

Perspectives on Anarchist Theory

Chaia Heller is one of the most exciting feminist and utopian intellectuals currently writing in English. In her first major work, *Ecology of Everyday Life: Rethinking the Desire for Nature*, Chaia Heller extends a feminist critique of romantic love to an exploration of alienated perceptions of nature. Heller challenges us to rethink the epistemological basis of our desire for a better world with one of the most challenging and considered examinations of the dialectic of desire and need since Murray Bookchin's 1967 essay of the same name. Heller brings the subject into the forefront of considerations for social change, rescuing it from the esoteric background of social theory.

I spoke with Chaia about her book, her work, and her experience as a radical theorist in August 1999.

~ Rebecca DeWitt

What was it like to write this book, struggle with these complicated social and political issues, and try to propose solutions within the current political climate?

Writing is the way I deal with the fact that I live in a counter-revolutionary time. It has been an important way for me to do that and helps me keep engaged, inspired and focused on revolutionary ideas and work. I've always been in love with ideas, and thinking about utopian or revolutionary ideas gives me a sense of hopefulness and possibilities because you can often think beyond what you can do in a particular historical moment. So, I get a lot of satisfaction and joy out of thinking beyond "what is given" to "what ought to be."

You articulate a revolutionary project in which need (the realm of necessity) must become desire, where need is transcended by focusing on our collective desire for a better way of life. You state that this desire can and must become politicized. How does desire become politicized?

I think that it entails a dialectic. The dialectic of natural evolution is this movement towards ever greater levels of consciousness, freedom, subjectivity. And, I think that this dialectic is not just

Ecology, Desire and Revolution: An Interview with Chaia Heller

by Rebecca DeWitt

analogous to but directly homologous to the dialectic between need and desire.

I think that desire is need becoming increasingly free. It is the subject becoming increasingly free from the realm of necessity, as necessity becomes increasingly subjective. For example, the need for food becomes the conscious, subjective desire for a kind of food. This is a dialectic that marks both history and natural history. And so I think that there is a very

compelling relationship between the dialectic of freedom and necessity and desire and need, which inspired Bookchin to write a very important essay in the 60's called "Desire and Need."

Any movement toward freedom will have to figure out a way to talk about desire and not just need. I see this as part of evolutionary and revolutionary thinking. I think there was this potential as we moved from the Old Left to the New Left but that the advance will only become fulfilled when we can truly understand this historical dialectic between freedom and necessity. It is not sufficient to only have peoples' physical material needs met, and it is certainly not acceptable for that to happen within centralized authoritarian state structures. We must not only figure out how to meet peoples' material needs but also figure out a way to qualitatively transform the way we meet those needs that will be increasingly subjective and conscious and free. The way to do that is to create a political structure that encourages the greatest degree of social complexity, participation, and that structure would be direct democracy.

You state that "focusing solely on need and survival naturalizes conditions of ecological scarcity and destruction...When we lose sight of the qualitative dimensions of life, we lose the ability to contrast the world that is to the world that ought to be." Implicit in this statement is the idea that we can change our society and therefore have no reason to settle for the unjust society we currently have. Many political trends have turned away from the utopian approach. Why is it important to maintain a utopian ideal?

This goes back to how do you cope with life in a counter-revolutionary time. Utopia can imply some sort of evolutionary vision and progress, and implies not just change but some qualitative progression; a shift from "what is" to "what ought to be."

continued on page 6

PERSPECTIVES ON ANARCHIST THEORY

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In This Issue:

Grant Awards and Updates	page 3
What's Happening	page 4
IAS Development	page 10

IAS Update

In these politically uncertain times we need to continue to gather strength by exploring new ideas and the potential for change. At the IAS we have been doing just that and there are quite a few things to report.

I want to first mention a very important organizational change. This June the IAS board voted to make me the General Director of IAS. I am very excited to take on this role and I am inspired by the challenges this position presents and the contributions I can make to the growth of the IAS. Chuck Morse (the founder of the IAS) has held this position since the organization's inception more than three years ago. It was agreed that this administrative change would help bring new perspectives to bear on the direction of the IAS and also help Chuck devote more time to fundraising and other IAS activities. Chuck will, of course, continue as a member of the IAS administrative staff, co-editor of the newsletter, and a member of the board.

We have also been working to develop the principles and structure of the IAS. For the last six months three local board members met regularly to address IAS developmental issues. We have focused on reevaluating our grant priorities, board development and finances in light of the current weakness of radical theory and politics. We feel the main purpose of the IAS is to cultivate and help re-build a radical movement and we are working to refine our principles and strategies accordingly. In addition, the board passed a proposal to strengthen the percentage of local board members based in New York City so that there will be more of a support network and radical milieu around the IAS headquarters in. We have also set ourselves the task of rewriting the brochure and translating it into several languages. Please see page 10 for a detailed report of our endeavors over the last six months.

The IAS continues to award grants to exciting projects and see the results of previous grant awards. It has always been our hope to support foreign language projects and we recently took a step in that direction. We are very excited to give out our first grant for a non-English language project to Fernando Lopez for his Spanish-language study of the Federación Anarquista Comunista Argentina, an Argentinean anarcho-communist organization. We have also given a grant to C.W. Brown who will address American right-wing activities through

an anarchist analysis. (Read more about our June 1999 grant awards on page 3). Also, we were excited to receive a finished copy of Mark Bonhert and Richard Curtis' project, *Passionate and Dangerous: Conversations with Midwestern Anti-Authoritarians and Anarchists*. (See page 3 to read more about the project and find out how to obtain a copy.)

We are also in the middle of our 1999 fundraising campaign, whose success will allow us to continue awarding grants, publishing *Perspectives*, and add \$10,000 to the IAS endowment. We will be able to add \$10,000 to the endowment thanks to a combination of two sources: last November 1998, a generous IAS supporter pledged to donate \$8000 to our endowment upon the success of the our 1999 fundraising campaign and we will add \$2000 to that amount, bringing the total to \$10,000 (see page 11 for more details). We have set big goals for ourselves this year but we anticipate success with the generous help of long-time supporters, new friends and those who have already donated.

Perennial Books has changed their name but not their commitment to the IAS and radical literature. Perennial has become Raven Used Books (located in Amherst, Massachusetts) and continue to help the IAS by making forty-eight titles available to IAS donors (please see the insert enclosed in this issue for a listing of the exceptional books they are offering).

The IAS has been in existence for three and a half years, we have given away \$17,000 to eighteen projects, we have published six issues of *Perspectives* (including this issue), and we are settling in our new home in NYC. What is especially encouraging is that the IAS has taken root in the widespread anarchist and radical community and is appreciated by activists and writers both nationally and internationally. All of these accomplishments and the growing support for the IAS are inspiring us to continue and improve our work.

