hypothesis whether a society consciously built on ideological principles is capable of producing its own specific culture, thus transforming the ideology into a culture.

It is important to note that the book is not an anarchist pamphlet, nor does it openly advocate this or that ideology, so in order to find the principles and structures of the society Le Guin portrays, one has to look very closely, very deeply, very thickly, to reference Geertz, to put the little pieces of information, one gathers throughout the story, together in order to form a coherent picture. What helps us in that process is the fact that Le Guin is an anarchist and not just a scholar of the subject matter – this is what has enabled her to write an ethnographic novel of sorts, one that Tallman, quoting Elizabeth Fernea would deem "an ethnographic novel written by an artist from within the culture."[144] It is Le Guin's knowledge and belonging to the anarchist tradition that gives the account its picturesque quality. The task I undertook, the forming of a coherent picture out of a multitude of picturesque details consisted firstly in the reversing of Geertz's model of "thick description" in ethnographic research and writing, into something like a "thick reading" of a description, using it not in the creation of an ethnography, but in the reading of a novel as an ethnography. This is something Tallman already points out as a possibility: "They [ethnographers] can use novels as field notes and uncover rich ethnographic data from a careful analysis of the vision presented by the creative insider, the novelist."[145] Secondly, it consisted of utilizing the knowledge so attained in creating an imaginative ethnographic account

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[144] Janet Tallman, "The Ethnographic Novel: Finding the Insider's Voice," in *Between Anthropology and Literature*, ed. Rose De Angelis (London: Routledge, 2002), 12,
https://books.google.hr/books?id=hISCAgAAQBAJ&pg=PA4&lpg=PA4&dq=The Ethnographic Novel: Finding the insider's voice&source=bl&ots=L-AtuqOXkD&sig=9SrgJxEddy6y4HyyRyVi8038BkA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi4s-b1sIzPAhVGaRQKHdY0C2QQ6AEIJzAC#v=onepage&q=The Ethnographic Novel: Finding the insider's voice&f=false.
[145] Ibid.

of the anarchist society of Anarres. Such an ethnographic account is a work of fiction on more levels than one.

With choosing to approach the novel in such a manner and to produce a fictive ethnographic account out of the information so attained, I am tapping into an already present trend within current anthropology – the fusion of anthropology and fiction. This trend developed during the 1980s within anthropology when "the discipline recognized the potential overlap between ethnographic writing and literary artefacts as falling within its legitimate sphere of inquiry."[146] During this development within the discipline, it was noted by Marcus and Clifford that ethnographies were, in themselves, to a certain degree works of fiction.

"Since the 1986 publication of *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* by James Clifford and George Marcus, anthropologists have recognized that ethnography is 'a strange cross between the realist novel, the travel account, the memoir, and a scientific report.' Thereafter, ethnographic texts were understood to be as much about poetics and politics as objective scientific analysis of a society and its culture."[147] Soon thereafter, it became possible to study popular fiction as a form of ethnography. Academics doing such work found that novels often contained detailed ethnographic descriptions and analytical statements about social realities.[148] David J. Banks in *Resurgent Islam and Malay Rural Culture: Malay Novelists and*

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[146] Vito Laterza, "The Ethnographic Novel: Another Literary Skeleton in the Anthropological Closet?," Academia.edu, 124, accessed September 08, 2016, http://www.academia.edu/726440/The_ethnographic_novel_another_literary_skeleton_in_the_anthropological_ closet.

[147] Marilyn Cohen, "Introduction: Anthropological Aspects of the Novel," in *Novel Approaches to Anthropology: Contributions to Literary Anthropology*, ed. Marilyn Cohen (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013), 11, accessed August 25, 2016, https://books.google.hr/books?id=hTjUAAAAQBAJ&pg=PP2&lpg=PP2&dq=novel approaches to anthropology&source=bl&ots=P7CtiIUpkT&sig=xPQTyYLoCKXGQ3e419RHTH36mCE&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjc tZiQqaHPAhWCwBQKHRcjC2cQ6AEIKTAB#v=onepage&q=novel approaches to anthropology&f=false.

[148] Vito Laterza, "The Ethnographic Novel: Another Literary Skeleton in the Anthropological Closet?," Academia.edu, 124, accessed September 08, 2016,

the Invention of Culture argues that the knowledge about social realities found in novels is similar to the knowledge attained through ethnographic work. "Looking at these novels' plots and characters enables us to abstract reasonably coherent conceptions of Malay society."[149] Often, the conceptions we attain in this manner are more coherent than if learned through historical or even ethnographic accounts.

To this tradition of fusing anthropology with fiction one can add the writings of Ursula Le Guin, daughter of the famous anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber, to make matters even more interesting. Her writing has at times been placed under the term anthropological science fiction. Geoffrey Samuel states that the influence anthropology has had on science fiction has been long known: "that there is an influence from anthropology on science-fiction, is by now somewhat less than original. The involvement of an increasing number of (mostly American science-fiction writers with the social sciences in general, and with anthropology in particular, has been pointed out in a number of places (e.g. Sills 1968, Stover 1973), and there have even been anthologies of anthropological and sociological science-fiction (Stover and Harrison 1968; Mason 1974; Milstead 1974)."[150] As Samuel notes, in the 1950s and 1960s science fiction, with the idea of alternate universes, opened up the possibility of exploring societies closely related to our own but differing in some central features.[151] "A number of writers clearly began to sense the

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http://www.academia.edu/726440/The_ethnographic_novel_another_literary_skeleton_in_the_anthropological_closet.

[149] David J. Banks, "Resurgent Islam and Malay Rural Culture: Malay Novelists and the Invention of Culture," *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 3 (1990): 531, accessed September 01, 2016, doi:10.1525/ae.1990.17.3.02a00070.

