SPANDA JOURNAL
BIYEARLY OF THE SPANDA FOUNDATION
SPANDA.ORG
IV,1/2013

ANARCHY & NONPROFIT

AN EMERGING AFFAIR

EDITED BY
SAHLAN MOMO

CARL MILOFSKY ~ BARHANU NEGA ANDREW GAVIN MARSHALL GRAEME CHESTERS BURKHARD GNÄRIG NOAM CHOMSKY
SIMON CRITCHLEY THOMAS GRECO SCOTT TURNER DAVID GOODWAY CHRISTOPHER J. COYNE ~ ABIGAIL R. HALL

SPANDA

OPEN ACCESS STATEMENT ~ PLEASE READ

This publication is Open Access.
This work is not simply an electronic publication, it is the open access version of a work that exists in a number of forms, the traditional printed form being one of them.

Copyright Notice

This work is 'Open Access', published under a creative commons license which means that you are free to copy, distribute, display, and perform the work as long as you clearly attribute the work to the authors, that you do not use this work for any commercial gain in any form and that you in no way alter, transform or build on the work outside of its use in normal academic scholarship without express permission of the author and the publisher of this volume.

Furthermore, for any reuse or distribution, you must make clear to others the license terms of this work. For more information see the details of the creative commons licence at this website: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/2.5/

This means that you can:

- read and store this document free of charge
- distribute it for personal use free of charge
- print sections of the work for personal use
- read or perform parts of the work in a context where no financial transactions take place

However, you cannot:

- gain financially from the work in anyway
- sell the work or seek monies in relation to the distribution of the work
- use the work in any commercial activity of any kind
- profit a third party indirectly via use or distribution of the work
- distribute in or through a commercial body (with the exception of academic usage within educational institutions such as schools and universities)
- reproduce, distribute or store the cover image outside of its function as a cover of this work
- alter or build on the work outside of normal academic scholarship

Cover Art

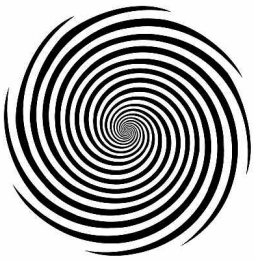
The artwork on the cover of this publication is not open access and falls under traditional copyright provisions and thus cannot be reproduced in any way without written permission of the artists and their agents. The cover can be displayed as a complete cover image for the purposes of publicizing this work; however, the artwork cannot be extracted from the context of the cover of this specific work without breaching the artist's copyright.

Support Spanda Educatioanl Initiative / Purchasing Books

Spanda Educational Initiative makes open access publications available free of charge to underserved individuals who could benefit from her knowledge and to groups and nonprofit organizations who serve people in need and the common good. The PDF you are reading is an electronic version of a physical publication that can be purchased through any bookseller, including on-line stores, through the normal book supply channels, or from Spanda directly. Please support this open access publication by requesting that your organization/institution purchase a physical printed copy of this publication, or by purchasing a copy yourself.

If you have any questions please contact the publisher:

Spanda Publishing
Laan van Meerdervoort 70
2517 AZ The Hague, Netherlands
info@spanda.org / www.spanda.org



ANARCHY & NONPROFIT

AN EMERGING AFFAIR

COLOPHON

SPANDA JOURNAL

ISBN 978-88-7778-141-3 - ISSN 2210-2175

EDITOR SAHLAN MOMO

EDITORIAL BOARD SUSANA INÉS PÉREZ
~ LAUDE LORRAINE, SAHLAN MOMO
~ JEREMY STAALBHOM~ TIM STUPRAT

EDITORIAL AND EXECUTIVE OFFICE
LAAN VAN MEERDERVOORT 70
NL-2517AN THE HAGUE | THE NETHERLANDS
T +31 (0) 70 362 6523 | F +31 (0) 70 362 9848
JOURNAL@SPANDA.ORG | WWW.SPANDA.ORG

PUBLISHER SPANDA PUBLISHING
DESIGN SPANDA CREATIVE UNIT
TO SUBSCRIBE *Journal@spanda.org*
© MMXIII SPANDA FOUNDATION

The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of Spanda concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its attributes, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or bounderies, or its economic system or degree of development. Designations such as 'developed', 'industrialized' and 'developing' are intended for statistical convenience and do not necessarily express a judgment about the stage reached by a particular individual, country or area in the development process. Mention of firm names or commercial product does not constitute an endorsment by Spanda.

The opinions, statistical data and estimates contained in signed articles are the responsibility of the author(s), including those who are Spanda members or staff, and should not be considered as reflecting the views or bearing the endorsement of Spanda. Neither Spanda nor any person acting on her behalf is responsible for the way in which information contained in this publication may be used.

Spanda makes every possible effort to ensure that the information in articles is accurate. Every reasonable attempt has been made to identify the owners of pictures' copyrights. Errors or omissions will be corrected in subsequent issues. To report errors requiring correction or clarification, please email Journal@spanda.org.

Submissions may be edited for a variety of reasons, including the need to conform with in-house stile.

No part of this publication can be used or reproduced without prior permission in writing from the Publisher.

Spanda Publishing is an imprint of Semar Publishers, www.semar.org.

SPANDA MAINTAINS CONSULTATIVE STATUS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ECOSOC).

SPANDA JOURNAL

YEAR IV, NO. 1 JANUARY/JUNE 2013

ANARCHY & NONPROFIT: AN EMERGING AFFAIR

CONTENT

EDITORIAL - **SAHLAN MOMO**
Mesoeconomy and the Clean Code v

DAVID GOODWAY
Not Protest but Direct Action: Anarchism Past and Present 1

NOAM CHOMSKY
The Kind of Anarchism I Believe in, and What's Wrong with Libertarians 7

GRAEME CHESTERS
Exodus: From Civil Society to Radical Disobedience 11

SIMON CRITHCHLEY
Infinitely Demanding 21

CHRISTOPHER J. COYNE ~ ABIGAIL R. HALL
Anarchy, Philantrophy, and the Provisionof Public Goods in a Free Society 25

BURKHARD GNÄRIG
Turning Challenges into Opportunities. Key Elements of an ICOS Change Agenda 31

SCOTT TURNER
The Non-government Alternative: Anarchist Theory and Global Civil Society 35

CARL MILOFSKY ~ BERHANU NEGA
Stable Anarchy and the Persistence of Civil Society Organizations in Ethiopia 41

ANDREW GAVIN MARSHALL
An Anarchistic Understanding of the Social Order: Environmental Degradation, Indigenous Resistance, and the Place of Sciences 53

THOMAS H. GRECO JR
People-centered Adjustment: Trascending the Debt Crisis and creating a Future of Abundance, freedom, and Global Harmony 69

ABSTRACTS :: SUMMARIES 77

MESOECONOMY AND THE CLEAN CODE

EDITORIAL

Friends and colleagues asked for a collection of themes relating to the current issue of the Journal and I am grateful to share here sparse thoughts and insights. Where reunification takes hold, some experienced indications may help, for the way should be consciously practised and not only thought about. Theorizing is looking afar, further than our own nose, as theoria *and* praxis *squint on the intersected plane. A ventriloquist speaks with its belly, voicing something apart from the character on stage. In orderly gait, one step after another, we are proceeding as witness of our times, riding the tiger on a razor blade, fully aware that either ways we may fall in disdain and be bound to renewal until our whole lot is done, free and ready for the next leap.*

*
* *

The best ideas are common property.
SENECA, *Moral Letters to Lucilius*, XII:11.

CIAO, IT IS A REAL PLEASURE TO GET ACQUAINTED with you. My name is Big Bang, Big being my given name, Bang my family name. I am delighted to find out that we share common concerns: transmutation and development, inner growth and all its innervations into the mundane world dynamically balanced in the mesoteric dimension[1], where we are heading to lie down before Atropos snaps the tread. In the meantime, I am enjoying offering what I have received so far. I'm a good listener, and a few words I can still spell, a spell in the air and a spell in a spell. This written communication is annoying at times, annoying in deeds.

The brighter the light the darker the shadow, utopia is a cavatina preceding the final master aria, unbound for madrigals, sonnets or rhymes, but to unveil the benefits beyond self-interest whither humanity is leaping: the fresh *dash* (-) uniting the spiritual-material experience, coupling the esoteric to the exoteric planes by the umbilical cord of a quantum entanglement. Definitely not a condition granting much friends and acquaintances, attracting to an unattainable perfection, pulling consciousness further into its advanced dimensional mode, not as a by-passed station on the rails of an unsolved life, but as a gifted brace.

Culture, derailed by an unexpected routine is now back on track. Poetry [un]veils obscure allusions and with music conspires to fashion the world. Melpomene, Calliope and Euterpe are bygone archetypes; stone, bronze and iron Ages are over, new Age is already gone: this is the mesoteric spiritual-material age, past the Palaeozoic and Mesozoic eons. The human archetype has always dwelt in it as a *persona* of the conscious I. The arrogance of the capital *I* to stands over its minuscule peers is now lessen to a tiny *i* almost perishing under its own volatile weight. The shift of consciousness to this new stage of the being rebounds on the temporal plane and affects both individuals and humankind alike. Time is the delay accumulated by the I in gaining awareness of being conscious of itself. The mesoteric plane is where space and time collide to transmute into the fifth degree of the being, the fifth house of soul[2]. Next to the material, the vegetal, the animal, and the human, comes the true human nature embracing in itself all the previous ones, attentive, patient, humble and sincere, discharged of time. No geological time will further the Cambrian clock, the mesoteric age is chasing Maya away. Sumerian, Egyptian, Greek, Veda and Olmec long since revised the categories of thought still carrying some freshness of truth, occasionally accepted or rejected by many or by few. Acts led off by the true human nature do not leave debris behind, no negative karma is produced by an action performed from this stage, these are 'clean' actions, no karma is available to *maya* here.

Kronos took account of history of and left its debris in the human self. "*riverrum, past Eve and Adam's from swerve of shore to bend of bay… to the last syllable of our recorded time.*" Memory as a support to action – does a clean action leave traces in memory? Our reptile brain is as yet very active, for Greed&Greed are still bullying in the courtyard. Next to having harvested our own individual karma, we still need to amend humankind's karma. Slavery left a massive trace in human consciousness still in need to be cleansed. Like chrysalis, organized religions in turn vesseled the spiritual content in the historical continuum to protect an adolescent spirituality and grant it a sustainable development within well defined systems of practices and believes. They are now fading away to give the fore to a mature spirituality as a function of consciousness – the function still creates the organ. Indeed this is the time of

individual revelation and prophecy outside the enclosures of codified creeds: the spiritual-material vibration, the *spanda* of creation is ongoing and cannot be regimented in time. It is any longer a matter of faith, but of the evidence of a shared proof, no copyright holders are here, just a unified field of consciousness. From the simplest and undifferentiated to the differentiated and complex, from absorption of many to oneness, hyper- and meta-synchronic events are taking place. Unapplied creativity is a nightmare, idle vision a crime, performed a-synchronically they produce karma, in need to be amended before any further development could ever take place. Of interest is that in the current shifting of consciousness, the individual and collective processes of amendment, and of development are indeed synchronic, a trait to which we need to get accustomed promptly. We do not actually investigate the depths of the mesoteric limes, if not for a handful of details that need not to detain us here for long, but we do take notes of the way. A way that cannot be said not because is a cipher carefully protected from vulnerable eyes, but rather for the failure to voice a proto-phoneme validated before any emanation[3]. We are detectives for and of life, inquisitiveness never ends – *fatti non foste a viver come bruti ma per seguir virtute e canoscenza* – *curiositas* is pulling from the unveiled. Fulfilled. Resting. A quiver, stillness is disquieted, the quest is ignited anew, until its next achieved stage, and so forth. The spiraloid function of *curiositas* embodies the advancement of knowledge, received and implemented at once on the *tensorium*[4].

Consciousness is implementing a comprehensive transmutation: the rhythm and cadence of its incremental manifestation are inscribed in the evolutionary geological footprint of a past Cambrian time, and in the nonlocal consciousness unchecked by the space-time continuum. Art at its best transmutes the density of matter into a spark of creativity, it saturates matter with spiritual energy as a means of self-perfection. Everything is perfectible before reaching the threshold attended by the two guardians – the two polarities – abutting the door of Perfection, the Heaven's gate, the *báb*, the door to the next dimension. There, creativity, quivering and resonating at the same frequency of the gate, tramsnutes the guardians the gate and the whole notion into its further guarded dimension. Is the Heaven's gate preventing entrance, or avoiding release? Perfection does not abide in the split dimension, spirituality not imbedded in matter does not beget reality; to perform clean actions attuned with dharma, humility is key. Relativity ceases its grip by transmuting beyond its own limits, a conceit devised by the thinking mind in its proud attempt to breed order in chaos. According to classical mechanics, any energetic exchange in a closed system makes entropy to increase; clean acts are performed in open systems and bear an enantiotropic[5] function instead. Entropy and enantiotropy are the two faces of the same coin if perceived from one of its sides, but a unity when perceived in wholeness. The circle leaps into tri-dimensionality and becomes a sphere; the sphere leaps further to acquire an extra dimension, Pythagorean solids depict n-dimensional extents into the space-time continuum. Flattening a sphere onto bi-dimensionality dispels its qualitative flavour, as a soul leaving its body. At death, the dematerialized soul gravitates around its corpse for then – if properly mended by karma, and if its resurrection garment of light has been suitably crafted – discharge and revert all its body entanglements to their primeval elemental realm, retaining only the signature of the deeds that made up its resurrection body. Freed from any further reincarnation constraint, it moves further to its new mansion; if unmended, it will verge at collective level to be channelled again at conception.