~ Rebecca DeWitt
September 1999

Grant Awards

in grants to writers whose work is important to the anarchist critique of domination, who have a clear financial need, and whose piece is likely to be widely distributed. The IAS Board of Directors was pleased to award grants to the following individuals in June 1999:

\$2200 to Fernando Gustavo López Trujillo for this piece, *The FACA and the Anarchist Movement in Argentina, 1930-1950*. This piece will be a historical study of the Federación Anarquista Comunista Argentina (FACA). He will examine the growth of the FACA from 1935 and into the 1940's, a development that is exceptional given that the Argentine anarchist movement and its orga-

The Institute for Anarchist Studies (IAS) annually awards \$6000

nizations were shrinking at this time (after being the largest anarchist movement in Latin America). He will then look at the decline of the FACA in the 1940's and 1950's and the relationship of its decline to the rise of the Peronist movement. Lopez will search for the deep reasons of the FACA's demise, arguing that state repression cannot be counted as a primary cause. It will contain chapters such as "The Coup D'Etat of Uriburu and the Rise of the FACA"; "The 1930's Strikes"; "The Civil War in Spain"; and "The Dictatorship of 1943 and the Rise of the Peronism." The work will be written in Spanish.

The scheduled date for the completion of this project is March 2000. López lives in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

\$800 to C.W. Brown for "Vanguards of the Crusaders: Freedom and Domination in Right-wing Discourse." This project will

study the social and political theory of the patriot right in the US as seen through the lenses of classical anarchist theory. It has two objectives: first, to understand the patriot right discourse in the contemporary US in the context of anarchist studies in fascism, and second, to grasp the extent to which that patriot right discourse resonates with everyday American ideology and thus expresses the clean outlines of the ideology of domination in the 'new world order'. The scheduled completion date for this project is Fall 1999. Brown lives in Greenfield, Massachusetts.

If you are interested in applying for a grant, please send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the IAS at P.O. Box 1664, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, NY, 10009 – USA. You may also download a grant application from the IAS's website at: <http://home.newyorknet.net/ias/Default.htm>. ~

Grant Updates

Passionate and Dangerous: Conversations with Midwestern Anti-Authoritarians and Anarchists by Mark Bonhert and Richard Curtis has been completed and published as an attractive, 70 page pamphlet. The pamphlet (formerly titled *Post-Industrial Resources: Anarchist Reconstructive Efforts & Visions in the Upper Midwest*) is comprised of interviews with anarchist activists from Detroit, Chicago, and other areas throughout the Midwest. It defies the Midwest's reputation as a bastion of conservatism and offers a candid picture of the contemporary anarchist movement, its failings as well as strengths. It is available from AK Press, Left Bank Books, or directly from the authors at P.O. Box 63232, St. Louis, MO 63163. Bonhert and Curtis were awarded \$250 in June 1997.

Matt Hern and Stuart Chaulk's book, *The Myth of the Internet: Private Isolation and Local Community* has been accepted for publication by Broadview Press of Toronto, Canada. A first draft is being reviewed by the publisher and Hern and Chaulk anticipate that the book will be available in the fall or early winter. They were awarded \$1200 in January 1998.

Passionate and Dangerous: Conversations with Midwestern Anti-Authoritarians and Anarchists by Mark Bonhert and Richard Curtis has been completed and published as an attractive, 70 page pamphlet.

Lucien van der Walt has completed more than 140 pages of his manuscript, *Anarchism and Revolutionary Syndicalism in South Africa, 1904-1921*. He has written a detailed treatment of the impact of anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism on the early socialist movement in South Africa up until 1920 and all that remains to be examined are the events leading to the founding of the Communist Party of South Africa in mid-1921. His research indicates that libertarian socialism was a powerful influence on the early left-wing movement. Two articles drawn from his research will appear this year. "The Industrial Union is the Embryo of the Socialist Commonwealth": The International Socialist League and Revolutionary Syndicalism in South Africa, 1915-1920" will appear in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* and "Race, Class and Revolutionary Syndicalism in South Africa: The International Socialist League and the Industrial Workers of Africa, 1915-1920" is forthcoming in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Widerstandes und der Arbeit*. He was awarded \$500 in June 1998.

Joe Lowndes continues to work on his "Anarchism and the Rise of Rightwing Anti-statism." He will soon begin archival research into the direct mail campaigns of the New Right in the mid-1970's. He will examine how New Right elites appealed to a white, middle and working-class public, with par-

ticular attention to the way they linked racial themes to anti-government messages. He hopes to complete his project by Fall 1999. He was awarded \$1000 in June 1998.

Chris Day continues work on his book, *Anarchism and the Zapatista Revolution*. He has completed a draft of the first section, which is a history of the EZLN from its founding in 1983 to 1994. He has also written two articles that will provide the basis for an additional two chapters. The first, which is scheduled for publication in *Forward Motion*, recapitulates the history of the EZLN prior to 1994 and continues with a narrative account of their development to the present. An edited version of the second article, "Dual Power in the Lacandon Jungle" is scheduled for publication by the Fire By Night Organizing Committee. This is a theoretical treatment of the lessons of the Zapatistas's experience in dual power in the form of the autonomous municipalities established in December 1994. He was awarded \$2000 in January 1998.

Sam Mbah is working on his book, *The Military Dictatorship And The State In Africa*. He completed the analysis and collation of research materials this spring and has now begun writing. He was awarded \$2000 in January 1999.

All but four of thirty chapters of Zoe Erwin
continued on page 9

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What's Happening:

Noam Chomsky has exposed international politics and exposed the hypocrisy of ruling elites for decades and fortunately his efforts show no signs of slowing. In his latest release, *The New Military Humanism: Lessons from Kosovo* (Common Courage Press, September 1999), Chomsky blasts NATO countries for responding to the Serbian atrocities while ignoring ethnic cleansings in other countries and warns about a new colonialism cloaked in moralistic righteousness.

Those looking for an introduction to Chomsky's views or simply an anti-authoritarian analysis of contemporary political issues will want to read *The Struggle for Democracy: Political Writings of Noam Chomsky* edited by Mark Pavlick (400 pages, Common Courage Press, January 1999). This book contains many of Chomsky's classic yet hard to find essays as well as some of his more recent writings (including his interviews with Michel Foucault and William Buckley). With essays on human nature, human rights, Indochina, the responsibility of intellectuals, and other subjects, this anthology will provide an overview of Chomsky's political ideas. For philosophical essays in the anarchist tradition as well as biographical sketches, Spanish readers will want to explore *La Libertad entre la Historia y la Utopía: Tres Ensayos y Otros Textos del Siglo XX* by Luce Fabbri (145 pages, REA, December 1998, trans: *Freedom in History and Utopia; Three Essays and Other Texts of the 20th Century*). Fabbri, a life-long anarchist, theorist, and central figure of the Uruguayan anarchist community, offers essays on fascism, international politics, the idea of utopia, as well as biographical pieces on her father Luigi Fabbri, Simón Radowitzky, and other important figures of twentieth century anarchism.