[150] Geoffrey Samuel, "Inventing Real Cultures: Some Comments on Anthropology and Science Fiction," March 03, 2002, I, accessed September 08, 2016, http://users.hunterlink.net.au/~mbbgbs/Geoffrey/invent.html.

[151] Ibid.

potential for social commentary and criticism offered by the conventions of the science-fiction genre(…). Here I will merely stress that within science fiction, culture had become important."[152]

Science fiction continued to deal with the world as it might be, the world as a possibility, while anthropology continued to deal with the world as it was, or in the best case, as it is.[153] Samuel thus rightly identifies the problem with anthropology: "if anthropology still has to establish its claim as a useful and constructive area of enquiry within the social sciences, part of the problem is our lack of interest in speculation, in prediction, in thinking about what *may* happen to societies in the future rather than what has happened in the past. As contrasted with most of the other social-science disciplines, anthropology appears—to non-anthropologists—to have little or nothing to contribute to the design of future societies, or of future developments within our own society, beyond a lament for the values of vanishing cultures trod under the heel of progress."[154] I wouldn't necessarily go as far as to say that this is not a very important function that anthropology fulfills – understanding the cultures of Others – especially in the wake of recent global events and new East/West polarizations based on religion. Still, anticipating rather than just commentating on events, institutions, behaviors, etc. would be an extremely useful addition to anthropology's arsenal.

It is my opinion that one gets a clearer image of the core idea(l)s of anarchism by reading *The Dispossessed* than by reading many of the theoretical accounts on the subject – literature "can provide a rich source of information about societies that can or cannot be investigated through traditional ethnographic methods. Writers of fiction combine keen observations of their

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[152] Ibid.
[153] With the exception of the emergence of anticipatory anthropology
[154] Geoffrey Samuel, "Inventing Real Cultures: Some Comments on Anthropology and Science Fiction," March 03, 2002, I, accessed September 08, 2016, http://users.hunterlink.net.au/~mbbgbs/Geoffrey/invent.html.

society, scholarly research, self-consciousness, and poetics in their constructed interpretations of meaning as recognized by the quintessential historical materialist Friedrich Engels: '[Balzac] gives us a most wonderfully realistic history of French 'Society' …from which…I have learned more than from all the professed historians, economists, and statisticians of the period together.'"[155] Since it is almost impossible to research an anarchist culture which is not fused with the other cultures we all belong to, Le Guin's book proves to be quite useful as a starting point. It also taps into the anticipatory moment of anthropology allowing us to imagine what an anarchist culture *could* look like and if anarchism could ever break out of the mold of ideology.

"Since literature is an integral part of society like other institutions, it provides descriptive information about the social structure and organization of a society including the existence of social institutions and customs and information about values and norms that may be inferred for the characters and their behavior."[156] With the "thick reading" of *The Dispossessed* and armed with "a psychological sense of participation' of living in the story, of 'participating in communal existence' "[157] facilitated by reading the fiction in question it was possible to see this social structure and organizational principles of the Anarresti society and to identify them along with the values and norms present in that society as ones that stem from the broad anarchist tradition.

What I am, arguably, doing is simply taking credit for the imaginative ethnographic work Ursula Le Guin has done. Since she failed to declare her work a work of imaginative

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[155] Marilyn Cohen, "Introduction: Anthropological Aspects of the Novel," in *Novel Approaches to Anthropology: Contributions to Literary Anthropology*, ed. Marilyn Cohen (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013), 11, accessed August 25, 2016, https://books.google.hr/books?id=hTjUAAAAQBAJ&pg=PP2&lpg=PP2&dq=novel approaches to anthropology&source=bl&ots=P7CtiIUpkT&sig=xPQTyYLoCKXGQ3e419RHTH36mCE&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjc tZiQqaHPAhWCwBQKHRcjC2cQ6AEIKTAB#v=onepage&q=novel approaches to anthropology&f=false.
[156] "Introduction: Anthropological Aspects of the Novel," in *Novel Approaches to Anthropology: Contributions to Literary Anthropology*, ed. Marilyn Cohen (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013), 5.
[157] Ibid., 5-6.

ethnography, I am transforming it into one by multi-level reversal of the information she provided the reader. I am turning the non-declared ethnographic novel full of "thick descriptive" writing into a novel which I "thickly read" and using the knowledge thusly acquired to create a new version of the ethnography which originated with Le Guin. I will attempt to construct an imaginative ethnographic account of the imaginative society of Anarres while using the information known to the all-present narrator as information acquired by an imaginative presence on Anarres as a participant observer combined with the information acquired through the use of an imaginative informant, the protagonist of the book, Shevek. This is a somewhat controversial approach, but in my defense I will quote the authors of Black Flame and say:

"Certainly, some of the arguments presented here will be controversial. This is to be welcomed: good scholarship proceeds through debate, rather than the creation of orthodoxies."[158]

3.3.   The Culture of the Anarresti: An Ethnographic Account

Upon my arrival on the planet of Anarres the first thing that caught my attention was that it was a planet not heavily guarded. There were no weapons on the persons who appeared to be the ones guarding it. Also, there seemed to be no weapons whatsoever among any of the community members I encountered. There was no army, no police, no border except a symbolic one – the one that separates Anarres from all other worlds in space – in reality only a short wall that symbolically represents the idea of that boundary, but which can easily be crossed and still never is, as I am told.

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[158] Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, vol. Counterpower Volume 1 (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 26.

I was greeted warmly by my subjects, an open and friendly people, since I was not a citizen of Urras, but a neutral scientist who was intrigued by their way of life and wanted nothing more than to study it and tell my own people about it. Since I had nothing of my belongings with me, I was perceived as one of them – one who owns nothing, who possesses nothing, a kindred-spirit. I was also acquainted with the philosophy of their key social architect – the philosopher Laia Odo. This made me a welcome guest and desirable collocutor. If I had been a citizen of Urras, the encounter could have been a very unpleasant experience, since there is a longstanding relationship of mutual distrust and animosity.

