

# Anarchism

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*For a topical guide to this subject, see outline of anarchism.*

**Anarchism** is a political philosophy encompassing theories and attitudes which consider the state, as compulsory government, to be unnecessary, harmful, and/or undesirable, and promote the elimination of the state or anarchy.<sup>[1][2]</sup> Specific anarchists may have additional criteria for what constitutes anarchism, and they often disagree with each other on what these criteria are. According to *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, "there is no single defining position that all anarchists hold, and those considered anarchists at best share a certain family resemblance."<sup>[3]</sup>

There are many types and traditions of anarchism, not all of which are mutually exclusive.<sup>[4][5][6]</sup> Anarchism is usually considered to be a radical left-wing ideology,<sup>[7]</sup> and much of anarchist economics and anarchist legal philosophy reflect anti-statist interpretations of communism, collectivism, syndicalism or participatory economics; however, anarchism has always included an economic and legal individualist strain,<sup>[8]</sup> with that strain supporting an anarchist free-market economy and private property (like classical mutualism or today's anarcho-capitalism and agorism).<sup>[9][10][11][12]</sup> Others, such as panarchists and anarchists without adjectives, neither advocate nor object to any particular form of organization as long as it is not compulsory. Some anarchist schools of thought differ fundamentally, supporting anything from extreme individualism to complete collectivism.<sup>[2]</sup> The central tendency of anarchism as a social movement is represented by communist anarchism, with anarcho-individualism being primarily a philosophical/literary phenomenon.<sup>[13]</sup> Some anarchists fundamentally oppose all forms of coercion, while others have supported the use of some coercive measures, including violent revolution and terrorism, on the path to anarchy.<sup>[14]</sup>

The term *anarchism* derives from the Greek ἀναρχος, *anarchos*, meaning "without rulers",<sup>[15][16]</sup> from the prefix ἀν- (*an-*, "without") + ἀρχή (*archê*, "sovereignty, realm, magistracy")<sup>[17]</sup> + -ισμός (*-ismos*, from a stem -ιζειν, *-izein*). There is some ambiguity with the use of the terms "libertarianism" and "libertarian" in writings about anarchism. Since the 1890s from France,<sup>[18]</sup> the term

Part of the Politics series on

## Anarchism



### Schools of thought

Agorism • Buddhist • Capitalist  
 Christian • Collectivist • Communist  
 Crypto-anarchism • Feminist  
 Free market • Green  
 Heathian • Individualist  
 Infoanarchism • Insurrectionary  
 Leftist • Mutualist • Pacifist  
 Pananarchist • Philosophical  
 Platformist • Post-anarchist  
 Post-colonial • Post-left  
 Primitivist • Social • Syndicalist  
 Vegan • Without adjectives • Zen

### Theory • Practice

Anarchy • Black bloc  
 Class struggle • Communes  
 Consensus democracy  
 Decentralization • Deep ecology  
 Direct action • Direct democracy  
 Dual power • Especifismo  
 Horizontalidad • Illegalism  
 Individual reclamation • Law  
 Participatory politics  
 Permanent Autonomous Zone  
 Prefigurative politics  
 Private defense agency  
 Propaganda of the deed  
 Refusal of work • Rewilding

"libertarianism" has often been used as a synonym for anarchism and was used almost exclusively in this sense until the 1950s in the United States;<sup>[19]</sup> its use as a synonym is still common outside the U.S.<sup>[20]</sup> Accordingly, "libertarian socialism" (a term that also includes non-anarchist philosophies) is sometimes used as a synonym for socialist anarchism,<sup>[21][22]</sup> to delineate it from "individualist libertarianism" (individualist anarchism). On the other hand, some use "libertarianism" to refer to individualistic free-market philosophy only, referring to free-market anarchism as "libertarian anarchism."<sup>[23][24]</sup>

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## Origins

Some claim anarchist themes can be found in the works of Taoist sages Laozi<sup>[25]</sup> and Zhuangzi. The latter has been

Social ecology  
Spontaneous order

### Issues

Anarcho-capitalism • Animal rights  
Capitalism • Criticisms • Islam  
Lifestylism • Marxism • Nationalism  
Orthodox Judaism • Religion  
Violence

### History

1999 WTO Conference protest  
Amakasu Incident  
Anarchist Catalonia  
Anarchist Exclusion Act  
Anarchy in Somalia  
Australian Anarchist Centenary  
Barcelona May Days  
Carnival Against Capitalism  
Dallas Accord  
Escuela Moderna • Hague Congress  
Haymarket affair  
High Treason Incident  
Congress of Amsterdam  
Kate Sharpley Library  
Kronstadt rebellion  
Labadie Collection • LIP  
Ludwig von Mises Institute  
*Manifesto of the Sixteen*  
May 1968 • May Day  
Paris Commune  
Provo • Red inverted triangle  
Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine  
Spanish Revolution  
Third Russian Revolution  
Tragic Week • Trial of the thirty

### Culture

Anarcho-punk • Arts  
Black anarchism • Culture jamming  
DIY culture • Freeganism  
Independent Media Center  
Infoshop • *The Internationale*  
Jewish anarchism • Land and liberty  
Lifestylism • Popular education  
Property is theft!

translated, *"There has been such a thing as letting mankind alone; there has never been such a thing as governing mankind [with success],"* and *"A petty thief is put in jail. A great brigand becomes a ruler of a State."*<sup>[26]</sup> Diogenes of Sinope and the Cynics, and their contemporary Zeno of Citium, the founder of Stoicism, also introduced similar topics.<sup>[25][27]</sup>

