

Dimensions of Chinese Anarchism: An Interview with Arif Dirlik

From 1905 to 1930, anarchists exerted a broad influence on Chinese culture and politics. They were at the center of the emerging social radicalism of that period and their activities left a significant mark on later decade's revolutionary movements.

Arif Dirlik is among the few historians writing in English to treat the Chinese anarchist movement, which he has chronicled and analyzed in several works, most notably his *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*. He has also written numerous explorations of contemporary problems in radical politics and theory.

I spoke with Dirlik on May 19, 1997. I asked him about Chinese anarchism, his experience as a radical social theorist in the university, and the future of his work.

~ Chuck Morse

*Most histories of anarchism begin by establishing the principles of anarchism and then narrate the lives of those who embraced these principles. You chose a different approach in *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*. You describe the Chinese anarchists as both subjects and objects – products and shapers – of the larger revolutionary process in China, and your book traces the dialectic between the anarchists and this process. Why did you choose this form of exposition? Is there something about the Chinese anarchists that makes this necessary or does it reflect larger methodological commitments?*

It's the latter. I believe in approaching concepts, theories, or political orientations historically. While some kind of notion of what one

means by these concepts is necessary for analysis, establishing first principles tends to dehistoricize the approach to them. In other words, you establish first principles – as if they were true everywhere at all times – and then begin to analyze people in terms of those principles. This leads to ahistorical judgments, in my opinion, on “who is or isn't a true anarchist” or “who is or isn't a true Marxist?”

It leads inevitably to unproductive questions of orthodoxy – unproductive both intellectually and politically. This also results in certain kinds of sectarianism, since it leads to a question of truthfulness rather than historical variation. So, this didn't have anything to do with Chinese anarchism per se, but rather my approach to intellectual history and concepts.

*Unlike Peter Zarrow in *Anarchism and Chinese Political Culture*, you de-emphasize the role of Daoism and Buddhism in the constitution of Chinese anarchism. Why is this?*

There is a methodological problem here ... There has been a long-standing tendency – I'm tempted to call it an Orientalist tendency even – to attribute everything new in China to Chinese tradition, which is another way of saying that there is never anything significantly new in China, anything that cannot be explained in terms of the past.

I have been a critic of this tradition in Chinese historiography. I believe that Chinese society was as subject to change as any other society, whether or not we are willing to recognize it. So, I was hesitant, therefore, to attribute the emergence of

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IAS GRANT AWARDS

The IAS awards an annual total of \$6000 in grants to writers whose work is important to the anarchist critique of domination, exhibit a clear financial need, and whose piece is likely to receive wide distribution. On June 15, 1997, the IAS Board of Directors was pleased to award grants to the following individuals:

\$1000 to Zoe Erwin and Brian Tokar for the production of *Engineering Life: A People's Guide to Biotechnology*. This anthology of essays will bring a comprehensive and radical

perspective to current debates on biotechnology. It will emphasize the urgent need for an activist response to biotechnology and that efforts against it must also challenge larger structures of social domination.

\$500 to Frank Adams for the essay, *The Educational Ideas and Management Practices of 19th and 20th Century Anarchists in Labor-Owned Cooperatives*. This essay will explore the practical educational efforts made by anarchists

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**PERSPECTIVES - ON
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Institute for Anarchist Studies Update

In the last issue of *Perspectives* I introduced the Institute for Anarchist Studies and our goal to encourage the development of radical social criticism and ideals of freedom. I am pleased to report that we have pursued this goal vigorously and even expanded our activities in small, but significant ways.

The IAS has continued to help radical writers produce high quality, critical scholarship with its grant awards. The IAS awarded its second set of grants this July to authors whose projects will examine attempts to build social alternatives and confront urgent, contemporary issues with an anti-authoritarian perspective. It was with pleasure that we provided assistance to these individuals, knowing that our grants will help them afford time and resources that are typically scarce for those who challenge social hierarchies. Likewise, it has been gratifying to see our grants yield concrete results, as previous recipients bring their projects closer to completion. They have worked diligently: Allan Antliff is finishing the last chapter of his book, *The Culture of Revolt: Art and Anarchism in America*. Kwaku Kushindana and Paul Fleckenstein have also nearly completed their essays ("Avoiding New Forms of Repression: An African-American Reply" and "Civic Space and the Anarchist Dream," respectively). And, finally, Murray Bookchin is immersed in exhaustive preparatory research for the second volume of his *Spanish Anarchists*.

We have not only continued to award grants but have also worked to refine our ability to identify and select the most germane and far reaching projects. Specifically, the IAS Board of Directors recently decided to expand the types of work eligible for IAS support. Grants were previously directed toward non-fiction works, although we came to regard this as both an unnecessary restriction and one that could prevent us from supporting an extremely valuable project (for example, the next *Homage to Catalonia*). The IAS Board thus decided to make IAS grants available to all written works, whether they are fiction, non-fiction, poetry, drama, etc..

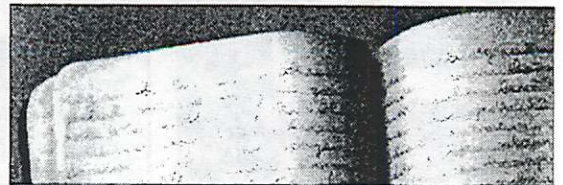
We have also expanded our efforts to encourage dialogue about anarchist scholarship, keep people informed about developments in the field, and publicize the IAS. First, we have added four pages to *Perspectives* in order to provide more in depth news and analysis, particularly longer interviews and "What's Happening" reports. We have also

posted an IAS web site on the Internet. It is our hope that this site will help the IAS reach out to potential grant applicants, supporters, and allies around the world, thus enabling the IAS to embody its internationalist commitments in practice. It is also a cost-effective way to distribute information about the IAS, thus helping us reduce operating expenses to an even smaller percentage of our annual budget. Although we will continue to add IAS literature to the site as it becomes available, you can already download a grant application, read IAS publications, and find links to a variety of useful resources and complementary projects. If you have Internet access, please set aside a few moments and take a look. The address is: <http://members.aol.com/iastudy/Default.htm>.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the IAS's ability to sustain and expand its efforts presupposes the generosity of groups and individuals who value our efforts to support radical scholarship and build a radical social institution. In particular, the IAS must raise \$8500 by January, 1998 to award \$6000 in grants, pay for daily office expenses, and - by placing 10 percent of every donation in the IAS endowment - continue laying the foundation for future generations of dissenting, utopian authors. Please consider making a donation to the IAS if you are not already among those who have generously donated to our 1997 fundraising campaign (see page 11). Contributions are tax deductible for US citizens and, thanks to Perennial Books of Montague, Massachusetts, we are able to offer a selection of exceptional books in exchange for any contribution of \$25 or more (see page 11). This will also entitle you to a 15 percent discount on any item in Perennial's extraordinary catalogue.

