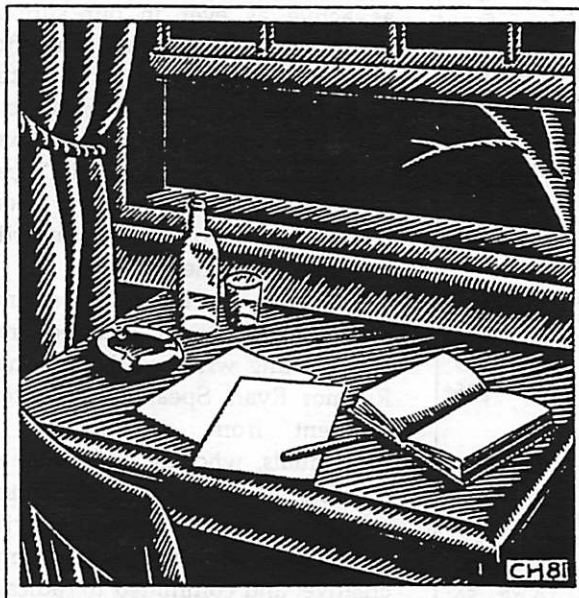


Volume 6, No. 2: Autumn, 2002

INSTITUTE FOR ANARCHIST STUDIES

Perspectives on Anarchist Theory



Grant Awards for July, 2002:

\$2000 to L.A. Kauffman for her book-in-progress, *Direct Action: The Search for Radical Renewal*. Leslie is an accomplished writer and has been an activist for over 20 years. Many of her writings have been published in magazines such as the Nation, Mother Jones, and The Village Voice. *Direct Action* will provide a comprehensive history of direct-action protest in the United States over the past few decades. The work will draw on more than 100 interviews she conducted with organizers, as well as using large amounts of primary source material. Indeed, as both writer and activist deeply involved with direct action, Kauffman has intimate insight into "how

activists in a wide array of movements worked to bring sweeping immediate changes in their areas of central concern, while simultaneously organizing themselves in a way consistent with their beliefs in direct democracy and grassroots empowerment, prefiguring the better society they hoped ultimately to create". The book will provide tools to with which we may reclaim the rich and largely forgotten history of direct action movements, "to make movements more effective, and to pose fundamental challenges to the existing order and create models for a society based on mutual aid and respect". Her projected date of completion is June, 2003.

\$2000 to Ramor Ryan for his book *Globalization and its Discontents*. The

book will be comprised of a collection of stories of resistance to capitalism compiled over the last 15 years. Starting with first-hand experiences of the Anti-Imperialist struggles for national liberation in the 1980's and 1990's (Ireland, Nicaragua, Kurdistan) he critiques the shortcomings of these movements from a radical, anti-authoritarian position. Communicating in a writing style which is informal and engaging. Ramor uses his own political travels and experiences to share stories of revolution, resistance, and freedom. His stories express profound solidarity, compassion, and humor. He currently lives in New York and Chiapas. Projected completion date is December, 2002.

Perspectives on Anarchist Theory

Autumn 2002, Vol. 6 No. 2

Newsletter of the Institute
for Anarchist Studies

Editor: John Petrovato

Subscription Rates

(Two issues per year)

IAS Donors	-	Free
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tax-exempt organization.

IAS Update

Welcome to the autumn 2002 Institute for Anarchist Studies newsletter "*Perspectives on Anarchist Theory*". This year marks the IAS' 6th year in existence and we remain as active as ever in our support for anarchist scholarship and our efforts to build a community of people interested in this work. Indeed, the last six years have been very busy for us. Over this period the IAS has awarded 32 grants to individuals throughout the world (a complete list of grants awarded is included in this newsletter).

This July the Institute for Anarchist Studies (IAS) Board awarded grants to two exciting writers: LA Kauffman and Raymor Ryan. Speaking in voices very different from one another, these individuals, who are writers as well as activists, are involved in numerous projects and anti-authoritarian movements. Both writers are competent, creative, and committed to radical social transformation. We congratulate them on their awards and are very pleased to be given the opportunity to support their work.

We also added a new board member to the IAS in July: Darini Nicholas. Darini is an educator, feminist, and activist who resides in central Vermont. She was born and spent the first half of her life in Sri Lanka. Today she teaches at Norwich University, the Institute for Social Ecology, and Johnson State College in Vermont. Her focus of interest and work has been with social problems, race and ethnicity, the global economy, and the social ecology of globalization. She has researched the impacts of neoliberal policy on the lives of indigenous and rural communities in the South. Darini is currently an active board member with the Vermont Workers' Center and Volunteers with their Workers' Right Hotline. Her background, learning, and experiences, will enable us to bring a broader, more international perspective to our work and we welcome her to the board.

The 2002 fundraising campaign is well underway. At the present time we are still attempting to meet the fundraising goal of \$14,000. Your 2002 donations to

the IAS will provide us the ability to continue awarding \$8,000 in grants and publishing *Perspectives*, our biannual newsletter, which includes organizational updates, contemporary news and analysis. We will also maintain our web site which has received over 30,000 "hits" thus far. This resource offers information in nine different languages (including the recent addition of Finnish in July) and enhances our ability for community building. These goals shall be achieved despite the fact that we have been able to reduce our administrative expenses by about 30%. We thank everyone that has donated thus far to this year's fundraising campaign.

Please consider supporting our efforts and become a contributor to the IAS.

Being the only institution that financially supports anarchist writers, your contribution will help us continue this work. The IAS had developed a track record of significant contributions in its six years of operation. Our short and long term goals will build upon our achievements and with careful planning, hard work, and generous support of our allies, we will succeed in the development and creation of our own unique spaces of scholarship.