Modern anarchism, however, sprang from the secular or religious thought of the Enlightenment, particularly Jean-Jacques Rousseau's arguments for the moral centrality of freedom.<sup>[28]</sup> Although by the turn of the 19th century the term "anarchist" had an entirely positive connotation,<sup>[29]</sup> it first entered the English language in 1642 during the English Civil War as a term of abuse used by Royalists to damn those who were fomenting disorder.<sup>[29]</sup> By the time of the French Revolution some, such as the *Enragés*, began to use the term positively,<sup>[30]</sup> in opposition to Jacobin centralisation of power, seeing "revolutionary government" as oxymoronic.<sup>[29]</sup> From this climate William Godwin developed what many consider the first expression of modern anarchist thought.<sup>[31]</sup> Godwin was, according to Peter Kropotkin, "the first to formulate the political and economical conceptions of anarchism, even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his work",<sup>[25]</sup> while Godwin attached his anarchist ideas to an early Edmund Burke.<sup>[32]</sup> Instead, Benjamin Tucker credits Josiah Warren, an american who promoted stateless and voluntary communities where all goods and services were private, with being "the first man to expound and formulate the doctrine now known as Anarchism."<sup>[33]</sup>

The first to describe himself as an anarchist was Pierre-Joseph Proudhon,<sup>[29]</sup> which led some to call him the founder of modern anarchist theory.<sup>[34]</sup> Proudhon proposed spontaneous order, whereby organization emerges without central authority, a "positive anarchy" where order arises when everybody does "what he wishes and only what he wishes"<sup>[35]</sup> and where "business transactions alone produce the social order."<sup>[36]</sup> Like Godwin, Proudhon opposed violent revolutionary action. He saw anarchy as "a form of government or constitution in which public and private consciousness, formed through the development of science and law, is alone sufficient to maintain order and guarantee all liberties. In it, as a consequence, the institutions of the police, preventive and repressive methods, officialdom, taxation, etc., are reduced to a minimum. In it, more especially, the forms of monarchy and intensive

Radical cheerleading  
Radical environmentalism  
Squatting • Symbolism  
Terminology • A las barricadas

#### Economics

Agorism • Capitalism • Collectivism  
Communism • Co-operatives  
Counter-economics • Free market  
Free school • Free store  
Geolibertarianism • Gift economy  
Market abolitionism • Mutual aid  
Mutualism • Participatory economics  
Really Really Free Market  
Self-ownership • Syndicalism  
Wage slavery  
Workers' self-management

#### By region

Africa • Austria-Hungary • Brazil  
Canada • China • Cuba • England  
France • Greece • India • Ireland  
Israel • Italy • Japan • Korea  
Mexico • Poland • Russia • Spain  
Sweden • Turkey • Ukraine  
United States • Vietnam

#### Lists

Anarcho-punk bands • Books  
Communities • Fictional characters  
Jewish anarchists • Musicians  
Organizations • Periodicals • Poets  
Russian anarchists

#### Related topics

Anti-capitalism • Anti-communism  
Anti-consumerism • Anti-corporatism  
Anti-fascism • Anti-globalization • Antimilitarism  
Anti-statism • Anti-war • Autarchism  
Autonomism • Labour movement  
Left communism • Libertarianism  
Libertarian perspectives on revolution  
Libertarian socialism  
Situationist International

 **Anarchism Portal**

centralization disappear, to be replaced by federal institutions and a pattern of life based on the commune."<sup>[37]</sup>

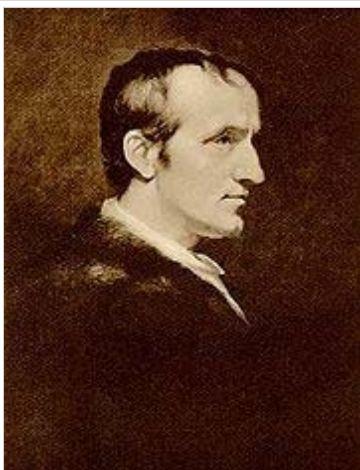
By "commune", Proudhon meant local self-government or

according to literal translation, "municipality", rather than a communist arrangement.<sup>[38]</sup> Proudhon's famous declaration that "Property is Theft!," along with his less famous declaration that "Property is Liberty,"<sup>[39][40]</sup> inspired different anarchist economic models throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Politics portal

## Schools of thought

Anarchist schools of thought had been generally agrouped in two main historical traditions, individualist and collectivist ones, which have some different origins, values and evolution.<sup>[41]</sup> The individualist wing of anarchism emphasises negative liberty, i.e. opposition to state or social control over the individual, while those in the collectivist wing emphasise positive liberty to achieve one's potential and argue that humans have needs that society ought to fulfill, "recognizing equality of entitlement".<sup>[42]</sup> In chronological and theorical sense there are classical -those created throughout the 19th century- and post-classical anarchist schools -those created since the mid-20th century and after.