I came to Anarres aboard a ship with a renown but controversial Anarresti named Shevek. I use his name and not a pseudonym with his permission – Shevek's decision that reflects a prevalent attitude on Anarres; nothing is hidden on Anarres, everything is in plain sight. The long voyage to Anarres provided me with enough time to converse with Shevek and to learn as much as I could about the way of life of the Anarresti. It was an honor to learn about a culture from one of the greatest scientists of our time and most useful since he was simultaneously part of the Anarresti culture and an outsider since he had always felt as if he didn't belong there. Shevek is to this day the only Anarresti to have lived both on Anarres and Urras – two adversarial planets, each other's Other, each other's moon – and thus has a great insight into both of these cultures.

The Anarresti greeted me in the Anarresti way of greeting strangers. They started by stating their own name and waited for me to reciprocate. When greeting people they know, the meeting is much friendlier, I later came to realize. A common brotherly greeting is putting one's hands on another's shoulders and giving them a kiss on the cheek. They normally address each other by

brother/sister ("ammar" in their language called Pravic) further exemplifying their strong communal bond.

Upon my arrival, I was taken on an electric train to the domiciles in the city of Abbenay where I was fed dinner and my name was put on the regular eating list to ensure I had my ration of food every day (which turned out to be two meals a day, one in the morning and one in the evening). I received a bed in a dormitory, a room I shared with other people. It was thought of as a compliment to my character, since sharing a room is thought to be preferable to sleeping alone among the Anarresti. If one has a room for himself and only himself, it means that he has bothered his roommates and that he is unwanted; it is thought of as a disgrace, a punishment. I spent a year on this planet, barren and dry, very scarce in resources, but nonetheless extremely organized in the usage and distribution of them. I gathered my knowledge through observing and participating in communal life and also through many conversations, mainly informal ones. This is how I spent the entirety of my stay among the Anarresti, living among them, living like them; learning about them, learning from them.

3.3.1. The History of the Anarresti

The history of the planet of Anarres is one of originally a mining colony of the planet Urras. The Urrasti did not colonize Anarres for two hundred years after they had discovered it. They only investigated, mapped, explored and mined it. The first settlement was founded at the bottom of the Ne Thera Mountains and was called Anarres Town. At first, there were no women at this settlement, only men who stayed there for two or three years at a time. The Nation of Thu (from the planet Urras) had inhabited Anarres without anyone on Urras, but their government, knowing

it, and had brought their women and children. They were the first people to live on Anarres. It was only later, in a period known as the Odonian Revolution or the time of the Settlement, that it was settled by "Odonians" (the followers of the philosophy of Laia Asieo Odo, an Urrasti revolutionary philosopher who was imprisoned on her home planet for her writings which inspired the Revolution) – the Odonians being anarchists. The first great uprising took place in Nio Esseia on Urras in the Urrasti year 740 and the Anarresti still commemorate it with a midsummer holiday called Insurrection Day.[159] The following is the hymn that they sing on that occasion:

"*O eastern light, awaken Those who have slept!*

The darkness will be broken, The promise kept"[160]

The government of The Nation of Thu collapsed in the year 771 because of a revolutionary uprising and in the Council of World Governments it was proposed to give Urras's moon (i.e. Anarres) to the International Society of Odonians before the revolution spread to other governments on Urras. Most of the Urrasti returned to Urras from the colony of Anarres Town, but some miners from the Nation of Thu decided to stay. The Council of World Governments granted the Odonian Settlers twelve spaceships and a million of them boarded them, never to return. Anarres Town was renamed Abbenay, which in the new language called Pravic, meant Mind.

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[159] An interesting fact: the symbol of the Odonian movement was the logo of the Circle of Life and not a flag which is why the Anarresti to this day do not have a flag.

[160] Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1974), 398, March 01, 2002, accessed December 06, 2014, https://libcom.org/files/The Dispossessed - Ursula Le Guin.pdf.

3.3.2. The Odonian Philosophy

All Anarresti know the philosophical teachings of Laia Odo. The children are taught it from a very early age. She was the leading architect of their society and her words are practically parroted by them. She died before she saw the founding of the new society, but she laid the groundwork for it. Laia Odo did not wish to de-urbanize society. She did not yearn for a pre-industrial society of small villages. For her, the size of a community depended on its natural surroundings, i.e. its potential for food and power. She had envisioned the new society while having the abundant Urras in mind, but Anarres was much poorer in natural riches, so the new founded communities had to scatter more widely and very few could be self-supporting no matter how much they cut back on necessities. Nevertheless, they chose to stay industrialized, urban. They used the transportation network to interchange products with those of other regions so that there would be balance. "They knew that their anarchism was the product of a very high civilization, of a complex diversified culture, of a stable economy and a highly industrialized technology that could maintain high production and rapid transportation of goods. However vast the distances separating settlements, they held the ideal of complex organicism. They built the roads first, the houses second."[161] She had imagined a society organized on the principle of decentralization – communities connected to each other through transportation and communication networks, organized from the bottom-up instead of hierarchically from the top down. Another important principle of organization was the non-existence of a center which would control periphery, no capital, no bureaucratic machinery. Still, the coordinating had to be led from somewhere and that place would be Abbenay where all the computers that coordinated the administration, division of labor, distribution of goods, and the central federatives of the

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[161] Ibid., 131.

work syndicates would find their home. This posed a lasting threat of centralization and accumulation of power and the Anarresti were quite aware of it.