The IAS is working hard to help radical authors, encourage dialogue about anarchist scholarship, and build an organization that will be there for the next generation of dissidents. Although our efforts unfold in an era of uncertainty and change, the IAS has emerged as a solid project that is tangibly enriching attempts to confront the challenges of our time with searching critique and radical ideals of freedom.

~ Chuck Morse



Anarchism and the Emma Goldman Papers Project

by Rebecca Dewitt

Archives are an essential resource for radical scholarship and certainly most studies of anarchism would not be possible without them. Most archives are supported by the federal government or universities, while some archives are established by anarchists as self-consciously radical projects. Anarchist run archives are less numerous but they tend to more accurately preserve the history of anarchism because they function from anarchist principles, whereas archives that collect anarchist material but do not function from anarchist principles tend to misrepresent anarchist history. The Emma Goldman Papers Project (EGPP) focuses exclusively on an anarchist figure esteemed, quoted, and upheld by the anarchist community, but nonetheless does not embrace anarchist principles. The EGPP provides a good illustration of the problems that occur when an archive of anarchist material is run in a non-anarchist manner.

a shoebox. In the 1970's, Candace Falk and her dog, Red Emma, were visiting a friend's guitar shop when he offhandedly mentioned a shoebox he'd found full of love letters from Ben Reitman to Emma Goldman. This discovery eventually led to the publication of Falk's book *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman*, which Falk hoped would "inscribe a more complete picture of her [Goldman] into the historical record."¹ As a result of the book, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission of the National Archives (a federal agency) asked her to oversee the task of collecting Goldman's writings for archival purposes. Over a twelve-year period, Falk and others collected correspondence, writings, and government documents to establish the EGPP at the University of Berkeley.

The collection is mainly structured around Goldman's correspondence with radical figures and, with over 20,000 documents, it is impressive.

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Recommended Reading



We asked two authors to tell us about their favorite books on a vital topic: the relationship between radical social theory and political opposition.

Kathryn Addelson, author of *Impure Thoughts: Essays on Philosophy, Feminism and Ethics* (Temple, 1992) and *Moral Passages: Toward a Collectivist Moral Theory* (Routledge, 1994) writes: "Anarchism is a philosophy of how we might live in freedom and respect, and practically transform everyday life in the face of opposition. For this reason, I like Ursula LeGuin's *The Dispossessed* (Avon, 1974).

The novel tells the story of two worlds: Anares, the arid planet where exiled Odonians put anarchism into practice; and Urras, the parent globe that includes a capitalist democracy among its hostile states. Shevek, a brilliant physicist from

Anares, makes the trip to Urras. There we see the anarchist and capitalist democratic societies, the conflicts and resistances, and the failings and successes as they emerge in practice, not merely theory. LeGuin imagines the anarchist society in detail, helping us see an anarchist life inside a capitalist democracy.

Another book, *Images for Change: The Transformation of Society* by Rosemary Luling Haughton (Paulist Press, 1997), suggests we see our world and communities as homes and suggests ways we might change these homes. Haughton and others have spent years putting imagination into practice through community organizing at Wellspring House in Gloucester, Massachusetts. Her earlier book, *Song in a Strange Land* (Templegate, 1990), tells of those experiments and how opposition was overcome. The

basic politics of Wellspring House is called 'hospitality' and resembles the politics of Anares where there is no property and people's needs are filled in common. As when Shevek arrives among the 'propertarians' of Urras he tells them, 'I come like a good Odonian, with empty hands.' They must care for him with 'hospitality', not by profit or exchange."

L. Susan Brown, author of *The Politics of Individualism: Liberalism, Liberal Feminism and Anarchism* (Montreal: Black Rose, 1993) writes: "A dear friend and former teacher of mine, Luiz Costa-Pinto, once said, 'If violence is the midwife of history, then it is ideas that make history pregnant.' This statement captures the relationship between ideas and action for me: meaningful political

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KATE SHARPLEY LIBRARY

The Kate Sharpley Library is an extraordinary archive. Named in honor of a WWI anarchist and anti-war activist, it holds what is probably the largest collection of anarchist material in England. Their collection includes several thousand pamphlets, books, newspapers, journals, posters, flyers, unpublished manuscripts, monographs, and essays in over 20 languages, covering the history of the anarchist movement over the last century.

For example, the KSL possesses detailed reports from the IWA (AIT/IAA), the Anarchist Federation of Britain (1945-50), the Syndicalist Workers Federation (1950-79) as well as records from anarchist publishing houses such as Cienfuegos Press, ASP, and others. Newspapers include near complete sets of *Freedom*, *Spain and the World*, *Direct Action*, *Black Flag*, and countless others dating back 100 years. The Library also has a sizeable collection of libertarian socialist and council communist material.

You can help the KSL expand their collection. Please add them to your mailing list if you are active in an anarchist group or publish anarchist material. Also, please consider donating any suitable material you might have. It will be welcome and can be collected.

If you would like to use their facilities or donate material, please contact the KSL at: Kate Sharpley Library, BM Hurricane, London, WC1N 3XX, UK. Their web address is: <http://members.aol.com/wellslake/Sharpley.htm>

CONTACTS AND ADDRESSES

Anarchist Studies
White Horse Press,
1 Strond, Isle of Harris,
HS5 3UD, Scotland
Web: <http://www.ericademon.co.uk/AS.html>

AK Press
P.O. Box 40682,
San Francisco, CA
94140-0682
Web: <http://www.akpress.org/>

Black Crow Books
PO Box 414, Station E,
Toronto, Ontario,
M6H 4E3, Canada
Web: <http://www.web.net/~blcr/>

Cassell Academic:
P.O. Box 605
Herndon, VA 22172;
Web: <http://www.bookshop.co.uk/cassell/default.htm>

E.G. Smith Distribution
P.O. Box 82026
Columbus, Ohio, 43202
Web: <http://www.infinet.com/~egsmith/welcome.html>

Freedom Press
84B, Whitechapel High St.,
London E1 7QX, U.K.