William Godwin, usually considered an individualist anarchist, is often regarded as producing the first philosophical expression of anarchism

### Individualist anarchism

Individualist anarchism comprises several traditions<sup>[43]</sup> which hold that "individual conscience and the pursuit of self-interest should not be constrained by any collective body or public authority."<sup>[44]</sup> Individualist anarchism is supportive of property being held privately, unlike the social/socialist/collectivist/communitarian wing which advocates common ownership.<sup>[45]</sup> Individualist anarchism has been espoused by individuals such as Max Stirner, William Godwin,<sup>[46]</sup> Henry David Thoreau,<sup>[47]</sup> Josiah Warren, Albert Jay Nock<sup>[48]</sup> and Murray Rothbard.<sup>[49][50][51]</sup>

### William Godwin

In 1793, Godwin who has often<sup>[52]</sup> been cited as the first anarchist, wrote *Political Justice*, which some consider to be the first expression of anarchism.<sup>[31][53]</sup> Godwin, a philosophical anarchist, opposed revolutionary action and saw a minimal state as a present "necessary evil" that would become increasingly irrelevant and powerless by the gradual spread of knowledge.<sup>[31][54]</sup> Godwin advocated extreme individualism, proposing that all cooperation in labor be eliminated on the premise that this would be most conducive with the general good.<sup>[55][56]</sup> Godwin was a utilitarian who believed that all individuals are not of equal value, with some of us "of more worth and importance' than others depending on our utility in bringing about social good. Therefore he does not believe in equal rights, but the person's life that should be favored that is most conducive to the general good.<sup>[56]</sup> Godwin opposed government because he saw it as infringing on the individual's right to "private judgement" to determine which actions most maximize utility, but also makes a critique of all authority over the individual's judgement. This aspect of Godwin's philosophy, stripped of utilitarian motivations, was developed into a more extreme form later by Stirner.<sup>[57]</sup>

### Egoism

*For more details on this topic, see [Philosophy of Max Stirner](#).*

The most extreme<sup>[58]</sup> form of individualist anarchism, called "egoism,"<sup>[59]</sup> was expounded by one of the earliest and best-known proponents of individualist anarchism, Max Stirner.<sup>[60]</sup> Stirner's *The Ego and Its Own*, published in 1844, is a founding text of the philosophy.<sup>[60]</sup> According to Stirner's conception, the only limitation on the rights of the individual is their power to obtain what they desire,<sup>[61]</sup> without regard for God, state, or moral rules.<sup>[62]</sup> To Stirner, rights were *spooks* in the mind, and he held that society does not exist but "the individuals are its reality" – he supported a concept of property held by force of might rather than moral right.<sup>[63]</sup> By "property" he is not referring only to things but to other people as well.<sup>[64]</sup> Stirner advocated self-assertion and foresaw "associations of egoists" where respect for ruthlessness drew people together.<sup>[46]</sup> Even murder is permissible "if it is right for me."<sup>[65]</sup> Stirner saw the state as illegitimate but did not see individuals as having a duty to eliminate it nor does he recommend that they try to eliminate it; rather, he advocates that they disregard the state when it conflicts with their autonomous choices and go along with it when doing so is conducive to their interests.<sup>[66]</sup> However, while he thought there was no duty to eliminate state, he does think it will eventually collapse as a result of the spread of egoism.<sup>[67]</sup>



19th century philosopher Max Stirner, a prominent early individualist anarchist (sketch by Friedrich Engels).

In Russia, individualist anarchism inspired by Stirner combined with an appreciation for Friedrich Nietzsche attracted a small following of bohemian artists and intellectuals such as Lev Chernyi, as well as a few lone wolves who found self-expression in crime and violence.<sup>[68]</sup> They rejected organizing, believing that only unorganized individuals were safe from coercion and domination, believing this kept them true to the ideals of anarchism.<sup>[69]</sup> This type of individualist anarchism inspired anarcho-feminist Emma Goldman.<sup>[68]</sup> Though Stirner's egoism is individualist, it has also influenced some anarcho-communists.<sup>[70]</sup>



Lysander Spooner

Lysander Spooner, one of the biggest exponents of classic American anarchism. He supported natural law and

## The American tradition

### *Further information: [Anarchism in the United States](#)*

Another form of individualist anarchism was advocated by the "Boston anarchists,"<sup>[68]</sup> American individualists who supported private property exchangeable in a free market.<sup>[71]</sup> They advocated the protection of liberty and property by private contractors,<sup>[72]</sup> and endorsed exchange of labor for wages.<sup>[73]</sup> They did not have a problem that "one man employ another" or that "he direct him," in his labor but demanded that "all natural opportunities requisite to the production of wealth be accessible to all on equal terms and that monopolies arising from special privileges created by law be abolished."<sup>[74]</sup> They believed state monopoly capitalism (defined as a state-sponsored monopoly)<sup>[75]</sup> prevented labor from being fully rewarded. Even among the nineteenth century American individualists, there was not a monolithic doctrine, as they disagreed amongst each other on various issues including intellectual property rights and possession versus property in land.<sup>[76]</sup>

market economy.

[77][78] A major cleft occurred later in the 19th century when Tucker and some others abandoned natural rights and converted to an "egoism" modeled upon Stirner's philosophy.<sup>[77]</sup> Some "Boston anarchists", like Tucker, identified themselves as "socialist" – a term which at the time denoted a broad concept – by which he meant a commitment to solving "the labor problem" by radical economic reform.<sup>[79]</sup> By the turn of the 20th century, the heyday of individualist anarchism had passed,<sup>[80]</sup> although it was later revived with modifications by Murray Rothbard and the anarcho-capitalists in the mid-twentieth century, as a current of the broader libertarian movement,<sup>[68][81]</sup> and the anti-capitalist strain by intellectuals such as Kevin Carson.