A proclamation of the Odonian philosophy can be found in a speech Shevek, an Anarresti, made to the Urrasti rebels at the time of social unrest on the planet Urras:

"It is our suffering that brings us together. It is not love. Love does not obey the mind, and turns to hate when forced. The bond that binds us is beyond choice. We are brothers. We are brothers in what we share. In pain, which each of us must suffer alone, in hunger, in poverty, in hope, we know our brotherhood. We know it, because we have had to learn it. We know that there is no help for us but from one another, that no hand will save us if we do not reach out our hand. And the hand that you reach out is empty, as mine is. You have nothing. You possess nothing. You own nothing. You are free. All you have is what you are, and what you give."[162] "We have no law but the single principle of mutual aid between individuals. We have no government but the single principle of free association. We have no states, no nations, no presidents, no premiers, no chiefs, no generals, no bosses, no bankers, no landlords, no wages, no charity, no police, no soldiers, no wars. Nor do we have much else. We are sharers, not owners. (...) You cannot buy the Revolution. You cannot make the Revolution. You can only be the Revolution. It is in your spirit, or it is nowhere."[163]

The following are all segments of Laia Odo's philosophy:

"A child free from the guilt of ownership and the burden of economic competition will grow up with the will to do what needs doing and the capacity for joy in doing it. It is useless work that darkens the heart. The delight of the nursing mother, of the scholar, of the successful hunter, of the good cook, of the skillful maker, of anyone doing needed work and doing it well - this durable joy is perhaps the deepest source of human affection, and of sociality as a whole."[164]

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[162] Ibid., 399.
[163] Ibid., 400.
[164] Ibid., 330.

One of the basic principles of her philosophy is the principle of the means equating the end: "One can't achieve right by doing wrong. Only peace brings peace, only just acts bring justice!"[165]

Likewise, the principle of mutual aid is formative to the Anarresti perception of society:

"'(...) We follow one law, only one, the law of human evolution.'

'The law of evolution is that the strongest survives!'

'Yes, and the strongest, in the existence of any social species, are those who are most social. In human terms, most ethical.'"[166]

Essential concepts in the Odonian thought are: cooperation and function, and they both imply work. "(...) the rights of any citizen in any society: the right to work, to be maintained while working, and to share the product with all who wanted it. The rights of an Odonian and of a human being."[167]

3.3.3. General Characteristics of the Planet of Anarres and its People

The planet of Anarres is very scarce in natural resources so the inhabitants have to ration the use of water, wood, and other materials. Wood is so scarce that it is not used as a fuel for burning, only for the printing of the most necessary pamphlets or books. It is interesting to note that they contradictorily enough do not believe in the ability of their own citizens to decide for

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[165] Ibid., 340.
[166] Ibid., 295.
[167] Ibid., 368.

themselves to ration resources on the basis of it being the rational thing to do, instead, in order to ration water they have a water valve that cuts off the flow of water when the faucet is released.

The primary appearance of the planet is that of the desert, covered in dirt, with only a few oases containing diversified flora, but not fauna. There isn't enough grass on the planet to raise cattle or to sustain herbivores, so there are no carnivores resulting in a vegan diet and lifestyle. There are also no insects, which in turn means, there are no flowering plants. The imported fruit trees have to be hand fertilized. Rain rarely falls, and snow falls only up to an inch. Due to the nature of the planet, the Anarresti have undertaken a massive forestation project in order to increase the forest areas.

The territory of Anarres is divided into eight Divisions, all of them, with the exception of the Southwest, having major bodies of water: the Southeast, which consists of a fertile strip along the beach; the Southwest which is sandy and rocky, consisting of several mines, comprising the region called the Dust; the West Temaenian littoral which is the area of afforestation that had required 18 000 people and two years of work; the Southrising representing the area populated by miners (people who were already on Anarres during the Settlement who still have some of their own customs, such as songs or feast days); the Northeast; the Green Mountains also referred to as the rain belt (where it rains a lot, up to 40 inches a year); the Keran Sea region; and the Ne Theras. There is little running water on Anarres, the rivers are short and the mountains have streams, but there are three separate oceans which are full of animal life. The oceans on Anarres are not connected so they have undergone distinct evolutionary patterns which caused a great variety in their fauna. The towns on the planet are mostly small scale, with the exception of the city of Abbenay, inhabited by the greatest minds Anarres has to offer, somewhat of a center on a planet dedicated to not having one. The whole population counts 20 million people.

The Anarresti are a very tall people, both men and women having long, dun-colored hair that they wear down and keep off the forehead with a band. The women do not shave any part of their bodies. Their clothes are simple and lack color, or any other accessories such as jewelry. Nothing in their appearance serves any other purpose but that of functionality, which is a principle present in the esthetic not only of personal appearance, but of architecture as well – no excess – "Excess is excrement. (…) Excrement retained in the body is a poison."[168] The Anarresti recycle everything they use, at the same time wasting nothing, which is visible in the non-existence of trash or knowledge of the concept.

Each one of their personal names is unique. It is randomly generated by the central registry computer. This way only one person on the entire planet can have that name during his or her lifetime which is the reason why one name suffices.

3.3.4. Pravic: The Language of the Anarresti

The language spoken on Anarres and by all Anarresti is called Pravic. It had been invented by a settler named Farigv, at the time of the Settlement, in order to completely cut all ties to the society against which the Settlers rebelled. One of the first writings in the new Pravic language was written by a certain Pio Atean (who took the Pravic name Tober) and goes as follows:

"*O child Anarchia, infinite promise*

infinite carefulness

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[168] Ibid., 135.

I listen, listen in the night

by the cradle deep as the night

is it well with the child"[169]

Their language reflects their ideology. In the Pravic language, there are no words for concepts not in accordance with the anarchist ideology, referring to such concepts by the term "nonorganic word." To refer to such concepts, like, for instance, that of owning property, the Anarresti borrow words from the Iotic language, the language of A-Io, their place of origin and the reason for their rebellion. They are mainly used in the pejorative sense.