Protocol Press
4722 Baltimore Ave.,
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Social Anarchism
2743 Maryland Avenue,
Baltimore, MD 21218
Web: <http://www.nothingness.org/sociala/>

Visions of Freedom
Collective
P.O. Box, 13,
Enmore 2042, Australia
Web: <http://www.cat.org.au>

What's Happening: Books & Events

Colin Ward and Murray Bookchin, two of the most distinguished anarchist authors of the second half of this century, continue to enrich radical politics and critique. Ward, author of *Anarchy in Action* (Freedom Press, 1973) as well as numerous other works, has recently published *Reflected in Water: A Crisis of Social Responsibility* (£12.99, Cassell Academic). This book provides an "account of the immense social issues raised locally and globally by our universal need for water, and of the various water crises now facing the world." The political dimensions of Bookchin's social ecology are elaborated by Janet Biehl in *The Politics of Social Ecology: Libertarian Municipalism* (Black Rose Books, \$19.99). This work focuses on the historical and philosophical context of libertarian municipalism and practical questions pertinent to building a libertarian municipalist movement. An extensive interview with Bookchin is also included. In addition, many of Bookchin's essential writings are collected in the *Murray Bookchin Reader*. This work, edited and introduced by Janet Biehl, is soon-to-be released by Cassell Academic (£15.99). Also, stay tuned for the second volume of Bookchin's *Third Revolution: Popular Movements in the Revolutionary Era*.

Attempts to refine a contemporary anarchism continue. In *Twenty-First Century Anarchism: Unorthodox Ideas for the New Millennium* (Cassell Academic, £13.99) Jon Purkis and James Bowen have collected essays that explore issues such as human nature, technology, culture and power, identity, and consumerism. Also included is a glossary of anarchist figures, movements, and events. Sydney, Australia's Visions of Freedom Collective is commemorating the Visions of Freedom Conference held there in 1995 with the production of an anthology of talks given at the conference. This includes Noam Chomsky's "Goals and Visions" as well as essays addressing free speech, the relationship between feminism and anarchism, and other issues. They have also produced a magazine containing a variety of articles, reports, and photographs related the event. Both are available from the Visions of Freedom Collective.

IAS on the Web

- IAS Publications
- Grant Applications
- Helpful Links

<http://members.aol.com/iastudy/Default.htm>

The literature on the history of anarchism is already expansive and it grows with three new books examining fairly specialized dimensions of the movement. These are David Morland's *Demanding the Impossible: Human Nature and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Social Anarchism* (£13.99, Cassell), Michael Forman's *Nationalism and the International Labor Movement: The Idea of the Nation in Socialist and Anarchist Theory* (Penn. State University Press), and Alexander Varias' *Paris and the Anarchists: Aesthetes and Subversives During Fin-de-Siecle* (St. Martins Press). These will be complemented by AK Press's new translation and publication of Daniel Guérin's two volume, documentary history of Anarchism, *Neither God Nor Master* (\$16.95 per volume).



Daniel Guérin *

The Kate Sharpley Library continues to produce work from their collection with the pamphlet "The CNT and the Russian Revolution" by Ignacio Llorens (available from AK Distribution and the KSL). Another pamphlet on the Russian Revolution has just been (re)released by E.G. Smith and AK Press: G.P. Maximov's *Bolshevism: Promises & Reality*. This analysis of the Marxist dictatorship was originally published in 1935 by the Free Society Group of Chicago. Also available is *Degrees of Freedom: Anarchist Essays By and About Jens Bjorneboe*, a noted Norwegian anarchist author (\$4.00 from Protocol Press).

Anarchist journals are still important forums for debating and developing anarchism. *The Raven*, an anarchist quarterly from London, has a new issue out (Number 33) on the arts. Copies are available from Freedom Press. The next issue of *Anarchist Studies*, due out in October, includes articles such as "Kropotkin and Spatial Social Theory: Unfolding an Anarchist Construction" by Shaun Huston and "Max Stirner: The Last Hegelian or the First Poststructuralist?" by Andrew M. Koch. Copies are available from The White Horse Press. The next issue of *Social Anarchism* will be dedicated to the memory of David Wieck and will include, among other things, an article on Ebonics, reading Godwin, and a special symposium on building an anarchist agenda.

* Photo by Sophie Bassouls from Guérin's *The Brown Plague*

Anyone interested in buying anarchist books and meeting anarchist book lovers will want to attend one of the upcoming book fairs. The Sixteenth Annual London Anarchist Bookfair will be held on October 18, 1997 at 10 am in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WCI (nearest tube is Holborn). For more information contact: New Anarchist Review, C/O 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX or send e-mail to m.peacock@unl.ac.uk. The Third Annual Bay Area Anarchist Bookfair will take place on March 28, 1997. More than 50 exhibitors from all over the U.S. will sell radical and anti-authoritarian books, records, posters and tee-shirts, with speakers to be announced. For more info contact: Bound Together Books, 1369 Haight Street, SF, CA 94117 or AK Press.

The 25th Annual Reunion of the Friends of the Ferrer Modern School will be a great opportunity to see old friends and make new ones. It will take place on Sept. 20, 1997 at Brower Commons of Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ. Themes are labor unions and education and art and the Modern School, featuring talks by John Bekken, Allan Antliff, and James Wechsler. For more information and to reserve a buffet lunch (\$11 per person) contact: Friends of the Ferrer Modern School, 200 Sumack Ridge Lane, Altamont, NY 12009; phone 518-861-5544; or email Jscott@atmos.albany.edu. Also, anarchism's influence on the arts from the turn of the century to the present will be the subject of "Anarchism and Visual Culture," a special session at the College Art Association's 86th Annual Conference to be held in Toronto, February 25-28, 1998.

Jura Books, an Australian Anarchist bookstore, is both celebrating its 20th year and relocating, with festivities being planned at the new location: 440 Parramatta Road, PO Box N32, Petersham North NSW 2049, Australia.

The Internet continues to grow as resource for discussion and scholarship on anarchism. The remarkable Anarchy Archives is always expanding, and new additions include various works by Godwin, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Goldman. A completely new section of the site has been created entitled "Bright, But Lesser Lights" featuring material by and about figures such as Ricardo

Flores Magon, Rosa Pesotta, and other less prominent anarchists. Anarchy Archives can be found at http://www.pitzer.edu/~dward/Anarchist_Archives/archivehome.html. Also, the Kate Sharpley Library now has a web site, where you'll find a listing of KSL pamphlets and other publications. The address is <http://members.aol.com/wellslake/Sharpley.htm>. Finally, the Anarchist Archives Project of Cambridge, Massachusetts now has a small web site now at <http://members.aol.com/wellslake/AAP.htm>.