## Mutualism

Mutualism began in 18th century English and French labor movements before taking an anarchist form associated with Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in France and others in the United States.<sup>[82]</sup> Proudhon's ideas were introduced by Charles A. Dana,<sup>[83]</sup> to individualist anarchists in the United States including Benjamin Tucker and William Batchelder Greene.<sup>[84]</sup>

Mutualist anarchism is concerned with reciprocity, free association, voluntary contract, federation, and credit and currency reform. According to Greene, in the mutualist system each worker would receive "just and exact pay for his work; services equivalent in cost being exchangeable for services equivalent in cost, without profit or discount."<sup>[85]</sup> Mutualism has been retrospectively characterized sometimes as being economic individualism,<sup>[86]</sup> and other times as ideologically situated between individualist and collectivist forms of anarchism.<sup>[87]</sup> Proudhon first characterized his goal as a "third form of society, the synthesis of communism and property."<sup>[88]</sup>



Mutualist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) was the first self-described anarchist.

## Social anarchism

Social anarchism is one of two different broad categories of anarchism, the other category being individualist anarchism. The term social anarchism is often used to identify communitarian forms of anarchism that emphasize cooperation and mutual aid. Social anarchism includes anarcho-collectivism, anarcho-communism, libertarian socialism, anarcho-syndicalism, social ecology and sometimes mutualism.

## Collectivist anarchism

*Collectivist anarchism*, also referred to as *revolutionary socialism* or a form of such<sup>[89][90]</sup>, is a revolutionary form of anarchism, commonly associated with Mikhail Bakunin and Johann Most.<sup>[91][92]</sup> It is a specific tendency, not to be confused with the broad category sometimes called collectivist or communitarian anarchism.<sup>[93]</sup> Unlike mutualists, collectivist anarchists oppose all private ownership of the means of production, instead advocating that ownership be collectivized. This was to be achieved through violent revolution, first starting with a small cohesive group through acts of violence, or "propaganda by the deed," which would inspire the workers as a whole to revolt and forcibly collectivize



the means of production.<sup>[91]</sup> However, collectivization was not to be extended to the distribution of income, as workers would be paid according to time worked, rather than receiving goods being distributed "according to need" as in anarcho-communism. This position was criticised by later anarcho-communists as effectively "uphold[ing] the wages system".<sup>[94]</sup> Anarchist communist and collectivist ideas were not mutually exclusive; although the collectivist anarchists advocated compensation for labor, some held out the possibility of a post-revolutionary transition to a communist system of distribution according to need.<sup>[95]</sup> Collectivist anarchism arose contemporaneously with Marxism but opposed the Marxist dictatorship of the proletariat, despite the stated Marxist goal of a collectivist stateless society.<sup>[96]</sup>



Anarcho-communist Peter Kropotkin believed that in anarchy, workers would spontaneously self-organize to produce goods in common for all society.

## Anarchist communism

Anarchist communists propose that the freest form of social organisation would be a society composed of self-governing communes with collective use of the means of production, organized by direct democracy, and related to other communes through federation.<sup>[97]</sup> However, some anarchist communists oppose the majoritarian nature of direct democracy, feeling that it can impede individual liberty and favor consensus democracy.<sup>[98]</sup>

In anarchist communism, as money would be abolished, individuals would not receive direct compensation for labour (through sharing of profits or payment) but would have free access to the resources and surplus of the commune.<sup>[99]</sup> According to anarchist communist Peter Kropotkin and later Murray Bookchin, the members of such a society would spontaneously perform all necessary labour because they would recognize the benefits of communal enterprise and mutual aid.<sup>[100]</sup>

Kropotkin believed that private property was one of the causes of oppression and exploitation and called for its abolition,<sup>[101][102]</sup> advocating instead common ownership.<sup>[101]</sup> Kropotkin said that "houses, fields, and factories will no longer be private property, and that they will belong to the commune or the nation and money, wages, and trade would be abolished."<sup>[103]</sup> Kropotkin's work *Mutual Aid* criticized social Darwinism, arguing that cooperation is more natural than competition. *Conquest of Bread* was essentially a handbook on the organization of a society after the social revolution.

In response to those criticizing Kropotkin for supporting expropriation of homes and means of production from those who did not wish to take part in anarcho-communism, he replied that if someone did not want to join the commune they would be left alone as long as they are a "peasant who is in possession of just the amount of land he can cultivate," or "a family inhabiting a house which affords them just enough space... considered necessary for that number of people" or an artisan "working with their own tools or handloom."<sup>[104]</sup> arguing that "[t]he landlord owes his riches to the poverty of the peasants, and the wealth of the capitalist comes from the same source."<sup>[104]</sup>

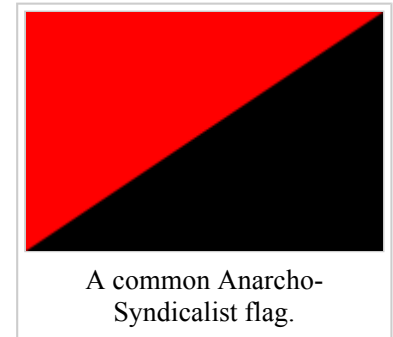
The status of anarchist communism within anarchism is disputed, because most individualist anarchists consider communitarianism incompatible with political freedom.<sup>[105]</sup> However, anarcho-communism does not always have a communitarian philosophy, Some forms of anarchist communism are egoist,<sup>[106]</sup> and are very influenced by radical individualist philosophy, believing that anarcho-communism does not require a communitarian nature at all. Anarchist communist Emma Goldman blended the philosophies of both Max Stirner and Kropotkin in her own.<sup>[107]</sup>

Platformism is an anarchist communist tendency in the tradition of Nestor Makhno, who argued for the "vital need of an organization which, having attracted most of the participants in the anarchist movement, would establish a common tactical and political line for anarchism and thereby serve as a guide for the whole movement."<sup>[108]</sup>

## Anarcho-syndicalism

In the early 20th century, anarcho-syndicalism arose as a distinct school of thought within anarchism.<sup>[109]</sup> With greater focus on the labour movement than previous forms of anarchism, syndicalism posits radical trade unions as a potential force for revolutionary social change, replacing capitalism and the state with a new society, democratically self-managed by the workers.