We are also pleased to state that we continue to offer books to donors to the IAS. All contributors who make a contribution of \$25 or more are entitled to choose from a large selection of books donated by Raven Used Books of Massachusetts—a long time IAS supporter and distributor of high quality radical literature.

It is our hope that the following years will be even more successful than these first six years. Building on our experience and collective work, the IAS shall continue to support anarchist scholarship, community building, and the development of the anarchist vision.

John Petrovato

Grant Updates

Lorenzo Komboa Ervin has completed his re-write of *Anarchism and the Black Revolution: Outlaw Essays on Race, Class and Struggle*. This 270 page document completes the 3rd edition of the work which has had an impact within the contemporary anarchist movement. The project greatly expands the depth and scope of earlier editions (which was only one-quarter in size of the current edition) and includes a number of articles and essays written between 1994 to the present. His five sections include 1) Anarchism defined; 2) Capitalism and Racism: An analysis of White supremacy; 3) Anarchism and the Black Revolution; 4) Pan-Africanism or Inter-communalism?; and 5) Contradictions of Race and Class. At this time, several radical left and Anarchist publishing houses in the USA have expressed interest in its publication. Lorenzo was awarded \$2000 in February, 2002.

Joseph Lowndes has finished the essay "Unstable Antistatism: The Left, The Right, and the Outlaw Josey Wales". Originally entitled "Anarchism and the Rise of Rightwing Antistatism", his essay examines the diverse origins of modern conservative antistatism in the U.S. through an analysis of the 1976 film *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, and the book on which it was based. The consolidation of a conservative politics in the 1970s was achieved in part by the right's appropriation of New Left antistatism via older forms of racial discourse. This emphasis on New Left influence helps explain the rise of the New Right in a way that is missed in conventional accounts, while demonstrating more generally that political discourse is always contingent and unstable, and open to unintended consequences. The article will appear in the upcoming *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*. Joe Lowndes was awarded \$1000 in June, 1998.

Sean Gauthier has completed his *Many Manifestations: Blueprints for a Bricoleur's War Machine*. Sections of his book, largely seen as a "poststructuralist anarchist response to Hardt and Negri's *Empire*", will be presented at a number of

upcoming conferences: the annual Binghamton conference and also a conference on Rhizomes at York University in Canada. Both presentations will eventually be available on-line. Further, Sean is currently sending the manuscript to publishers for review. He was awarded \$1000 in February, 2002.

Bill Weinberg reports that his research is going well for his book, *Pachamama Betrayed: Ecological Crime and Indigenous Resistance to the Andean Drug Wars*. He is currently focusing on the oil development schemes which lie behind the Andean militarization, and Washington's recasting of the conflict as part of the global war on terrorism since 9-11. Much has been compiled into an article printed in the most recent edition of Cornell University's *Native Americas Quarterly*, and is on-line at <http://ww3report.com/amazonia.html>. Further, he has also been engaged with public speaking on the issue, including a presentation at the Anarchist Forum in New York and the recent *Renewing the Anarchist Tradition* conference in Plainfield, Vermont. Verso has agreed to publish the book upon completion. Bill was awarded \$1000 in July, 2001.

Ali Sauer continues to work toward the completion of her book *Voicing Exclusion(s): A Critical Examination of Current Discourses on the "Anti-Corporate Globalization" Movement*. She currently is reviewing literature on anti-globalization activism, on inclusion and exclusion within various types of organizing, strategies around anti-racism, anti-oppression, etc. Further, she is engaged with interviewing numerous people who feel excluded by the anti-globalization movement or who intentionally do not identify themselves within that space. Adding critiques by cultural theorists such as Spivak, Trinh Minh-ha and Himani Benerji have been included to help foster more meaningful solutions to these issues. Ali projects that her project will be completed by December, 2002. She was awarded \$1000 in February, 2002.

What's happening: books & Events by Chuck Morse

The War on the War on Terror

Anarchists must develop a sharp analysis of the new chapter in political affairs that opened on September 11th. We need to do so in order to both fight and defend themselves against Bush's "War on Terror." Numerous new publications should be helpful. Three stalwarts of the U.S. Left have recently published analyses. In *The Terrorism Trap: September 11 and Beyond*, **Michael Parenti** analyzes the deeper causes and meaning of September 11th. He dissects the religious, political, and economic forces behind the attacks and advances answers to questions such as: Why did the attacks happen? Who is to be blamed? Who is taking advantage of the crisis? Who is hurt by all the ensuing events? He relates contemporary religious terrorism to a longstanding religious tradition of violence as well as the US-led globalization process that has impoverished and angered much of the world (City Lights Books, 2002, 80 pages). In a similar vein, **Noam Chomsky's 9-11** examines the root causes of the September 11th catastrophe, the historical precedents for it, and the possible outcomes as the US responds with its "new war on terrorism" (Seven Stories Press, 2001, 96 pages). In *Terrorism and War* (Seven Stories Press, 2002, 144 pages) **Howard Zinn** shows that while truth is indeed the first casualty of war, there are other casualties as well, including civil liberties on the home front and human rights abroad. He explores the history of U.S. militarism and the long tradition of Americans' resistance to it, from Eugene Debs during World War I to the opponents of military intervention in Afghanistan today.