Harold Barclay, author of *People Without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchism*, recently published a collection of 14 essays and book reviews entitled *Culture and Anarchism* (Freedom Press, £6.95).



From Paul Klem's *The Heart of Progress*

Radical struggle is the focus of *The Heart of Progress* by Paul Klem. Composed of 60 "social expressionist, polemical etchings" and accompanied by prose poems, it addresses issues such as technology, pedagogy, race, class, gender, work, and culture. It is available for \$13Can/\$11US/£6UK from Black Crow Books.

The *Rabble Review* is a new magazine providing a voice for ideas and activities of activists, disgruntled workers, anti-authoritarians, corporate resisters, whistleblowers and other assorted malcontents. For a sample copy, send \$4 to P.O. Box 471 VA 22204.

Temma Kaplan, author of *Anarchists of Andalusia*, has a new book out, *Crazy for Democracy: Women in Grassroots Movements* (Routledge), which focuses on women activists in Central and South America. Also, Dennis Sullivan, co-author of *The Struggle to Be Human: Crime, Criminology, and Anarchism* (Cienfuegos Press, 1980) recently helped establish the Institute for Economic and Restorative Justice. The Institute held a conference in June and will also publish a journal, *The Contemporary Justice Review*. For more information contact: The Institute for Economic and Restorative Justice at P.O. Box 262, Voorheesville, NY, 12186.

AFRICAN ANARCHISM

See Sharp Press has just released *African Anarchism: The History of a Movement*. This long awaited work by Sam Mbah and I.E. Igariwey makes a significant contribution to anarchist as well as African history. The authors explain their intentions as follows:

"Though not abundant anywhere, anarchist literature is especially scarce in Africa. This fact, in part, explains why anarchist ideas are not spreading as fast as they should in Africa and elsewhere, in spite of the crisis of state socialism.

"Anarchist development has also been retarded for decades for other reasons, including the theoretical weakness of anarchism. However historically correct anarchist positions might be, without a rigorous theoretical foundation, most workers, peasants and other potential anarchists will remain indifferent to the philosophy. [...]

"It is against this background that we, members of the Awareness League, have elected to trace the relationship between Africa and anarchism. In doing so, we are impelled by a two-fold sense of historical responsibility: to enrich anarchism and anarchist principles with an African perspective, and to carve out a place for Africa within the framework of the worldwide anarchist movement." ~ from the Introduction.

African Anarchism: The History of a Movement is available for \$11.45 (post paid) from See Sharp Press, P.O. Box 1731, Tucson, AZ, 85702-1731. It is also available from AK Press and E.G. Smith Distribution.

ARIF
DIRLIK

Arif Dirlik intended to be a nuclear physicist. Born in Mersin, Turkey in 1940 (or 1941, if you ask his mother) he received his undergraduate degree in engineering and came to America to study science at the University of Rochester.

Shortly after arriving at Rochester, Dirlik decided to abandon the sciences entirely and apply himself to history. He was welcomed into the field by a group of intellectual historians there, who expressed no surprise that he would make such a transition.

It was here that his interest in Chinese history developed, and he completed his dissertation on the origins of Marxist historiography in China. This work was the beginning of a larger investigation into Chinese political thought, particularly the origins of the idea of social revolution in Chinese radical movements. It was also the springboard for his engagement with the Chinese anarchists, which he began to vigorously research in the early 1980's.

In addition to writing numerous books and articles, Dirlik has taught at Duke University since joining their History department in 1971. He is also the father of two sons, one of whom is a graduate student in film and, the other, an aspiring rock musician.

When I asked Dirlik to identify the main influences on his work, he paused for a moment and then cited Marx, Mao, and Dostoevsky. He did not mention an engineer or a physicist.

Dimensions of Chinese Anarchism:

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anarchism, Marxism, or anything for that matter, to some Chinese tradition or another.

The problem is that the Chinese tradition has been used to explain everything, from communism and Maoism to anarchism, and these days it's fashionable to explain Chinese capitalism in terms of tradition. I don't know how valid that is as an explanation, that notion of tradition, when it can explain so many different and contradictory things.

I came to study Chinese anarchism by tracing the origins of this notion of social revolution, and I believe that Chinese anarchism was a *radical, new idea*. There may be Taoist elements in it, there may be Buddhist elements in it, there may even — through Tolstoy — be Christian elements in it: nevertheless, my concern was with the new ideas that anarchism brought into the Chinese intellectual scene, chief among them this idea of a social revolution. So, I think this emphasis explains some of the differences.

Also, we need to make a distinction between the past as a determinant of the present and the past as a reservoir of ideas upon which people can draw to deal with the present. There is no question that some of the Chinese anarchists — Liu Shiwei was the outstanding one among them, and then Shifu — drew on Taoism and Buddhism. However, this is not just the determination or constitution of Chinese anarchism by Daoism or Buddhism, but rather a two way, dialectical process. In other words, the Chinese past is being read in new ways with the help of anarchism and conversely there is a re-reading of anarchism through Taoist and Buddhist ideas. What is important to me is the dialectic, and I stay away from the notion that the Chinese were somehow unconsciously under the sway of this or that tradition that then shaped their readings of anarchism.

You claim that the emergence of Chinese nationalism actually created many of the theoretical and political preconditions for the emergence of Chinese anarchism. This seems contradictory at first glance. How did this happen?

This reflects a particular appreciation of nationalism on my part. While we obviously are concerned with many of the negative manifestations of nationalism, it is a rather radical idea at its origins. It calls for both a new conception of state, a new conception of the relationship between state and society, and a new conception of the political subject as citizen. In that sense, it breaks radically with earlier forms of political consciousness that rested legitimacy in the emperor and rendered the

subjects into passive political subjects, whereas nationalism called for active political subjects. Aside from the question of the citizen, nationalism's notion of the relationship between state and society requires a new kind of accounting for society, both in the sense of who's going to participate in politics, what are the qualifications for participation in politics, and what are the factors that militate against political participation. As I argue in my book, in some ways these changes lead directly to questions of social revolution.

