Interview with Martha Ackelsberg: Anarchist Scholarship and Feminist Critique

Martha Ackelsberg’s book, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women*, tells the story of Mujeres Libres. Formed during the Spanish Revolution, Mujeres Libres was an anarchist, feminist group dedicated to the liberation of women from “their triple enslavement to ignorance, as women, and as producers.” *Free Women* explores the struggles faced by Mujeres Libres as anarchist women and offers insights for contemporary feminism on issues such as community, diversity, empowerment, and autonomy. It makes important contributions to both anarchism and feminism.

I met with Ackelsberg on January 6, 1997, to talk with her about the difficulties of researching anarchist history, her work as a radical social theorist, and feminist perspectives on anarchism.

— Rebecca DeWitt

Was it especially difficult to acquire archival or historical material on the Spanish anarchists as a result of their intense political repression?

It was difficult to meet these women, or find out about them, because my initial informants were men and they really didn’t take gender issues seriously. I don’t think they were being deliberately obstructionist, but they just didn’t think it mattered — they couldn’t get their minds around it.

As for the archives, was a different situation. The archives were created by Franco’s armies and secret police. They took all the documents from places they captured and used them after the war to prosecute people for treason. There was incredible documentation there. When I first went to Spain in the mid-seventies, the archives were still run by the military, so they were not in any order that would have made sense to a historian. They were cataloged by where the materials had been found; thus there was no way of saying, “Okay, we want to find out something on collectivization — which folder do we look at?” No, you had to go through all of it to see what was there. It was a ridiculous research process.

Later, in the early 80’s, I also confronted this post-Franco fear. Lots of people were still very afraid to talk. Franco was only just dead and the political situation in Spain, from their point of view, hadn’t changed that much. From the outside there looked like there had been this incredible transition to democracy, but they looked at it and saw all the same people in power, supposedly democratically elected.

The Mujeres Libres were essentially an anarchist, feminist group. Were the methods you used to research, analyze, and explore the Mujeres Libres structured by similar anti-authoritarian convictions?

I was using the techniques of social and oral history. The whole field of social history that has developed in the last 30 years has been about studying what used to be called marginalized or subordinated groups, e.g. workers, and saying that one can’t look only at official documents, but has to spread a much wider net. People like E.P. Thompson and Hobsbawm really created this field in the 60’s, and

IAS Grant Awards

The IAS awards a total of $6000 annually in grants to writers whose work is important to the anarchist critique of domination, who exhibit a clear financial need, and whose piece is likely to receive wide distribution. On January 11, 1997, the IAS Board of Directors awarded the first IAS grants to the following individuals:

$1000 to Murray Bookchin for the completion of his book, *The Spanish Anarchists*. This new book will complement the first volume, which chronicles the Spanish anarchist movement from 1868 to 1936, by exploring the period from the outbreak of social revolution in 1936 to Franco’s victory in 1939. It will conclude with a discussion of lessons to be drawn from the entire Spanish experience.

$1000 to Alan Antliff for his book, *The Culture of Revolt: Art and Anarchy in America*. This book will clarify the pivotal role played by
Some Comments on the IAS

Welcome to the first issue of Perspectives on Anarchist Theory, the biannual newsletter of the Institute for Anarchist Studies (IAS).

As a new and unusual organization, the IAS deserves some explanation. I will use this article to outline some of our goals and activities.

The IAS was founded in the spring of 1996 to fight for radical, anti-authoritarian scholarship. We are alarmed by the current scarcity of serious, politically committed scholarship on social contradictions and the possibilities of social transformation. We believe it is necessary and possible to revitalize this type of theoretical work, and that this requires the construction of politically engaged organizations dedicated to this purpose.

Thus the IAS was formed to support critical scholarship on social domination and radical ideals of freedom – the two constitutive concerns of anarchist theory. The IAS supports this work in a variety of ways, although we are focused on providing financial assistance to writers. Our assistance takes the form of grants, and we award an annual total of $6000.