International Contradictions

An international perspective can be found in *The Clash of Barbarisms: September 11 and the Making of the New World Disorder* by **Gilbert Achcar** (Monthly Review Press, November 2002, 128 pages). Achcar traces the rise of militant and anti-Western Islamic fundamentalism to its roots in U.S. policies aimed at control of the Middle East's oil reserves, especially those in Saudi Arabia. He examines the political premises of Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda and shows how these led to the massive miscalculation of the September 11th attacks, with results both politically counterproductive and morally reprehensible. Achcar argues that the major result of this miscalculation has been the completion of a shift to a world order in which the US unilaterally asserts its power and pursuit of its interests without regard for law or rights. A similar theme is pursued in *The New Crusade: America's War on Terrorism* by **Rahul Mahajan** (Monthly Review Press, 2002, 160 pages) Mahajan challenges the myths that have arisen around the "War on Terrorism" and the ways they are used to benefit a small elite. He demonstrates how accepted accounts of the causes of the U.S. military intervention in Afghanistan, the conduct of the war, and its consequences have been systematically distorted. He shows how global power is being redefined in the process and explores the new directions the war is likely to take. **Stephen Zunes's Tinderbox: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Roots of Terrorism** (Common Courage Press, November 2002, 272 pages) argues that the US is playing a neo-colonial role in the Middle East, whether by assuring access to cheap oil or by backing up the Israeli refusal to provide Palestinians with the right to self-determination, thus generating the very terrorism it claims to be fighting.

The Liberal-Left Position

Two anthologies provide valuable image of the left-liberal opposition to the war. *September 11 and the U.S. War: Beyond the Curtain of Smoke*, edited by **Roger Burbach and Ben Clarke** (City Lights Books, 2002, 176 pages) contains essays by activists, journalists, historians, and political theorists outlining the U.S. policies that contributed to the tragedy of September 11th, the consequences of the new war, and suggestions for alternatives, such as grass-roots organizing linked to the anti-globalization movement and the strengthening of institutions like the International Criminal Court and the United Nations. The editors hope to provide readers with the intellectual basis for resistance to the policies and practices now undertaken in the name of the "War on Terrorism." *Beyond September 11: An Anthology of Dissent*, edited by **Phil Scraton**, assess the validity, lawfulness, and political consequences of the Bush/Blair agenda (Pluto Press, 2002, 272 pages). Examining the context and rhetoric of U.S. vengeance—ennobled by the symbolic title 'Enduring Freedom'—contributors challenge political and popular definitions, constructions, pathologization, and reporting of terrorism. In questioning the representation of the war as 'just', the anthology focuses on civilian deaths in Afghanistan, evidence of US/allied atrocities, violations of prisoners' rights and the U.S. determination to escalate military offensives, regardless of global destabilization. It contains contributions from Noam Chomsky, Naomi Klein, among many others.

The Belly of the Beast

There are valuable new publications that challenge the domestic face of Bush's "War on Terror," particularly the massive violation of civil liberties. In *Silencing Political Dissent: How Post-September 11 Anti-Terrorism Measures Threaten Our Civil Liberties*, constitutional expert **Nancy Chang** examines how the Bush administration's fight against terrorism is resulting in a frightening erosion of First Amendment rights and increase of executive power (Seven Stories Press, 2002, 168 pages). Beginning with a historical review of political repression and intolerance of dissent in America, from the Sedition Act of 1798, through the Smith Act of the 1940s and the internment of Japanese Americans in World War II, to the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO program of the 1960s, Chang recalls how during times of crisis and war, the U.S. government has unjustly detained individuals, invaded personal privacy, and hampered the free speech of Americans. **David Cole and James Dempsey's** *Terrorism and the Constitution: Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Name of National Security* critiques of the U.S. government's response to threats—real and perceived—from communists in the 1950s, to Central American activists in the 1980s, Palestinians in the 1990s, and now Islamic terrorists in the twenty-first century. The authors argue that the U.S. government's anti-terrorism efforts sacrifice civil liberties without protecting national security (The New Press, September 2002, 240 pages).

The Past

A successful anarchist anti-war movement will need to be steeped in the lessons of the past. A historical perspective on the Left's confrontation with war can be found in **Paul Miller's** *From Revolutionaries to Citizens: Antimilitarism in France, 1870-1914* (Duke University Press, 296 pages, 2001). This book is the first comprehensive account of the most important antiwar campaign prior to World War I: the antimilitarism of the French Left. Covering the views and actions of socialists, trade unionists, and anarchists from the time of France's defeat by Prussia in 1870 to the outbreak of hostilities with Germany in 1914, Miller tackles a fundamental question of prewar historiography: how was it possible that the most antimilitarist culture and society in Europe came to accept and even support war in 1914? He argues that the Left's seemingly sudden transformation "from revolutionaries to citizens" was less a failure of resolve than a confession of commonality with the broader ideals of

Another World

Will the anti-globalization movement retain its momentum in an environment of war and terror? Several new books hope to help this happen. *Anti-Capitalism: A Field Guide to the Global Justice Movement* (edited **Emma Bircham, John Charlton, and Andrew Hsiao**) is a pocket-sized handbook, directed toward activists and the uninitiated, providing an overview of the issues, actors, and events in the global justice movement, from Seattle to Genoa to New York. It covers the full range of controversies animating protests across the world, including trade, environmental destruction, pharmaceutical patents, genetically modified food, war, and immigration controls, and explains why these movements have sprung up in opposition to corporate globalization. It is organized as a field guide to widely-debated topics, regions of the world, and major players, and features a short encyclopedia of activist organizations, multinational agencies, and corporations. It also includes contributions from many well known chroniclers and analysts of the new movements (The New Press, November 2002, 416 pages). **Sureyya Evren and Rahmi G. Ogdul**, two comrades from Istanbul, have just released *Another World Is Possible*, a Turkish-language anthology that provides a broad survey of the anti-globalization movement, with a special emphasis on anarchism (Studyo Imge Publishing House, 2002, 365 pages). Also worth checking out is **David McNally's** *Another World Is Possible: Globalization and Anti-Capitalism* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Press, 2002).