Until union, energy's polar signature is preserved as gender. Once united, the conceiving pair vibrates in unison in the timeless *conjunctio oppositorum*. From this reunification taking place in and along the *axis mundi* joining haven to earth, a new life may be engendered at once in both realms. By uniting the complementary, the *axis mundi* transmutes into the original channel of communication to grant the energetic flow between the pairs. In the sexual intercourse, this is the channel through and by which a soul may take hold of the physical plane. The unified field of consciousness of the two polarities determines the nature of the soul entering the space-time continuum; the field acts as a filter to let percolate a vibrational frequency corresponding to its threshold value, determining thus the energetic nature of the soul, it quality. The existential drive fired by the union of two true human natures in the mesoteric realm boosts a hyper-dimensional state and savour *(rasa)*. Flexibility and rigidity. A virtuoso's fioritura, undisciplined as it can be. A lack of decency, tax-free. A leak in the cosmic osmotic veal. Maya just moved away and brought with her all quadrants[6]. *Śūnya, ṣafira, ṣifr*, zephyrus, zafir, zero, empty, void. Having to accomplish such a function, the power of the sexual drive is indeed very subtle, finer in gradation and in nature then any ancillary energy *(nafs)*[7] which, if convened in the session, will participate in shaping the threshold value and imprint it with a karmic seal. Many advanced and less brilliant soul

are on the threshold of embodiment to size the opportunity to bring forth their development on Earth, their unique and sole manner to experience matter and get aquatinted with it. The delay accumulated by consciousness in becoming self-consciousness, transmuting from one condition to the next is an intolerable meiosis: hyperboles and litotes glittering in the air while allusion is planning afar, figures of thoughts, figures of speech… a transmutation of the oxygen into its next octave[8], certainly not the 'last' one, as in the mesoteric dimension first and last share the same plane of reference. Seclusion and lifelong retreat belong to the third and fourth ways, humankind is surfing the fifth: the plan of an active and vigilant consciousness, in which action and will, a doer and a thinker, are the unifiying segment of a vacant position.

We name things, we categorise, devise, define, diversifies, make a whole bundle of them to then unpack it time and again; we exaggerate the thing-like nature of reality weakening our sense of interconnectedness and inter-being. A heart bound to affection cannot give rise to a subtle heart. To act free from contingencies and to avoid creating karma is an obligation to extinguish the human debt of necessity, the collective karma. Action and reaction: contingency. If our centre of gravity is not installed in the integral true human dimension, an action performed in duality stimulates a re-action ignited by the ancillary forces leaving debris (karma) in the inner self, requiring thus to be amended before any possible improvement. Conversely, an action arising from the true human self in the original unitary mode before obliteration, does not leave karma behind, and bears a radiant connotation *(farr)* not blurred by contingencies. It is a 'clean' action, devoid of self-interest, not calling for any re-action or individual compensation, payment or reward to its own advantage or profit, it is performed solely for the common good, comprising both individual and collective concerns.

Here lays the ground to assert that the emerging new culture deriving from the true human consciousness abiding in the collective plane, moving from an ego-driven outlook to an altruistic awareness-based holistic approach generating clean actions, will necessarily give rise and empower an economic system based on a not for profit model. Interspiritual age, collective intelligence, multiple perspectives approach, double and triple loop and cross-paradigmatic thinking, paradoxical reasoning, post-conventional inquiry, primacy of the n-dimensional on the 3-dimensional operational space, mutualisation of knowledge and structures, crowdsourcing, open source, solidarity networks, community centric and driven innovation, citizen driven cooperatives, community sharing, industrial innovations, nanobiomimicry, 3D printing, microfactories, urban farming, crowdfunding, fair use economy, economics of scope, p2p economics, and profit-for-purpose are just a few of the tips for the now sufficient conditions to let emerge a new economic model conforming to an ethical discretionary limit of earnings constrained by the zero-profit condition. A system in which culture, education, governance, institutions, organizations, and the way people work and collaborate among themselves are guided by the ethical principle of the integral true human nature able to contain in itself the whole of humankind. The articulations of such a non-profit economy, which we would rather designate here as *mesoeconomy* – to wit, defining it for what it is, rather than for what it is not, words are bricks in the modelling of thought – are indeed complex, hard to conceive and attain in a short term. A benefit *(bene facere, benefactum)* is a good or noble deed, not necessarily economic, and a beneficiary is somebody who benefits from it. Profit *(proficere, profectus, pro facere)* means to make advance something, to progress it, is the extra-reward, or the surplus – not only economic – that exceed the true value of an entity – a 'true' value still calling for a better definition. In such a case, value is an arbitrary predilection that shapes the relation with an object, or an idea, or with some aspects of life assessed in contrast to some other deemed less worthy, which amounts to discrimination, and is the ultimate embodiment of a divided consciousness generating contingencies. In economics, profit overpowers true value, and the relation profit-value identifies in money the epitome of the material force ruling society. Current economic dealings are energetic exchanges taking place in a close system, as such, at any exchange, profit (entropy) increases as an economic gain both for the performer and the system.

Mesoeconomy discards the concept of profit as the ultimate means for individual and social development to advances its cognition beyond the ordinary boundaries: the doer, the actor, the performer, the entrepreneur, brings further the action to the benefit of the common good, with no individual economic profit but the reward of the aware satisfaction heightened by performing at the best of the capacity available in that particular circumstances. Here, satisfaction becomes a variable of circumstances, just as the norm is a cultural variable. What may be considered right and appropriate in certain circumstances might be considered wrong in another context, which does not necessarily implies an objective reality as benchmark. The framework in which an action takes place influences and determines its result: reality is being co-created within the performance of

the act itself, whose value is established not in relation with an object, but for its intrinsic quality. Only acts arising from the true human self – clean acts void of debris – do create value, co-design and enact the enantiotropic function of the collective consciousness.

This is precisely what it differentiates them from an anarchic action. Anarchy[9], in its doctrinal acceptation is a self-organizing force – an energetic pattern of activities, a system, *not* a single energy – that strives to control the whole by constantly re-focusing and re-adjusting itself and all its inherent components to a new direction pulling from a stage yet to be reached, from an attractor located in the future. In the 'present', both past and future are perceived as polarities governing the sub-lunar world. *Weltanschauung,* worldviews, and believe systems are consistently changing at all time, setting new goals and achievements. As a quantum fluctuation, sub-atomic and atomic particles, nature, the solar system and the universes are a vibrating self-organizing system, in which also human activity takes place. The converging and diverging energies making up the anarchic pattern are in such an intimacy with the collective intelligence that the two are but one. A pale shade of this can be observed for instance in the 'unregulated' chaotic traffic of big cities like Delhi or Jakarta, in which the traffic flow seems mastered by a collective mind supervising both individual and mass vectors, at any moment apparently bound to collide but never, or seldom, doing so – any complex systems has critical points where sudden change can take place, so that some 'accident' may occur… We are journeying the 'permanent' stage where the collective consciousness is becoming conscious of itself thanks to the individual becoming aware of being part and particle of the collective mind.

Decentralized, un-concentrated, disseminated, pollinated, comprehensive, receptive, liquid, extensive, engendered, permeated, pervaded, allocated, delivered, diffused leadership: briefly, anarchic in it original take, keeping at sight that all definitions are always partial, as to 'define' is to limit and restrict a concept to just a few of its aspects. Governance moves here to a higher degree of systemic coordination; accordingly, social anarchy is not the abdication to the law of chaos, but to dharma instead. The law is at all level the same; what differs is the modality of its manifestation in 'time', namely, its historical application. To accept and submit to the law of dharma is to become one with it while retaining the awareness of the individual actions, a self reflexive consciousness, aware of its own acts imbedded with[in] awareness. Endeavours performed by and in virtue of genuine clean acts bore in themselves the knowledge and the signature of the flowing dharma, without disappointment or frustration arising from expectations exceeding reality – better no expectations at all. The temporary cyclic emergence of each of the two signatures characterizes our own individuality, our own make up, and that of our society signalled in the course of the historical linear time by one of the two emergencies. At its turn, each emergence, by taking avail of enantiodromia, transmutes into its opposite, in an even dynamic equilibrium. The medial point, the saddler point in between the two emergencies in which transmutation into the other occurs, the timeless point in which they collide or diverge, depending from the assumed perspective, can be seen as a point of creation, either as a spark or as a new life. The experience does not stop at the neuronal stage, it becomes sensory in as much as permeates the bodily global emergence. Consciousness does not differ from the energy that constitutes it, it is itself that energy.

"Poor us, poor us!!!" brayed the donkey unaccustomed to driving "we will end up in the abyssus, in the bottomless". But he didn't realize that it was not him in charge of the chariot getting lose, and for a short while felt relieved of the heavy burden of leading, of its toll and its lot. "A donkey shouldn't lead!" Shouted the charioteer "I should do it instead!" "Who is this "I"? asked the astounded donkey "Neither the Ego nor Me, the Self or the Beast, *vula bass e schiva i sass"* answered the agent "and mind your own ass! Liaise with captain Achab, if you can!" Fetonte, not Arjuna, drives the Sun chariot, an inexperienced and proud charioteer, a devastated I subdued to an inflated ego. The authorial 'I' and the inner sense merge to rewind the clock of history at zero ground. Forgot the password? Here is a secure way to recall your life anew.

These few lines just to depict the way and the why of the Self endless quest in-between *ẓâhir* and *bāṭin* and disclose the why and how of an endless revelation. In this time-bound dimension is hard to helm both worlds, distractions abide at both sides, even in the mindfulness of no-thought.

There are no coincidences in the mesoteric realm, for in the timeless continuum everything is co-present. Synchronicity is a sub-function of time, which is a mental construct of the realm of quantity. Conscious awareness pairs quality to quantity and transmutes them both into the mesoteric pace, which retains the awareness of the polarities but deprives them of their former grip. It transmutes them from masters to servants at the service of the higher function of consciousness. Time becomes a potential sub-function of quantity, deprived of any hold on reality, mastered at the service of a consciousness preserving the awareness of duration of

the preceding condition. A plastic representation of this process is often exemplary expressed and depicted in art. For instance, in the Ionic capital, the two eyes of the volutes simultaneously depart in spiralling lines to shape the bands of the volute and to invisibly merge at its central point, to then be absorbed in it and disappear beyond the surface into that inner dimension which, by shaping itself at once with the outer surface, generates the content and the form of the capital. Pythagoras is still playing a tune on his monochord. Form and content are nothing but one at the intersection of their orbits giving rise to a different quality time, neither quantitative-linear, nor circular-mythical, but the meso-time at the service of consciousness. The usual contradictions starts here to surface: the closer we draw to the centre, the farther we distance from it, the point travels its path until transmutes into a new state: a leap into the unknown turning the knower and the object of knowledge into the known. Suffering is a by-product of growth, it spirals into the unknown to reverse knowledge into pain and be reabsorbed in life. No wonder that in the next phase all these earthly pain will look like as heaven, or at least as an heartily paradise…

A boat with two captains is voted to disaster, the captain (cape = chief) by definition is one, Janus has two polarities, two directions, four eyes and two mouths. Cyclops (*kulklops*, round eye) are semi-human entities belonging to the circular mythical time; Polyphemus, son of Poseidon and Toosa, is blinded by greed. Penelope defeats the historical linear time by weaving the warp and weft – the space and time orthogonal axes, solstice and equinox – on the loom of life, bounding the 'present' at their point of intersection with a Gordian knot, the 'heart' of the cross, or the eye of the vault. Unbundling the knot re-enacts the two ends of the thread of life, the two polarities. *Curiositas* diverts Ulysses from home for the sake of knowledge, food for the soul; Outis (nobody/Everyman) posses the wit of a villain on his way back home – travelling is certainly best enjoyed in highlighted consciousness. Discipline and determination, clear intention and direction of a route materializing itself in the present one step after another. Outis has faith in his fate; Poseidon, ruler of the sea, of water, of the feelings, dwells in the medial dimension sharing its upper limbus with his brothers Zeus, the sky, the air, and its lower face with Hades, the underworld, fire. In the mythic archetypical iconography, the feelings (Poseidon) are unsmoothed, disquieted – which makes the quest disturbed and uneasy.

Purgation starts on Earth. Beside mending the whole of our own inner-outer being and that of our forbearers, we need to get rid also of the debris left by humankind as a whole: wars, crimes against humanity, human trafficking and slavery, infringement of human rights, disruption of the global commons and of society, just to name a few. All mutilated outcomes of an impaired vision, of the monocular sight of the current society perceiving only the 'material' aspect of reality, certainly not gazing from that 'third' eye pairing the inner to the outer in a global perspective. The depth of the n-dimensional vision is made only possible by two eyes; a Cyclops is unable to 'perceive' any human perspective. Three-D devices make fictitious realty to look almost as real, indeed a flat and insolvent scam to incubate sleepy audiences with fugitive enjoyment: an *ad interim* orgasm from which to phase out soon. It would be advisable to look into the matter without a fluctuating obliterating cataract, as tackling the issue from an undivided standpoint might dismiss some cognitive dissonance. *Contradictio in adiecto.* By being consciously aware of the path we are burrowing into our own lifecycle, our actions reinstate the spiritual-material hendiadys. A one-sighted economics deliberately furthering from the common good to plunge into selfish interest is certainly not for the general welfare. In the transition to a mature mesoeconomy, not-for-profit need to outbalances profit to attain an equitable clean sustainable development: the time is ripe to move the sight from just one eye to both, and shift the current economic paradigm to a binocular vision poised behind the veil of illusion, a reflection of a particle of the perceived whole, received and absorbed in highlighted consciousness. A pseudo-epigraphy in pursuit of an illusory wisdom – wisdom is not a product of the thinking mind, is a common reservoir at the intersection point of the space-time continuum with the flow of dharma, from where to drain the needed. Wisdom cannot be known, it can only be sucked.