Other interesting facts I have learned about their language is that there is no proprietary idiom for the sexual act; it didn't make sense in their language to say that someone had someone else. The usual word describing the sex act could best be translated as copulating – something two people did together, not something one person did to another or something one person had. They also do not use the singular form of the possessive pronoun like "my" or "mine"; little children might, but soon they learn to use a more general "the" or they say (instead of mine and yours) "I use this one and you use that."[170] In the Pravic language the same word is used both for work and play.

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[169] Ibid., 132.
[170] Ibid., 82.

3.3.5. The Structure of the Anarresti Society

As I have already said, the society of Anarres is in all reality an anarchist society. This means that it is a classless, stateless, lawless society of equals. It is organized as a federatively connected network of self-governing communes. The basic principle is voluntary association on all levels of society. The core ideas it rests on are equality, fraternity, freedom of individual and society, horizontalism, anti-authoritarianism, decentralization, mutual aid, economic planning of production from bellow, distribution according to need, direct democracy, and most importantly communal ownership.

The basic building structure of their society is a syndicate. All of their interests, both individual and communal, are to be found represented within the organizational structure of a syndicate. Within the syndicate, membership is voluntary, and decisions are made jointly through debate and direct-democratic voting. There are no formal positions of power within those syndicates. There are innumerable syndicates which organize everyday life and coordinate different aspects of it.

Every Odonian community has workshops, factories, domiciles, dormitories, learning centers, meeting halls, distributories, depots refectories, open squares surrounded by bigger buildings. The emphasis is on public life, at the same time, with regards to the needs of the individual. All life is organized on the principle of voluntary agreement. People do things necessary for the existence of society out of inner motivation or, when necessary, community pressure. They cannot be ordered or intimidated into doing them. There is always, at least in theory, a choice. As the Anarresti say: "Are we kept here by force? What force – what laws, governments, police? None. Simply our own being, our nature as Odonians (…) responsible to

one another. And that responsibility is our freedom. To avoid it, would be to lose our freedom."[171] For them, freedom is responsibility. They have completely internalized the ideology that formed their world and perceive themselves as inseparable from it. They say: "Who forbids? You are externalizing the integrative function itself (…) Order is not 'orders'. We don't leave Anarres, because we *are* Anarres. Being Tirin, you can't leave Tirin's skin."[172]

An individual is thought of as having a cellular function and an organic function. A cellular function is a sort of an individual's individuality; let us call it a function to one's own existence, the work he does and enjoys best, which is, then, consequently, his best contribution to society. The organic function is the function the individual has in the organic structure of existence, i.e. society. According to this belief, an Anarresti chooses his career and life path.

3.3.6. *Means of Social Control Among the Anarresti*

The rules on which societal stability rests on aren't exactly rules, but more of guidelines. These guidelines are considered legitimate since they are made by the people themselves. There are no laws, no prisons, no judicial system, no state apparatus, and no repressive bodies. There is also no concept of those in the minds of people. The only tool for influencing the behavior of the individual is public opinion and communal pressure.

Social control is mainly attained through some form of public pressure. If someone does something that is disapproved of by the community there is a possibility of public reprimand. Members from the community come to that person's syndicate meeting and tell them off. The

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[171] Ibid., 65.
[172] Ibid., 57-58.

community regularly participates in a so-called Criticism Session which is a communal activity where members of the community publicly complain about defects in the functioning of the community (and about the defects in the characters of their neighbors). Crime occurs only as an exception and since there are is no judicial system and no prisons, for crimes of a more serious nature, like murder or rape, or chronic work-quitting, the person requests a posting to a therapy center and goes voluntarily, out of fear of retribution.

The Anarresti do not practice physical violence neither in the disciplining of children or for that matter of citizens. But that doesn't mean individual violence doesn't occur. It is only important that, when it does, it represents a fair fight and, if no one calls for help, it is considered nobody's business except for the parties involved so no one intervenes. If someone is incompatible to life in a community, he is free to leave it and fend for himself; he can build himself a habitat wherever he chooses to, neighbors accepting, of course, otherwise he is under great pressure to move. There are some people who choose to live like that. The Anarresti call these people, who continually go from community to community refusing to cooperate and to do their share, Nuchnibi. Sometimes they are made fun of, sometimes beat up, sometimes their names are taken of the food lists so they have to cook and eat by themselves which is considered humiliating.

3.3.7. The Anarresti Economy

The society of Anarres is an industrialized society which is both familiar with technology and which uses it for the good of all. Their economy is a communist one, where not only the means of production are common, but so are the fruits of labor, i.e. products of labor and are

distributed based on need. The society produces what is necessary for the whole community and then distributes it through dispensaries, where every member of the community comes to freely take what he needs, when he needs it. Still, they keep very little; once the need for an object is fulfilled, the object is usually returned for the next person to use it. There is no private property, not even private possession; there is only *usage*. Also, there is no word for 'possessing'; the closest in their language would be the word which means 'using'. They are not familiar with money, nor do they use any similar form of it; there is no buying or selling, nor is there trade. The community produces what the community needs and finally the community uses what the community needs. The Anarresti economy could best be described as an economy where both production and distribution are need-based.

Production is organized and planned from bellow while being coordinated through a body known as the PDC which stands for Production and Distribution Coordination. The PDC represents the network composed of the administration and management of production, a coordinating system for all syndicates, federatives and individuals who do productive work, using computer and statistical analysis in satisfying the needs of the society and allocating resources. The PDC is organized in the following way: volunteers are selected by lot, then they go through a year of training and finally they serve four years as a "listing". One can stay longer with the PDC but only as an advisor. This is designed in such a manner because of the ever present danger of centralization and accumulation of power. The PDC also serves as home to "Divlab" – the Department for the Division of Labor which allocates workers according to their skills, capabilities and necessity. Sometimes, if necessary they will separate partners from each other or even parents from their children, without much opposition from the individuals involved.