The Tradition

The contemporary anarchist movement needs to confront the failures and virtues of the classical anarchist tradition, but to do so we must grasp this tradition in its fullness. Fortunately we can now draw upon a greater wealth of resources than ever before. For example, the Kate Sharpley Library has provided a missing link between Godwin's *Enquiry into Political Justice* and Proudhon's *What is Property?* with the publication of *The World's First Anarchist Manifesto*, which was written in 1850 (Kate Sharpley Library, 2002, 35 pages).

Bakunin

Secondary sources on anarchist thinkers often skim over the deeper theoretical foundations of their ideas, although hopefully **Paul McLaughlin's** *Mikhail Bakunin: The Philosophical Basis of His Theory of Anarchy* will provide a corrective (Algora Publishing, 2002, 248 pages). In the first English-language philosophical study of Bakunin, McLaughlin offers an interpretation of Bakunin's philosophy and, in part, a defense of it against Marxist and liberal scholarship to date.

What's Happening (continued)

Emma

Emma Goldman's legacy will soon be displayed on stage and screen. *Emma Goldman, a play* by Howard Zinn, dramatizes Goldman's life story (South End Press, September 2002, 112 pages). Pacific Street Films's Joel Sucher and Steven Fischler have announced the beginning of production on a feature length documentary, *The Suitcase: The Legacy of Emma Goldman and the Spanish Revolution*. The film will examine the life and legacy of this extraordinary Anarchist icon and highlight her involvement in the libertarian social revolution of 1936-1939. Their press release explains that their work was motivated, in part, by recent Emma Goldman documentaries that have offered "a confused portrait of Emma, or are inclined towards divorcing her from her anarchist principles." Sucher and Fischler also produced *Free Voice of Labor: The Jewish Anarchists* (1980) and *Anarchism in American* (1981).

Sacco and Vanzetti

The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti remains an unforgettable injustice, even seventy-five years later. Extensive background on the case is available in Richard Newby's *Kill Now, Talk Forever: Debating Sacco and Vanzetti* (1st Books Library, 2002, 662 pages). This handbook reprints all critical testimony from the trial as well as major items from the 75-year debate on the case.

Homage to Albalate de Cinca

The literature on anarchist contributions to the Spanish Revolution continues to grow. A new pamphlet from the Kate Sharpley Library, *Looking Back after Twenty Years of Jail* by Miguel Garcia, discusses Garcia's participation in the revolution, his years of imprisonment, and his involvement in the anti-Franco resistance (Kate Sharpley Library, 2002, 14 pages). Spanish readers should check out *Pasado Compartido: Memorias de anarcosindicalistas de Albalate de Cinca (1928-1938)* by Hanneke Willemse (trans.: *Shared Past: Anarcho-Syndicalist Memories from Albalate de Cinca (1928-1938)*). This book tells the story of the pre-revolutionary, revolutionary, and post-revolutionary anarchist experience in Albalate de Cinca, Aragon, Spain (Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2002, 450 pages)

America Latina

The historical horizon of Latin American anarchism is finally opening up. Chile's Ediciones Espiritu Libertario has just released a double book that is among one of the few comprehensive treatments of Latin American anarchism. It contains *Cronica Anarquista de la Subversion Olvidada* by Oscar Ortiz (trans. *Anarchist Chronicle of the forgotten Subversion*) and Luis Vitale's *Contribución a una Historia del Anarquismo en America Latina* (trans. *Contribution to a History of the Anarchism in Latin America*) (2002, 195 pages). The major work of the father of Peruvian anarchism will finally be available in English: Manuel Gonzalez Prada's *Paginas Libres* is forthcoming as *Free Pages and Hard Times: Anarchist Musings* (Oxford University Press, September 2002, 320 pages). A major incident in the history of Mexico anarchism has been extensively documented for the first time in English: Andrew Grant Wood's *Revolution in the Street: Women, Workers and Urban Protest in Veracruz, 1870-1927* (Scholarly Resources, 2001, 288 pages) tells the story of the 1922 anarchist-led rent strikes that exploded in the Mexican port of Veracruz. French readers will want to check out Isabelle Felici's *La Cecilia: Histoire d'une communauté anarchiste* (Atelier de Création Libertaire, 2001, 121 pages), which chronicles the history of the 19th century anarchist commune in Brazil.

Love and Rage

The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (1989-1998) was the most serious organizational expression of anarchism in North America in decades, and its accomplishments and failures are rich in lessons. It will be possible to explore some of these lessons in the soon to be released anthology, *A New World in Our Hearts: 8 Years of Writings from the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation*, edited by Roy San Filippo (AK Press, February 2003, 112 pages). This collection will contain articles from the paper, the internal "Discussion Bulletin," and a short history of the organization.

Support

Comrades from Venezuela's El Centro de Estudios Sociales Libertarios are asking for financial contributions from supporters around the world to help them open the very first anarchist library in their country. They presently have 1000 books and 2,500 publications, which can be made immediately available to the public, although they must raise \$7000 to secure a space and other requisites of the library to do so. Please make checks payable to Luis Silva and send them to: apartado postal 49.110, Bello Monte, Caracas Venezuela or write for more information.

6 Years and Thirty two Projects from Six Different Countries

Six years ago, the IAS was created by committed activists who believed in the necessity of supporting their comrades in the face of incredible resistance to radical change. The resistance part hasn't changed and that's why we're still here. What has changed is that the IAS has now supported thirty two projects by authors from six different countries, projects that might have been put on the back burner due to financial difficulties. We've funded contemporary research, Spanish language pieces, historical studies, and even a play.