While in the past an initiation was needed to re-establish the flow between the two polarities – that might have been blurred at the moment of conception by the interference of the ancillary energies – in the current age, more and more people are self-initiating to higher state of consciousness, undoubtedly a 'sign' of the times, as the world situation is so dramatically in need that unprecedented modalities to mend and adjust its course are becoming widely available. The surfacing at conscious level of this process brings evidence to its action, a revolving fund within consciousness, counterintuitive. The quantum properties granting the occurrence of being in multiple states at the same time, allows the cleansing at once of both the individual and collective karma. Something new is taking place in human history – both *ierós*- and metahistory –: is now possible

to be self-initiated, for consciousness is self-initiating itself as well. We are nothing but a flash of a multiplicity of states: a spark of impenetrable darkness *(botsina de-qardinuta)* in a dilated *īhām* of Hāfez, or in a single note of a Bach *Cantata*, or in a Veda glimpse behind the veil of maya. In stillness, the core of our being participates in co-shaping clean universes. Inspiration comes and goes, a collection of diversity, the process is in full swing, yet not consolidated, fluid. The way is fraught with obstacles, trials, shortcuts, joys and sparkles of happiness in dispersed raptures. History is on the making. Our contribution lies barely at the feet of a giant, at times anthropomorphically disguised. The time of occultation is over.

The impression that things exist outside of us might well be due to a sub-function of the process of time. Yonder the individual enlightenment there is enlightenment of consciousness, from a denser to a finer vibration, illuminating and disappearing as a sunbeam on the surface of water, bilocality becomes a function of nonlocality.

Beside the existing International Women's Day, The Youth Day, The Day of Peace and so forth, an International Consciousness Day should be celebrated at the Heaven's Gate of the Summer solstice – the *Janua Coeali* – as the anniversary of the new era in which individual and collective consciousness partake of both worlds. Further to the state of Now, of presence, of unity, of non-duality, non-locality and the like widely treated so far, there is more, much more. It may seem as an ephemeral illusion to change oneself and the world in just one feat, but indeed is what is taking place beyond obsolete categories and isms depicting a single-eyed reality. There is more than the flat reality perceived from an unpaired sight. To consciously access the mesoteric dimension in such a novel way, averting the process of minute harmonization with unity framed by earlier paths, empowers its manifestation. These annotations at the margins of its unfolding are recording the reunification of both seas ensuing their ierós-historic rift. Indeed there seems to be a difference between the Now and the mesotime – the timeless continuum of the fifth way – as the former depicts mainly the state of consciousness holding that very moment; while the latter embodies and transcribes in golden letters clean actions devoid of karma, in which intention, performance and its outcome are present to consciousness as one. On certain aspects, a mesoteric action is very close to *wu-wei*, but it differs from it in as much as it bears a measure of farseeing determining its direction within a given contextualized environment. The capacity to empathize with the environment is one of its signatures, experienced as a presence much denser and at the same time way subtler than the ordinary one. A very distinctive rhythm of the vibration of life signals the pulsation of unity, a self-conscious vibration, no longer subject to the individual self, gives rise to both domains.

Brought to an end the hermeneutic circularity between faith and reason, freed to leap *ad libitum*, *attamen*, fully aware of the doctrinal implications of such assertions, there is a still a long way to go. This is not a hypothesis of school, is the real matter in the best interest of the common good. New spiritual systems are emerging on the stage of the world in need of structures linking the secular to the spiritual. Push and pull, pull and push seems to be the trend, slightly gaiting forward, one lap after another linking waves to shore. None can be any longer the same, everything is changing, leaping in whirls into the black hole uniting the two universes[10]. Collective issues, such as human rights, climate change, poverty, gender inequality, social responsibility are impending on the communal self aware of shifting into the next consciousness paradigm.

As a result of individual and collective actions performed in a divided predicament, impinged on self-interest and devoid of any consideration for the common good, the current development paradigm is affected by unsustainable levels of consumption, depletion of natural resources, by pollution of the natural environment, energy inefficiency, widespread recused human and social rights, and by the overall weakening of social justice. Following onto the above, this harmful ongoing process leaves behind – embedded in products, services and processes, and in the individual and collective consciousness – marks and debris (karmic traces) earmarked with its own injurious performance that, at their own turn, become debris-driven agent of stagnation, of conservation of a status quo obstructing the way to any further development. In point of fact, the removal, 'healing', "cleansing" of these debris is crucial if any fresh and clean advancement may be granted to the endless human pursue of the other than the self. Yet, as always, the best way to be free from indefinitely clearing out debris is, in its first instance, not to make them, namely, prevention. To this aim and to re-install the agent avenue between the inner and the outer to liaise the two worlds – a duty of a true human self, indeed its ontological mission – and to delegate their conversation in its hands to facilitate the transition to a consolidated mesoteric unitary state of consciousness linking the top to the bottom of the pyramid with the spinal cord of a "clean" flow to and fro both directions – and to foster a systemic change to an as much as possible debris-free clean sustainable development – we need to envision, design, develop, implement, monitor, promote and enforce in the practice of

business activities and in legal entities a global clean code of conduct: a Clean Code[11] ethical standard that takes into account sustainability, respect for human and social rights, the environment, and social justice. A quadruple-bottom line criteria that integrates, builds on and further develops the concepts of corporate social responsibility, circular and green economy, cradle-to-cradle, farm to fork, resources efficiency, smart design, future proof brands – and many more demands surfaced lately at collective consciousness – granting that all along the whole supply chain only "clean" (karma-free) actions, products or complex devices or processes have been performed. From extraction, production and distribution to consumption, waste disposal and recycling; in the performance of economic and financial actions and services; in the planning and management process of activities involved in sourcing and procurement, conversion and logistic management, the life-cycle approach adopted by the Clean Code can ensure outcomes brought about in a wholly neat and fresh manner, delivering a "clean" sustainable development in the vast variety of human endeavours.

Indeed, it is time for a radical responsibility taking, each epoch has its own task, and the task of this epoch of ours is to adopt and implement an ethical standard to avoid producing more negative karma: a Clean Code of conduct to enhance the rejection of any form of corruption, discrimination and child labour; to safeguards dignity and freedom, and the equality of human being; to protect labour and health – neither child nor forced labour, no toxic substances nor damages to the environment, no violation of human and social rights may pass along its way. The Clean Code irradiates from all directions and pervades all planes, it is the inborn capacity to be one with dharma, the eternal flow allowing a smooth transmutation to the collective plan. It empowers transformation and systemic change heading to a unitary state of consciousness to foster further paradigm shifts. Compliance with the Clean Code by individuals and institutions guarantees zero negative-impact on the individual, on society and nature. It is a tool to ensure the safety of the environment, biodiversity, as well as the values and principles concerning energy efficiency and sustainable development. But, alas! the term sustainability has been so much stretched to become at present almost meaningless, indeed it is time to talk about a clean-based sustainable development to advances the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) further to their natural outcome: a Clean Sustainable Development that progressively will shape the post-2015 Development Agenda.

Thanks God is Friday, we deserve a good long resting clean weekend… enjoy.

[1] In my own formulation, the mesoteric dimension is the spiritual-material middle *(meso)* dimension in between and uniting the inner (esoteric) to the outer (exoteric) realities. Terms as *tensorial surface, tensorium*, *mesoteric* and so forth are the closest verbal expressions I could design so far to this purpose, Cfr. S. Momo, *Art as a-pre-text* (Rome: Semar, 1976) and successive theoretical writings.

[2] In the summer of 1974 John J. Bennett, visited the Maharishi Mahesh in Rome to question him about Transcendental Meditation, about his interpretation of the Bhagavad Gita and the grading of the different 'houses' of the soul in Hinduism. In that occasion, as I was elaborating on the spiritual-material experience in art, I asked Bennett about his own classification of the 'houses' in relation to the sufi derived outline set out by Muhammd S. Sumohadiwidjojo, the founder of Subud, and the Gurdjeff-Ouspensky system. He didn't answer straight away, but from the glance I got beneath his glasses, and from what he confirmed me later on the same occasion, he maintained that there were not theoretical discrepancies casted in the two systems, that actually they were equally valid as all depicting an aspect of reality. Cfr. John J. Bennett, *A Spiritual Psychology*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), and Muhammad S. Sumohadiwidjojo, Susila Budhi Dharma, (London: SPI, 1975).

[3] The closest to a proto-phoneme is probably the soundless emission of the letter H. In Islamic eschatology, the *H(u)* (Him) breathed in some form of *dhikr*, is considered the prime energy identifying objet and subject in the Breath of the Compassionate *(al-nafas al-rahmānī)*.

[4] In my own communication, the *tensorium*, or tensorial membrane, is the osmotic-like membrane in the mesoteric dimension between the inner and the outer realities, see *supra* 1n. For a detailed account of its function, cfr. S. Momo, *Appunti operativi* [Operative Annotations] (Rome: Semar, 1978).

[5] The term *enantiotropy* is used here *et passim* according to its original etymology (ἐνάντιος [enantios], opposite + τροπή [tropē], turn, conversion) as having a counter effect to the entropy of classical thermodynamics (εντροπία [entropía], *a turning toward*, from εν- [en-], in + τροπή [tropē], turn, conversion), not in the acceptation currently used in chemistry.

[6] On Quadrants (AQAL), see K. Wilber, *Excerpt C: The Ways We Are in This Together*, (2006), from the planned *The Kosmos Trilogy, vol. II* <http://tinyurl.com/kfwuw2d>.

[7] *Nafs* (نَفْس), pl. *nafas*, is the Arabic word, cognate of the Hebrew *nefesh* (נפש), for self, psyche, ego, soul, or life force, depending of the contexts in which occurs. According to William Chittick *(The Sufi Path of Love*, State University of New York Press, 1983) a *nafs* is the lowest dimension of man's inward existence, but others scholars dissent from this interpretation, cfr. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Les Etats Sprituels dans le Soufisme* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1973); Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sûfism of Ibn 'Arabi* (Princeton, Princeton UP, 1981). The generally accepted inter-classification of the *nafas* runs as follow: the material, inciting *nafs-i-ammara*; the vegetal self-accusing *nafs-i-lawwama,* with its sub-inspired *nafs-i-mulhama*; the animal self *nafs-i-mutma'inna*; the human *nafs-i-radiyya*; the integral true human *nafs-i-mardiyya*; and the pure *nafs-i-safiyya*. The term is here used mainly in the acceptation of the Subud terminology, comprising all the different *nafas (nafsu)* as ancillary aids to the human performance.

[8] On the relation between the oxygen transmutation (octave) and the fourth form of manifestation of consciousness (the

fourth way), cfr. P.D. Ouspensky, *Tertium Organum* (London: Kegan, 1930) and, also, his *Fragments d'un enseignement inconnu* (Paris: Stock, 1961).

[9] Etymologically, the term a*narchia* (ἀναρχία), is a compound word composed of ἀν [an], not, without + ἀρχός [arkhos], ruler; the latter closely related to the αρχή [arkhē], beginning, origin, which sums up to "without origin", in time.

[10] From a physiological perspective, it could be also a possible function of the *corpus callosum* connecting and facilitating cerebral interhemispheric communication.

[11] The Clean Code conceptual framework is embedded in the Spanda Foundation Clean Code Projects currently being implemented.

.

NOT PROTEST BUT DIRECT ACTION:

ANARCHISM PAST AND PRESENT

DAVID GOODWAY

David Goodway is a British historian and a respected international authority on anarchism and libertarian socialism. A student of Eric Hobsbawm, Goodway's doctoral thesis, published as London Chartism, 1838-1848, *is an acknowledged classic work on the Chartist movement. He has also written widely about writers in the British left libertarian tradition, such as William Morris, John Cowper Powys, Alex Comfort, Herbert Read, Colin Ward, E.P. Thompson and Maurice Brinton. Professor Goodway worked in Continuing Education at the University of Leeds, 1969-2005. He was Helen Cam Visiting Fellow in History at Girton College, Cambridge, for 2006-2007. His books include* London Chartism, 1838-1848 *(1982),* Talking Anarchy *(with Colin Ward) (2003) and* Anarchist Seeds beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward *(2006), reissued in a second edition in 2012. Website www.davidgoodway.moonfruit.com; email d.j.goodway@leeds.ac.uk .*

INTRODUCTION

FIFTY TO SIXTY YEARS AGO ANARCHISM APPEARED to be a spent force, as both a movement and a political theory, yet since the 1960s there has been a resurgence in Europe and North America of anarchist ideas and practice. Britain nowadays must have a greater number of conscious anarchists than at any previous point in its history. In addition there are many more whom, while not identifying themselves as anarchists, think and behave in significantly anarchist ways. The last fifteen years has also seen the rise of the anti-globalization or anti-capitalism movement. At a series of international meetings of the key organizations that determine the global economic order - notably, the World Trade Organization at Seattle in 1999, the G8 at Genoa in 2001 and most recently the G20 in London in 2009 – minorities of self-professed anarchists have gone on the rampage, capturing the attention not just of the civil authorities but of the world's press, radio and television. To this extent the anarchists have announced their return as a significant disruptive presence, once again inspiring anxiety among governments and police chiefs.

Anarchists themselves disdain the customary use of 'anarchy' to mean 'chaos' or 'complete disorder'. For them it signifies the absence of a ruler or rulers in a self-managed society, usually resembling the 'co-operative commonwealth' that most socialists have traditionally sought, and more highly organized than the disorganization and chaos of the present. An anarchist society would be more ordered since the political theory of anarchism advocates organization from the bottom up with the federation of the self-governed entities – as opposed to order being imposed from the top down upon resisting individuals or groups. This is a long-established way of looking at things, with not just a distinctive but an impressive intellectual history. Yet the media and other commentators (including many who should know better) insist on employing 'anarchists' and 'anarchism' as smear words unworthy of rational consideration. The French anarchists' cult of dynamite in the 1890s had much to answer for the exceedingly negative image throughout the twentieth century. Now, in contemporary Britain, recent anarchist mayhem on the streets leads to a lazy, or frightened, association of all violent actions with 'anarchists', such as the unrelated student demonstration of November 2010 or the widespread urban rioting of August 2011, neither of which had any identifiable anarchist component.

The problem may be essentially British since, unlike France, Italy or Spain, this country has had no experience of a mass anarchist movement or an established anarchist tradition. The purpose of this paper, then, is to go some way towards filling this gap in the UK's historical memory by providing an introductory international survey of both the historic anarchist movement and the very different anarchist revival.