We initiated the IAS grant program to ease the economic burdens imposed upon authors who question social hierarchies. While material rewards are generously allocated to writers who justify social domination or shrink from social contradictions, those who struggle to articulate radical ideals are often forced to abandon or dilute their work in order to survive. This, of course, is neither accidental nor a permanent condition of advanced intellectual work, but one way among others that social criticism is suppressed.

Our grants will challenge this. They will give authors some relief from the brutalities of economic necessity and thus help them write pieces that confront the existing order. IAS grants will enable writers to do things such as take time off of work, hire childcare, or purchase a plane ticket to an archive, thus affording them time and/or research materials that would otherwise be unavailable.

This will help writers produce rigorous works that sustain and deepen radical social criticism. For example, this January the IAS awarded grants to Murray Bookchin and Alan Antliff, whose inquiries into anarchist history will help us hold on to the anarchist tradition and engage it more critically. The IAS also awarded grants to Paul Fleckenstein and Kwaku Kushindana, both of whom will subject contemporary affairs to an anti-authoritarian analysis.

However, IAS sponsored scholarship will do more than transform ideals. It will help us build a movement for a free society by generating critical and utopian insights into the mechanisms of social domination, tactics of resistance, and visions of social freedom. It will help us not only expand our understanding of human potentialities but also sharpen and clarify strategies for the realization of these potentialities.

In the future we hope only to intensify and expand the IAS’s activities. In particular, we hope to offer larger grants and initiate new projects, and we are building an endowment to ensure that this can happen and that the IAS can exist for generations. For the short-term, however, we will add four pages to the next issue of Perspectives, post a webpage on the Internet, and we are discussing holding a conference this fall.

The future of the IAS cannot be considered without first recognizing that its existence is the result of a tremendous collective effort made by those who helped build the organization since it was founded last spring. Those who donated to the IAS enabled it not only to give out its first set of grants but also to emerge into a functioning organization. There are many others who may not have contributed financially but generously gave of their time and other resources. Brian Wells Hay deserves special recognition in this regard for helping create the IAS’s elementary legal and tax structure (and for actually comprehending the state’s arcane laws and regulations).

The IAS is only a small part of the movement we must build, but it is an essential part that will help deepen both the critique of the existing order and the vision of a free society. Like all radical projects, its success pivots on one overriding factor: the willingness of large groups of people to fight for radical ideals, radical institutions, and, ultimately, for social freedom.

~ Chuck Morse
Preserving Our Past: The Anarchist Collections
by Jerry Kaplan

In different parts of the world a small number of individuals, groups, and both public and private institutions are actively collecting and cataloging anarchist-related materials. There are also others who have taken on the less exciting but equally essential task of maintaining older, established collections. And, while the motivation for acquiring these materials may vary somewhat for each, there is one thing they all have in common: a recognition of the importance of preserving the ideas and practice of anarchism, as recorded by its adherents, its sympathizers, and even—though opinions may differ on this point—its critics, so that these historical records may be of use to interested researchers and inquirers.

Anarchists have good reason to want their history preserved: so that we can learn what individual anarchists really thought and said without having to rely on another's interpretation; be inspired by their ideas and practice of anarchism, as recorded by its adherents, its sympathizers, and even—though opinions may differ on this point—its critics, so that these historical records may be of use to interested researchers and inquirers.

Anarchists need to apply some black critical thinking, and others, to learn from anarchism's rich history.

The existing collections of anarchist-related materials can be grouped in a variety of ways. What often determines, or at least influences, the size, focus, accessibility, and funding of a particular collection is whether it is independently or institutionally held. As someone responsible for an independently held collection, I find the differences between the two quite significant.

The independent collections are usually the work of one or more anarchists motivated by a personal interest in the anarchist milieu to collect materials and establish and maintain small archival collections. In the US, the Anarchist Archives Project (AAP) in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is an example of this kind of collection. I began working on the project in 1982, and over the last 11 years... continued on page 6
You hoped to strengthen the contemporary feminist movement by using Mujeres Libres as a historical example. Was it also your intention to strengthen — or help develop — a contemporary anarchist movement?