Anarcho-syndicalists seek to abolish the wage system and private ownership of the means of production, which they believe lead to class divisions. Important principles include workers' solidarity, direct action (such as general strikes and workplace recuperations), and workers' self-management. This is compatible with other branches of anarchism, and anarcho-syndicalists often subscribe to anarchist communist or collectivist anarchist economic systems.<sup>[110]</sup> Its advocates propose labour organization as a means to create the foundations of a trade union centered anarchist society within the current system and bring about social revolution.



An early leading anarcho-syndicalist thinker was Rudolf Rocker, whose 1938 pamphlet *Anarchosyndicalism* outlined a view of the movement's origin, aims and importance to the future of labour.<sup>[110][111]</sup>

Although more often associated with labor struggles of the early 20th century (particularly in France and Spain), many syndicalist organizations are active today, united across national borders by membership in the International Workers Association, including the Central Organisation of the Workers of Sweden (SAC) in Sweden, the *Unione Sindacale Italiana* (USI) in Italy, the CNT and the CGT in Spain, the Workers' Solidarity Movement (WSM) of Ireland, and the Industrial Workers of the World in the United States.

## Anarchism without adjectives

"Anarchism without adjectives", in the words of historian George Richard Esenwein, "referred to an unhyphenated form of anarchism, that is, a doctrine without any qualifying labels such as communist, collectivist, mutualist, or individualist. For others,...[it] was simply understood as an attitude that tolerated the coexistence of different anarchist schools."<sup>[112]</sup> "Anarchism without adjectives" emphasizes harmony among various anarchist factions and attempts to unite them around their shared anti-authoritarian beliefs. The position was first adopted in 1889 by Fernando Tarrida del Mármol as a call for toleration, after being troubled by the "bitter debates" among the different anarchist movements.<sup>[113]</sup> Voltairine de Cleyre,<sup>[114]</sup> Errico Malatesta,<sup>[115]</sup> and Fred Woodworth are noteworthy exponents of the view.<sup>[116]</sup>

## Post-classical schools of thought



Anarchism continues to generate many eclectic and syncretic philosophies and movements; since the revival of anarchism in the U.S. in the 1960s,<sup>[117]</sup> a number of new movements and schools have emerged. Anarcho-capitalism developed from radical anti-state libertarianism as a rejuvenated form of individualist anarchism, it draws from ideas like Austrian School, law and economics or public choice, while the burgeoning feminist and environmentalist movements also produced anarchist offshoots.

Post-left anarchy is a tendency which seeks to distance itself from the traditional "Left" and to escape the confines of ideology in general. Post-leftists argue that anarchism has been weakened by its long attachment to contrary "leftist" movements, single issue causes and calls for a synthesis of anarchist thought, and a specifically anti-authoritarian revolutionary movement outside the leftist milieu. Post-anarchism is a theoretical move towards a synthesis of classical anarchist theory and poststructuralist thought developed by Saul Newman and associated with thinkers such as Todd May, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. It draws from a wide range of ideas including post-modernism, autonomist marxism, post-left anarchy, situationism and postcolonialism.

Another recent form of anarchism critical of formal anarchist movements is insurrectionary anarchism, which advocates informal organization and active resistance to the state; its proponents include Wolfi Landstreicher and Alfredo M. Bonanno.



Temporary Autonomous Zone theorist Hakim Bey is an influential figure in post-leftist anarchist circles.



Murray Rothbard (1926–1995), 20th century progenitor of anarcho-capitalism who asserted that "capitalism is the fullest expression of anarchism, and anarchism is the fullest expression of capitalism."<sup>[118]</sup>

### Anarcho-capitalism

Anarcho-capitalism (or "free market anarchism")<sup>[119]</sup> is "based on a belief in the freedom to own private property, a rejection of any form of governmental authority or intervention, and the upholding of the competitive free market as the main mechanism for social interaction."<sup>[120]</sup> Because of the historically anti-capitalist nature of much of anarchist thought, the status of anarcho-capitalism within anarchism is disputed particularly by communist anarchists.<sup>[121]</sup> Anarcho-capitalists distinguish between free market capitalism – peaceful voluntary exchange<sup>[122]</sup> – from "state capitalism" which Murray Rothbard defined as a collusive partnership between big business and government that uses coercion to subvert the free market.<sup>[123]</sup> Whether in its natural rights-based, contractarian, or utilitarian formulations, anarcho-capitalism has a theory of legitimacy that supports private property as long as it was obtained by labor, trade, or gift.<sup>[124]</sup> In an anarcho-capitalist society, its proponents hold, voluntary market processes would result in the provision of social institutions such as law enforcement, defence and infrastructure by competing for-profit firms, charities or voluntary associations rather than the state.<sup>[125]</sup> In Rothbardian anarcho-capitalism, law (the non-aggression principle) is enforced by the market

but not created by it, while according to David D. Friedman's utilitarian version, the law itself is produced by the market.