ANARCHIST ORIGINS

The historic anarchist movement is identified with a workers' movement that flourished from the 1860s down to the close of the 1930s. However, there is a consensus that anarchist precursors can also be

traced back to Chinese Taoism and Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu as well as to Classical Greece and Zeno of Citium. It has been argued convincingly that the Mu'tazilite and Najdite Muslims of ninth-century Basra were anarchists. Examples begin to multiply in Europe from the Reformation of the sixteenth century and its forebears (for example, the Bohemian Taborites and German Anabaptists), and then the Renaissance (Rabelais and Etienne de la Boétie) and the English Revolution (not only the Diggers and Gerrard Winstanley but also the Ranters) in the sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries respectively. Some eighteenth-century figures are even more obviously anarchist: the Rousseau of *A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755), William Blake (1757-1827) throughout his oeuvre and William Godwin in his great *Enquiry concerning Political Justice* (1793) and the essays of *The Enquirer* (1797). Unlike Blake, whose ideas made no impact on his contemporaries, Godwin exerted considerable influence, most markedly on his future son-in-law, Percy Bysshe Shelley, who went on to become, in Peter Marshall's words, 'the greatest anarchist poet by putting Godwin's philosophy to verse'. Marshall goes far beyond this fairly conventional wisdom by claiming both Blake and Godwin as 'founding fathers' of British anarchism. It is, however, significant that Godwin was not recognized as an anarchist thinker until the very end of the nineteenth century (and Blake not for another hundred years). It was the Austrian anarchist scholar, Max Nettlau, who in 1897 described *Political Justice* as 'the first strictly anarchist book', leading Kropotkin four years later to call Godwin 'the first theorist of stateless socialism, that is, anarchism'.

Godwin could not be identified as an anarchist until after anarchism had come into being as a social movement, which it only did from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Moreover it also needed to be named as such, as it first was by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in 1840 in *What is Property?* where he not only called himself an 'anarchist' – "I am (in the full force of the term) an anarchist" – but also attempted to appropriate 'anarchy' as a positive concept. While he appreciated that "the meaning ordinarily attached to the word 'anarchy' is absence of principle, absence of rule; consequently, it has been regarded as synonymous with 'disorder'", he asserted that "Anarchy, – the absence of a master, of a sovereign – [...] is the form of government to which we are everyday approximating [...]", emphasizing that he was "a firm friend of order". Like many anarchists to come, he considered anarchy to be the highest form of order, contrasting it with the disorder and chaos of the present.

ANARCHISM AND WORKERS' MOVEMENTS

Karl Marx shaped the development of the Working Men's Association (the First International) in conjunction with British liberal trade unionists when it was established in 1864, but within a year or two they began to be challenged by the co-founding Proudhonist mutualists from France, reinforced by other libertarians as anarchist movements began to form also in Switzerland, Spain and Italy. A titanic clash of personalities and political philosophies ensued between Marx and Mikhail Bakunin; and by the late 1870s both the International Working Men's Association and a rival anti-authoritarian International had collapsed. Further conflict ensued within the Second International of 1889, leading to the permanent exclusion of the anarchists by the state socialists from 1896. Despite the prominence of Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin in Western Europe, anarchism only emerged as a significant movement in their native Russia as late as the Revolution of 1905. Anarchism was also strong, however, in the United States – not among native-born Americans, but within the immigrant communities, above all the Germans, Russians, Russian Jews and Italians – and in Latin America, whence it was in part carried by Spanish and Italian militants and immigrants, notably in Cuba, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico – where it was an influential current in the Revolution of 1910-'20. Significant movements and traditions also existed in the Netherlands, Germany and Portugal, as well as in East Asia in Japan and China.

In the industrializing societies of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries trade unionists and revolutionaries at times countered with unrestrained retaliation the brutal intimidation and suppression their strikes and insurrections provoked. From the late 1870s the anarchists added to the traditional 'propaganda by the word' – agitation utilizing the spoken and written word – 'propaganda by the deed', acts of revolt such as violent strikes, riots, assassinations and bombings intended to ignite popular uprisings. This phase degenerated in France at the beginning of the 1890s into terrorism and the cult of dynamite, although care was normally taken to ensure that the victims would be class enemies, not members of the labouring masses. Anarchist terrorism was snuffed out by the French state through vigorous use of *les lois scélérates* (as they were dubbed), criminalizing anarchist activity, but

there were to be many assassinations - and even more numerous unsuccessful *attentats* on the lives - of monarchs and statesmen down to 1914. Thus, anarchists (though interestingly not the Russian Narodniks, whose methods they consciously adopted, or the Irish Fenians) became permanently, associated in the popular mind with bomb attacks, which did actually remain a continual feature of international, working-class anarchism down to its demise – and beyond (as the preferred tactic, for instance of the Angry Brigade in Britain in the 1970s).

A further strategy dates from the 1890s when many anarchists began to focus on the trade unions as the primary organization for struggle. Anarchist communism was partially displaced as the dominant tendency with the formation in France of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail) in 1895 and the rapid adoption of syndicalism elsewhere. Syndicalism combined a Marxist analysis of capitalism with, approximately, an anarchist strategy, employing the work-to-rule, the go-slow ('ca'canny'), the irritation strike and sabotage. This was not a negative, anti-social conception for, as Emile Pouget stressed in *Le Sabotage*, the militancy was directed 'only against capital; against the bank-account': 'The consumer must not suffer in this war waged against the exploiter.' All disputes between capital and labour were seen as contributing to the class consciousness of the workers and preparatory to the final struggle, envisaged as a revolutionary general strike that would enable the syndicalist unions to take over the running of all major social arrangements and establish a stateless co-operative commonwealth. In the USA revolutionary syndicalism took the form of the industrial unionism of the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World); and elsewhere syndicalism attained mass followings in France, Italy, Argentina and Spain, where the impressive CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo) was set up in 1910. It was the CNT which was responsible for the amalgam of 'anarcho-syndicalism', combining syndicalist preoccupation with the workplace, daily industrial conflict and the revolutionary general strike with the traditional anarchist belief in the need for an ultimate armed insurrection.

One of the major strengths of anarchist thought has been its insistence that means determine ends and that the institutions built to engage in current social conflict will prefigure the institutions that will exist in a post-revolutionary order. As the Preamble of the IWW put it, 'we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old'. During 1911 the Unofficial Reform Committee had formed in the South Wales coalfield, drafting a notable and libertarian programme, *The Miners' Next Step*, in which the objective was stated as 'to build up an organization, that will ultimately take over the mining industry, and carry it on in the interests of the workers'.

These decades of the heyday of international anarchism – subsequently weakened by the First World War – came substantially to an end as a consequence of the Russian Revolution. Many anarchists and, perhaps especially, syndicalists were deeply impressed by the Bolsheviks' seizure of power in October 1917, their anti-parliamentarianism and their determination to move forthwith, without waiting for the maturation of capitalism, to the building of a socialist society. Anarchists defected in large numbers to the national Communist Parties as they began to be formed. In contrast, the Insurgent Army of the Ukraine, under the inspired leadership of the peasant anarchist, Nestor Makhno, fought against first the Germans and the Whites and then the Red Army. We now know that French anarchism remained strong until the mid-1920s; then bounced back again ten years later with the Popular Front and particularly in response to the Spanish Revolution and Civil War. Elsewhere anarchism withered away, save in the Hispanic world where in 1936 the CNT and FAI (Federacion Anarquista Ibérica) spearheaded a major anarchist revolution in Spain, only for it to be put into reverse the following year by Stalinist counter-revolution. With the defeat of the Spanish Republic early in 1939, proletarian anarchism entered terminal decline globally, with only isolated pockets retaining significant strength, as in Cuba it would appear (until falling foul of the Revolution of Castro and Guevara).

ANARCHISM AND YOUTH MOVEMENTS

When George Woodcock published his splendid *Anarchism* in 1962 in the USA and the following year as a Pelican original in Britain, he concluded it with considerable eloquence:

> I have brought this history of anarchism to an end in the year 1939. The date is chosen deliberately; it marks the real death in Spain of the anarchist movement which Bakunin founded two generations before. Today there are still thousands of anarchists scattered thinly over many countries of the world. There are still anarchist groups and anarchist periodicals, anarchist schools and anarchist communities. But they form only the ghost of the historical anarchist movement, a ghost that inspires neither fear among governments nor hope among peoples nor even interest among newspapermen.
>
> Clearly, as a movement, anarchism has failed. In almost a century of effort it has not even approached the fulfilment of its great aim to destroy the state and build

> Jerusalem in its ruins. During the past forty years the influence it once established has dwindled, by defeat after defeat and by the slow draining of hope, almost to nothing. Nor is there any reasonable likelihood of a renaissance of anarchism as we have known it since the foundation of the First International in 1864...

These comments were immediately greeted with criticism, even derision, for – as Woodcock was later to admit – in the decade that immediately followed 'the ideas of anarchism have emerged again, rejuvenated, to stimulate the young in age and spirit and to disturb the establishments of the right and the left'.

The profound cultural changes associated with the 1960s were responsible for a modest anarchist revival throughout Western Europe and North America. In Britain, for instance, the rise of the New Left and the nuclear disarmament movement in the late fifties, culminated in the student radicalism and general libertarianism and permissiveness, especially sexual, of the sixties, ensuring that a new audience receptive to anarchist attitudes came into existence. This anarchist resurgence climaxed with the remarkable events in France, where in May 1968 student revolutionaries fought the riot police, took over the Sorbonne, controlled the Latin Quarter, and precipitated the occupations of factories by their workers as well as a general strike. The origins of these *événements* can be traced to the University of Nanterre, on the outskirts of Paris, and its 'Movement of 22 March', whose leading figure, a 23-year-old Franco-German anarchist, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, became the articulate spokesperson of the wider movement. May 1968 revealed the existence of two new and original libertarian ideologies. Both advocated self-management and were anarchist, though they each denied that they were. First, there were the analyses of *Socialisme ou barbarie* (despite it having ceased publication in 1965), whose principal theorist was Cornelius Castoriadis. Second, the Situationist International, whose twelve issues of *Internationale Situationiste* were brought out between 1958 and 1969, while in 1967 the group's two major theoretical works had appeared: Guy Debord's *The Society of the Spectacle* and Raoul Vaneigem's *The Revolution of Everyday Life*. The Situationists' concept of 'the spectacle' and their dissection of consumerism are central to any serious understanding of the product, media and celebrity obsessed societies of the early twenty-first century.

Yet Woodcock's first thoughts of 1960-61 had been correct and he was to stand by them when he wrote in 1986: 'The anarchists of the 1960s were not the historic anarchist movement resurrected; they were something quite different – a series of new manifestations of the idea'. For the new anarchists of the sixties were students or peace activists or some such; their movement was not composed of artisans or labourers or peasants. To take a notable example, whereas in France *Socialisme ou barbarie* and Castoriadis did come out of the workers' movement and Trotskyism, the origins of Situationism in contrast lay in the artistic avant-gardism of various splinters derived from Surrealism, and far removed from the matrix of Proudhon's thought a century earlier.

ANARCHISM TODAY

The 'idea of anarchism' long predated the third quarter of the nineteenth century and this has survived the demise of the historic movement. Kropotkin believed that 'throughout the history of our civilization, two traditions, two opposing tendencies have confronted each other: the Roman and the Popular traditions; the imperial and the federalist; the authoritarian and the libertarian'. Thus there is no reason for thinking that conflict between authoritarian and libertarian tendencies will ever cease; rather it seems to be inherent to the human condition and its socio-political arrangements. Indeed, from the 1960s the revival of anarchist ideas and practice has spread throughout Latin America and, after the collapse of Communism, to Eastern Europe. Moreover, the ideas and practice have become deeply embedded in the new social movements of the last half century, although the activists of the peace, women's and environmental movements are commonly unaware of this. Yet in contrast to the historic workers' movement, this anarchist revival has been without any kind of purchase on the labour movements of Europe and the Americas: contemporary anarchists today are rarely trade unionists.

While all anarchists oppose the state and parliamentarianism and engage not in action mediated through conventional politics but employ direct action, they differ greatly when it comes to the means to be used to attain their ends, ranging from extreme violence to the non-resistance of Tolstoy and taking in all points between – other than constitutional political activity.

Thus the British anarchists currently participating in demonstrations do so not as reformers but as anarchists. That is to say, anarchists differ from the adherents of almost every other ideology, as well as all advocates of specific political or social reforms, in having little or no interest in altering the policies of states, in shaping the opinions of politicians and decision-makers. They reject authority – seen as imposed from above – and seek to replace it with

self-government: organization through co-operative associations, built and federated from the bottom upwards. 'Anarchist protest' therefore appears oxymoronic. If anarchists are participating in - or initiating - demonstrations, it is not authority holders they are attempting to influence but their fellow citizens, intending to galvanize them into action and to create alternative, non-hierarchical social structures.

The demonstrations surrounding the G20 meeting in London in March 2009 and the input by anarchists exemplify these principles. On Saturday 28 March, 35,000 marched through central London - from the Embankment to Hyde Park – in a challenge to G20 policies organized by 'Put People First' and supported by a large number of diverse trade-union, green and NGO bodies, including also the TUC itself. Anarchist groups in London issued a communiqué hoping for the participation of a mass libertarian 'militant workers' bloc' while commenting on the demonstration: 'This is not an end in itself, but a means to meet each other and collectively get involved in supporting a working-class fight back to the crisis'. Direct action was placed 'at the core' of this resistance. In addition, Wednesday 1 April, was designated as 'Financial Fools Day' by the anarchist 'G20 Meltdown', which called for an assembly at noon outside the Bank of England. At the same time a non-violent 24-hour 'Climate Camp' was set up nearby in Bishopsgate. The G20 Meltdown poster, urging 'Storm the Banks!', not only jeered at traditional protest – 'The pathetic TUC can only organize boring bog standard marches from A to B addressed by Labour has-beens - trying to keep a lid on our anger' - but also exhorted: 'In every street there are empty Woolworths which should be seized and turned into action centres or indoor car boot sales. Sacked workers should occupy factories and offices, home repossessions should be resisted'. In the event, some 7,000 participated, an office of the especially unpopular Royal Bank of Scotland was ransacked, the Climate Camp was broken up by the police in the early hours, and the aggressive policing – involving the controversial tactic of 'kettling' and the death of the newspaper seller, Ian Tomlinson – was condemned by radicals and liberals alike.