I certainly don't have any objection to doing that. I see a lot of connections between feminism — certainly as it began again in the 70's and some strands of it that have continued — and anarchism. I guess in my rational voice, I don't think that anarchism is the future in the US; it's not like there's a major movement. On the other hand, I think there are insights about authority, organization, and ways of doing things that need to be reclaimed, remembered, and gotten back into the larger understanding of politics and society.

I was also trying to clarify that there is a whole history of anarchism as a transformative social movement that's tremendously important and valuable. I think it's part of the general repression of the Left that we know so little about the anarchist movement in this country. Paul Avrich has certainly done a lot to reclaim that history but there's an enormous amount out there. Anarchists have made tremendous contributions to all kinds of social movements — the labor movement most dramatically — that nobody thinks of as anarchist.

The Mujeres Libres published a journal and organized extensive speaking tours. What do contemporary anarchists have to learn from the Mujeres Libres' engagement with ideas and theoretical work?

The strength of the Mujeres Libres was meeting people where they were at. They were fundamentally a working class movement, and that's a major difference, as I understand it, from most anarchists in the contemporary US. There's a small working class presence, but it's mostly coming out of intellectual circles and college campuses.

Which isn't to say that the Mujeres Libres didn't have theorists, they did, but they were constantly trying to figure out what issues people were dealing with on a day-to-day basis and how to use anarchist theories.

Literacy was a big part of their work. You might say, "What does literacy have to do with anarchism?" Well, literacy was connected with a sense of self-respect: that unless people took themselves seriously and felt they deserved some kind of respect, they were never going to be able to make any kind of impact on the world. So, they spent a large portion of whatever resources they had teaching people how to read.

They were neither propagandizing nor out to teach people anarchist theory. They were out to mobilize people to better their lives, their working conditions, and their world, and they were doing that along anarchist lines. I think they assumed and hoped that over time people would learn from and through this what it means to be in a participatory, relatively non-hierarchical organization as opposed to an organization where everything comes from the top down. It was really leaning through practice rather than theory, and then applying it. I think that's one place where the contemporary Left could learn a lot.

In the last 30 years or so, many have recognized the necessity of reevaluating the basic presuppositions of many fields — psychology, philosophy, linguistics, etc. — as a result of the insights generated by feminism. Do you think that anarchism demands a similar transformation?

Yes and no. Just last year I wrote a piece on feminist transformations of anarchism. What seems clearest to me has to do with understandings of power, and it's partly coming out of feminism and partly out of postmodernism. We need new ways of thinking about power. People like Kropotkin, Bakunin, and Goldman were really saying that we need to abolish power, and feminists have been
Anarchist Scholarship and Feminist Critique

saying that this is too simplistic in some ways. We
need to reconfigure power. You can’t get rid of it
completely, and even Bakunin and Kropotkin, in
some ways, talked about that; for example, they
talked about natural authority as opposed to
artificial authority. They too recognized that you
can’t get rid of it completely. I think now, with the
insights of feminism and a more complex view of
the world, there is a place for serious rethinking of
anarchism.

The Mujeres Libres made a feminist critique of
the anarchist movement in their time. How
should feminists critique anarchism today?

Just this rethinking of power. While
historically most anarchist theory seemed to be in
favor of complete equality between men and
women, certainly the anarchist movements didn’t
do a whole lot of thinking about what that would
mean on a practical level. I would suspect this is
probably still true; there are certain assumptions
about men’s and women’s roles that are not dead
yet.

Feminism is still a side issue, not as serious as
ecology, for example. There is still a place for a
basic feminist rethink. You could end up with a
very different picture of what the movement is
about if you think about interpersonal relations as
integral to what you’re doing as opposed to an
annoying thorn in your side.

As a scholar of anarchism and a feminist in
academia, have you had to struggle to retain
the political content of your work?

Yes and no. There certainly were people who
didn’t think I belonged here [at Smith] and who
tried to get rid of me precisely for political reasons,
but fortunately they were outnumbered. There were
also several people who were very supportive of
me and enthusiastic about my work.