In the case of China, there is another element. There's at least some kind of historical coincidence between the emergence of a nationalist consciousness and a new kind of supra-national utopianism, if you like. It's as if the building of a nation becomes the first task but somehow not the ultimate task; that once the nation has been built and society has been reordered, there would, in the future, be a way of transcending that nationalism.

It's tricky ... I believe I described this as a counterpoint to nationalism. If you recall the parts in the book about Liu Shiwei — and here the differences between anarchists become really important — there's a feeling that nationalism opens up new questions that prepare the ground for anarchism, if you like, but also created new kinds of threats. For example, someone like Liu Shiwei, could see correctly that for all the theoretical despotism of the Imperial State, nationalism promised far greater and far more intensive intrusion in society than had been the case under the imperial state. At this point, anarchism becomes a way of asserting the autonomy of the society against an intrusive nationalist society.

And, while I don't want to generalize too much, this may be a fruitful way of thinking about other circumstances. This notion of nationalism — representing a new kind of politics, raising new questions, calling for new solutions, and playing some part in the emergence of socialism and anarchism — may be relevant to more than China.

Was there something unique about circumstances in China at this time that made Kropotkin — as opposed to other anarchist theorists — most pertinent or influential?

There are probably two reasons. First, Kropotkin's anarchism is thoroughly tied to a program of social transformation and, given the concern among Chinese radicals with the question of social revolution, one can see why they would find Kropotkin more relevant than some of the other anarchists. Another interesting element is the importance of Social Darwinism in Chinese

An Interview with Arif Dirlik

intellectual circles around the turn of the century. Chinese Social Darwinists almost adopted the Euro-American idea that the so-called progressive societies are progressive because they had won in the conflict for survival, and through this there was an element of the new world as a world of competition and conflict, where those who didn't succeed might in fact perish. They were very pre-occupied with the examples of the American-Indians and Africans, and some Chinese were convinced that those two groups, the black and red races as they called them, were doomed to extinction.

So, this called for a strengthening of China to struggle in this new world, but the counter-part to this was a dissatisfaction with this world view based on conflict. And, the discovery of Kropotkin under these circumstances - with his argument that it was not conflict and competition but rather mutual aid that served human progress - served as a significant antidote to this and also resonated with the utopian strain to which I referred earlier.

Kropotkin and Reclus were very important to Chinese anarchists and also quite Eurocentric thinkers, at least in their conception of world history. Did the Chinese anarchists take issue with this or attempt to develop alternatives?

I don't think so. It was really not of much concern to the Paris anarchists. And the form in which Kropotkin and Reclus reached the Tokyo people did not really suggest a Eurocentric interpretation of Asia or China.

Although we are presently very sensitive to questions of Eurocentricism, the Chinese anarchists in Paris were much more down on Chinese traditions than anybody in Europe at the time. These

are people who were calling for a revolution against Confucius. So, if they learned any of this in Europe, they were much more enthusiastic about the repudiation of the Chinese past for its backwardness than Europeans themselves.

In the case of Liu Shipei, who had very high

opinions of Chinese past, I think it was somewhat different. There the influence of Tolstoy may have been quite important. Liu Shipei's objection was not so much to Europe as to a new idea of politics and the idea of economic developmentalism that came with Europeans.

The anarchists took a strong stand against the anti-Manchu racism implicit in the Revolutionary Alliance's arguments against the Manchu government. Was there an attempt to develop an anarchist theory of ethnicity?

I'm not aware of any such attempt. I think they took a stand against anti-Manchu racism because they thought it was a distraction from the whole issue of politics. In other words, it was not the Manchus that were the problem, but the centralized political state system and, to the extent that racism was raised as an issue, it distracted from this more fundamental problem of the state.

Feminism and anarchism have had a difficult and complicated relationship in Europe and America, yet feminism was apparently integral to Chinese anarchism and not even a contentious issue within the anarchist movement. Is there a reason why feminism was so easily integrated into the anarchist movement in China?

I'm going to make a distinction between a concern for women and feminism in answering this question. The description of the Chinese anarchists, including people like He Zhen, as feminists may be somewhat misleading: it fits in with current fashions, but I think the concern was more with the oppression of women and what could be done about it than with a specifically feminist agenda.

The anarchist involvement in the question of women, when we rephrase the problem in that manner, followed almost automatically from their concern with the family as an oppressive institution. They were concerned with that throughout, and I think this brought them to the question of women, which was also a diffuse concern in Chinese society around 1920.

You write that you wanted to facilitate the emergence or re-emergence of a more democratic socialism by recalling and examining the history of Chinese anarchism. Did you also intend to assist in the revitalization or reemergence of anarchism?

When I began working on Chinese anarchism I sensed that there was a renewal of interest in anarchism, in a very broad sense, and I hoped to

Continued on Next Page

ARIF DIRLIK: SELECTED WORKS

Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Schools into Fields and Factories: Anarchists, the Guomindang, and the National Labor University in Shanghai, 1927-1932 (with Ming Chan). Durham: Duke University Press, 1991.

The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism. Boulder: Westview Press, 1997.

After the Revolution: Waking to Global Capitalism. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1994.

Revolution and History: Origins of Marxist Historiography in China, 1919-1937. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

The Origins of Chinese Communism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Chinese Postmodernism (Editor with Xudong Zhang). Durham: Duke University Press, forthcoming.

Critical Perspectives on Mao Zedong's Thought (Editor with Paul Healy and Nick Knight). Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1997.

Asia/Pacific As Space of Cultural Production (Editor with Rob Wilson). Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994.

What Is in a Rim?: Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea (Editor). Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.



Ba Jin, Chinese anarchist and novelist. (Photo: Anarchy Archives)

... *Dirlik Continued*

write this book as a contribution to that. And, by the 1980's the failure of the promise of the Chinese revolution was becoming more and more evident, and I found that anarchism provided an interesting critical perspective on what had gone wrong. Also, to the extent that anarchism is laden with such valuable insights, obviously it is important to revive it and bring it to the forefront of discussions.

You are a unambiguously radical scholar of Chinese revolutionary movements and a full professor at a capitalist university in America, the center of world imperialism. How could you be employed in such a setting? Have you been pressured to deradicalize or depoliticize your work? If not, what does this reveal about the relationship between the university and radical social criticism?

Contradictions (laughs) ... No, I've never been pressured to deradicalize or depoliticize my work. If there's pressure it's indirect; you know, sometimes people say "what do you do?" and I'd say "I'm writing a book on Chinese anarchism" and all they can say is "oh". There's a sense that you are doing something marginal and playing games. That kind of pressure doesn't bother me.