Several new works explore the aesthetic dimension of radical politics. *Revolutionary Romanticism: A Drunken Boat Anthology* (260 pages, City Lights Books, July 1999), edited by Max Blechman, draws on two centuries of the intertwined traditions of cultural and political subversion. The anthology attempts to recapture and transvalue the transgressions of the past for the benefit of contemporary struggles. It contains essays on William Blake, William Morris, Erich Mühsam, Walter Benjamin, Guy Debord, and others. The life and work of Herbert Read, a poet, novelist, art critic, and 'philosophical anarchist'

are treated in *Herbert Read Reassessed* edited by David Goodway (334 pages, Liverpool University Press, 1998). This anthology treats topics such as Read and World War I, Read's organic aesthetic, Read and design, and his use of Freud. An overview of Read's life is presented in the introduction and a bibliography of his work is also included. German readers will want to pick up *Pinzel und Dolch. Anarchistische Ideen in Kunst und Kunsttheorie 1840-1920* by Dieter Scholz (477 pages, Reimer, 1999) (Trans: *Paintbrush and Dagger: Anarchist Ideas in Art and Art Theory 1840-1920*)



Luce Fabbri

Primary documents from the radical feminist movement will be easier to examine thanks to the publication of *Radical Feminism: An Historical Reader* edited by Barbara Crow (480 pages, NYU Press, November 1999). This book contains pivotal documents written by U.S. radical feminists in the

1960s and 1970s and combines both unpublished and previously published manifestos, position papers, meeting minutes, and newsletters essential to the development of radical feminism during this time. The collection is organized around the issues of sex and sexuality, race, children, lesbianism, separatism, and class. It includes original work by groups such as The Furies, Redstockings, Cell 16, and the Women's Liberation Movement. For the direct testimony of earlier generation of radical women, Spanish readers will want to consult *Mujeres Libres, Luchadoras Libertarias* (191 pages, Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo, 1999). This book contains commentary from 13 members of the *Mujeres Libres*, an anarcho-feminist organization active during the Spanish Civil War, on themes such as culture, work, and socialization.

Several new books offer important contributions to the comprehensive history of anarchism. *The Encyclopedia of Political Anarchy* edited by Kathryn and Martin Gay (300 pages, ABC-Clio, August 1999) examines the ancient roots of the movement, spotlights key individuals, and explores important groups, organizations, events, legal cases, and theories. It is the first English language encyclopedia on anarchism. *Facing the Enemy: A History of Anarchist Organization from Proudhon to May 68* by Alexandre Skirda (299 pages, AK Press, October 1999) traces the history of anarchism as a political movement and ideology across the 19th and 20th centuries, offering biting and incisive portraits of the major thinkers

Books and Events

and organizers as well as their opposition. (French readers may wish to pick up the reprint of Skirda's *Nestor Makhno, Le Cosaque Libertaire and la Guerre Civile en Ukraine, 1917-1921* (491 pages, Essais et Documents, 1999).)

A full treatment of anarchist history would be seriously incomplete without an examination of the struggles, successes, and failures of Spanish anarchists from 1936 to 1939. Research on anarchism during this period will be greatly enhanced by the publication of Robert Alexander's two volume *Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War*. (Vol 1: 720 pages, Vol. 2: 768 pages, Janus Publishing Company, 1999). This voluminous book analyses the part played by the anarchists during the Civil War and their unique social and economic experiments behind the lines. Alexander casts fresh light into many areas, notably the anarchist's defense of Madrid and also life in the worker-controlled rural and urban collectives. The book is substantiated throughout and contains interviews with anarchists from the period. Researchers will also be happy to know that Abel Paz's massive biography of Durruti has been transformed into a 55 minute video by Paco Ríos (Fundación de Estudios Libertarios Anselmo Lorenzo). Another contribution can be found in a new pamphlet from the Kate Sharpley Library entitled *Umberto Marzocchi: Remembering Spain, Italian Anarchist Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War* (28 pages, Kate Sharpley Library, 1999).

Two new works will help fill the gaps in the literature on anarchism outside of Europe and the United States. The first book length treatment of Cuban anarchism will be published this fall. *Cuban Anarchism: The History of a Movement* (128 pages, See Sharp Press, October 1999, trans. Chaz Bufo) by Frank Fernandez of the Movimiento Libertario Cubano covers the period from the 1850s to the present and concludes with an essay on Cuba's possible future. *El Expreso: Un Intento de acercamiento a la Federación Anarquista del Centro de la República Mexicana (1936-1944)* by Chantal López and Omar Cortés (80 pages, Ediciones Antorcha, 1999) is a Spanish language book-length pamphlet analyzing the history of this organization, containing both commentary as well as many appendices.

The history of American labor radicalism will become a little broader thanks to Howard

Kimeldorf's *Syndicalism, Pure, and Simple: Wobblies, Craft Unionists, and the Battle for American Labor* (University of California Press, 275 pages, December 1999). Kimeldorf looks at how organized labor in the United States has both mounted some of the most aggressive challenges to employing classes anywhere in the world yet also warmly embraced the capitalist system of which they are a part. Rejecting conventional understandings of American unionism, Kimeldorf argues that there has been distinctive reliance on worker self-organization and direct economic action among American labor and that this can be seen as a particular kind of syndicalism. He brings this syndicalism to life through two case studies of unionization efforts by Philadelphia longshoremen and New York City culinary workers during the opening decades of the twentieth century. He shows how these workers, initially affiliated with the radical IWW and later the conservative AFL, pursued a common logic of collective action at the point of production that largely dictated their choice of unions.

Anyone with an interest in cities and a commitment to direct action will welcome the following books. *No Trespassing! Squatting, Rent Strikes, and Land Struggles Worldwide* by Anders Corr (256 pages, South End Press, October 1999) is an international study on how people have taken over vacant buildings and unused land. Corr presents a study of fired banana plantation workers in Honduras, whose homes, churches, and schools were bulldozed by Chiquita Brands International, and how they forced the Cincinnati-based multinational to allot alternate land, rebuild homes and infrastructure, and provide for new self-managed business collectives. He also sketches a vivid portrait of the San Francisco squatting organization Homes Not Jails, taking readers along as activists open vacant buildings and house dozens of homeless people every night. The book is addressed not only to activists and academics interested in a global perspective on land and housing, but anyone searching for strategies of social change and sources of popular

revolt. Also worthy of note is *Avant Gardening: Ecological Struggle In The City & The World* edited by Bill Weinberg and Peter Lamborn Wilson (169 pages, Autonomedia, June, 1999). This anthology contains writings about the cultural, so-

continued on page 9

CEDINCI

The Centro de Documentacion e Investigacion de la Cultura de Izquierdas en la Argentina (CeDinCi) is a radical archive located in Buenos Aires containing a broad selection of material from the Argentine Left. It was founded in 1996 when an old militant died and left all the magazines, newspapers, bulletins, books, correspondence, and documentation that he had gathered since the 30's to Horacio Tarkus, the present director of the archive.