It's been a great six years and we're looking forward to many more! Most importantly, because of our generous supporters, many more years of IAS funded projects is a reality. And, the

IAS needs your continued support to achieve this. We must raise \$14,000 by January 2003 to continue awarding grants to radical writers and publishing *Perspectives*.

Your contribution will help the IAS meet its 2002 fundraising goal and thus make the following contributions to the development of anti-authoritarian social criticism:

- The IAS will award \$8000 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 *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.

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Donate to the IAS and Get Great Books!

This year Raven Used Books is offering 47 titles to IAS donors. Raven Used Books specializes in used and discount books in philosophy, history, cultural studies, labor history, and women's studies. They carry over 17,000 books, including more than 200 titles on anarchism (many of which are out of print and hard to find). Raven Used Books is located at 71 North Pleasant Street, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002. Phone: (413) 253-9780.

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Working Group
Social Anarchism
Pacific Street Films
Chumbawamba
Jura Books
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tario
Cubano

Since January, 1997, the IAS has awarded 32 grants. Below is a complete list of grants awarded between January, 1997 and spring, 2002.

\$2000 to Lorenzo Komboa Erwin for a re-write of *Anarchism and the Black Revolution*. The book, first published in 1989 as a pamphlet, has had a significant impact within the anarchist movement. The work argues that a "class and economic analysis for the reconstruction of society is not possible if racism as a social impediment is not fully considered, and the concerns of people of color are not included in a social revolutionary agenda". Beyond his important written contributions, Lorenzo has also been active in prison rights work, the Black Autonomy/ "people of color" tendency within contemporary anarchism, anti-racism movements, and other social change projects.

\$1000 to Ali Sauer for her book-length piece entitled: *Voicing Exclusion(s): A Critical Examination of Current Discourses on the "Anti-Corporate Globalization" Movement*. In what promises to be a fascinating study, Ali will investigate how social movements in general, and the "anti-globalization movement" in particular, reproduce certain structures of domination by the very way such movements define themselves - - by a discourse of inclusivity. Her project, which will consist of interviews and research, will attempt to understand the limitations of such discourses, and also suggest ways in which they may be redefined to become more relevant and powerful. One of the many contributions that will emerge from this work will be, as Ali puts it, to "encourage a radical redefinition of anti-globalization activism that recognizes, in a non-colonial manner, the range of people engaged in this work".

\$1000 to Sean Gauthier for his unique book *Many Manifestations: Blueprints for a Bricoleur's War Machine*. As opposed to most contemporary scholars, Sean questions whether the process and development of globalization

inherent in late capitalism is unavoidable (as it is often assumed). Informed by such thinkers as Foucault and Deleuze, Sean will critique globalization and the arguments which maintain it, and in turn, draw out effective strategies for resistance. In many ways, his project may be viewed as a "post-structuralist anarchist response to Hardt and Negri's *Empire*".

\$2000 to Carlos Fernandez and Jena Cephas for their two part project *Anarchists of Color* (recently renamed *The Quilombo Project*). This project will explore the experience and theories of people of color within anarchism. The first part of the project, in the form of interviews and reports, will describe the actual presence of people of color in contemporary US anarchism. The second part, a 15 - 20 page overview of the theories used by anarchists of color in comparison with anarchist canons, will seek to reevaluate anarchist theory in the light of the comparison. For up to date information on the project, there is a website for the project, at <http://www.quilomboproject.org>. Carlos Fernandez is pursuing an undergraduate degree in Film Studies while his activist work ranges from protests of the Gulf War to current prison reform work and his work has been published in *Arsenal Magazine* and *Onward Magazine*. Jena Cepha is currently studying architecture as an undergraduate with a focus on gentrification and affordable housing and she has been engaged in grassroots activism for over ten years, including the Youth Power! Anti-racist conference in Detroit, 1996.

\$1000 to Ronald Campbell for his project *The Anarchist Within: Anarchist Prisoners Building a Movement*. This project will examine contributions made by imprisoned anarchists to the anarchist community and will cover the various organizations and projects founded by these prisoners,

as well as their reception by fellow prisoners, prison administrators, and the anarchist community. While many prisoners have written for various anarchist publications, this project focuses on anarchist groups operating within prison. Ronald Campbell has been actively involved in anarchist support groups as well as, while serving time, anarchist groups within prison.

\$1000 to Bill Weinberg for his book in progress *Pachamama Betrayed: Ecological Crime and Indigenous Resistance to the Andean Drug Wars*. This book seeks to deconstruct the Orwellian euphemism of the "War on Drugs" to reveal how US military involvement in Latin America has not changed since the era of "gunboat diplomacy." By dissecting corporate interests in Columbia and examining indigenous resistance movements against US plans for the region, which violate international standards on war crimes and genocide, it will make a case for the revival of anti-war activism in the US and forge ties between the US and Andean activist communities. Bill Weinberg is the author of *War on the Land: Ecology and Politics in Central America* (Zed, 1990) and *Homage to Chiapas: The New Indigenous Struggles in Mexico* (Verso, 2000).

\$2000 to Caitlin Hewitt-White, for her study, *"Gender in Current Anti-Globalization Activism in Canada."* Using Canadian examples, her project will assess the potential effectiveness of the current anti-globalization movement in resisting capitalist globalization and in reconstructing a society based on freedom, equality, cooperation, and justice. First-hand information will be gathered from activists, which will then be analyzed within broad social and political themes to discuss the challenges that face the anti-globalization movement in not only resisting capitalism, but also in confronting oppression in all its forms and in all spaces. In the face of a rejuvenated movement, this project will hopefully help us to correct on-going problems such as sexism within the left. Caitlin is a student at the University of Waterloo and is active in the Peak Collective and Guelph Action Network.