I think for many academics on the Left the
issue is how not to lose one’s roots in the political
questions that brought us to theory in the first
place; and, at the same time, making your writing
acceptable to your academic colleagues. For me,
the big struggle was to write Free Women of Spain
so that it communicated the spirit of these women
and was accessible to an audience other than
Spanish historians or political theorists, yet would
still be recognized by political theorists or
historians as relevant. I feel like I was more
successful meeting the first goal than the second,
and I suppose that’s fine. Most of my colleagues
didn’t really care; they mostly cared that I had
written this book and that it was published by a
reputable publisher.

How do you see your work developing in the
future?

I’ve been looking at issues of gender and
citizenship, and thinking about ways that people
actually engage with one another in politics,
broadly defined, as opposed to the ways that
politics is normally represented. I see that as an
extension of my work on Mujeres Libres. I was
actually just talking with some friends about how
we’ve lost the utopian, anti-hierarchical, anti-
authoritarian vision we held in the 60’s and 70’s,
and that it’s important to re-articulate that again.
So, I might take that on next, but I’m trying to
decide at the moment.

What do we mean by politics? What could it
mean to be a citizen at a time when everything is
becoming centralized and people are feeling much
more alienated? These are questions I’m concerned
with. I’d like to take some of these insights about
grass roots organizations and work with others to
help revitalize a utopian vision. That’s the political
place I am coming from; how that has worked out
in an academic framework, I haven’t totally figured
out.

Do you consider yourself an anarchist or do
you adopt any specific political identi-
fication?

I definitely see myself on the Left. Actually,
when I was conducting interviews for my book, I
would ask people, “How did you become an
anarchist?” and they would say “I don’t claim to be
an anarchist. I’m not good enough.” I always
thought it was kind of cute when they said that, but
I feel a little like that answering this question. I
suppose there’s a part of me that says if I were to
take any label, I would take that. On the other hand,
I don’t always act like an anarchist; for example, I
vote, I take elections seriously, etcetera. I can come
up with this entire analysis of why it doesn’t make
any difference whom one votes for in a presidential
election, and a big part of me believes that.
However, I am still not willing to give up on it
completely, given that this is the world in which we
live.

The fact is, it’s very difficult to figure out how
to live in this world, which is incredibly complex,
incredibly alienating, in which there are extra-
ordinary means of control and repression, and
inequality is growing in leaps and bounds. At the
same time — people laugh at me sometimes for
being too much of an optimist and I suppose that’s
the anarchist piece of me — there is incredible
potential for mobilization and change. I suppose
that’s what keeps me going.

Among her influences, Ackelsberg
cites E.P. Thompson, E.J. Hobs-
bawm, Carole Pateman, and the
women of the Mujeres Libres.

ACKELSBERG:
SELECTED WORKS

- Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for
  the Emancipation of Women. Bloomington: Indiana University
- “Gender and Political Life: New Directions in Political Science,”
  with Irene Diamond. In Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social
  Science Research, edited by Beth B. Hess and Myra Marx Ferre.
- “Anarchism and Feminism,” with Kathryn Pyne Addelson and
  Shawn Pyne. In Impure Thoughts: Essays on Philosophy,
  Feminism and Ethics, edited by Kathryn Pyne Addelson.
- “Terrains of Protest: Striking City Women,” with Myrna Breslau.
- “Communities, Resistance, and
  Women’s Activism.” In Women
  and the Politics of Empowerment:
  Perspectives from the Community
  and the Workplace, edited by Ann
  Bookman and Sandra Morgen.
  Philadelphia: Temple University
- “Pride, Prejudice, and Politics:
... Collections Continued

have collected some 8,000 items. To the best of my knowledge, the AAP is the only independent archival collection in the US currently acquiring anarchist-related materials from around the world and being coordinated by an anarchist. It is probably the largest cataloged collection in the US in non-institutional hands. The Kate Sharpley Library (KSL) in London is also an example of this type of independently held collection, although it reflects the work of a small number of anarchists rather than one individual. The Alternative (or A) Gallery in Greece is yet another independently held collection.