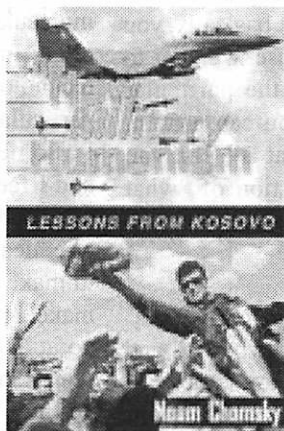
The CeDinCi was established as a space of reference for the reconstruction of the Argentinean Left and as an archive for use by radical researchers whose work focuses on new perspectives of the Argentinean left after the military dictatorship.

A self-managed organization relying completely on volunteer labor, the CeDinCi has consolidated a large amount of information for public use, free of charge, and they are currently working on a comprehensive catalog. CeDinCi also publishes a political and cultural magazine, *El Rodaballo*, twice a year. In addition, they have started a publishing project, *El Cielo par Asalto*, which has already produced thirty titles.

They also offer seminars, lectures and workshops where radical intellectuals can gather to discuss issues. Funding for any radical project is always limited, and perhaps more so for Argentina, and CeDinCi welcomes any fundraising advice.

For information, please contact CeDinCi at: Calle Sarmiento 3433 (CP1196) Buenos Aires, Argentina or e-mail: cedinci@dia.edu.ar or asaltarcielos@abaconet.com.ar

~ Eva García



CHAIA HELLER: BIOGRAPHY

Chaia Heller grew up in Stamford, Connecticut, a child of middle class Jewish parents. Although her parents were not radical, she was exposed to radical ideas at a very young age by attending an alternative elementary school where she was exposed to non-hierarchical and creative ways of thinking. Ironically, Chaia's parents didn't realize the political transformation taking place and thought she would go through life as a "normal" person.

Chaia never stopped being politicized. In her early 20's she immersed herself in radical politics, came out as a lesbian, and moved to Burlington, Vermont, to study with Murray Bookchin. She credits her painful encounter with hostility in the left in the form of sexism, homophobia and anti-Semitism as an experience that has concretized her relation to oppression and continually keeps her fighting. These encounters made her realize that a general analysis of hierarchy is not sufficient in itself to undo particular manifestations of hierarchy and oppression.

While pursuing her revolutionary ideas, Chaia worked for many years as a clinical social worker for women struggling with domestic abuse and poverty. Chaia is currently a faculty member at the Institute for Social Ecology in Plainfield, Vermont, where she has taught eco-feminism, among other courses social ecology courses, for many years now. She is also currently pursuing a degree in anthropology at the University of Massachusetts.

Chaia is indebted to Murray Bookchin for his intellectual guidance and generosity of spirit. Chaia also counts among her influences Audre Lourde, James Baldwin, Emma Goldman, Ynestra King, and Peggy Luhrs.

continued from page 1

Ecology, Desire and Revolution:

The whole notion of this shift, within the context of utopian discourse, is seen as a qualitative elaboration of meaning, social relationships, the meaning of freedom, pleasure, etc.

I think that today we have lost our revolutionary and evolutionary nerve. The problem is that the cultural evolutionary theories of Adam Smith, Ricardo and then later Marx were predicated on biological evolutionary theories, which were inherently flawed. We have been coming to terms with those flaws. They had a vision based on the notion of nature and history as the realm of necessity. They believed that biological and cultural evolution was a series of knowable, determined, and necessary stages inevitably moving in a general, universal way towards a knowable, hard telos. This notion really hit its limit at the end of the second World War when it became frighteningly clear that there was not some inevitable linear, knowable, scientific progression of cultural, social and political life that would necessarily end in some good, progressive, rational way. The holocaust, along with Stalin and Hiroshima, is just one of the many horrors that demonstrated this.

I think that all of these events pointed to the unbearable irrationality of what is erroneously called "western civilization." The problem is that instead of realizing that the model of evolution and revolution we were using was inherently flawed and based upon an understanding of evolution as a determinable unfolding of necessary stages, [many radical theorists] decided to renege completely on the project of articulating evolutionary and revolutionary theory and practice. If you renege on this project, you can basically give up any discussion or vision of "what ought to be". So, basically, you can have a post-structuralist response, which is to analyze, describe, problematize the particular "what is" that surrounds us or you can protest, reform and try to destroy the "what is". But you will continually eschew the question of "what ought to be" and how to move from the "what is" to the "what ought to be."

I believe the utopian question is inherently predicated on that movement between "what is" and "what ought to be" or at the very least some willingness to posit a "what ought to be" that is qualitatively better than the "what is." I think that until we can go back and rethink the premises that were the foundations for biological and cultural evolutionary theory, until we can firm up our critique and transcend those limitations (which I believe social ecology does), we will remain in a counter-revolutionary period where we will only

be able to react to the "what is" through protest, reform, nihilism, or endless description.

You are currently pursuing a Ph.D. in anthropology at a major university, yet the post-structuralist intellectual environment of the university is marked by a disregard for a radical politics focusing on a revolutionary universal theory and instead focuses exclusively on the post-structuralist project of describing, analyzing, and problematizing, focusing almost exclusively on the particular. How are you able to pursue a revolutionary universal project?

The particular is the obsession of post-structuralism and I am in a very post-structuralist department. I find this approach methodologically useful as an anthropologist and ethnographer. If you want to go into a molecular biology lab in Paris, for instance (that's what I've been studying), you want to understand the local site-specific culture of that lab and practices of those scientists. It is very useful to be attentive to the multi-layered relationships between the people and the instruments that constitute those science institutions. Ethnography is a meditation on the particular, a phenomenological approach that asks you to walk into a situation and, as best you can, get inside the heads of the people you are trying to understand.

Where post-structuralism is extremely un-useful is its inability and disinterest in bringing some sort of universal or, dare I say, objective set of criteria to bear upon judging the ethics of the practices in those institutions. I find this highly problematic because, for example, when I go into the molecular biology lab and talk to people who are doing fundamental research for agricultural biotechnology. I need to be able to understand the particular nature of their work and thinking and I also need to make some judgements about that and I feel responsible as a radical theorist to say "this is the stable, universal, and very general set of ethical criteria I now appeal to when I'm going to make judgements about these practices." So, I make a judgement about the fact that private corporations are increasingly taking over public research institutions, that capital driven institutions are now increasingly taking over public science research institutions. I also make a judgement about the implications of this for agricultural economy and for science practice in general. I'm now moving from the particular to some wider, more general or universal analysis and judgement of these events. This is where I feel the academy is currently falling very short.