\$1500 to Jessica Lawless for her article and documentary, *"Racializing Anarchism Then and Now."* This piece focuses on the re-emergence of anarchism in the broader public sphere since the protest in Seattle and subsequent international anti-globalization protests. Addressing both anarchist and non-anarchist identified audiences, this study will counter mainstream mediated portrayals of the anarchist protestors as ahistorical, violent, young, white males who are incapable of offering a viable critique of society. In particular, it will argue that the mainstream media has agitated public anxieties toward young people who identify as anarchists by relying on racialized and racist constructions of "blackness" and urban uprising, taking the focus off the issues being raised and putting it instead on issues of law and order. Jessica, currently a graduate student at Claremont Graduate University, has been active in many areas, including women's self defense, social work, and as an organizer of various anarchist collectives in Seattle.

\$2000 to Andrés Pérez and Felipe del Solar for their book *Chile: Anarchist Practices Under Pinochet*. As the title indicates, this piece focuses on anarchist practices and organization under Pinochet's military dictatorship from a political as well as cultural perspective. The study will span Pinochet's reign, beginning in 1973, to the present, by tracing the social manifestations, organizational relationships, and political contributions of anarchists. Andrés Pérez is an international free-lance journalist and writes for the national political magazine *Ercilla*. Felipe del Solar is studying history at the Universidad Católica de Chile, and has taught at Infocap, the university of the workers, in Santiago, Chile.

\$500 to Will Firth for his translation of three Russian writings, "Russian Capitalism and Globalization" by the MPST (the local Moscow group of the KRAS-IWA) from a 1999 collection of essays entitled *The Return of the Working Class*. The second piece is actually two essays on Nestor Makhno,

one by Russian anarchist Ida Melt; and another by N. Sukhogorskaya, originally published in Nestor Ivanovich Makhno (ed. VF Verstyuk, Dzvin Publishers, Kiev 1991). The first piece in an anarcho-syndicalist look at the economic and power structures in the USSR and contemporary Russia and examines how they fit into the world economy; and the real-existing labor movement in Russia and draws conclusions about the kind of autonomous, anti-capitalist workers' movement which would be needed to combat rampant neo-liberalism. The Makhno pieces are of a historical nature, incorporating recent research on Makhno and his wife.

\$1000 to Kevin Doyle for *Orange Fire*, a three act theater play about the life, beliefs and struggles of Irish activist Captain Jack White (1879-1946), who strongly identified as an anarchist. White's life and anarchist beliefs have all but been obliterated due to the destruction of his memoirs and papers by his family (White came from a privileged Protestant family loyal to the British monarchy) and the fact that, as a revolutionary, he has been "written out" of the history books. In order to provide a framework with which activists can challenge sectarian divisions in Ireland, this play aims to situate White within Irish revolutionary history as well as anarchism and draws on the destruction of White's papers as a metaphor for the repressive mentality of a sectarian society. Kevin Doyle is an award-winning short story writer and political activist. He is a founding member of the Workers Solidarity Movement, an anarchist organization in Ireland.

\$1000 to Lucien van der Walt for "Anarchism and Revolutionary Syndicalism in South Africa, 1904-1921", which expands upon a project previously funded by the IAS. This new work will deal with the influence of anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism on broader social movements in the same period. The specific focus is on the impact of libertarian socialist ideas on trade unions and Black Nationalism. This

project builds upon the original research into the influence of anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism on revolutionary groups in South Africa. Lucien van der Walt is a student, teacher and activist in South Africa. His work focuses on trade union activity in Africa and he has written extensively on historical and contemporary labor politics.

\$1500 to Mike Staudenmaier for his piece, *Towards a New Anarchist Theory of Nationalism*. This piece will develop an in-depth historical analysis on anarchist theories of nationalism and the diversity of opinions within anarchism. It will focus on a contradiction between theory rooted in class-based international criticism and a practice normally consisting of uncritical anti-imperialist and antiracist solidarity. He intends to show that this contradiction between theory and practice, along with very little written on contemporary nationalism from an anarchist perspective, only serves to polarize the issue of nationalism. Ethnic groups try to advance their freedom at all costs and anarchism often dismisses nationalistic struggles out-of-hand due to the historically simplistic anarchist belief that all people will triumph equally. This piece will include a case study of contemporary revolutionary nationalism; an intellectual history of anarchism and nationalism looking at writers such as Mikhail Bakunin, Gustav Landauer, Rudolf Rocker, and Freddy Perlman; and a section on contemporary issues that often intersect with nationalistic struggles, such as prison and antifascist activism. To be completed in March 2001, this piece will provide us with an innovative and sophisticated understanding of nationalism from an anarchist perspective. Mike Staudenmaier has been an active anarchist for ten years now, primarily in the Chicago area. He has also worked extensively with the Puerto Rican community in Chicago and has had opportunity to interact with members of the Puerto Rican nationalist movement on a daily basis for several years.

\$2500 to Alberto Villarreal for his Spanish translation of Murray Bookchin's *Remaking Society: Pathways to a Green Future* (Rehaciendo la Sociedad). Originally published in 1990, this book is meant to be a summarization of social ecology, a political philosophy that bases the ecological crisis in the emergence of social hierarchy and domination and advocates for a radical transformation of society. A wide variety of Spanish speaking movements, particularly in Latin America, are struggling with social and ecological issues, which can be radicalized by ideas presented in *Remaking Society*. To be completed by September 2001, this translation project will greatly add to Latin American radical intellectualism. Alberto Villarreal has translated several of Bookchin's essays for *Comunidad*, newsletter for the *Comunidad* project of Sweden and Uruguay, and *Tierra Amiga*, magazine of REDES - Friends of the Earth Uruguay. He was a founding member of REDES and has been actively involved with social ecology for the last fifteen years.