The G20 Meltdown demonstration was an example of propaganda by the deed, and together with the symbolic action of the Climate Camp, designed to change people's minds and get them to participate in actions of their own.

The violent spontaneity of the student protest against university tuition fees in London on 10 November 2010, in which the Conservative Party headquarters were attacked and vandalized, must have owed much to the events of March 2009, but were otherwise entirely dissimilar. The students' objective was to prevent the implementation of university fees, not to usher in a new society. As a leader in *The Times* was to observe perceptively, the anarchist groups 'do not care that much for the limited causes of the protests; if your goal is to topple the system, you are not especially bothered about student debt' (12 January 2011).

Yet on 26 March 2011 the massive anti-cuts demonstration organized by the TUC in London and attended by an estimated half-a-million people, was in part hijacked by anarchist direct action in which the Ritz was attacked, the windows of West End banks smashed and the police fought. *The Guardian* (2 April 2011) interviewed several of the anarchist militants, all saying that the 'the failure of the peaceful anti-Iraq march to overturn government policy (in 2003) was formative in their decision to turn to violence': 'We realized that political change in this country isn't predicated on being right and winning a debate'. An unemployed anarchist in his mid-twenties stated:

> We are not in any way setting out to terrorize the public. We are the public... We are not calling for political reform or changes to the tax system. We are sending a clear message to capitalism that we can't be bargained with. There is no reform. We only seek your abolition.

CONCLUSIONS

The historic anarchist movement of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries had been grounded in the working class and peasantry and their institutions, but its philosophy had been adumbrated over several centuries, even millennia, and on several continents. Its ideas and practices have been shared by the socially very dissimilar anarchists of the revival that has taken place since the 1960s. In particular, parliamentarianism and constitutional protest have been eschewed for direct action which may take two entirely different forms. Firstly, there are the symbolic actions, whether violent or non-violent, but usually illegal, intended as propaganda by the deed. Secondly, by occupying factories and then running them, for example, or following exemplary Green lifestyles in eco-communities, the existing social order may be bypassed by, in the words of a Shropshire militant, 'putting anarchism into action at the grassroots' (*Freedom*, 29 August 2009).

Both of these forms of direct action can be seen as merely disruptive by those who believe that society has to be run from above if it is to be orderly and efficient. And either of them can easily be mixed up with any other form of violent protest by lazy commentators.

However, as this brief history of the international movement has attempted to show, anarchism needs to be understood as a distinctive and coherent tradition of political theory and practice. This may help its own proponents to reflect on the some of the adverse consequences of violent action, and it may persuade the wider public to take its ideas and examples more seriously as a significant alternative approach to social change. ⊙

We gladly acknowledge History *&* Policy *availability to disseminat this paper.*

FURTHER READING

CAROLINE CAHM, *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989).

RUTH KINNA, *Anarchism: A Beginner's Guide* (Oxford, Oneworld, 2005).

A History of Anarchism (London: Harper Perennial, 2nd edn, 2008).

JOHN MERRIMAN, *The Dynamite Club: How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris Ignited the Age of Modern Terror* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009).

NICHOLAS WALTER, *About Anarchism* (London: Freedom Press, 2nd ed., 2002).

GEORGE WOODCOCK, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2nd edn, 1986).

HANDY WARHOL, (1928-1987), *Boot,* 1956, gouache, gold paper lace, ink, 58.0 x 36.5cm (curtesy National Gallery of Australia).

THE KIND OF ANARCHISM I BELIVE IN,

AND WHAT IS WRONG WITH LIBERTARIANS

NOAM CHOMSKY

Noam Chomsky (1928) is an American linguist, philosopher, cognitive scientist, logician, historian, political critic, and activist. He is an Institute Professor and Professor (Emeritus) in the Department of Linguistics & Philosophy at MIT, where he has worked for over fifty years. In addition to his work in linguistics, he has written on war, politics, and mass media, and is the author of over 100 books. He has been described as a prominent cultural figure, and he was voted the "world's top public intellectual" in a 2005 poll.

Michael Wilson is the editor of the Modern Success Magazine *in Madison, WI, USA.*

INTERVIEW

MICHAEL S. WILSON ~ You are, among many other things, a self-described anarchist – an anarcho-syndicalist, specifically. Most people think of anarchists as disenfranchised punks throwing rocks at store windows, or masked men tossing ball-shaped bombs at fat industrialists. Is this an accurate view? What is anarchy to you?

NOAM CHOMSKY ~ Well, anarchism is, in my view, basically a kind of tendency in human thought which shows up in different forms in different circumstances, and has some leading characteristics. Primarily it is a tendency that is suspicious and skeptical of domination, authority, and hierarchy. It seeks structures of hierarchy and domination in human life over the whole range, extending from, say, patriarchal families to, say, imperial systems, and it asks whether those systems are justified. It assumes that the burden of proof for anyone in a position of power and authority lies on them. Their authority is not self-justifying. They have to give a reason for it, a justification. And if they can't justify that authority and power and control, which is the usual case, then the authority ought to be dismantled and replaced by something more free and just. And, as I understand it, anarchy is just that tendency. It takes different forms at different times.

Anarcho-syndicalism is a particular variety of anarchism which was concerned primarily, though not solely, but primarily with control over work, over the work place, over production. It took for granted that working people ought to control their own work, its conditions, [that] they ought to control the enterprises in which they work, along with communities, so they should be associated with one another in free associations, and … democracy of that kind should be the foundational elements of a more general free society. And then, you know, ideas are worked out about how exactly that should manifest itself, but I think that is the core of anarcho-syndicalist thinking. I mean it's not at all the general image that you described – people running around the streets, you know, breaking store windows – but anarcho-syndicalism is a conception of a very organized society, organized from below by direct participation at every level, with as little control and domination as is feasible, maybe none.

MW ~ With the apparent ongoing demise of the capitalist state, many people are looking at other ways to be successful, to run their lives, and I am wondering what you would say anarchy and syndicalism have to offer, things that others ideas – say, for example, state-run socialism – have failed to offer? Why should we choose anarchy, as opposed to, say, libertarianism?

NC ~ What's called libertarian in the United States, which is a special US phenomenon, it doesn't really exist anywhere else – a little bit in England – permits a very high level of authority and domination but in the hands of private power: so private power should be unleashed to do whatever it likes. The assumption is that by some kind of magic, concentrated private power will lead to a more free and just society. Actually that has been believed in the past. Adam Smith for example, one of his main arguments for markets was the claim that under conditions of perfect liberty, markets would lead to perfect equality.

MW ~ It seems to be a continuing contention today…

NC ~ Yes, and so well that kind of libertarianism, in my view, in the current world, is just a call for some of the worst kinds of tyranny, namely unaccountable private tyranny. Anarchism is quite different from that. It calls for an elimination to tyranny, all kinds

of tyranny. Including the kind of tyranny that's internal to private power concentrations. So why should we prefer it? I think because freedom is better than subordination. It is better to be free than to be a slave. It is better to be able to make your own decisions than to have someone else make decisions and force you to observe them. I don't think you really need an argument for that. It seems like transparent.

The thing you need an argument for, and should give an argument for, is "How can we best proceed in that direction?" And there are lots of ways within the current society. One way, incidentally, is through use of the state, to the extent that it is democratically controlled. In the long run, anarchists would like to see the state eliminated. But it exists, alongside of private power, and the state is, to a certain extent, under public influence and control – could be much more so. And it provides devices to constrain the much more dangerous forces of private power. For example, rules for safety and health in the workplace, or insuring that people have decent health care, and many other things like that. They are not going to come about through private power, quite the contrary. But they can come about through the use of the state system under limited democratic control to carry forward reformist measures. I think those are fine things to do, they should be looking forward to something much more, much beyond, – namely actual, much larger-scale democratization. And that is possible to not only think about, but to work on. So one of the leading anarchist thinkers, Bakunin in the 19th century, pointed out that it is quite possible to build the institutions of a future society within the present one. And he was thinking about far more autocratic societies than ours, and that is being done. For example, worker- and community- controlled enterprises are germs of a future society within the present one, and those not only can be developed, but are being developed. There is some important work on this by Gar Alperovitz who is involved in the enterprise systems around the Cleveland area which are worker and community controlled. There is a lot of theoretical discussion of how it might work out, from various sources. Some of the most worked out ideas are in what is called the "parecon" – participatory economics – literature and discussions, and there are others. These are at the planning and thinking level, at the practical implementation level, there are steps that can be taken, while also pressing to overcome the worst, the major harms caused by concentration of private power through the use of state system, as long as the current system exists. So there is no shortage of means to pursue.

As for state socialism, depends what one means by the term. If it is tyranny of the Bolshevik variety – and its descendants – we need not tarry on it. If it is a more expanded social democratic state, then the comments above apply. If something else, then what? Will it place decision-making in the hands of working people and communities, or in hands of some authority? If the latter, then – once again – freedom is better than subjugation, and the latter carries a very heavy burden of justification.

MW ~ Many people know you because of your and Edward Herman's development of the Propaganda Model. Could you briefly describe that model and why it might be important to college students?

NC ~ Let us first look back a bit – a little historical framework – back in the late 19th-, early 20th century, a good deal of freedom had been won in some societies. At the peak of this were in fact the United States and Britain. By no means free societies, but by comparative standards quite advanced in this respect. In fact, so advanced that power systems – state and private – began to recognize that things were getting to a point where they cannot control the population by force as easily as before, so they are going to have to turn to other means of control: control of beliefs and attitudes. Out of that grew the public relations industry, which in those days described itself honestly as an industry of propaganda.

The guru of the PR industry, Edward Bernays – incidentally, not a reactionary, but a Wilson-Roosevelt-Kennedy liberal – the maiden handbook of the PR industry he wrote back in the 1920s was called Propaganda. In it he described, correctly, the goal of the industry. He said our goal is to insure that the "intelligent minority" – and of course anyone who writes about these things is part of that intelligent minority by definition, by stipulation, so we, the intelligent minority, are the only people capable of running things, and there is that great population out there, the "unwashed masses," who, if they are left alone will just get into trouble: so we have to, as he put it, "engineer their consent," figure out ways to insure they consent to our rule and domination. And that is the goal of the PR industry, and it works in many ways. Its primary commitment is commercial advertising. In fact, Bernays made his name right at that time – late Twenty's – by running an advertising campaign to convince women to smoke cigarettes: women weren't smoking cigarettes, this big group of people who the tobacco industry is not able to kill, so we have got to do something about that. He very successfully ran campaigns that induced women to smoke cigarettes: that would be, in modern terms, the cool thing to do, you know, that is the way you get to be a modern, liberated woman. It was very successful.

MW ~ Is there a correlation between that campaign and what is happening with the big oil industry right now and climate change?

NC ~ These are just a few examples. These are the origins of what became a huge industry of controlling attitudes and opinions. Now the oil industry today, and in fact the business world generally, are engaged in comparable campaigns to try to undermine efforts to deal with a problem that is even greater than the mass murder that was caused by the tobacco industry; and it was mass murder. We are facing a threat, a serious threat, of catastrophic climate change. And it is no joke. The oil industry is trying to impede measures to deal with it for their own short-term profit interests. That includes not only the petroleum industry, but the American Chamber of Commerce – the leading business lobby – and others, who have stated quite openly that they are conducting … they don't call it propaganda … but what would amount to propaganda campaigns to convince people that there is no real danger and we shouldn't really do much about it, and that we should concentrate on really important things like the deficit and economic growth – what they call 'growth' – and not worry about the fact that the human species is marching over a cliff which could be something like human species destruction or, at least, the destruction of the possibility of a decent life for huge numbers of people, and there are many other correlations.

In fact quite generally, commercial advertising is fundamentally an effort to undermine markets. We should recognize that. If you have taken an economics course, you know that markets are supposed to be based on informed consumers making rational choices. You take a look at the first ad you see on television and ask yourself "is that it's purpose?" No, it's not, it's to create uninformed consumers making irrational choices, and these same institutions run political campaigns. It is pretty much the same: you have to undermine democracy by trying to get uninformed people to make irrational choices. And so this is only one aspect of the PR industry. What Herman and I were discussing was another aspect of the whole propaganda system that developed roughly at that period, and that is "manufacture of consent," as it was called, consent to the decisions of our political leaders, or the leaders of the private economy, to try to insure that people have the right beliefs and don't try to comprehend the way decisions are being made that may not only harm them, but harm many others. That is propaganda in the normal sense. So we were talking about mass media, and the intellectual community of the world in general, which is to a large extent dedicated to this. Not that people see themselves as propagandists, but that they are themselves deeply indoctrinated into the principles of the system, which prevent them from perceiving many things that are really right on the surface, things that would be subversive to power if understood. We give plenty of examples there, and there is plenty more you can mention up to the present moment, crucial ones in fact. That is a large part of a general system of indoctrination and control that runs parallel to controlling attitudes and consumeristic commitments, and other devices to control people.