The whole economic system operates on the basis of voluntary acceptance of available and offered posts. Individuals can accept offered posts if they are in accordance with their desired personal "career path", but they can rarely choose the location of the post. The only "obligatory" (morally obligatory) post is the tenth day rotational voluntary duty, when, regardless of one's own career, all volunteer in doing the jobs needed for the functioning of society, but which are usually considered unattractive enough for no one to choose them as their career (usually unhealthy, dirty jobs). The dangerous jobs like mining are done only for 6 months at a time. For work that is sought after, there are waiting lists.

Work in general is done for the sake of the work alone. Most Anarresti work 5 to 7 hours a day, with 2 to 4 days off each "decad"; a decad being a period of ten days, a measure the Anarresti use instead of our week. If work requires it, one can spend up to 10 hours a day working without days off. All of the "details of regularity, punctuality, which days off, and so on were worked out between the individual and his work crew or gang or syndicate or coordinating federative."[173] In some communities, that aren't big enough to sustain themselves, even children work for three hours after their three hours of school. In the work community, as in the community at large, life is organized around syndicates which represent the core of social action and sociability, the framework of all social life. Exemplifying the central role of the syndicate and work in the life of the Anarresti is their custom to hold the memorial service for a dead community member at the place where the person worked.

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[173] Ibid., 251.

3.3.8. Transportation, Energy and Communication on Anarres

The Anarresti get their energy primarily from wind turbines. As with other things, they are economical with their use of energy. Artificial lighting is not provided from one hour before sunrise to one hour after sunset. The heating, provided by differential generators, comes on only when the outside temperature goes under 55 Fahrenheit degrees. In practice this means that the Anarresti are accustomed not to low temperatures, but to the feeling of being cold. The transportation network is highly developed and it consists of electric trains and omnibuses along with long-distance travel dirigibles. The Anarresti do not have an actual "space program", they only have the 12 spaceships the settlers arrived on 2 centuries ago.

The Anarresti are a technologically advanced people familiar with the telephone, radio and mail. The PDC generally controls all media and coordinates all communication. The telephone is rarely used other than for urgent messages like deaths, births or for long-distance communication which is, again, handled by the PDC. Long-distance phone calls have to be arranged beforehand by mail or you can leave a message at the PDC. Since such communication costs a lot in resources, personal long-distance communication is kept at a minimum by the people themselves. Mail consists primarily of correspondence among and between syndicates, newsletters and some personal letters. Letters go unsealed by convention, following the principle that all is public and nothing is hidden. There are no postmen so someone from the mail depot has to inform the recipient of the letter of its arrival.

3.3.9. Abbenay: The Intellectual and Administrative Center on a Planet Dedicated to Not Having One

Abbenay is the biggest city on Anarres and is considered the intellectual capital of the planet. It is divided into approximately 200 local administrative regions, called blocks. Each block has the basic necessities, such as a medic, or a block housing manager who handles the housing files (one just has to request a room from him or her and if there is a vacancy, one gets it easily), etc. The food-processing plants and heavy industry are set on the outskirts of the city. Other industries, for instance a wire factory, a district laundry, a small-goods distributory, or a theater, are to be found within the city. Industries that are related stand next to each other on squares or streets. At the center of every square there is something symbolizing the local industry. All of the city's buildings are built of stone or cast foamstone. All of them are one storey and have numerous small windows made of silicon plastic that can't shatter, because of the frequent earthquakes.

Abbenay has the appearance of cleanliness, bareness and plainness in architecture. On the other hand, it is the only city which has lush vegetation and a green park covered with Urrasti grass instead of dirt. There, in that park, sits a statue of Laia Odo, a woman of sixty-ish bent over a book, her famous, *The Social Organism*. Abbenay differs somewhat from the ideal of Anarresti society in many aspects due to it becoming an unintended center. For instance, most of the rooms at the learning institutes are singles, as opposed to dormitories; or the refectory, which serves food, serves desert much more often than in other places. Likewise, according to Odonian philosophy all knowledge is to be shared, and in practice is, everywhere on Anarres with the exception of Abbenay, where one can find a proprietary attitude towards knowledge – knowledge as a privilege, a dangerous commodity not to be freely shared with others.

1.3.10. Gender and Sexual Relationships Among the Anarresti

There seems to exist a balance and equality between the sexes. There is no gender discrimination in social life or in the workplace. Labor isn't divided according to gender, there is no distinction between men's and women's work. They do not think in terms of gender superiority/inferiority which could result in inequality. But they are familiar with the concept of gender differences and many subscribe to such a view.

As a people, their sexual relationships are very free and polyamorous, even in adolescent age which is full of sexual experimentation. "No law, no limit, no penalty, no punishment, no disapproval applied to any sexual practice of any kind, except the rape of a child or woman, for which the rapist's neighbors were likely to provide summary revenge if he did not get promptly into the gentler hands of a therapy center. But molestation was extremely rare in a society where complete fulfillment was the norm from puberty on, and the only social limit imposed on sexual activity was the mild one of pressure in favor of privacy, a kind of modesty imposed by communality of life."[174] People freely copulate with each other (the expression they use), but they do it privately out of consideration for others. For this purpose they have single rooms available in the domiciles (the facilities they have at their disposal for living or sleeping). All relationships are based on voluntary agreement and are in such a way both started and ended. There is no outer institution that governs relationship; simply an individual and his promise, which makes the idea of fidelity essential in Odonian thought, since it is based simply on a promise of partnership, of monogamy.

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[174] Ibid., 328.