I think I've been lucky. You know, I've had friends who have suffered for being radicals. There have been hints of slight discrimination with regard to salaries and things like that, but I do not know whether to attribute that to the fact that I am a radical scholar or because I'm of third world origin. There may be a number of explanations here.

We forget sometimes that elite universities really need their radicals. Elite universities, committed to giving their students the broadest education possible and making them function in the world, cannot afford to produce narrow ignoramuses who have never heard of Marxism or anarchism. This may be why there's probably more tolerance for radicals in the elite universities than in smaller places. That's what I had in mind when I jokingly said "contradictions."

In some ways, this is the strength of the American education system, in comparison, let's say, to the Chinese education system where if something was politically undesirable it was kept out, with the consequence that you end up with a bunch of people who didn't know anything about the world other than what they've been fed by

way of ideology. We are much more subtle with our controls and, under current circumstances, so long as you are not an activist, there are not serious reprisals.

We have a very intelligent power structure here. For example, about ten years ago somebody came to see me from the CIA. They were looking for students to recruit and were particularly interested in my students, because they figured they would know about Marxism, anarchism, etc., and if you want intelligent analysts you need well informed people who know about these issues. I think that's where the power establishment here differs, say, from the People's Republic of China or the former Soviet Union, where undesirable knowledge will simply be cast aside rather than incorporated into an understanding of the world.

*You just published a book on post-colonialism, **The Postcolonial Aura**. How does this work relate to your studies on Chinese anarchism? Also, please explain your discussion of postcolonialism as post-revolutionary.*

In *The Postcolonial Aura* I tried to raise the question of third world intellectuals. There has been a preoccupation recently with Eurocentricism and the Euro-American oppression of other peoples which sort of sweeps aside the importance of capitalism in shaping the world and how many of those rejected Euro-American values are actually transmitted to the rest of the world through capitalism. It seemed to me, to the extent that capitalism has globalized, it has globalized through the complicity of third world intellectuals, professionals, states, whatever, and, therefore, a critique of power and authority in our day cannot be satisfied with a critique of Eurocentricism or Euro-American domination of the world, but rather must include a criticism of third world intellectuals, professionals, states, power structures, etc.. That's what I seek to do in this work.

As for the post-revolutionary aspect, this grew out of a historical curiosity about the meaning of postcolonialism: we have been post-colonials for some time now, why should postcolonialism gain such currency in the late 1980's? After all, even when we had the radical movements of the 1960's, most third world societies were already post-colonial or clearly becoming postcolonial, and yet there was a sustainable radicalism in those years, unlike the 1980's or 1990's. The question became: What's the difference?

What's happening here? Why are we talking about postcolonialism, all of a sudden, instead of colonialism, domination, and capitalism, etc?

The tendencies that have gained the greatest popularity, in the United States especially, are those which tend towards an obsession with ethnicity, inter-ethnic relations, identity politics, etc., tendencies that question and even deny the possibility of collective identities. To me there is no meaningful political activity, especially revolutionary activity, without the sense of a collective identity. It is this undermining of notions of collective identity, combined with the circumstances I referred to earlier, that led me to assert that what we are dealing with was really a post-revolutionary, not just postcolonial, orientation.

How do you see your work developing in the future?

Well, I think any radical has enough reason to be depressed these days: there doesn't seem to be anything happening and radicalism has sort of been hijacked by conservatives and liberals, and rendered into identity politics.

On the other hand, some of the recent work I and others have done indicates that there is a great deal of resistance and protest going on which is not visible in the old ways because it isn't happening in major labor unions or big, visible communist parties, etc.. There are people fighting for their livelihoods, trying to create new social forms from the bottom up. Some of it is dangerous, some can be right wing, but much of this has to do with people's efforts at survival under what's happening with contemporary capitalism. And there is a proliferation of these movements: women's movements, ecological movements, social justice movements. They are happening all over and yet contemporary radicals, such as they are, are unwilling to see them.

These are not movements that you would associate with conventional left (read: Marxist) politics. They are movements from the bottom up. I'm not going to call them anarchist - some are feminist, some are ecological - but if there were anarchist movements going on, they would be something like that. I think it is important to draw attention to these movements and theorize them as much as possible. This is what I'm working through: how to really conceptualize radical movements from the bottom up. ☐

David Wieck: An Anarchist Life

David Thoreau Wieck, an anarchist theorist, educator, and activist, died on July 1, 1997 in Albany, New York.

I met David 33 years ago, four years after he started teaching philosophy at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York. I had no idea who he really was. He was just my professor in "Logic and Argument," an introduction to logical analysis. He would come into class looking neat, hair combed back and shirt tucked into his pants. But not long into class, he was drawing his hands through his hair, and twisting with such excitement, that his shirt would be out of his pants and his hair would go in all directions. I had never met anyone who was so involved in his teaching--and this was about logic, not politics, remember!

David was born in 1921, to parents who themselves were notable activists of their day. His mother, about whom David wrote an unusually insightful memoir, *Woman from Spillertown: A Memoir of Agnes Burns Wieck*, was known as "the Mother Jones of Illinois" for her work as a labor organizer. David's own principles eventually led him into jail for 34 months as a conscientious objector during W.W.II. As he told it, there "I learned the methods of non-violent resistance and ... what a hunger-strike is like by fasting for ten days in support of other C.O.'s."

After the war David returned to New York City to join the editorial board of *Why?*, soon to become *Resistance*, on which he played the leading role until it ceased being published in 1954. This publication provided a crucial voice and support for many people, including Paul Goodman before he became famous in his own right. Another member of *Why?*'s editorial board, even before David, was Diva Agostinelli, whose life is a good story itself, including a family heritage of other anarchists. To David she was also "my life-partner."

In 1958 David returned to Columbia University, his alma mater of 1941, to earn a Ph.D. in philosophy and came to Rensselaer to teach. David did not draw a line between theory and practice, between an intellectual life and an activist life. As he himself pointed out in his famous little piece, "The Habit of Direct Action": "the important distinction is between talk that it is mere moral assertion or propositional argument, and talk (in fact: direct action) which conveys a feeling, an attitude relevant to the desired end." David was always challenging his students and friends alike to

think more clearly and deeply about everything they thought and did.