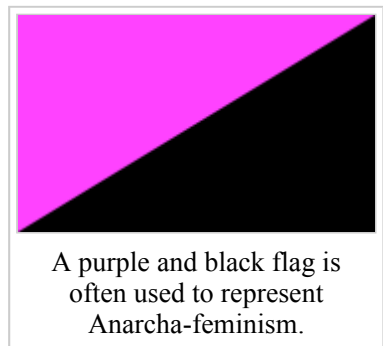
While the term "anarcho-capitalism" was coined by Rothbard and its

origin is attributed to 1960s United States, some historians, including Rothbard himself, trace the school as far back as the mid-19th century to market theorists such as Gustave de Molinari.<sup>[126][127]</sup> Anarcho-capitalism has drawn influence from pro-market theorists such as Molinari, Frédéric Bastiat, and Robert Nozick, as well as American individualist thinkers such as Benjamin Tucker and Lysander Spooner.<sup>[128][129]</sup> Considered a form of individualist anarchism,<sup>[130]</sup> it differs from the individualism of the "Boston anarchists" of the 19th century in its rejection of the labor theory of value (and its normative implications) in favor of the neoclassical or Austrian School marginalist view. Anarcho-capitalist ideas have in turn contributed to the development of agorism,<sup>[131]</sup> autarchism, voluntaryism,<sup>[132]</sup> and crypto-anarchism.<sup>[133]</sup> Some institutes very related to capitalist anarchism are Center for Libertarian Studies and Ludwig von Mises Institute.



### Anarcha-feminism

Anarcha-feminism is a synthesis of radical feminism and anarchism that views patriarchy (male domination over women) as a fundamental manifestation of compulsory government – to which anarchists are opposed. Anarcha-feminism was inspired in the late 19th century by the writings of early feminist anarchists such as Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre, and even Dora Marsden. Anarcha-feminists, like other radical feminists, criticize and advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of family, education and gender roles.



Many anarcha-feminists are especially critical of marriage. For instance, Emma Goldman has argued that marriage is a purely economic arrangement and that "...[woman] pays for it with her name, her privacy, her self-respect, her very life."<sup>[134]</sup> Anarcha-feminists view patriarchy as a fundamental problem in society and believe that the feminist struggle against sexism and patriarchy is an essential component of the anarchist struggle against the state and capitalism. Susan Brown expressed the sentiment that "as anarchism is a political philosophy that opposes all relationships of power, it is inherently feminist."<sup>[135]</sup> There have been several male anarcha-feminists, such as the Anarcho-communist Joseph Déjacque who opposed Proudhon's anti-feminist views."<sup>[136]</sup> Recently, Wendy McElroy has defined a position (she describes it as "ifeminism" or "individualist feminism") that combines feminism with anarcho-capitalism or libertarianism, arguing that a pro-capitalist, anti-state position implies equal rights and empowerment for women.<sup>[137]</sup> Individualist anarchist feminism has grown from the US-based individualist anarchism movement.

### Green anarchism

Green anarchism is a school of thought within anarchism which puts an emphasis on environmental issues. Important contemporary currents are social ecology and anarcho-primitivism. Many advocates of green anarchism and primitivism consider Fredy Perlman as the modern progenitor of their views. Notable contemporary writers espousing green anarchism include the techno-positives Murray Bookchin, Janet Biehl, Daniel Chodorkoff, anthropologist Brian Morris, and people around Institute for Social Ecology; those critical of technology such as Derrick





Murray Bookchin

Murray Bookchin (1921-2006) a pioneer in the ecology movement,<sup>[138]</sup> he founded the social ecology movement within social anarchism and ecological thought.

Jensen, George Draffan, and John Zerzan; and others including Alan Carter,<sup>[139]</sup> and Stewart Davidson<sup>[140]</sup>

Green and black flag of Green Anarchism.

Social ecologists, considered also a kind of socialist anarchists, often criticize the main currents of anarchism for their focus and debates about politics and economics, instead of a focus on eco-system (human and environmental) like they do, this theory promote libertarian municipalism. Anarcho-primitivists often criticize mainstream anarchism for supporting civilization and modern technology which they believe are inherently based on domination and exploitation. They instead advocate the process of rewilding or reconnecting with the natural environment. Veganarchism is the political philosophy of veganism (more specifically animal liberation) and green anarchism.<sup>[141][142]</sup> This encompasses viewing the state as unnecessary and harmful to animals, both human and non-human, whilst practising a vegan diet. Veganarchists either see the ideology as a combined theory, or perceive both philosophies to be essentially the same.<sup>[143]</sup>

## As a social movement

Anarchism as a social movement has regularly endured fluctuations in popularity. Its classical period, which scholars demarcate as from 1860 to 1939, is associated with the working-class movements of the nineteenth century and the Spanish Civil War-era struggles against fascism.<sup>[144]</sup> Also, anarchists were specially active in the abolition of slavery, and have been active in the labor movement, civil rights, women's liberation, both anti-capitalism and pro-capitalism (with varying definitions of capitalism), the anti-war movement, LGBT rights, both anti-globalization and pro-globalization (with varying definitions of globalization), tax resistance, and other forms of anarchist activism.