An Interview with Chaia Heller

People are not encouraged to take that next step. People are, in a certain, very quiet way, discouraged from making those judgments (for example, by simply not seeing any articles that voice those concerns published in the recognized academic journals). It's made very clear to people in the academy - particularly within the post-Marxist, post-structural left - that you're not supposed to draw revolutionary implications from the judgments that you make about the particular events you study. I find this to be highly problematic but not at all surprising.

Social ecology is your major influence yet social ecology, as a more general theory of oppression, lacks attention to social issues such as feminism, which you deal with in your book. Does your attention to social issues pose any difficulties in terms of writing as a social ecologist?

I'm dealing with a tension that exists between the Old and New Left and I see social ecology as a New Left response to the Old Left, by an Old Leftist. What marked the Old Left was an emphasis on the universal subject, on a revolutionary universal theory. That universal revolutionary subject was the worker and the revolutionary project focused around the issue of labor. Within the New Left we saw the emergence of social issues, such as ecology, the Vietnam War, civil rights, and anti-nuclear movement, and particular social identities such as gender and race.

What we began to appreciate in the New Left was the particular nature of the effects of hierarchy and the fact that hierarchies are not just universal but that they are particularized in culture-specific ways. If we're ever going to be able to move towards some sort of universal revolutionary movement, it can only be done through an understanding of the particular ways hierarchy is practiced and reproduced. Murray [Bookchin] pointed this out in *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, which he wrote

at the beginnings of the New Left. He saw in some of the social movements the potential for the particular to become universalized, for people to uncover and understand some common universal humanity and thus reconcile humanity's relationship to the natural world and to each other. He saw within feminism the potential for a trans-class social movement; women of all classes would be able to understand their particular relationship to male-dominated hierarchy and also to an ecological struggle. You see in the first moments of social ecology a tremendous understanding of and appreciation for the particular.

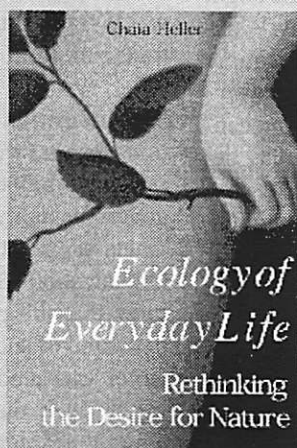
What happens is the inability of a social movement to take the next step towards the universal and towards the political - the classical sense of the political as the citizen and subject acting within a citizens assembly to manage his and her everyday life within a community. The inability of the social movements to get there and to flesh out the social to reach the political, has been such a source of disappointment that social ecology has often dismissed some of those movements as being inevitably co-optable, particularistic, ensconced within a social sphere and thus unable to really play an important role in propelling a revolutionary political movement. What I'm trying to do in this book is draw out the revolutionary implications of what is particular, subjective, social, and cultural. I don't think the solution is to reject what is subjective, social, and particular; as it is literally, ontologically, historically, and existentially impossible to do so. We are marked by

all the particular social, cultural, historical events that shape and define us. The challenge is to fulfill that potential reconciliation between the Old and New Left. We need to go back and understand what was emerging in the new social movements and understand how we can elaborate on that dialectic between the particular and the universal, between the social and the political. Social ecology emerges out of that logic, out of that attempted reconciliation.

You state "I believe that social ecology, feminism, and social anarchism can help illuminate a definition of desire that is profoundly social, rather than purely romantic or individualistic." Considering that each of these tendencies can subsume the others in importance, how are we to relate them to each other in a complimentary way?

It depends on how you define anarchism, feminism or social ecology. I locate them within what I call the social tradition, which was the response to the shift from feudalism into capitalism, marked by a striving towards a greater sociality rather than a greater individualism. Within the social tradition, peasants, workers, women, and African Americans have tried to cultivate an understanding of the social that had emancipatory and even utopian implications. I see feminism, social ecology and anarchism as being particular ways of talking about different dimensions of the social project. Feminism would be a way to talk about the particular expression of hierarchy in its masculinist form and women's attempts to articulate the nature of

that oppression and create ways to overcome it. Anarchism, social-anarchism, has been a way to talk about the emergence and transcendence of hierarchy in its most general sense. Social ecology is the attempt to talk about the emergence of and solutions to ecological problems and to talk about that within social and revolutionary political terms. Potentially, I see all three discourses as being resonant with one another when



Chaia Heller: Selected Works

Ecology of Everyday Life: Rethinking the Desire for Nature. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1999.

"For the Love of Nature: Ecology and the Cult of the Romantic" in *Ecofeminism: Women, Animals, and Nature*, ed. by Greta Gaard. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.

"Toward a Radical Eco-Feminism" in *Renewing the Earth, The Promise of Social Ecology*, ed. by John Clark. London: Green Print, 1990.

continued on page 8

placed within what I'm calling the social tradition.

They start to compete with each other when we become unable to understand the dialect between the universal and particular; when we feel we have to choose between being an anarchist who is interested in the general liberation of humanity and a feminist interested in the particular liberation of women. When we don't understand the dialectic between those two kinds of liberation and when we don't understand feminism as an attempt for women to recover their humanity in a particular way, then we set up an oppositional tension between the two. The same could be said of social ecology, which tends to focus more on the universal than the particular. You could set up an opposition between social ecology's attempt to liberate humanity in the form of the citizen, and women who are trying to emancipate themselves from particular forms of oppression. However, I believe that when we can understand the dialectic between the particular and the universal; when we can finally understand that the universal liberation of humanity happens in particular ways by particular people in particular times, the tension between those discourses can be resolved. It can actually be a creative and dynamic tension where we can start to encourage and expect ourselves to always be asking how we can further generalize the revolutionary struggle by understanding the particular.

For example, if we are libertarian municipalists attempting to figure out how to reclaim the public sphere, the citizens assembly, we need to think about what are the particular social constraints that inhibit women from reclaiming their full humanity that would be expressed through citizenship. To me, that's very exciting as a feminist project: women reclaiming their ability to become citizens. This project is one of reclaiming the full range of our potentiality as human beings as rational thinking creatures who can reflect, discuss, debate and decide on important matters. I think it's sad that that tension between the particular and the universal is reduced to a sort of

balkanization of movements and discussion that really doesn't give us any more insight into how to make this revolutionary vision possible.

How does being a self-conscious member of the radical left affect your experience in academia?

"People are concerned and preoccupied with the question of 'how possible is your strategy' . . . We're literally embodying the logic of capitalism when we succumb to instrumental reason."