One of the main problems for students today – a huge problem – is sky-rocketing tuitions. Why do we have tuitions that are completely out-of-line with other countries, even with our own history? In the 1950s the United States was a much poorer country than it is today, and yet higher education was pretty much free, or low fees or no fees for huge numbers of people. There has not been an economic change that made necessary to have very high tuitions, far more than when we were a poor country. To drive the point home even more clearly, if we look just across the borders, Mexico is a poor country, yet has a good educational system with free tuition. There was an effort by the Mexican state to raise tuition, maybe some 15 years ago or so, and there was a national student strike which had a lot of popular support, and the government backed down. Now that is just happened recently in Quebec, on our other border. Go across the ocean: Germany is a rich country. Free tuition. Finland has the highest-ranked education system in the world. Free, virtually free. So I don't think you can give an argument that there are economic necessities behind the incredibly high increase in tuition. I think these are social and economic decisions made by the people who set policy. In my view, these hikes are part of a backlash that developed in the 1970s against the liberatory tendencies of the 1960s. Students became much freer, more open, they were pressing for opposition to the war, for civil rights, women's rights … and the country just got too free. In fact, liberal intellectuals condemned this, called it a "crisis of democracy:" we have got to have more moderation of democracy. They called, literally, for more commitment to indoctrination of the young, their phrase … we have to make sure that the institutions responsible for the indoctrination of the young do their work, so we don't have all this freedom and independence. And many developments took place after that. I don't think we have enough direct documentation to prove causal relations, but you can see what happened. One of the things that happened was controlling students – in fact, controlling students for the rest of their lives, by simply trapping them in debt. That is a very effective

technique of control and indoctrination. And I suspect, I can't prove it but I suspect that that is a large part of the reason behind high tuitions. Many other parallel things happened. The whole economy changed in significant ways to concentrate power, to undermine workers' rights and freedom. In fact the economist who chaired the Federal Reserve around the Clinton years, Alan Greenspan – St Alan as he was called then, the great genius of the economics profession who was running the economy, highly honoured – he testified proudly before congress that the basis for the great economy that he was running was what he called "growing worker insecurity." If workers are more insecure, they won't do things, like asking for better wages and better benefits. And that is healthy for the economy from a certain point of view, a point of view that says workers ought to be oppressed and controlled, and that wealth ought to be concentrated in a very few pockets. So, that is a healthy economy, and we need growing worker insecurity, and we need growing student insecurity, for similar reasons. I think all of these things line up together as part of a general reaction – a bipartisan reaction, incidentally – against liberatory tendencies that manifested themselves in the 60s and have continued since.

** Retailored from the* Modern Success Magazine *interview and disseminated with Professor Chomsky personal permission.*

EXODUS:

FROM GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY TO RADICAL DISOBEDIENCE

GRAEME CHESTERS

Dr Graeme Chesters is Deputy Director and Senior Research Fellow of the International Centre for Participation Studies in the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford, UK. He is the author (with Ian Welsh) of Social Movements: The Key Concepts *(Routledge, 2011) and* Complexity and Social Movements *(Routledge: 2006). He was also an editor and contributor to* We Are Everywhere: the irresistible rise of global anticapitalism *(Verso: 2003).*

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I will argue that the reframing of a militant global civil society (GCS) proposed and envisaged by the Zapatistas in 1994, when they appealed to this imagined constituency for support, has at last found its subject. From the 15-M movement in Spain to Occupy Wall Street, from Tarir Square to the Wisconsin 'wave', from Taksim to Sao Paolo, network movements based upon now familiar principles of democratic participation, antipathy to representative politics and a preference for direct action are increasingly declaring the stakes of political and economic struggle. Put simply I argue that the normative conception of global civil society as a benign outcome of liberal hegemony has been shattered by the increasing role transnational governance bodies and many of the larger NGOs and non-profits have played in the development, maintenance and advancement of neoliberal globalization. Further to this I will suggest that the political imaginaries of this new wave of *network movements* (Chesters & Welsh, 2011, Castells, 2012) correspond with and have been derived from alter-globalist and anti-capitalist movements that mobilized from the mid-90s and that these share common forms of organization and critique, many of which are explicitly drawn from or influenced by anarchist and autonomist praxis. This argument is advanced by considering the theories and contexts of global civil society, the rise of antagonistic forces within it and the role of these forces in shaping new forms of political and economic engagement. It further suggests that these dynamics reveal, and are further revealed by, the concepts of enclosure (material, moral, representational and capitalist) and exodus (disobedient, intemperate and anti-capitalist).

GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

The concept of global civil society has been deployed as a normative-ideal by a range of political actors because of its considerable rhetorical and strategic utility. In each instance, it is presented as a version of the good society stretched to the ends of the earth. Almost always conceived as progressive and democratizing, its composition varies according to each advocates ideological position. Kaldor's (2003) framework provides a useful orientation here. In what she terms the 'activist' definition of GCS, it takes on a utopian quality and is manifest in the interstices between markets and states. In the 'neoliberal' version it is an essential adjunct to the globalizing forces of free trade and privatization, and in the normative 'ideal-type' she and John Keane favour, it is a 'dynamic non-governmental system of interconnected socio-economic institutions' that is capable of pluralizing power and problematising violence (Keane, 2003:8).

I have argued for a further definition, global civil society through the lens of global complexity (Chesters & Welsh, 2006). Where GCS is perceived not as an actor or expression of political will, but more as a domain contested and variegated by multiple axes of cause and effect, reciprocity and ambivalence, an outcome and effect of 'global complexity', the interaction between 'networks' and 'fluids' that characterize planetary systems of production, mobility and exchange (Urry, 2003). From this perspective, GCS constitutes a 'state space', a field of relations between variables of a self-organizing system, including the combination of ideological, organizational, and material investments that are represented in the definitions above. These denote attractors within the system that compete to consolidate their interpretation of GCS, dominate resources and attribute meanings. The argument I advance is that the rise to prominence of the 'alternative globalization movement' (AGM) (Chesters & Welsh, 2006) signified the emergence of an antagonist attractor

within GCS, an attractor that re-envisioned relations between global civil society actors and opened new directions for action, reflection and critique.

My argument suggests that when global civil society actors are differentiated according to their modes of organization, and their position vis-à-vis international systems of production, distribution and exchange, it is possible to discern an antagonistic kernel within GCS that generates a fundamental and systemic critique. This is important, as the social movement scholar Alberto Melucci (1996) pointed out, because most political discourse seeks to deny the existence of fundamental conflicts about the production and appropriation of social resources by reducing everything to a question of grievances or political claims. I argue that this antagonism has until recently, been primarily, but not exclusively, visible in the AGM. A movement that has been influential in disturbing existing discourses around trade, the environment and social justice through its capacity to re-orient the field of relations between GCS and global governance structures by direct contestation of their processes and meetings.

Disaffection with the political class and non-participation in the political process have been compounded by changes to the composition and form of civil society. In much of the global north nationally based civic associations representing particular class affinities have declined with the fragmentation of their bases of support and the advent of post-Fordist restructuring, whilst organized religion in all but its more orthodox guises has declined as an effect of its marginality to consumer capitalism. Two outcomes flow directly from this; firstly, the capacity of civil society organizations to assimilate conflictual currents within pseudo-state forms is diminished, giving rise to a decline in the legitimation of social norms by civil society (Puttnam, 1995). Secondly, there is a rise in new opportunities for disaggregated forms of political expression that challenge the state as a locus of power and which seek other means and opportunities of redress. This includes direct action, self-organized alternatives and campaigning and networking at an extra-national level.

This has contributed to institutions such as the World Bank, IMF and WTO becoming the targets of protest. These institutions have been used to critical engagement with civil society institutions closely linked to nation states and embedded in national political cultures, but they are now increasingly besieged by organizations and networks apparently seeking to construct and deepen a counter hegemonic account of globalization to which they in turn have responded in confused and often contradictory ways. This is primarily because of the multi-variate and conflicting demands articulated by the more militant sections of global civil society and serves to demonstrate one of the problems at the core of theorizing GCS as a normative-ideal. That is to describe and account for the potentially transformative and counter hegemonic challenges posed by GCS whilst considering the underlying question of whether a domain committed to radical pluralism can ever attempt to be hegemonic.

The confused response of international organizations, which frequently results in a default mode of non-engagement and repression, is in part due to their previously effective model of instrumentalizing civil society, charitable and non-profit participation to legitimize neo-liberal reform and restructuring. This has sometimes been combined with an apparent ambivalence to the destabilizing effects those reforms might subsequently have for nationally based civil society organizations. Thus, the growth of social movement networks that extend beyond the regulation of individual states and that engage in conflictual action (re)presents a new set of problems that were previously mediated at the national level. This is one of many unexpected outcomes of globalization, which include changes to the role of the state in international relations and the rise of GCS (Eschle & Stammers, 2004).

GLOBALIZATION, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE

'Anti-globalization activists understand that sympathetic and mutually beneficial global ties are good. But we want social and global ties to advance universal equity, solidarity, diversity, and self-management, not to subjugate ever-wider populations to an elite minority. We want to globalize equity not poverty, solidarity not anti-sociality, diversity not conformity, democracy not subordination, and ecological balance not suicidal rapaciousness.' (Albert, 2001)[1].

The academic concern with globalization reached saturation point during the past two decades and it is not my intention to repeat these debates here. It should suffice to say that despite differences in accounts of the origins, patterns and prognosis of globalization, surveys of this literature point to a remarkable level of agreement amongst commentators on the challenge globalizing processes pose to the state-centrist assumptions that are familiar from previous social science discourses (Held & McGrew, 2000). The idea of the nation-state as the principal organizing unit of political and economic life is called in to question by the growth of extra-national administrative bodies, transnational corporations and the liberalization of capital and

This has led some commentators to the conclusion that 'global networks' (Castells, 1996), 'scapes' (Appadurai, 1990) and 'flows' (Urry, 2000) should be the primary focus of investigation in the social sciences as these are the 'true architectures of the new global economy' (Castells, 2000: 61). An economy that has catalyzed a marked acceleration in the disparity between rich and poor along a number of axes; hemispherically from south to north, regionally between 'peripheral' and 'core' countries and nationally across class and ethnic boundaries (Castells, 1996:66-150).

This marks a break with the conception of civil society as channeling conflictual impulses towards resolution within state structures and the beginning of the opening out of multiple avenues, audiences and opportunities through which to exercise conflictual relations, including the targeting of corporations and international systems of governance and the possibility of self-organized, non-profit alternatives. Add to this the enlargement of international communities of interest and affinity facilitated by computer-mediated-communications and the rise of social media, and issue-based networks that integrate virtual and real campaigning, and we can begin to get a sense of what this antagonist attractor in global civil society might precipitate.

The implications of these perspectives are that one must look outside the state at networked processes of interaction between state and non-state actors. This does not mean that the state is no longer important, but rather that we must consider the meshwork of national and extra-national political institutions, corporate and civil society actors that co-produce the effects of the 'global'. As Michael Burawoy argues:

> 'The dense ties that once connected civil society to the state are being detached and redirected across national boundaries to form a thickening global public sphere. Yet these connections and flows are not autonomous, are not arbitrary patterns crossing in the sky, but are shaped by the strong magnetic field of nation states' (Burawoy, 2000: 34).

This 'magnetic field' and its complex effects are observable in the challenges posed to NGOs and other civil society actors trying to develop campaigns and mobilize around a range of issues including trade, agriculture, health etc. Invariably these organizations need to apply pressure through the state as well as to attempt to gain leverage within global governance structures. The proximity of NGOs to these processes and their capacity to deliver a wide-range of social goods often ends with their participation in neoliberal restructuring programmes, where the state rescinds its duty to provide essential services leaving NGOs to pick up the responsibility of care, often in the face of rapid and aggressive marketization. The apparent ambivalence of some NGOs to their assimilation within this neoliberal framework of 'development' and their professionalized concern with the 'realpolitik' of aid delivery has led to accusations that they are in danger of becoming 'the shock troops of the empire' (Clark, 2003:78). An accusation directed particularly at those NGOs who have been instrumental in the management and delivery of economic and social 'development' programmes such as those initiated by the World Bank.

The assimilation of NGOs by the neoliberal axiom of marketization raises a number of questions about their potential for bringing about the social change envisaged as a potential of GCS. The political possibilities of civil society are often inferred from a Gramscian theoretical framework that originally privileged civil society because of a presumed continuity and overlap between the institutions of civil society and the apparatus used for reproducing the state through the transmission of normative values and disciplinary mechanisms. Civil society according to Gramsci (1976) was composed of organizations rooted in both state and people, thereby making it a privileged domain for political contestation. However, as observed above, these traditional forms of civil society organization are declining and are being replaced by newer organizations many of whom are less embedded in everyday social and cultural activity. As such, their transformative potential is limited to the symbolic contestation of dominant social codes often expressed at an extra-national level, rather than with the revolutionary transformation or seizure of the state. Add to this the interpolation of the private and for profit sector in to the state and public spheres, and the liberal ideal of GCS as a potentially transformative force becomes increasingly problematic.

Consequently, our attention is drawn again to the precise characteristics of what is being referred to within the discourse around global civil society. A number of questions are pertinent here. Could such a domain operate as a counter-power to the forces of neo-liberal globalization, or provide opportunities to deepen connections across movements, organizations and networks? How might it be organized, what forms could it take and where would we look for it? Furthermore, do established NGOs, trade unions and social movement organizations best represent the antagonistic possibilities that inhere in opposition to neoliberalism, given their challenges are potentially reconcilable within capitalism's systemic capacity for assimilation and mutability? Or, are those who adopt more openly confrontational repertoires expressive of the emer-

gent potential of the state space of global civil society, presuming of course that they express some deeper antagonistic conflict?

GLOBALIZING CRISIS

Prior to the financial 'crisis', many of these questions were in practice the sole preserve of those at the margins of political commentary. Prior to the actions of a Tunisian market trader the idea that they could be of importance to consideration of the future of authoritarian regimes in the Middle East and North Africa would have seemed ridiculous. However, we are now familiar with the 'horizontal' nature of resistance from Wall Street to Tahrir Square (Castells, 2012, Mason, 2012) and the role of network movements in these events as we live again in a time of 'riots and uprisings' (Badiou, 2012). As we live with the idea that we are indeed the 99% that has been subjugated, robbed and dispossessed by the 1%. The questions above therefore take on renewed prominence when considered in the context of the financial 'crisis', originally referred to as a 'credit crunch' in 2005/6, it led to the near collapse of the banking system because of the dramatic failure of the regulatory mechanisms for the banking sector and financial capital under the deregulation of neoliberal economic policy.

Whilst giving evidence at the Congressional hearing in to the crisis, Alan Greenspan, the former Chairman of the US Federal Reserve, and arch exponent of neoliberal ideology, admitted he had 'made a mistake' in presuming that financial firms could regulate themselves. Asked by Henry Waxman the committee Chairman if 'you found that your view of the world, your ideology was not right, it was not working?' Greenspan replied, 'Absolutely, precisely […] you know, that's precisely the reason I was shocked, because I have been going for 40 years or more with very considerable evidence that it was working exceptionally well.'