Their main sexual institution is one of partnership. This is not universally accepted as the only form of sexual relationship. Some debate is present between the Anarresti about the nature of the partnership; while some embrace it others reject is as proprietary in its very nature: "Life partnership is really against the Odonian ethic" says one party with the other one disagreeing "Having's wrong; sharing's right. What more can you share than your whole self, your whole life."[175] There are some who even think that women are incapable of un-proprietary partnership or even true anarchism: "Women think they own you. No woman can really be an Odonian (…) most women, their only relationship to a man is *having*. Either owning or being owned (…) What a man wants is freedom. What a woman wants is property. She'll only let you go if she can trade you for something else. All women are propertarians."[176] Many live in partnerships, but not many have lifelong ones. A person forms different types of partnerships throughout his or her life.

Women tend to wait until the end of their education and training to start the process of childbearing. Babies are delivered in the comforts of the women's homes, with a midwife there to make sure everything goes well. It is generally perceived as a natural process with minimal need for medical intervention. After the baby is born, she stays with the mother or both parents while she breastfeeds, after which the parents choose whether to keep having the baby sleep with them in their room or to have her sleep in a dormitory with other babies and children. While the parents are at work, the children are at daycare, where, if still at a young age, they sleep together in cots in pairs of two or three. The daycare system isn't heavily regulated so it is common that the babies put themselves to sleep with crying and that their diapers aren't changed regularly due to the lack of staff. Those children who have the need for constant care because their parents are

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[175] Ibid., 71.
[176] Ibid., 75.

away at posts stay at special dormitories fulltime. When the children reach school age, they sleep in dormitories at their institution of education.

The biological aspect of the parental relationship is not one of great importance; caregiving takes precedence in the formation of a relationship. In the relationship of parents with their children, the children call their parents by name, and the attachment is formed only if both parties have the desire. A firm attachment is formed on the basis of constant care and nurturing, so it is possible for the child to form a strong attachment to a person who is not its biological parent, but is his or her primary caregiver. This is apparent even in their language. Although the children might live with their parents, their relationship isn't exclusive which can be seen from the word *Mamme or Tadde* meaning mom or dad, but it can be used to call a father, uncle, or unrelated adult who shows them the parental or grandparental responsibility and affection.[177]

1.3.11. The Anarresti Education System

Children are taught from birth to share, to use, and not to own. They are also taught from a very early age to speak and listen as a cooperative exercise and not to lecture or give monologues. They are taught not to egoize, but to act as part of a community, part of a whole. Once they reach school age, children become completely involved in their educational institutions. These institutions represent the nexus of their existence; all life revolves around them. The children eat, sleep and live at the learning centers which serve to help them find their own individual function in the greater society.

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[177] Ibid., 69.

In Anarresti society children are considered active participants in their education; they choose freely which classes to take, even though experts aren't always available. At Anarresti learning centers, courses are organized either on the teacher's initiative, the students' request, or by these two together. The students are not just students, but members of the community who partake in communal life which sometimes leads to them being distracted or too tired to learn if they had worked hard on rotational duty the previous day.

Education is not exam based and the curriculum includes all of the "grown-up" occupations such as farming, carpentry, sewage reclamation, printing, plumbing, road mending, and playwriting. At the learning centers children are taught how to play music, and all other skills that prepare them for the *practice* of art. There is no distinction between the arts and the crafts. The only art which is called "the Art" is theater and it stands alone. It consists of regional and traveling groups of actors and dancers who perform tragedies, mimes, and semi-improvised comedies which are very well liked due to the lack of entertainment in small towns.

1.3.12. Religion Among the Anarresti

The Anarresti do not subscribe to any religious creed, consequently there is no established religion or accompanying churches. Still, they have such a deep feeling of being part of the cosmos, that as one member of the Anarresti community described, they are religious in that sense of equating the religious feeling with the natural capacity of the human mind and "the

profoundest relationship man has with the cosmos."[178] Not much more can thus be said about this aspect which is, for better or worse, lacking in their society.

1.3.13. The Anarresti Principle of Openness

On Anarres, nothing is hidden, both literally and metaphorically – a specific and general openness which is visible in every aspect of the Anarresti society: its architecture, clothing, and aesthetic – everything is in plain sight and everything is public. They know not of locks or locked doors, the only privacy being reserved for the sexual act, and even that, not out of shame, but out of sheer consideration for others who do not have sexual partners. Children are taught that sharing a room is preferable to sleeping alone. Having a private room means one's character is unsuitable for common life, that he is unwanted by his fellow Anarresti – it is thought of as a disgrace, a punishment. Partnering, or simply copulating, is the only reason why people wouldn't sleep in a dormitory. If one does not like who he shares a room with, one simply changes rooms. Privacy, beyond the necessary privacy of hygiene (although not all hygiene, since baths are taken together) and the sexual act, is considered nonfunctional. The economy can't support it.

1.3.14. The Relationship Between the Anarresti and the Urrasti

The Anarresti have a very adversarial relationship with the inhabitants of the planet Urras. This relationship borders on hate on both sides, each side viewing the other as its opposite, its Other, its Moon. This is how the Anarresti view life on Urras: "Would you really

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[178] Ibid., 27.

like to live in a society where you had no responsibility and no freedom, no choice, only the false option of obedience to the law, or disobedience followed by punishment? Would you really want to go to live in a prison?"[179] For them it is a world of proprietors (an insult in the Pravic language) and profiteers (also an insult). The children are from a very early age taught to detest, fear and hate Urras and to think of it as a sick organism and an unjust society, where some have the luxury of not working and leisure, while others die of starvation and sickness.