## The First International

In Europe, harsh reaction followed the revolutions of 1848, wherein ten countries experienced brief or long-term social upheaval as groups carried out nationalist revolutions. After most of these attempts at systematic change ended in failure, conservative elements took advantage of the divided groups of socialists, anarchists, liberals, and nationalists, to prevent further revolt.<sup>[145]</sup> In 1864 the International Workingmen's Association (sometimes called the "First International") united diverse revolutionary currents including French followers of Proudhon,<sup>[146]</sup> Blanquists, Philadelphes, English trade unionists, socialists and social democrats. Due to its links to active workers' movements, the International became a significant organization. Karl Marx became a leading figure in the International and a member of its General Council. Proudhon's followers, the mutualists, opposed Marx's state socialism, advocating political abstentionism and small property holdings.<sup>[147][148]</sup>



In 1868, following their unsuccessful participation in the League of Peace and Freedom (LPF), Mikhail Bakunin and his associates joined the First International – which had decided not to get involved with the LPF. They allied themselves with the federalist socialist sections of the International, who advocated the revolutionary overthrow of the state and the collectivization of property. At first, the collectivists worked with the Marxists to push the First International in a more revolutionary socialist direction. Subsequently, the International became polarized into two camps, with Marx and Bakunin as their respective figureheads.<sup>[149]</sup>

Collectivist anarchist Mikhail Bakunin opposed the Marxist aim of dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of universal rebellion, and allied himself with the federalists in the First International before his expulsion by the Marxists.<sup>[29]</sup>

Bakunin characterised Marx's ideas as centralist and predicted that, if a Marxist party came to power, its leaders would simply take the place of the ruling class they had fought against.<sup>[150][151]</sup> In 1872, the conflict climaxed with a final split between the two groups at the Hague Congress, where Bakunin and James Guillaume were expelled from the International and its headquarters were transferred to New York. In response, the federalist sections formed their own International at the St. Imier Congress, adopting a revolutionary anarchist program.<sup>[152]</sup>

## Organized labor

The anti-authoritarian sections of the First International were the precursors of the anarcho-syndicalists, seeking to "replace the privilege and authority of the State" with the "free and spontaneous organization of labor."<sup>[153]</sup> In 1886, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (FOTLU) of the United States and Canada unanimously set 1 May 1886, as the date by which the eight-hour work day would become standard.<sup>[154]</sup> In response, unions across America prepared a general strike in support of the event.<sup>[155]</sup> Upon 3 May, in Chicago, a fight broke out when replacement workers attempted to cross the picket line. Police intervention led to the deaths of four men, enraging the workers of the city. The next day, 4 May, anarchists staged a rally at Chicago's Haymarket Square.<sup>[156]</sup> A bomb was thrown by an unknown party near the conclusion of the rally, killing an officer.<sup>[157]</sup> In the ensuing panic, police opened fire on the crowd and each other.<sup>[158]</sup> Seven police officers and at least four workers were killed.<sup>[159]</sup> Eight anarchists directly and indirectly related to the organizers of the rally were arrested and charged with the murder of the deceased officer. The men became international political celebrities among the labor movement. Four of the men were executed and a fifth committed suicide prior to his own execution. The incident became known as the Haymarket affair, and was a setback for the labor movement and the struggle for the eight hour day. In 1890 a second attempt, this time international in scope, to organize for the eight hour day was made. The event also had the secondary purpose of memorializing workers killed as a result of the Haymarket affair.<sup>[160]</sup> The celebration of International Workers' Day on May Day became an annual event the following year.

In 1907, the International Anarchist Congress of Amsterdam gathered delegates from 14 different countries, among which important figures of the anarchist movement, including Errico Malatesta, Pierre Monatte, Luigi Fabbri, Benoît Broutchoux, Emma Goldman, Rudolf Rocker, Christiaan Cornelissen, etc. Various themes were treated during the Congress, in particular concerning the organisation of the anarchist movement, popular education issues, the general strike or antimilitarism. A central debate concerned the relation between anarchism and syndicalism (or trade unionism). Malatesta and Monatte in particular opposed themselves on this issue, as the latter thought that syndicalism was revolutionary and would create the conditions of a social revolution, while Malatesta did not consider syndicalism by itself sufficient.<sup>[161]</sup> Malatesta thought that trade-unions were reformist, and could even be, at times, conservative. Along with Cornelissen, he cited as example US trade-unions, where trade-unions composed of qualified workers sometimes opposed themselves to non-qualified workers in order to

defend their relatively privileged position.

The Spanish Workers Federation in 1881 was the first major anarcho-syndicalist movement; anarchist trade union federations were of special importance in Spain. The most successful was the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour: CNT), founded in 1910. Before the 1940s, the CNT was the major force in Spanish working class politics and played a major role in the Spanish Civil War. The CNT was affiliated with the International Workers Association, a federation of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions founded in 1922, with delegates representing two million workers from 15 countries in Europe and Latin America. The largest organised anarchist movement today is in Spain, in the form of the Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT) and the CNT. CGT membership was estimated to be around 100,000 for the year 2003.<sup>[162]</sup> Other active syndicalist movements include the US Workers Solidarity Alliance and the UK Solidarity Federation. The revolutionary industrial unionist Industrial Workers of the World, claiming 2,000 paying members, and the International Workers Association, an anarcho-syndicalist successor to the First International, also remain active.

## Russian Revolution

Anarchists participated alongside the Bolsheviks in both February and October revolutions, many anarchists initially supporting the Bolshevik coup. However, the Bolsheviks soon turned against the anarchists and other left-wing opposition, a conflict that culminated in the 1921 Kronstadt rebellion. Anarchists in central Russia were either imprisoned, driven underground or joined the victorious Bolsheviks. In the Ukraine, anarchists fought in the civil war against Whites and then the Bolsheviks as part of the Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of Ukraine led by Nestor Makhno, who attempted to establish an anarchist society in the region for a number of months.