The institutional collections are often connected to a university, as is the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, or the state, as in the case of the impressive collection at the International Institute for Social History in the Netherlands. There are also a number of smaller, but nevertheless important, collections, such as the Joseph Ishill collection at Harvard’s Houghton Library. However, the libraries that possess these smaller collections, while committed to maintaining the materials and perhaps even recognizing their historical importance, may not have any special interest in the history of anarchism per se nor be actively seeking to expand their holdings.

Comparing the different collections according to whether or not they stand alone or have the backing of a public or private institution illustrates many of the other differences between the two types of collections. The institutionally held collections have more funds available to them to purchase not only additional materials for their collections, if they are, in fact, still acquiring materials, but also equipment, such as computers, scanners, microfilm readers, etc., needed to run any good library. The institutionally held collections are generally located in larger, more accessible public spaces, and offer regular and longer hours of operation. The presence of paid, full-time staff is another significant difference between the two. The independents are much poorer than their institutional cousins. They depend to a greater extent on the generosity of others for donations of materials and financial contributions, to supplement the limited funds, time, and commitment of the individual or individuals directly involved with the everyday work of collecting.

Another difference between the institutionally and independently held collections can be seen in their focus. The independently held anarchist collections usually have a narrower focus, and this is as much a function of the interests of the collectors involved as lack of funds. For example, the AAP collection is almost exclusively composed of anarchist-related materials, with a few council communist and situationist items thrown in. The KSL, in addition to its collection of anarchist-related materials, contains materials dealing with class struggle history, as well as a few other related subjects. But not all the independents are as specialized; the A Gallery has a much broader focus and anarchist materials make up only one part of its total collection. With institutionally held collections, the anarchist portion is but one among other, not necessarily related collections, or only one part of a much larger collection appearing under a heading like "The Left" or "Labor."

However, institutionally held collections don't hold all the advantages. Those involved with the independently held collections tend to have more direct links to the anarchist milieu and thus more direct access to the materials produced by anarchist activists. The importance of personal connections, as well as knowing where to look and whom to write to, cannot be underestimated. Flyers, leaflets and other items, often produced locally in small numbers, can easily escape the attention of non-anarchist collectors.

So collectors with a good knowledge of the anarchist "scene" can to some extent make up for the lack of funds. However, the independent collections are much less likely to have very rare and old documents because of the expense involved. That is, unless one is fortunate enough to know a wealthy collector who has willed his or her collection to one's project. But anarchists tend to be a poor lot. And the few better-known anarchists around usually make arrangements to donate their personal collections to institutions.

If an independently held collection acquires rare items, it is most likely through a donation made by an older anarchist. Nevertheless, it does happen, as it has to me, and always to my delight, that once in a great while one can find a reasonably-priced rare item in a used bookstore. Still, in spite of the limitations imposed by modest funds, the independently held collections are still in a good position to acquire items that, while not rare or valuable now, may become so in the future. It is not a coincidence that a number of the institutional collections, like the Labadie Collection whose value to historians and others increases over the years, began as independent collections.
IAS Supporters: The 1996 Fundraising Campaign

The IAS's first fundraising campaign was a complete success thanks to the individuals listed here. Their generosity enabled the IAS to meet its $6000 goal, and thus give out its first set of grants, pay for daily office expenses, and build the IAS endowment by $600 (or 10 percent of every donation).

These individuals made it possible for the IAS to grow from an idea into a reality. They are really founders of the IAS and deserve the gratitude of everyone who values anarchist scholarship and radical social institutions. The generous support of John Buell, Miranda Edison, Robin Lloyd, Michelle Matisons, John Petrovato, and Jon Scott has been especially important to the IAS.

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Perennial Books – one of the best booksellers around – has generously donated the following books to the IAS to help us raise money for anarchist scholarship.