The Anarresti and the Urrasti haven't had any communication since the Settlement. The only Anarresti who have communication with Urrasti are the ones who work inside the PDC, since it is their job to facilitate trade with Urras and with other planets, and to assess the risk Urras poses to Anarres. The trade between Urras and Anarres consisted of the Anarresti acquiring from the Urrasti fossil oils, petroleum products and delicate machine parts and electronic components, and the Urrasti acquiring a great deal of minerals like mercury, copper, aluminum, uranium, tin and gold. Anarres remained in practice a mining colony of Urras despite its so-called freedom, since it cost them less to trade, than to dig the minerals themselves. In a way, the Urrasti "allowed" Anarres to be free. This represented a humiliating fact to some Anarresti and there is still debate about the trade.

1.3.15. Contradictions Within Anarresti Society

On a planet without a center, it is obvious even to a visitor that Abbenay has become an informal one leading the society towards centralization. Also, the PDC has through time become somewhat of a bureaucratic machine that people feel detached from. "The PDC is, by now,

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[179] Ibid., 65.

basically an archist bureaucracy."[180] When properly conceived, the Anarresti society is a perpetual revolution, but it stopped changing and stopped wanting to change. The Anarresti have stopped educating the children for free thought and began to educate them moralistically, dogmatically, authoritarianly, say some Anarresti: "Kids learn to parrot Odo's words as if they were *laws - the* ultimate blasphemy!"[181] Other internal contradictions have to do with the nature of relationships. Not all relationships on Anarres are very Odonian. For instance, some are not relationships of mutual aid and solidarity, but are in turn completely infused with hierarchy – an implicit hierarchy – and even though there isn't a power structure per say, there *is* power and certain individuals still use it to their advantage.

Shevek's leaving and returning from Urras has started the necessary continuing of the perpetual revolution the philosophy of Laia Odo assumes and demands. As all societies often do, the Anarresti society has fallen into the trap of conservatism and the tendency to perceive their society as static. Shevek has open up the debate on the changes many Anarresti feel are much needed in order to simultaneously stay true to their society and continue its necessary evolution.

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[180] Ibid., 224.
[181] Ibid., 226.

Conclusion

Anarchism has largely been a victim of misrepresentation and condemned to an incoherent and contradictory existence of little analytical power whose name was too often used to describe variations of libertarian thought which had little in common with the actual ideology of anarchism. In the first section of this paper, I have tried to "set the record straight" by tapping into a position presented in *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* by Lucien van der Walt and Michael Schmidt. According to this view anarchism is a libertarian socialist doctrine which is inherently anti-capitalist, anti-landlordist and anti-statist aimed at achieving full individual liberty, in the positive and negative sense, balanced with societal obligations within the framework of a free, egalitarian, classless, stateless, lawless society, democratically self-managed from bellow.

In the second part of the paper I have dealt with the concept of culture, its etymological roots and its ambiguous status within many disciplines. I have connected Raymond Williams's definition of culture as a way of life and Geertz's definition of culture as a set of symbolic devices for controlling behavior with Althusser's concept of ideology as a mechanism for the reproduction of the existing relations of production and for the constituting of specific subjects. Through the workings of ideological patterns, i.e. through the construction of ideologies, which are part of wider cultural patterns, man makes himself a political animal and shapes his world out of infinite possibilities provided by his plasticity choosing only one. I end the section by inferring that a synthesis of the views of human nature expressed by Aristotle, Geertz and

Althusser results in the following: there is no man without politics, there is no man without ideology, there is no culture without ideology, there is no man without culture.

By drawing a line from Althusser's concept of ideology, to the combination of Geertz's and Williams's concepts of culture and back, I have created a circle and inserted it into the work of Ursula Le Guin in the final section of the paper. I have attempted to answer the question: "Can anarchism be viewed as a culture?" In order to answer that question I have created a fictive ethnographic account of an imaginative people based on a literary work, which was in turn largely based on the principles of the broad anarchist tradition. Since the novel was written very thickly, I chose to extract the underlying meanings and structures of the Anarresti society from it and present them in a more systematic form. By providing such an ethnographic account I was able to show from the architectural design and symbolic system of the Anarresti that all of the core ideas and principles of anarchism were not only largely present in Anarresti society, but that they also largely defined the structure of that society. Furthermore, I was able to show that an ideology can in fact, when given the opportunity to inhabit a real societal realm unrestricted by other ideologies thus ensuring complete hegemony, become an Ideology capable of creating subjects of a specific individuality and through the multilayerdness of its existence transform itself into a culture.

In the process of answering the question whether anarchism can be viewed as a culture I have drawn from many disciplines, continuing the tradition of cultural studies dedicated to blurring the dividing lines between disciplines and tried to integrate the knowledge into an interdisciplinary view of anarchism I proposed in the last section of this paper – a view of anarchism as a culture – an organized set of symbols and meanings governing human behavior in

the form of inherently anarchist cultural patterns determining the (way of) life of society's members as an anarchist one.

The answer to the question whether anarchism can be viewed as a culture is determined by the possibility of anarchism and not its essence, mirroring Geertz's view on man and culture: "(…) we all begin with the natural equipment to live a thousand kinds of life but end in the end having lived only one,"[182] determined by a set of symbolic devices for controlling behavior – a (lived) culture – which provides "the link between what men are intrinsically capable of becoming and what they actually, one by one, in fact become."[183] If any answer to the posed question was reached during the conducting of this experiment, simplified it is as follows: "Yes, anarchism can be viewed as a culture, at least imaginatively so." It is its possibility, and not its essence.

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[182] Clifford Geertz, "The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man," in *New Views of Man*, ed. John R. Platt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 17, accessed March 17, 2016, http://academic.regis.edu/rlumpp/PDF files/Geertz _ Impact of Culture.pdf.

[183] Clifford Geertz, "The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man," in *New Views of Man*, ed. John R. Platt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 26, accessed March 17, 2016, http://academic.regis.edu/rlumpp/PDF files/Geertz _ Impact of Culture.pdf.

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