I find that it makes me into a bit of curiosity, an oddity in a way which saddens me and infuriates me. One of the biggest obstacles I encounter in academia when talking to people about revolutionary ideas is the incredible adherence to pragmatism. People are concerned and preoccupied with the question of "how possible is your strategy." First of all, they reduce your vision to a strategy - asking 'how realistic is your strategy' - and if they feel that it's not realistic or likely to be efficient or successful, they feel it is entirely reasonable to dismiss you.

What I try to emphasize with people, and to remind myself, is that we need to be able to distinguish between ethical rationality and instrumental rationality. Instrumental rationality is the kind of rationality that leads you to look at a given practice as a means to an end and if that particular means brings you to the desired end, then it is rational. So, if you want to have a stateless society and you believe that seizing state power will bring you to your desired ends then that is what you should do. On the other hand, an ethical rationality is a way of thinking in which your practices are always accountable to and answerable to a set of stable ethical criteria that correspond to the kind of world you believe ought to be. If you believe that the state ought to be transcended and that hierarchy is unethical then, even if you think that it is more possible or more realistic or pragmatic to create a hierarchy to undo a hierarchy, you cannot ethically justify creating a hierarchy because you do not believe that a hierarchy constitutes the kind of world you think ought to be. I think that being a self-conscious member of the radical left entails a distinction between ethical and instrumental reason and I think there needs to be a collective commitment towards embracing ethical reasoning and saying: we're doing what we're doing and we're thinking the way we're thinking because this is the way it ought to be. We

believe this is ethical not because we believe this is an efficient means to an ends or we believe it is a necessarily realistic idea. The fact is that we don't know that our ethical concerns and visions are realizable but we do know (and this is a very key concept with ethical thinking) that there is potential for our ethical visions and ideas to be actualized. Our ethics are drawn out of a set of potentialities that we can derive from a reading of social history and natural evolution as well.

I think that we always need to be thinking about what is potential and what is ethical and not what is merely practical and realizable. For me it is a philosophical and political practice to continually think in ethical terms rather than allowing myself to be appropriated by this highly pragmatic world we live in, the world of capital. Capitalism is instrumental. All decisions made by capitalists are always based on "will this means achieve our ends." Ultimately, I call this instrumental rationality internalized capitalism. We're literally embodying the logic of capitalism when we succumb to instrumental reason. It's very dangerous and linked to the general lack of revolutionary nerve today.

What does the future hold for your work?

I'm very interested in the transition from industrial to informational capital. The transition from industrial to informational capital is predicated on a kind of techno-science practice that is reshaping the biological and cultural landscape of the world. I'm looking at agricultural biotechnology as a case study of a new kind of flexible capitalist production that is information based. I'm looking at how this new technology is transforming agricultural economies around the world and moving towards transitions that will be as great as the transition from feudalism to capitalism.

This transition from industrial to informational capital will be accompanied by increasingly global expressions of capital and governmentality, what I call "meta-states" and "meta-capital structures" like the World Trade Organization. They are extra-capitalistic structures that are providing infrastructure for a new kind of socio-political order, the likes of which we cannot even imagine. I'm interested in why it is that people can only talk about agricultural biotechnology in terms of risk, en-

continued on next page

Chaia Heller continued from previous page

vironmental health risk; intimate discourse of consumption, like labeling. I'm interested in how and why people are able to expand the perimeters of that debate and discussion. I'm looking at the ways that local institu-

tional practices, like farmer unions, cellular biology labs in the French equivalent of USDA, consumers' associations, and ecology groups can address this issue. How and why do these institutions shape and limit what

people can think, say, and do about questions of biotechnology. I think this is enormously important because we need to know what is keeping people from thinking along revolutionary lines. ~

What's Happening continued from page 4

cial and political aspects of ecology, with particular emphasis on the ecological struggles currently taking place in New York City. There are essays on community gardening as well as other aspects of a reconstructive and oppositional urban strategy. Visitors as well as residents of New York now have a good opportunity to explore the history of opposition in New York thanks to the release of Bruce Kayton's *Radical Walking Tours of New York City* (206 pages, Seven Stories Press, 1999). This book is both a tour guide and a social history, containing information about specific social struggles (such as the battle for Tompkins Square Park) as well as individuals and organizations that have nourished radical movements in New York throughout its history.

Anarchist booklovers will want to attend the *Fifth Annual Bay Area Anarchist Book Fair* to be held in the Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park on April 15, 2000. There will be speakers, entertainment, and many, many books. For more information contact Bound Together Books at 1369 Haight Street, San Francisco, CA 94117.

Readers of Italian should welcome the appearance of *Libertaria*, a quarterly magazine devoted to the discussion of left libertarian culture and politics scheduled to appear for the first time this October. *Libertaria* will contain original and contemporary research

in philosophy, politics, science, music, art and literature in order to nourish anarchist solutions to the problems posed by the final decline of authoritarian communism and the emergence of a new hegemonic global capitalism. It will contain leading editorial articles, research and interviews, in-depth analysis of alternative culture, articles and news appearing in the international libertarian press, as well as reports on art, cinema, theatre, music and literature. Please write the editorial office at *Libertaria*, casella postale 10667, 20110 Milano, Italy or e-mail: libert@plugit.net. For subscriptions, please write to Editrice A, sezione *Libertaria*, casella postale 9017, 00167 Roma, Italy

IAS allies should consider submitting their work to two publications in particular. *Democracy & Nature: the International Journal of Inclusive Democracy* (D&N) would like to encourage IAS grant recipients, applicants, and supporters to consider writing for their tri-annual publication. The journal provides sharp, sophisticated coverage of democratic and green ideas, publishing contributions by radical thinkers from around the globe. In hopes of facilitating dialogue, *D&N* offers a forum for the discussion of inclusive democracy (derived from a synthesis of two major historical traditions—the classical democratic and the socialist—as well as radical green, feminist, indigenous, and Third World movements) and other radical views.

As a focus point for debate, a theme is employed in each issue. Although articles whose subject matter is not directly relevant to a theme may also be accepted, priority is given to "thematic" essays. The upcoming issues are: Postmodernism and the Democratic Project (submissions by 11/30/99); and Democracy and Ethics (submissions by 3/31/00). Additionally, *D&N*'s book review section features critiques of works that add to contemporary currents of thought. Reviews do not have to relate to the theme of each issue. For general information on the journal and how to submit a manuscript, see *D&N*'s Home Page (<http://www.carfax.co.uk/dna-ad.htm>). Manuscripts should be sent (preferably by e-mail) to the editor, Takis Fotopoulos (20 Woodberry Way, London, N12 0HG, U.K.; FAX: +44 0 181 446 1633; E-mail: takis@fotop.demon.co.uk). *Social Anarchism*, a refereed journal of anarchist commentary and analysis now in its 19th year, would also like to encourage IAS supported writers and allies to submit articles. They are especially interested in analyses of popular culture and everyday events from an anarchist perspective, although they also welcome pieces on other issues. The fall issue will contain an index of the journal spanning the entire history of the publication and they are also searching for a new editor. For more information contact *Social Anarchism* at 2743 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21218. ~

Grant Updates continued from page 3

and Brian Tokar's anthology, *Engineering Life: A People's Guide to Biotechnology*, are complete. They have been negotiating with publishers and will begin final editing as soon as they secure a publication contract. They were awarded \$1000 in June 1997.