\$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 organizations 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.

\$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.

\$2000 to Samuel Mbah for his book *Military Dictatorship and the State in Africa* (co-authored by I.E. Igarwey). This book will utilize an anarchist critique to analyze military dictatorship on the African continent. It is intended to follow up their previous book, *African Anarchism: The History of a Movement* (See Sharp Press, 1997). Mbah and Igarwey will use libertarian analytical tools to lay bare the problems of military dictatorship. They will demonstrate that military dictatorship is a logical, if perverse, extension of the state system (despite liberal and state socialist criticisms). They will also show that overthrowing military dictatorship does not remedy the instability, economic difficulties, and lack of freedom inherent in the state system and neo-colonial capitalism. Drawing on case studies of Nigeria, Egypt, Zaire, and other countries, they will address the role of the military as an institution on the African continent since the 1960's. They will examine military dictatorship in an historical context, the relationship between the military and state system, and its connection to the international political order. They will also portray the repression of free speech and human rights, corruption and economic mismanagement, and the destruction of communal African values. The authors

will conclude that overthrowing military dictatorships will not put an end to the oppressive conditions on the African continent. They will show that military dictatorships are not isolated aberrations of the state system and that nothing short of an anarchist response to the state and capitalism will fundamentally advance the African people to freedom.

\$1000 to Joe Lowndes for his piece, *Anarchism and the Rise of Rightwing Anti-statism*. This work will analyze the emergence of anti-government politics on the American right, contrast this with the current failure of the anarchist left to construct and convey a viable anti-statist politics, and discuss the centrality of race to both. It will explore the historic connection between decentralism and racial domination in American political culture in order to advance an anarchist politics that can express an anti-statist populism delinked from discourses of racial domination. Lowndes lives in Brooklyn, New York.

\$900 to Patricia Greene for *Federica Montseny: The Woman and the Ideal/ La Mujer y El Ideal*. This book will present the first comprehensive English language study of the works and political legacy of Federica Montseny, an important Spanish anarchist and intellectual. Greene lives in East Lansing, Michigan.

\$600 to Will Firth for the translation of three articles on Eastern European anarchism from Russian and Bulgarian into English. The two Russian articles are: "A Survey of the Anarchist Movement in the Ukraine 1987-1994" and "Under Fire Between the Lines" (about the Volunteer Medical Brigade formed by socialists and anarchists in 1993 during the conflicts over the seizure of the Russian parliament). The Bulgarian translation will be a 'compilation' of various chapters from the book *National Liberation and Libertarian Federalism* by Georgi Khadzhieff. Firth lives in Berlin, Germany.

\$500 to Lucien van der Walt for a collection of historical articles entitled *Anarchism and Revolutionary Syndicalism in South Africa, 1904 – 1921*. Van der Walt lives in Johannesburg, South Africa.

\$2000 to Chris Day for *Anarchism and the Zapatista Revolution*. This book will develop a revolutionary, anti-authoritarian analysis of Zapatismo as expressed in the words and deeds of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) and Zapatista communities in Chiapas, Mexico. It will have three main components: an empirical investigation of Zapatista theory and practice, a consideration of the two main forms of libertarian thinking in Mexico – the traditions of indigenous autonomy and European anarchism; and finally an investigation of the more recent historical roots of the EZLN in the Mexican New Left and the indigenous struggles of Chiapas in the past few decades. It will draw out some of the important lessons that the Zapatista struggle has to offer contemporary anarchism. Chris is currently in Chiapas, Mexico.

\$1200 to Matt Hern and Stu Chaulk for *The Myth of the Internet: Private Isolation and Local Community*. This book will use a radically democratic, anarchist perspective to investigate and critique the social and cultural repercussions of the Internet. It will argue that, while the Internet appears to be a medium for genuine communication and democracy, it is actually undermining the very arenas in which actual freedom and democracy can flourish. Matt and Stu live in Vancouver, British Columbia.

\$800 to Melissa Burch for *Autonomy, Culture, and Natural Resources in the Neo-liberal Age*. This piece will present a comparative critique of the domination of global capitalism and its devastating effects on the local culture in three regions: the Mexican State of Chiapas, the North Atlantic Autonomous Region of Nicaragua, and the state of Vermont. It will bring to light the fundamental incompatibility of the neoliberal model with an authentic, local, and ecological culture.

Melissa lives in Plainfield, Vermont.

\$1000 to Zoe Erwin and Brian Tokar for the production of *Engineering Life: A People's Guide to Biotechnology*. This anthology of essays will bring a comprehensive and radical perspective to current debates on biotechnology. It will emphasize the urgent need for an activist response to biotechnology and that efforts against it must also challenge larger structures of social domination.

\$500 to Frank Adams for the essay, *The Educational Ideas and Management Practices of 19th and 20th Century Anarchists in Labor-Owned Cooperatives*. This essay will explore the practical educational efforts made by anarchists to end the exploitation of their labor by capital. It will examine their accomplishments and failures in order to enhance our ability to organize work wisely, effectively, and in accord with anarchist values.

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

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

\$1000 to Murray Bookchin for the completion of his book, *The Spanish Anarchists*. This new book will complement the first volume, which

chronicled 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 anarchism in the development of modern art in America. It will explore both turn-of-the-century debates about the relationship between art and politics and the development of discourses that cast anarchism in the arts as part of a larger revolutionary culture. It will demonstrate that anarchist artists and art critics formulated their artistic practices and criticism to further radical programs of social transformation.