In due course, this crisis also overturned well-established neoliberal tropes, including the 'moral hazard' of state support for failing enterprises and in turn precipitated one of the largest transfers of debt, from private sector debt to sovereign debt, as state support was necessitated for banks that were too big to fail. According to the office of the Special Inspector General for the Troubled Asset Relief Program (SIGTARP), the US government's total outgoings in bailouts was USD 3.3 trillion, with 16.9 trillion of future protections guaranteed[2]. This amounts to 113% of US GDP. In the UK the government had to commit to the equivalent of 101% of GDP in terms of promised support for the banking sector. This transfer of debt from the private sector to the state – hastened sovereign debt crises and led to the instigation of 'austerity' measures, that are presently transforming welfare provision and subjecting welfare claimants to ever more degrading and punitive forms of classification, whilst the pay and bonuses of those in the financial sector continue to rise.

> This financial crisis was precipitated in part by the very process of economic globalization neoliberals had advocated. At the beginning of the 2000s international investors looking for a higher yield than was possible through relatively 'safe' investments such as US Treasury bonds prompted significant financial innovation on Wall Street. This 'huge pool' of global money led to investment banks designing mortgage backed securities, thereby spreading systemic risk from the US housing market to the international financial system. In effect deregulation enabled banks to spread risk that they would previously have held on to – mortgage debt in this instance – through slicing and parceling it and trading these 'asset backed securities' on global financial markets. This circulated the risk, which was then further multiplied through specialist markets in insuring risk using financial instruments such as credit default swaps.

There are a number of accessible and narrative accounts of this process and its outcomes (Lanchester, 2010, Tett, 2010), which are insightful, informative and illuminating, but at its heart there remains a simple dynamic - the requirement of capital to maximize value on investment. As the accumulation of value becomes ever more complex under the conditions of globalization described above, the banking sector had in effect responded by falling back upon the direct extraction of profit from those who were most susceptible to the idea of the 'American dream' represented by home ownership and consumer lifestyles. As David Graeber a key activist and intellectual with Occupy Wall Street describes it:

> 'Wall Street's profits are no longer extracted from industry and commerce at all, but from speculation and "financial services" which… turns out to be simply a shakedown operation: outright imperialism overseas, and colluding with the government at home to ensure that most Americans fall in to debt, and then extracting the money directly.' (in Khatib, Killjoy and McGuire, 2012: 428-9).

One social movement response to this realization crystallized in the call to 'Occupy Wall Street' on Sept 17th 2011, a call that was initially made by the Canadian magazine Adbusters.

OCCUPYING THE CRISIS?

The Occupy movement's rapid growth and the particular dynamics of each localised instance of occupation have already been well documented (Castells, 2012, Khatib *et al*, 2012, Graeber, 2013). The number of occupations in the US is estimated to have been in the order of six hundred (Castells, 2012: 163) and these included most of the major cities and many small towns and neighbourhoods. Occupy, of course, had a number of immediate precursors and many commentators link the Occupy movement to the movement of the *indignadas* or May 15th (15-M) movement in Spain that arose earlier in the year. This movement, in turn, inspired by events elsewhere in Tunisia and Egypt, mobilized in the midst of the EU crisis, as a response to crippling austerity measures which had led to approximately fifty per cent of young people becoming unemployed. This movement used the occupation of public squares as a means to remain publicly and politically visible and after its first manifestation in large demonstrations in Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia spread to over one hundred cities in Spain and then eight hundred worldwide (Castells, 2012: 113).

Whilst the global dynamics of occupation and revolt were undoubtedly significant, other commentators also point to the domestic political opportunity structure in the US and the 'opening' afforded by the Wisconsin 'wave' of protests in early 2011 (Fithian, 2012:381; Nichols, 2012). A huge mobilization took place in Wisconsin between February and June involving protests of one hundred thousand people and the occupation of the State Capitol Building in Madison[3]. This was the result of the Republican Governor Scott Walker's plans to limit the collective bargaining rights of public sector workers and ultimately led him to face a recall vote, which was prompted by over nine hundred thousand signatories to the recall motion and was only the third time this had happened in US history. The mobilization in Wisconsin was important in a number of ways, it demonstrated that the Republican right, backed by the Tea Party movement, would utilize the financial 'crisis' as a justification for further attacks on the public sector and its workers, and it also provided a very graphic illustration of the political possibility of occupying public buildings and public spaces. A repertoire of collective action, which, whilst not unprecedented in the US, had not been a feature of contemporary politics and which was certainly an inspiration for some of the early occupiers (Nichols, 2012).

Whilst none of these precursors are explicitly anti-capitalist in their orientation and these movements and their constituents, from the Wisconsin Wave to the Spanish indignadas, have myriad aims, desires and outcomes, my argument is that what unites them is a common rejection of neoliberalism as norm and as a consequence a questioning of the central precepts of contemporary capitalism. However, in order to make sense of these movements as anti-capitalist, it is also essential to understand contemporary capitalism as more than an economic system. Instead it must be understood as a socio-cultural, political and ideological entity that is inextricably linked to the core institutions of Western modernity as well as to a universalising global spatiality, one which Occupy explicitly and materially contests. This in turn also requires recognising that past anti-capitalist approaches were premised on certain theoretical approaches and assumptions – most prominently Marxist-Leninism - that shared a great deal with the dominant political model of liberal modernity. Contemporary anti-capitalist movements such as Occupy are instead notable for rejecting centralized forms of power, universalizing or homogenizing visions of change, as well as theoretical approaches that are formulaic or dogmatic (Notes from Nowhere, 2003, Chesters & Welsh, 2006), leading some to argue that they are at the forefront of the 'anarchist revival'[4]. Similarly, increasing awareness of the complicity of leftist approaches in ecological and cultural exploitation has inspired more ecologically oriented and culturally pluralist approaches to emerge.

In this context, the critique of neoliberal capitalism mounted by Occupy and its insistence on making visible the stakes of what would otherwise occur behind closed doors, shares much with the alter-globalization movement (AGM). This movement came into worldwide visibility with the anti-WTO protests in Seattle, November 1999 and is best known for its opposition to corporate driven neoliberal globalisation and the multilateral institutions that enforce its policies – the G8, IMF, WTO and World Bank. Moreover, I suggest that beyond its critique and opposition to neoliberalism, the most significant and effective parts of the alter-globalisation movement are best understood to be anti-capitalist. This is, of course, contentious because many actors who identified with or participated in this movement do not necessarily define their practice or political ideology as anti-capitalist per se. In fact, one of the notable things about the AGM is precisely its internal heterogeneity, including the diversity of political positions. However, even though there are many elements of the movement that are not consciously anti-capitalist, taken together the most important and significant aspects of the AGM are anti-systemic, and anti-capitalist, if not in their intent, then at least in their effects.

What ties this movement to more recent manifestations such as Occupy, in addition to their common histories and similar constituent organisations and actors, is a common political imaginary, one that can be referred to as anti or post-capitalist. The three core elements of this imaginary are a) a rejection of the notion of state power or party politics; b) the foundational importance of difference and multiplicity, and c) critique, reflexivity and enquiry, rather than linear or formulaic dogmatisms. While comprehensible in and of themselves these elements can be understood in large part as a contrast to, or a direct response to, politics past, even Marxist and leftist politics, which are equally inflected by the culture and values of Western modernity.

The praxis of Occupy reaffirms that 'space', its enclosure, liberation and use is a crucial subject and debate amongst movement actors. The centrality of space also relates to the possibilities for encounters across difference, the clash or convergence of the unexpected, and is radically distinct from the dominant view of the aim and goals of political movements. The fact that capitalism was enabled through the enclosures of the commons makes it quite apt that the liberation and occupation of space for alternative, anti-capitalist futures should be a prominent strategy. However, the use and enclosure of space by capitalism also continues. For example, the concept of enclosure, whilst echoing traditional protest themes, can be extended to include the increased penetration and control of social spaces by capitalist interests. As well as the extension of disciplinary and surveillance apparatus into all spheres of life, from the flow of information and commonly produced creative goods to the commodification of the very materiality of existence through bio and nano-technologies. Similarly, as Native Americans have pointed out to the Occupy Wall Street Movement, all of these occupations are themselves on land that was itself occupied.

Debates around the political efficaciousness of taking, occupying or simply inhabiting space point to some of the subtle, yet key, differences amongst various anti-capitalist positions. In particular, between those who see the symbolic use of space as part and parcel of the political aim, and those who see the symbolic use of space as space-holder until real political power and impact are attained. Particular attention is paid, by those within the Occupy movement to the role of the state in this 'dialogue' between capital and civil society and its increasing tendency to act as the enforcer for capitalist interests.

FROM ENCLOSURE TO EXODUS

This process of capitalist *enclosure*, a process which is accelerated in 'networked' societies (Castells, 1996) involves both the literal enclosure of physical space and the metaphorical enclosure of 'social spaces', those socially produced, cognitive, aesthetic and moral spacings in which our understandings of self and other are created. To clarify what I mean by enclosure in this context, I suggest there are a number of types of enclosure that contribute to the construction of conflictual social relations. These include:

- Macro enclosure – the increasing privatisation, commodification, and surveillance of public space;
- Moral and ethical enclosure – the inscription of normative moral codes on social spaces;
- Representational enclosure – the capacity to represent what takes place in a given space or locale, thereby controlling how such spaces are mediated and understood;
- Physical enclosure – the capacity to literally close off, shutdown, or fence in a physical space.

These complex processes often result in a simple modulation in contemporary conflicts between network social movements and state-private interests. This is between resistant action to defend or extend uncommodified or ungoverned social spaces by activists, and action to commodify or govern such spaces by the state and/or private interests. It is in the context of this modulation that an antagonistic orientation to social movement networks becomes directly observable, because resistance to enclosure through defensive measures such as site occupations, or proactive measures such as the reclamation of streets and squares, ultimately requires the articulation of a critique to justify and sustain such actions. Such a critique must necessarily call into question the very organization of a system that appropriates and commodifies supposedly 'open' social spaces. It is in these moments that 'lines of flight' emerge, some of which have the potential to act as multipliers, facilitating the emergence of large scale resistance from what were initially specific and local protests. Examples here might include the massive social response to police repression of environmental campaigners resisting the destruction of Gezi Park in Istanbul in May/June 2013 or the rapid escalation of protests against an increase in Bus fares in Sao Paolo that led to large scale unrest across Brazil during the same period.

> 'The word flight is often abused and at any rate carries dangerous connotations. Flight does not mean necessarily an escape into some mythical outside free from social conditioning. It is rather a moment of active creation of autonomous spaces within the existing order. Flight

> enables you to try and elude the status quo which subjects individuals to its political power and thereby defines their spatial movement.' (Viano and Binetti, 1996:252).

I use the term exodus to describe these lines of flight, I use it connotatively, to refer to what Virno (1996:197) calls 'engaged withdrawal' and what Melucci (1996:39) describes as the 'zero sum' point at which claimant movements become antagonistic ones (Chesters & Welsh, 2011). These terms describe how network movements increasingly withdraw from engagement with mechanisms of representation in complex societies, as the conflict in which they are involved becomes less negotiable and the goals of the conflict less divisible. That is, the conflict animating social movement actors is no longer understood to be reconcilable through the existing institutional arrangements for decision making and allocation of resources, and becomes defined as requiring systemic change at a social, cultural or economic level. This is a process that I contend has significant implications for the future of social movement networks and one which is increasingly evident in the challenge posed by network movements to institutional and representative politics.

The concept of exodus helps elucidate the modulation I have described in complex societies between enclosure and resistance and the inevitable confrontations that are orientated around this tension. Used one way it is a simple illustrative categorization, a means to thematically organize and present examples of resistance of the type discussed above. However, this concept also has a significant theoretical lineage of some considerable complexity and depth:

> '[…] what I mean by Exodus is a full fledged model of action, capable of confronting the challenges of modern politics - in short capable of confronting the great themes articulated by Hobbes, Rousseau, Lenin and Schmitt (I am thinking here of crucial couplings such as command/obedience, public/private, friend/enemy, consensus/violence, and so forth). Today just as happened in the seventeenth century under the spur of the civil wars, a realm of common affairs has to be defined from scratch' (Virno, 1996:197).

Virno (1996) argues that 'post-Fordist' methods of production result in the absorption by important new forms of work of the attributes of political action: novelty, unpredictability, creativity, communicative networks, and linguistic 'performances', all become characteristics of information-orientated production that assumes 'actionist' traits[5]. Virno (1996) argues that work has colonized the sphere of the 'general intellect', using 'general social knowledge' to service an economy that is reliant upon the production and processing of knowledge and information:

> 'In any case, what other meaning can we give to the capitalist slogan of "total quality" if not the attempt to set to work all those aspects that traditionally it has shut out of work - in other words the ability to communicate and the taste for action?' (Virno, 1996:193).

In his theoretical explorations of structure and agency in complex, 'post-Fordist' societies, Virno (1996) recovers Marx's conception of *virtuosic performance*, meaning intellectual labour without a recognisable product, a process exemplified by 'performing artists', but which also covers teachers, doctors, priests, barristers and, contemporarily, counsellors, advisors and therapists. From Marx's perspective these virtuosi are special and problematic categories, which are eventually equated with service work, due to their 'non-productive' nature. For Virno (1996), this category has subsequently come to represent much of the neoliberal organization of production. The function of labour, therefore, 'consists no longer in the carrying out of a single particular objective, but in the modulating (as well as the varying and intensifying) of social cooperation'. Therefore the process of production begins to mimic the experience of activism (poiesis and praxis) through variations on a theme he describes as a 'parody of self-realization […] [which] represents the true acme of subjugation' (1996:193).