Murray Bookchin continues research on the Spanish anarchists. His work will appear in Volume 3 of the *Third Revolution: Popular Movement in the Revolutionary Era* (the book will be published by Cassell Academic

in late 1999 or 2000). He was awarded \$1000 in January 1997 for the second volume of his *Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years*.

Peter Lamborn Wilson's introduction to the new edition of Enrico Arrigone's (aka Frank Brand) autobiography has evolved into an article that will appear in a collection of essays on anarchist history (*The Autobiography of Enrico Arrigone* has been postponed). Wilson's piece, which will probably be titled "Brand": an Italian anarchist", is complete

and the anthology that will contain it is tentatively titled *Lost Histories: Anarchist Essays* (scheduled for publication by Autonomedia in 2000). He was awarded \$250 in June 1997.

Frank Adams continues to work on his essay, "The Educational Ideas and Management Practices of 19th and 20th Century Anarchists in Labor-Owned Cooperatives." He was awarded \$500 in June 1997. ~

IAS Development: Principles and Structures

by Paul Glavin

In these tough times for radical politics, the Institute for Anarchist Studies (IAS) continues to have success. We have a well organized counter-institution run by dedicated, principled anarchists; we have raised a good deal of money, which we have given as grants to more than a dozen radical writers, invested in our endowment, and used to publish this newsletter; and we continue to develop strong relationships with anarchists around the world. We are both happy with and amazed by the growth of the project since its founding in 1996.

We have also begun thinking about the IAS's future and this spring formed a development committee to assess the IAS's strengths, weaknesses, as well as where we would like the organization to go. This committee divided its concerns into three broad areas: grant priorities, board development, and finances. The three members of this committee met almost every week for five months and used their discussions to formulate a series of organizational proposals that were ultimately presented to and voted upon by the IAS board of directors.

The development committee discussions and proposals inspired the IAS board, resulting in changes in the IAS and a renewed sense of common mission. The following article presents some of the basic outlines of our discussions. I believe they are relevant not only to IAS supporters and allies but also anyone involved in creating and maintaining a counter-institution today.

Grant Priorities

Our most political and theoretical discussions occurred while reevaluating the IAS's grant priorities. Up until now the IAS board has approached each round of applications on a case-by-case basis, guided by very general criteria such as the importance of a work to an anarchist critique of domination and the author's financial circumstances. However, we felt a need and an obligation to be more specific about the types of work the IAS should support.

One of the first dilemmas we confronted was the distinction between scholarship about anarchism versus anarchist scholarship. Scholarship about anarchism, such as Paul Avrich's works, can illuminate important aspects of

an otherwise neglected history while also proving inspiring or instructive. It is very common for us to receive applications for projects of this sort and certainly this type of literature plays an important role in maintaining a radical tradition.

However, we had to acknowledge that this historical work is, by definition, disengaged from contemporary circumstances and thus can make only limited contributions to an anarchist critique of the present society. We concluded that the IAS should try to prioritize works that contribute to an anarchist understanding of contemporary social conditions: that is, social structures, their historical trajectories, and opportunities for transforming these structures. Of course we would not advocate scholarship for its own sake, but rather works that contribute to the development of a vital anarchist theory and (ultimately) social movement. For example, an anarchist essay on the recent growth of the prison industry and its relationship to the globalization of capitalism seems more important now than an essay on Lucy Parsons and her connection to the Chicago anarchists of the 1880s. We also agreed that programmatic works should be a low priority for the IAS: we believe it is necessary to flesh out some of the more basic outlines of an anarchist critique and vision before getting too concrete about solutions.

Another important issue that we discussed is the need to expand our support to both groups and concerns that have typically received little attention within anarchism. For example, many critiques of patriarchy and white supremacy have been at least implicitly anarchist in their anti-authoritarianism and rejection of hierarchy. Clearly works such as these are integral to a broad project of anti-authoritarian social transformation. We also concluded that it is important to extend our support to those traditionally excluded by the dominant processes of intellectual production. Typically the most privileged groups or individuals - white, male, and academic - dominate anarchist and radical theory (this has been an issue for the IAS as well) and we believe the IAS should help challenge this. Although this is really nothing new in the wake of the so-called new social movements and in an era of multi-culturalism, it is essential to reaffirm in the context of the his-

tory of anarchism.

Board Development

The constitution and growth of the IAS board of directors - the group that awards grants and sets organizational policy - was another concern for the development committee.

One issue was the geographic location of board members, who are presently scattered up and down the East Coast and usually only meet together at bi-annual -and all too brief- board meetings. This circumstance is a consequence of an idea that has been normative for the IAS board since its inception: that is, that shared political and theoretical commitments are more important for the growth of the board than geographic proximity.

However, the development committee discussed the limitations of this model and concluded that we should try to increase the percentage of board members who live near one another, specifically in New York City. Although shared ideals are essential to any initiative, it is hard to sustain a common project when people are unable to meet on a regular basis. This problem is especially pressing at a time such as the present, when there are not radical social movements compelling people to gather at meetings, conferences, protests, and other activities that help override the impact of physical distance.

A more locally based board would help us nourish more personal and cultural bonds among board members. It would encourage a sense of community and give us something to draw upon for strength and sustenance as we face challenges in the course of building the IAS. We recognized that many groups on the left have failed, at least in part, because they have overlooked the importance of cultural connections and, more specifically, the value of friendship, trust, and genuine personal affinity.

A locally based board would also have specific organizational benefits. First, it would help us develop a more collective approach to administrative work. The vast majority of this work has fallen on the General Director's shoulders, which is both too much work for one person and also creates a potentially bad dynamic in which the General

continued on page 12

The IAS's 1999 Fundraising Campaign

The IAS needs your support: we must raise \$10,000 by January 2000 to continue awarding grants to radical writers, publishing *Perspectives*, and building the IAS endowment.

Please help make this possible by sending a donation to the IAS today. Your contribution will help the IAS meet its 1999 fundraising goal and thus make the following contributions to the development of anti-authoritarian social criticism:

- The IAS will award \$6000 in grants to writers struggling with some of the most pressing questions in radical social theory today. IAS grants help radical authors take time off work, hire childcare, purchase research materials, pay for travel expenses and other things necessary to produce serious, thoughtful works of social criticism.
- The IAS will publish two issues of *Perspectives on Anarchist Theory*, our biannual newsletter. *Perspectives* is a unique source of interviews, publishing news, and commentary pertaining to anarchism. It helps keep people informed about anarchist scholarship and encourages dialogue among those interested in this work.