\$500 to Kwaku Kushindana for his essay, "Avoiding New Forms of Repression: An African-American Reply." This piece will examine the rise of conservative tendencies within African-American politics. It will begin with an analysis of the black liberation struggle of the 1960's, which will set the context for a critique of contemporary black leaders and a concluding discussion of the black tradition of anarchy.

\$500 to Paul Fleckenstein for his piece, "Civic Space and the Anarchist Dream." This essay will use Burlington, Vermont, as a case study for a critique of contemporary municipal development policy and practice. It will explore the market's transformation of images of civic space, the structural dependence of the municipality on the international market and the nation-state, and the implications of these developments for an ecological, anarchist politics.

NOTE: For information regarding the status of these projects, or where one might find a particular completed project, please feel free to contact us for assistance.

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Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy From Colonial Times to the Present* (South end, paper, 1996, 411 pp., \$18)

Seung-Joon Ahn, *From State to Community: Rethinking South Korean Modernization* (Aigis, paper, 1994, 107 pp., \$9.50)

Teresa Amott & Julie Matthaei, *Race, Gender And Work: A Multi-Cultural Economic History Of Women In The U.S.* (South end, paper, 1996, 442 pp., \$21)

George Benello, *From the Ground Up: Essays on Grassroots and Workplace Democracy* (South end, paper, 250 pp., \$12)

Carl Boggs, *The Two Revolutions: Gramsci, and the Dilemmas of Western Marxism* (South end, paper, 1984, \$14)

Jim Bohlen, *Making Waves: The Origins and Future of Greenpeace* (Black Rose, paper, 2001, \$18.95)

Murray Bookchin, *The Third Revolution: Popular Movements in the Revolutionary Era: Volume 2* (Cassell, paper, 1998, 351 pp., \$22.95)

Jeremy Brecher, *Strike!* (South end, paper, 421 pp., 1997, \$22)

Jeremy Brecher & Tim Costello, *Global Village Or Global Pillage: Economic Reconstruction From The Bottom Up* (South end, paper, 1994, 237 pp., \$14)

Peter Brock, *Freedom From War: Nonsectarian Pacifism 1814—1914* (Toronto, cloth, 1991, 434 pp., \$60)

Jane Burbank, *Intelligentsia & Revolution: Russian Views of Bolshevism, 1917—1922* (Oxford, paper, 1986, 340 pp., o.p. \$20)

Grace Chang, *Disposable Domestic: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy* (South end, paper, 2000, 235 pp., \$18)

Noam Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* (South end, paper, 1989, 421 pp., \$20)

Ward Churchill, *Since Predator Came: Notes From the Struggle for American Indian Liberation* (Aigis Press, hardcover, pp. 426, 1995, \$30)

Kenneth Dean & Brian Massumi, *First and Last Emperors: The Absolute State and the Body of the Despot* (Autonomedia, paper, 1992, 208 pp., \$7)

Marianne Debouzy (ed.), *In the Shadow of the Statue of Liberty: Immigrants, Workers, and Citizens in the American Republic, 1880—1920* (Illinois, paper, 1992, 320 pp., \$16)

Susan Eckstein (ed.), *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements* (California, paper, 1989, 341 pp., \$16)

Martin Espada, *Zapata's Disciple: Essays* (South end, paper, 1998, 144 pp., \$14)

Jerry Fresia, *Toward an American Revolution: Exposing the Constitution & Other Illusions* (South end, paper, 251 pp., \$19)

Alli Gedicks, *The New Resource Wars: Native and Environmental Struggles against Multinational Corporations* (South end, paper, 270 pp., \$18)

Lois M. Gibbs, *Dying From Dioxin: A citizen's Guide to Reclaiming Our Health & Rebuilding Democracy* (South end, paper, 1995, 362 pp., \$20)

Carl Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cornell, paper, 1991, 525 pp., \$18)

Felix Guattari, *Chaosmosis: An Ethico-Aesthetic Paradigm* (Indiana, cloth, 1992, 132 pp., \$35)

Bell hooks and Cornel West, *Breaking Bread: Insurgent Black Intellectual Life* (South end, paper, 1991, 174 pp., \$14)

Bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (South end, paper, 1984 pp., \$14)

Bell hooks, *Black Looks: Race & Representation* (South end, paper, 200 pp., \$15)

Bell hooks, *Sisters of the Yam: Black Workers & Self-Recovery* (South end, paper, 1994 pp., \$14)

Bell Hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (South end, paper, 235 pp., \$17)

John Hutton, *Neo-Impressionism & the Search for Solid Ground: Art, Science, and Anarchism in Fin-de-Siecle France* (Louisiana, cloth, 1994, 275 pp., \$40)

M. Annette Jaimes (ed.), *The State Of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, And Resistance* (South end, paper, 460

pp., \$20)

Katie King, *Theory in its Feminist Travels: Conversations in U.S. Women's Movements* (Indiana, paper, 1994, 189 pp., \$14.95)

Ken Knabb, *Public Secrets: Collected Skirmishes of Ken Knabb* (Bureau of Public Secrets, paper, 1997, 408 pp., \$15)

Winona Laduke, *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life* (South end, paper, 1999, 240 pp., \$16)

Staughton Lynd, *Living Inside our Hope: A Steadfast Radical's Thought on Rebuilding the Movement* (Cornell, paper, 1997, 281 pp., \$16)

Manning Marable, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (South end, paper, 353 pp., \$22)

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cloth, 1992, 256 pp., \$30)

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Judith Zimmerman, *Midpassage: Alexander Herzen and European Revolution, 1847—1852* (Pittsburgh, cloth, 305 pp., \$30)

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