Expelled American anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were amongst those agitating in response to Bolshevik policy and the suppression of the Kronstadt uprising, before they left Russia. Both wrote accounts of their experiences in Russia, criticizing the amount of control the Bolsheviks exercised. For them, Bakunin's predictions about the consequences of Marxist rule that the rulers of the new "socialist" Marxist state would become a new elite<sup>[150]</sup> had proved all too true.



Anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman opposed Bolshevik consolidation of power following the Russian Revolution (1917).

The victory of the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution and the resulting Russian Civil War did serious damage to anarchist movements internationally. Many workers and activists saw Bolshevik success as setting an example; Communist parties grew at the expense of anarchism and other socialist movements. In France and the US, for example, certain members of the major syndicalist movements of the CGT and IWW left the organizations and joined the Communist International.

In Paris, the Dielo Truda group of Russian anarchist exiles, which included Nestor Makhno, concluded that anarchists needed to develop new forms of organisation in response to the structures of Bolshevism. Their 1926 manifesto, called the *Organizational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists (Draft)*,<sup>[108]</sup> was supported. Platformist groups active today include the Workers Solidarity Movement in Ireland and the North Eastern Federation of Anarchist Communists of North America.

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## Fight against fascism

See also: Anarchism in Italy, Anarchism in France, and Anarchism in Spain



Anti-fascist Maquis, who resisted Nazi and Francoist rule in Europe.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the rise of fascism in Europe transformed anarchism's conflict with the state. Italy saw the first struggles between anarchists and fascists. Italian anarchists played a key role in the anti-fascist organisation *Arditi del Popolo*, which was strongest in areas with anarchist traditions and marked up numerous successful victories, including repelling Blackshirts in the anarchist stronghold of Parma in August 1922.<sup>[163]</sup> In France, where the far right leagues came close to insurrection in the February 1934 riots, anarchists divided over a united front policy.<sup>[164]</sup>

In Spain, the CNT initially refused to join a popular front electoral alliance, and abstention by CNT supporters led to a right wing election victory. But in 1936, the CNT changed its policy and anarchist votes

helped bring the popular front back to power. Months later, the former ruling class responded with an attempted coup causing the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). In response to the army rebellion, an anarchist-inspired movement of peasants and workers, supported by armed militias, took control of Barcelona and of large areas of rural Spain where they collectivized the land. But even before the fascist victory in 1939, the anarchists were losing ground in a bitter struggle with the Stalinists, who controlled the distribution of military aid to the Republican cause from the Soviet Union. According to George Orwell and other foreign observers, Stalinist-led troops suppressed the collectives and persecuted both dissident Marxists and anarchists.

## Internal issues and debates

Anarchism is a philosophy which embodies many diverse attitudes, tendencies and schools of thought; as such, disagreement over questions of values, ideology and tactics is common. The compatibility of capitalism,<sup>[3]</sup> nationalism and religion with anarchism is widely disputed. Similarly, anarchism enjoys a complex relationship with ideologies such as Marxism, communism and capitalism. Anarchists may be motivated by humanism, divine authority, enlightened self-interest or any number of alternative ethical doctrines.

Phenomena such as civilization, technology (e.g. within anarcho-primitivism and insurrectionary anarchism), and the democratic process may be sharply criticized within some anarchist tendencies and simultaneously lauded in others. Anarchist attitudes towards race, gender and the environment have changed significantly since the modern origin of the philosophy in the 18th century.

On a tactical level, while propaganda of the deed was a tactic used by anarchists in the 19th century (e.g. the Nihilist movement), contemporary anarchists espouse alternative methods such as nonviolence, counter-economics and anti-state cryptography to bring about an anarchist society. The diversity in anarchism has led to widely different use of identical terms among different anarchist traditions, which has led to many definitional concerns in anarchist theory.

## See also

- Anarchist symbolism

## Footnotes



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- *Anarchy: A Graphic Guide*, Clifford Harper (Camden Press, 1987): An overview, updating Woodcock's classic, and illustrated throughout by Harper's woodcut-style artwork.
- *The Anarchist Reader*, George Woodcock (ed.) (Fontana/Collins 1977; ISBN 0006340113): An anthology of writings from anarchist thinkers and activists including Proudhon, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Malatesta, Bookchin, Goldman, and many others.
- *Anarchy and the Law: The Political Economy of Choice*, Edward Stringham (Transaction Publishers, 2007; ISBN 1412805791): An overview of the major arguments and historical studies about private property anarchism.
- *Anarchy as Order: The History and Future of Civic Humanity*, Mohammed Bamyeh (Rowan &



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## External links

### General resources

- "An Anarchist FAQ Webpage" – An Anarchist FAQ
- Anarchist Theory FAQ – by Bryan Caplan
- Anarchism Page – faqs, library, resources
- Infoshop.org – Infoshop.org; anarchist news, information, and online library.
- Anarchism.net – a pluralist resource on anarchism

### Biographical and bibliographical

- Daily Bleed's Anarchist Encyclopedia – 700+ entries, with short bios, links and dedicated pages.
- Anarchy Archives – Anarchy Archives; information relating to famous anarchists including their writings.
- KateSharpleyLibrary.net – website of the Kate Sharpley Library, containing many historical documents pertaining to anarchism
- They Lie We Die – anarchist virtual library containing 768 books, booklets and texts about socialist anarchism.
- About Market Anarchism – Molinari Institute; online booklets and texts about market anarchism.

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