He had a way of drawing humor out of people as well. It was his laugh itself, I now realize: so delightful was it to hear, I would do anything to make it happen. And yet he could be intimidating to people at the same time, as they were often so distracted by his penetrating eyes and sharp tongue that they could not hear the twinkle of playfulness in his laughter. He was a truly wonderful person, and the world will sorely miss him.



David Wieck and Diva Agostinelli

David was fond of saying that, as an idea, anarchism is a negativity, because it can tell us what we need to unlearn in order to be free, but it cannot tell us how to use that freedom: anarchism does not impose a certain life on us, it challenges us to make a decent life together, to rid ourselves of all vestiges of the authority of power, political authority. To understand the mutual aid of our own authority of competence, David liked us to picture two sawyers, at either end of a two-person saw, cutting through a tree. For the work we need to do together, David had a special gift of description.

Right up to the end, even though he had suffered from Alzheimer's for several years, David could display his customary insight. One of his caregivers, herself Black, told Diva that David had said to her: "It's not the heritage of slavery that is the problem for Blacks. It is their exploitation today." When the caregiver asked her own companion how he understood David's remark, he replied, "You earn \$4.35 an hour."

~ John Schumacher

John Schumacher is a regular contributor to anarchist publications and the author of *Human Posture: The Nature of Inquiry* (Suny Press, 1989). He lives in Troy, New York.

DAVID WIECK: SELECTED WORKS

Woman from Spillertown: A Memoir of Agnes Burns Wieck, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992.

"The Negativity of Anarchism." In *Reinventing Anarchy: What Are Anarchists Thinking These Days*, ed. H.J. Ehrlich. New York: Routledge, 1979.

"The Habit of Direct Action." In *Reinventing Anarchy: Again*, ed. by H.J. Ehrlich. San Francisco: AK Press, 1996.

"Anarchist Justice." In *Anarchism: Nomos XIX*, ed. J.R. Pennock and J.W. Chapman. New York: New York University Press, 1978.

"Essentials of Anarchism." In *Anarchism*, ed. by R. Hoffman. New York: Atherton, 1970.

"William Empson, Some Versions of Pastoral." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 1, 1960.

"Charles R Metzger, Thoreau and Whitman; A Study of Their Esthetics." *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 2, 1961.



David Wieck in the 1950's.

IAS GRANT AWARDS

... Continued from Page 1

to end the exploitation of their labor by capital. It will examine their accomplishments and failures in order to enhance our ability to organize work wisely, effectively, and in accord with anarchist values.

\$250 to Peter Lamborn Wilson for an introduction to *Freedom - My Dream: The Autobiography of Enrico Arrigoni*. Enrico Arrigoni (a.k.a. "Frank Brand") was an anarchist author and activist of Italian descent who lived in New York from 1924 until his death in 1986. His remarkable life included a stay in Russia during the early years of the revolution, participation in the Spanish Civil War, and a lifelong commitment to anarchism. Wilson's introduction will analyze and introduce elements of Arrigoni's life and work.

\$250 to Mark Bonhert and Richard Curtis for *Post-Industrial Resources: Anarchist Reconstructive Efforts & Visions in the Upper Midwest*. Bonhert and Curtis will write an oral history and analysis of contemporary anarchist efforts to rebuild community in areas of the Midwest devastated by capital flight, urban neglect, and the repression of marginalized people.

If you are interested in applying for a grant, please send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the IAS. You may also download a grant application from the IAS's web site at: <http://members.aol.com/iastudy/Default.htm>

... Goldman Papers Continued

Letters, as many biographers of Goldman have pointed out, were the mainstay of her communication with the world. Correspondents included Alexander Berkman, Rudolf and Milly Rocker, Max Nettlau, Sinclair Lewis, H.G. Wells, Paul Robeson, Agnes Smedley, Eugene Debs, Kropotkin, Margaret Sanger, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and Carlo Tresca. Historical periods covered by these letters span from the Bolshevik revolution in Russia to the Spanish Civil War, while government documents reveal the US government's role in booting her and other anarchists out of various countries.² Overall the EGPP is an invaluable resource that documents not only Goldman's life but also one of the most active periods of anarchist history

The EGPP also has a formidable base of financial support that includes the University of California at Berkeley, the federal government, the Ford Foundation, and well-known individuals such as Howard Zinn, Michelle Shocked, and Gloria Steinem.³ In effect, the EGPP appears to have created an impressive scholarly resource, a niche for itself in the progressive community, and also legitimized Emma Goldman in the eyes of a dominant culture that persecuted her during her time. Unfortunately, a conflict has emerged between the EGPP's goal to preserve the memory of Emma Goldman and the actual result.

To begin, the EGPP's relationship to anarchism has always been a problem. On the one hand, anarchists have attacked it for its lack of radicalism. On the other hand, according to Falk, the EGPP was attacked by the federal government when the "intellectual atmosphere among most federal agencies was hostile to the ideas Goldman championed,"⁴ enough so that its funding was jeopardized in the early eighties. Ironically, the EGPP never seems to have been concerned with or committed to anarchism. Although the EGPP's focus is an anarchist figure, its Director, Candace Falk, described anarchism in her book as an "unattainable political philosophy," an "elusive political vision,"⁵ and ultimately claimed that the impossibility of anarchism was revealed by Goldman's failure to deal with such monstrous things as jealousy. The EGPP celebrates a famous anarchist figure, claims no substantive belief in

anarchism, and accepts financial support from sources such as the federal government and the Ford Foundation. How does the EGPP manage to do justice to the anarchist life of Emma Goldman? Beyond collecting and cataloging historical documents, it cannot, and this becomes more obvious when reading through the middle and high school curriculum the EGPP produced as part of a public outreach effort.

The curriculum was produced with the goal of educating middle and high school students about Goldman and is made up of recommended readings and exercises designed to draw out the implications

of Goldman's beliefs. One exercise asks whether a group of students have had their first amendment rights violated when they are forbidden by the school board to wear black armbands in protest of the Gulf War. Another exercise asks whether a student's first amendment rights have also been violated when he is suspended for making explicit sexual remarks during a nomination speech against his opponent. Both exercises demonstrate a complete misrepresentation of Goldman's ideals. The freedom Goldman fought for is turned into the right to

free speech and, subsequently, advocacy of the first amendment. The second exercise never bothers to mention the anarchist claim that patriarchy would be the cause of sexist behavior.⁶ Goldman and other anarchists never fought for federally guaranteed rights: they fought for freedom.