- The IAS will add \$10,000 to its endowment. We will place 20% (\$2000) of fundraising income into the endowment and, upon the success of our 1999 fundraising campaign, a very generous IAS supporter will contribute an additional \$8000 to the fund. Our endowment strengthens the IAS as an organization and will ultimately provide the financial means with which we can expand our support for radical writers.

As an IAS donor you will receive each issue of *Perspectives on Anarchist Theory*. Also, all IAS supporters who donate \$25 or more will be able to choose from the great books listed on the insert accompanying this issue and will receive a 20% discount at Raven Used Books, an exceptional bookseller located in Amherst, Massachusetts. Donations are tax-deductible for US citizens.

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The following groups and individuals have either pledged or made a donation to the IAS's 1999 fundraising campaign.

Individuals:

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Hamish Alcorn
Randall Amster
Espiritu Beothuk
Craig Bolton
Dan Chodorkoff
Rebecca DeWitt
Maura Dillon
Miranda Edison
David Eisen
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Organizations:

Anarcho-Syndicalist Group-Perth
Movimiento Libertario Cubano
Kate Sharpley Library

The IAS is particularly indebted to:

Anonymous I & II
Miranda Edison
Caroline Morse
Chuck Morse
Jon Thoreau Scott

Director and the institution's identity fuse, thus compromising democracy and participation within the organization. The presence of more board members in one area would make it easier to lessen the demands on the General Director and encourage democracy within the IAS. Second, by making it easier to meet, it would help the board have more thorough and detailed political discussions. Certainly in the course of our development committee meetings we found how much more could be talked through when several of us could gather on a regular basis.

In addition to increasing the number of board members in New York, we want to enhance the racial and cultural diversity of the board. We feel it is important that the board reflect our commitment to egalitarian cultural diversity and that the IAS draws upon the insights and experiences of those who have typically been excluded or marginalized. We also want to diversify the generational make-up of the board. Most of us are in our thirties now and we think it is important that the IAS is multigenerational, enabling the organization to benefit from younger as well older, more experienced individuals. Also, as we develop more international contacts and receive applications for projects in various languages, there is an increased need for board members who are multi-lingual and knowledgeable about varying international circumstances.

Finances

Our financial discussions first centered on our desire to increase the size of our grant awards and finance other activities versus the need to put money in our endowment to ensure our long-term viability. Although larger grants would allow people the financial freedom to devote more time to writing and thus nourish radical consciousness in the near term, the development committee prioritized building up the endowment to ensure that we will be around for a long time. We felt that it would be more important to build the sort of organizational stability that a larger en-

dowment can provide for the IAS (something that is so rare for radical groups) and focus on increasing our funding and expanding our activities when the organization is more financially grounded or when oppositional social movements again play a significant role in society.

Fundraising was another concern. Thus far the IAS has been sustained by generous contributions from generally poorer activists and a few, more wealthy individuals, but we need to find a way to raise more money. We discussed holding fund-raisers, sponsoring speaker series and perhaps selling merchandise. These types of activity can also contribute to a sense of community around the IAS and make a contribution to the local radical scene. Ideally this will get more people involved, develop the IAS's public presence, and spread anarchist ideas.

Conclusion

These are the types of issues we must wrestle with to build a radical organization like the IAS. Our success will in large part come from the content of our principles, the people involved in the organization, and how we structure ourselves. Also essential is an element of hope, a vision of the type of society we think could be, and a lot of dedication and persistence. We also have to be willing to challenge dogma and orthodoxy, and have free and open debate and discussion about what we are doing and where we want to go.

We are encouraged by the IAS's success thus far and certainly the need for fundamental social transformation is more pressing than ever. Working in the IAS in these politically down-times offers us the opportunity to reflect a lot, develop ideas, and carefully build the type of counter-institution we want.

The proposals advanced by the development committee were adopted in substance by the IAS board and have invigorated everyone involved, and helped the transition from the more immediate concerns of our founding period to longer term strategies. The results of this process have made important changes in our thinking and the structure of the organization and will continue to play themselves out over the next year. All this lays the groundwork for us to develop a very concrete and long-term plan for the IAS that will help guide us even farther into the future. The development of this plan will be our next step.

Paul Glavin is a member of the IAS board of directors and lives in Brooklyn, New York.

EL ZAGUAN LIBERTARIO

El Zaguán Libertario is a libertarian socialist and Magonist-Anarchist meeting space in Mexico City. Four different collectives, Acriminia, CACTO, CREAM and the Jean Vigo Film Archive meet at El Zaguán Libertario to pursue individual and joint projects.

The collectives collaborate to publish a newspaper, *Autonomía*, and they have already released five issues so far. *Autonomía* is a forum for debate on radical ideas and the diffusion of information about activities, actions, and updates on campaigns.

A publishing project has also been started with one title on Magonism published so far. In addition, El Zaguán Libertario has dedicated its space to participatory lectures and workshops on a critical, non-academic basis.

The Contemporary Library of Critical and Radical Alternatives also located in the meeting space offers extensive material for the study, investigation, and praxis of contemporary issues.

The Jean Vigo film archive was created for the renewal and revitalization of a radical and social cinematographic culture. Films are regularly shown at El Zaguán Libertario and are also lent out to other groups.

For information on the collective and its projects contact:
El Zaguán Libertario
Calle Zapatecos num.7,
Planta Baja Col. Obrera,
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~ Eva García

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Kathryn Pyne Addelson, *Impure Thoughts: Essays on Philosophy, Feminism, & Ethics* (Temple University Press, paper, pp. 256, 1991). List price: \$16.95

C. George Benello, *From the Ground Up: Essays on Grassroots and Workplace Democracy* (South End Press, paper, pp. 251, 1992). List price: \$12

Murray Bookchin, *The Modern Crisis* (New Society Publishers, paper, pp. 167, 1986). List price: \$9.95

Martin Henry Blatt, *Free Love and Anarchism: The Biography of Ezra Heywood* (University of Illinois Press, hardcover, pp. 207, 1989). List price: \$26.95

Wini Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962-1968: The Great Refusal* (Rutgers University Press, paper, pp. 187, 1989). List price: \$35

Paul Buhle (editor), *History and the New Left: Madison, Wisconsin, 1950-1970* (Temple University Press, paper, pp. 295, 1990). List price: \$22.95

Cornelius Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings, Vol. I, 1946-1955: From the Critique of Bureaucracy to the Positive Content of Socialism* (University of Minnesota Press, paper, pp. 347, 1988). List price: \$17.95

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