- For a $25 donation to the IAS, we'll mail you any one of the following books.
- For a $50 donation, we'll mail you any three.
- For $100, you get all of them!


Perennial Books is also offering a 15% discount on items listed in their catalogue to anyone who donates $25 or more to the IAS. To get a copy of their great catalogue, write Perennial Books at P.O. Box B 14, Montague, MA 01351, or call: (413) 587-0106.
Perspectives on anarchist theory

... Collections Continued

Each of the independently and institutionally held collections has its own strengths, a result of a combination of a number of related factors: the personal interests of the collector or collectors involved and their ideas about what an archival collection should look like, that is, if they are still acquiring and therefore defining their collections; the materials they've been able to find (and can afford to purchase), as well as the amount of time spent on doing this; and the quantity and contents of the donations received. The AAP collection, for example, contains a significant number of Italian and Italian-American anarchist materials. This happened, not because of anything I did, but because of the generous donations of a handful of individuals who happened to possess these items. The KSL, on the other hand, has in its collection a large number of Spanish anarchist materials, due in no small part to the number of Spanish anarchists who settled in England after Franco's victory in Spain.

Geography and time also play an important role in defining the strengths of a collection, and also, inversely, its weaknesses. The AAP collection is strongest in the area of US and Canadian anarchist materials published in the last twenty years, mostly because these items are the easiest to find if you happen to be collecting here and now. These are also the kinds of items most often donated. It's also much easier to find items here in the Boston area than it was in Buffalo, New York, where the project began. However, this advantage has its limits: being based in the Boston area has not made it any easier to locate locally published items on Sacco or Vanzetti, or the 19th century Boston anarchists like Benjamin Tucker.

It often happens that items hard to find in one place and therefore considered "rare," may be more easily found elsewhere. This is certainly true for out-of-print periodicals produced in the UK may be next to impossible to acquire on this side of the Atlantic. With out-of-print, non-English language periodicals, the problem is even greater. But it also happens that collections acquire duplicates of items already in their possession, and these can be used to trade for other, needed items. The Kate Sharpey Library and the Anarchist Archives Project engage in a fairly regular exchange of items. This kind of exchange benefits both parties, and is an important way of acquiring items otherwise difficult to find.

Each archive or library may differ with respect to size and focus, but most provide a number of basic services. These typically include low cost photocopying and research assistance. Some may offer additional services (providing bibliographies, database searches, etc.) to varying degrees. Access to some collections may be limited either because they are housed in a private residence, like the AAP and KSL, or because one is not affiliated with a school or have the right credentials, i.e. - be an academic, as is the case with the Joseph Ishill collection at Harvard. But even the librarians at Harvard will respond to letters, provide you with information, and photocopy requested items.

Finally, besides the AAP, the KSL, and the A Gallery, there are a number of other anarchist collections worth mentioning: Das Archiv in Basel and the Anarchistischen Dokumentationszentrum in Weltzär, Germany; the Centro Studi Libertari "Giuseppe Pinelli" in Milan, Italy; the Centre D’Etudes et de Documentation Librairie in Lyon, and the Centre International de Recherches sur l’Anarchisme in Marseille, France; the Fundacion Salvador Segui in Madrid, Spain; and the Centre International de Recherches sur l’Anarchisme in Lausanne, Switzerland. There are others as well.

If you're interested in donating items, contributing financially or finding out more about the Anarchist Archives Project, or would like the address of one of the other anarchist collections, please write me at: Jerry Kaplan, c/o The AA Project, P.O. Box 1323, Cambridge, MA 02238 US.

Editor’s Note: This essay was edited for length and was first published in Kick It Over!, No. 32 (Fall, 1993), pp. 38-40. You can reach Kick It Over! at PO Box 5811, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1P2, Canada.

The Atlantic Anarchist Circle, a newly formed anarchist alliance, is holding meetings around the Atlantic region to discuss ways to encourage and initiate anarchist projects and help individuals stay in touch with the larger movement. For more information, contact the Circle at P.O. Box 42531, Philadelphia, PA 19101, or call (215) 563-8720.