However, this curriculum is more than just a problematic interpretation of Goldman's life and beliefs. It also shows how the EGPP can collect an impressive array of anarchist documents and at the same time bring a deradicalized image of anarchist history to the larger public. Perhaps this contradiction arises out of funding concerns, given the support the EGPP receives from the federal government and the Ford Foundation (sources that are anathema to anarchist principles but which uphold federally sanctioned free speech). The funding cut in the early eighties certainly shows that an archive is not independent from the larger political climate, especially when money is involved. Whatever the reason, the EGPP is in conflict with its purpose to encourage historical awareness of Goldman because it obscures the radical ideals that shaped her life.

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Emma Goldman

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Micheal Wreszin. *A Rebel in Defense of Tradition: The Life & Politics of Dwight MacDonald* (Basic Books, hardcover, pp. 584). List: \$30.

Pierre Clastres. *The Archeology of Violence* (Semiotext(e), paper, pp. 200). List: \$12.

George Benello. *From the Ground Up: Essays on Grassroots & Workplace Democracy* (Southern, paper, pp. 245). List: \$12.

Marie Flemming. *The Geography of Freedom: The Odyssey of Elisee Reclus* (Black Rose, paper, pp. 245). List: \$16.95.

Martin Blatt. *Free Love & Anarchism: The Biography of Ezra Heywood* (Univ. of Ill., cloth, pp. 207). List: \$26.95.

Colin MacLachlan. *Anarchism & the Mexican Revolution: Political Trials of Ricardo Flores Magon in the U.S.* (Univ. of CA, paper, pp. 172). List: \$11.95.

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... Goldman Papers Continued

On the other hand, archives run by anarchists and for anarchist purposes are built upon the desire to both preserve anarchist history and provide tools for anarchism's development, not herald its demise. In doing so, an anarchist archive embraces anarchism as a living tradition unlike archives that relegate it to the dusty silence of library stacks or misrepresent it. Two examples are the Kate Sharpley Library and Documentation Centre (KSL) in the UK and the Anarchist Archives Project (AAP) in Boston, Massachusetts. Both have close ties with the anarchist movement, draw their support from the anarchist community, and maintain a valuable historical resource without sacrificing the integrity of anarchist history. Because of this, they can provide scholars who are interested in anarchism with a richer historical perspective.

Anarchist archives also create a fuller picture of the history of anarchism than other archives because of their desire to function as both an anarchist project and a historical resource. The KSL specifically attempts to illuminate people and events that the "official historians" of anarchism perpetually leave out. Similarly, the AAP not only preserves the many facets of anarchist history, including critiques of anarchism, but also collects current anarchist material to link the past with the present. Unfortunately, anarchist archives, almost de facto, forego financial stability for adhering to their beliefs and therefore have fewer resources to maintain their collection, to make it widely available, and to make themselves known to the public. Despite these hardships, anarchist archives make the admirable choice to preserve anarchist history in a way that is consistent with anarchist principles.

The decision to ground an archive in the desire to create social alternatives is the right one.

Obviously the EGPP cannot accurately portray anarchist history because of its lack of commitment to radical ideals. This causes the EGPP to misrepresent anarchism and subsequently undermines its goal to encourage historical awareness of Emma Goldman and her anarchist beliefs. It is also clear that the EGPP has very valuable resources and should be used for scholarly purposes. However, the usefulness ends there because the EGPP can provide no guidance for the development of anarchism when it begins from a negation of anarchist principles. For anarchists today, the past is our most direct link to the tangible achievements of anarchism and therefore it is essential for anarchist history to be preserved in a framework of anarchist principles. Otherwise we will lose the historical imperative this history presents to us, not only for radical scholarship but also for our radical ideals.

Archives such as the EGPP have more money to spend than anarchist archives and are thus able to afford state-of-the-art preservation techniques, salaried staff to facilitate access to their collections, and various promotional efforts. Many radicals give their books to archives such as the EGPP out of fear that the poorer, anarchist archives will be unable to preserve their books or make them available to the public. However, we must not forget the anarchist imperative to build alternatives to the present society and to support those who are constructing such alternatives. This imperative demands that we provide both financial support and books to anarchist archives. This will help them expand, maintain, and make available their collections, and most importantly it will make sure that anarchist history is not only preserved but also presented in a way that is consistent with anarchist principles.

¹ Falk, Candace. *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman*. Revised edition. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990. Page xiii.

² Falk, Candace. "Reconstructing The Documentary History Of A Vibrant Life." The Emma Goldman Papers Project. 1994. <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Goldman/Guide/introduction.html> (2 Sept. 1997)

³ "Emma's List." The Emma Goldman Papers Project. 1997. <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Goldman/Emmarabilia/list.html> (2 Sept. 1997)

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Falk, page xiii

⁶ "The Life And Times Of Emma Goldman. A Curriculum for Middle and High School Students: Freedom of Expression." The Emma Goldman Papers Project. 1997. <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Goldman/Curricula/FreeExpression> (2 Sept. 1997)

⁷ The Kate Sharpley Library and Documentation Centre. 1997 <http://members.aol.com/wellslake/Sharpley.htm> (2 Sept. 1997)

RECOMMENDED READING

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action must be based on sound ideas. As an anarchist, I have grounded my political opposition to power and domination in the ideas of writers of radical social theory.

Through *Anarchism and Other Essays* (Dover, 1969) Emma Goldman welcomed me into the anarchist family, showing me how in anarchism, communist and feminist principles could be transformed into a humanism where we all can live in freedom.

The Ethics of Ambiguity (Citadel, 1948) by Simone de Beauvoir showed me how it is possible to base anti-authoritarianism in freedom and still maintain the ability to critique: a freedom which is interested only in denying freedom must be denied. Friedrich Sixel's *Crisis and Critique: On the Logic of Late Capitalism* (EJ Brill, 1988) helped me understand why I couldn't seem to make sense of much of what is 'new' in sociology, politics, and philosophy: despite its supposed allegiance to the left, post-modernism, with its non-sensical, self-referential meta-theories, is both compatible with and essential to the continuation of a capitalism that no longer makes sense itself.

Through these and other books, I have found that I am not alone in my opposition to hierarchy, power and domination; rather, I am in good company when I question the right of the boss, the father, the legislator, the king, the despot and the priest to tell me or anyone else how to live our lives.

The gift of their words has supported me in my on-going struggle for freedom.

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