This leads Virno (1996) to theorize the possibility of collective action that is subversive to capitalist relations of production, through the annexation of a 'general intellect', defined in the broadest sense as a 'public resource' (faculty of language, ability to learn, abstract, correlate and reflect in an information orientated context) to a political community, in a non-State public sphere. This requires considerable unpacking. I take this to mean that in order for collective action to assume an anti-capitalist orientation, one would expect the precursors of the manifestation of that anti-capitalism to be a politicized, reflexive, community of activists attempting to construct social spaces of resistance to state and private capital. This is exactly the type of community, or network movement, that has been emerging in various guises and multiple locales over the past twenty years.

Virno defines this movement towards 'exodus' as ultimately involving 'defection from the state, the alliance between general intellect and political action, and a movement towards the public sphere of intellect.' (Virno, 1996:197). To elaborate this position further, it is worth looking in more detail at some of the specific concepts Virno uses to elucidate this model of the conditions under which collective action of an anti-

capitalist orientation arises, the forms that action might take, and the meanings that might be attached to it.

The concept of exodus emerges through a series of heuristic categories that fluctuate between the descriptive and prescriptive. The first of these involves the notion of *intemperance*, which Virno (1996) claims is likely to feature strongly in any anti-capitalist collective action. This is a term given meaning in ancient ethics through comparison with the contrasting notion of incontinence. According to Aristotle, incontinence is vulgar and abusive unruliness, based upon a disregard of laws to allow for immediate satisfaction of one's appetites. Intemperance, however, is something entirely different, in that it opposes an intellectual understanding of what could be, to the given ethical and political standards of the day. The intemperate person or collective is not ignorant of the law or social norms, nor do they merely oppose them for the sake of opposing them; rather they set out with zeal to discredit them, by connecting general intellect to political action in the pursuit of social change. This is akin to the distinction between 'anomic' and 'antagonistic' forms of collective action, a distinction which Virno (1996:200) claims is 'almost always overlooked' in political theory.

Intemperance, for Virno (1996), is the cardinal virtue of exodus; it represents a *nonservile virtuosity* that transforms civil disobedience – from a liberal construct premised upon the assumption of obedience to the state, to a radical position of fundamental opposition to state forms. This *intemperance* is strikingly familiar to the social movement theorist Alberto Melucci's notion of *antagonism*, and indeed they are both, similarly, process-orientated analytical categories denoting 'a complex ensemble of positive actions' (Virno, 1996:198) involving 'a magma of empirical components' (Melucci, 1996:38). In both accounts, what happens with the rise of neoliberal societies, where capital is progressively freed from spatial-temporal constraints, is that representative democracy is equated with the restriction of democracy *per se*:

> 'The States of the developed West are today characterized by a political non-representability of the post-Fordist workforce. In fact they gain strength from it, drawing from it a paradoxical legitimation for their authoritarian restructuring.' (Virno, 1996:202).

Whilst the post-Fordist method of production produces a degree of autonomy that creates ambivalence in the operation and diffusion of power through normative systems of control:

> 'Capitalist power […] discovers that it must control a set of organizational dynamics that progressively eludes its grasp. The introduction of psycho-social techniques of intervention in interpersonal relationships and the management's growing interest in analysis of organizational systems reveal within the organization a set of relationships governed by autonomous mechanisms and resistant to immediate sub-ordination to dominant interests.' (Melucci, 1996:253).

Consequently, the spaces for collective action are those in which autonomy, defection, and disobedience become repertoires of agency, using the virtuosic skills of activism.

This leads us to consideration of another heuristic category that is used to construct this concept of exodus. Virno describes what he terms a 'right to resistance'. He suggests that, in order for collective action to avoid atrophying into ritual and banal equivocation, an enemy must be located amongst seemingly incoherent interlocutors, an enemy whose orchestration of power must be revealed in order to circumvent the crude caricatures which can further subjugate collective actors. In this way, exodus involves a reorientation of the 'geometry of hostility' (Virno, 1996:204) where engagements between activists and the state are seen as taking place at numerous points of intersection in both cultural and political spheres and involve a 'line of flight'. Seen in these terms, conflict is 'asymmetrical', and Virno (1996:205) uses a military metaphor to describe activists 'evacuating' predictable positions, such as the sedentary positions that had once again become the norm after the upheavals of the 1960s and early 1970s.

CONCLUSION

This political theory of exodus articulates a disengagement from institutional political forms and describes the construction of deeply antagonistic, utopian and intemperate types of collective action which seek an 'escape route' or 'emergency exit' from a system of social reproduction whose existence is premised upon its ability to enclose every avenue for escape. This theory of exodus suggests that recognition of capitalist enclosure has in turn revealed a critique that celebrates resistance to this process through the occupation and transformation of spaces where this relationship is regarded as embedded in social relations existing within the material environment. Such actions are perceived to be an engagement in the transformation of social space and the construction of a participatory politics for a liberated, ecological society.

A central question for those mounting such resistance is the validity of the state's claim to obedience, for the state's existence as the arbiter of normative behaviour appears, paradoxically, to be threatened by increasing differentiation in the loci of power, despite the

disciplinary function such a dispersal of power can indicate[6]. If network movements can 'make power visible in systems where power becomes increasingly anonymous and neutral, where it is incorporated in formal procedures' (Melucci, 1985:792), and can operate successfully in the interstices of a systemic diffusion of disciplinary control, then possibilities for autonomous organization are opened and the claim of the state to obedience is weakened.

Therefore, the political subject emerging from the militant reframing of the discourse of global civil society is predicated upon a disengagement from the state, a *line of flight* from the traditional grounds of liberal contestation, such as political suffrage, human rights, and the division of labour. Rather, collective action is premised on a process of exodus, involving defection, intemperance, and confrontation, requiring not only an willingness to oppose the state, but an active desire to discredit the philosophical and political claim to obedience that legitimates the state (Scott, 2012). Activists, instead, are seeking to establish participatory and democratic methods of formulating decisions and constructing moral frameworks, forms of action Virno (1996) calls '*radical disobedience*', which are increasingly evident in the prefigurative experiments in the politics of possibilities and presence which characterize contemporary anti-capitalism.

In addition to this articulation and capture of spaces for resistance to neoliberalism, many now see their actions as asserting the primacy of the 'commons' and 'commoning' (Dyer-Witherford, 2009, Patel, 2009) against the corporate enclosure of social life and the increasingly fragile existence of 'public spaces' that are in practice spaces opened and closed by the state (*Res-publica*). It is of little surprise then that following evictions of the camps and squares, many of those involved turn their attention to forms of 'commoning' that evoke different uses of urban space, conducting neighbourhood assemblies, organising to resist evictions, proposing debt strikes, re-wilding urban spaces and forming intentional communities of 'commoners'.

These actions are indicative of the alternative political imaginaries that have emerged over the last two to three decades of anti-capitalist mobilisation. They reflect the interesting fusion of anarchist, autonomist and ecological insights that have been posited as a response to the systemic crises of the environment, democracy and the economy that underlie most social and political anxieties. The question of whether the concept and practice of 'the commons' can really redress the paucity of political alternatives under the politics as usual of liberal democratic states is a challenging one. However, the mass experiments in agency, deliberation, participation and social relations that have constituted contemporary anti-capitalism, from social forums to convergence spaces, from the utopian engagement with alternative land use to the creative resistance of hacker collectives and data dumpers, suggests at the very least there are some causes for optimism.

The focus for many activists who have been at the heart of these network movements is now on the challenges of building alternative commons and communities among diverse constituencies comprised of divergent cultural orientations and worldviews. Of course, the challenge of the collective and communal are well known to social theorists, anthropologists, historians of socialist and post-socialist societies, as well as experienced activists. The question then becomes what new tools, ideas and strategies are being proposed and debated to re-imagine and re-create 'commoning' as a more viable and durable practice? Moreover, how do practices of 'commoning' interact with mainstream, or non-mobilised parts of societies and how does a politics of commoning deal with elections, the State, and society at large?

In this challenge, what becomes evident is that the idea of a global civil society militantly reframed as an oppositional and antagonistic force to neoliberal capitalism is no longer just the imagined possibility of an esoteric indigenous movement from Chiapas, Mexico. Rather, the antagonistic attractor of radical disobedience that perturbated global civil society has become unanchored, leavings its moorings of NGO and non-profit respectability and inspiring a tide of street protests, occupations and encampments that promote a fundamental challenge to the system of production, distribution and exchange, upon which much of our contemporary world is based. The exodus is occurring, but where it leads and how it unfolds remains to be seen. ⊙

---

[1] http://bit.ly/10x9dkG .

[2] http://bit.ly/13jbS5m .

[3] http://bit.ly/13opafC .

[4] http://nyr.kr/11Xcw5u .

[5] This is an inversion of Hannah Arendt's (1958) claim that Marxist conceptions of social change have been predicated upon forms of social organisation that rely upon the concept of work, as synonymous with a process of making a product. Thus, Arendt (1958) claimed that notions of political activity came to be seen as having a 'product' – history, the state, the party and so forth.

[6] This is an idea that is developed at length by Foucault, and is encapsulated in his memorable claim that the diffusion of normative values through disciplinary structures requires that

Judges are now required to "judge something other than crimes" (Foucault, 1977:16)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPADURAI, A. (1990). "Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy", *Public Culture* 2 (2): 1-23.

ARENDT, H. (1958). *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

BADIOU, A. (2012). *The Rebirth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings* (London: Verso).

BURAWOY, M. (ed.) (2000). *Global Ethnography: Forces, Connections and Imaginations in a Postmodern World* (London: University of California Press).

CASTELLS, M. (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society, Vol. 1, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell).

——. (2000). 'Information technology and Global Capitalism', in: Hutton, W., and Giddens, A. (eds.) *Global Capitalism* (New York: The New Press): 52-74.

——. (2012). *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Cambridge: Polity).

CHESTERS, G. AND WELSH, I. (2006). *Complexity and Social Movements: Multitudes at the Edge of Chaos* (London: Routledge).

——. (2011). *Social Movements: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge).

CLARK, I. (2003). 'Legitimacy in a Global Order', *Review of International Studies*, 29 (Special Supplement 1): 75-95.

DYER-WITHEFORD, N. (2009). *Games of Empire: Global Capitalism and Video Games* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

ESCHLE, C., AND STAMMERS, N. (2004) 'Taking part: Social movements, INGOs and global change', *Alternatives* 29, 3: 333-372.

FITHIAN, L. (2012). 'Strategic Directions for the Occupy Movement' in Khatib, K. Killjoy, M. and McGuire, M. (eds.) *We Are Many: Reflections on Movement Strategy From Occupation to Liberation* (Oakland and Edinburgh: AK Press).

FOUCAULT, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish* (London: Penguin).

GRAMSCI, A. (1976). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence & Wishart).

HARDT, M., & NEGRI, A. (2000). *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP).

HELD, D. (ed.) (2000). *A Globalizing World?* (London: Routledge).

——. & McGrew, A. (eds.) (2000). *The Global Transformations Reader* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

KALDOR, M. (2003). *Global Civil Society: An Answer to War?* (London: Polity Press).

KEANE, J. (2003). *Global Civil Society?* (Cambridge: CUP).

KHATIB, K. KILLJOY, M. AND MCGUIRE, M. (eds.) (2012). *We Are Many: Reflections on Movement Strategy From Occupation to Liberation* (Oakland and Edinburgh: AK Press).

LANCHESTER, J. (2010). *Whoops!: Why everyone owes everyone and no one can pay* (London: Penguin).

MASON, P. (2012). *Why It's Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions* (London: Verso).

MELUCCI, A. (1989). *Nomads of the Present* (London: Radius Hutchinson).

——. (1996). *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP).

NICHOLS, J. (2012). *Uprising: How Wisconsin renewed the politics of protest, from Madison to Wall Street* (New York, NY: Perseus).

NOTES FROM NOWHERE (eds.) (2003). *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism* (London: Verso).

PATEL, R. (2010). *The Value of Nothing: How to Reshape Market Society and Redefine Democracy* (London: Picador).

PUTTNAM, R. (1995) 'Bowling alone: America's declining social capital', *Journal of Democracy*, 1, 1:65-78.

SCOTT, J. C. (2012). *Two Cheers for Anarchism: Six Easy Pieces on Autonomy, Dignity, and Meaningful Work and Play* (Princeton: Princeton UP).

TETT, G. (2010). *Fool's Gold: How Unrestrained Greed Corrupted a Dream, Shattered Global Markets and Unleashed a Catastrophe* (London: Abacus).

URRY, J. (2000). *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge).

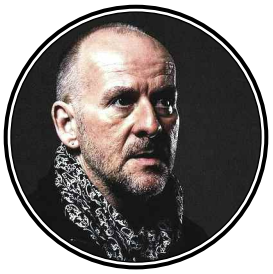
——. (2002). *Global Complexity* (London: Routledge).

VIANO, M. & BINETTI, V. (1996). 'What Is to Be Done? Marxism and Academia', in Makalisi, S. *et al* (eds.), *Marxism Beyond Marxism* (New York: Routledge).

VIRNO, P. (1996) 'Virtuosity and Revolution: The Political Theory of Exodus', in Virno, P. & Hardt, M. (eds.) *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

INFINITELY DEMANDING

SIMON CRTITCHLEY



Simon Critchley (1960) is a British philosopher currently teaching at The New School, New York, who writes primarily on politics, religion, ethics, and aesthetics. Critchley works from within the tradition of continental philosophy. He argues that philosophy commences in disappointment, either religious or political. These two axes may be said largely to inform his published work: religious disappointment raises the question of meaning and has to, as he sees it, deal with the problem of nihilism; political disappointment provokes the question of justice and raises the need for a coherent ethics. Critchley studied philosophy at the University of Essex (BA 1985, PhD 1988) and at the University of Nice (M.Phil. 1987). Among his teachers were Robert Bernasconi, Jay Bernstein, Frank Cioffi, Dominique Janicaud and Onora O'Neill. His M.Phil. thesis dealt with the problem of the overcoming of metaphysics in Heidegger and Carnap; his PhD dissertation was on the ethics of deconstruction in Emmanuel Levinas and Derrida. Following a period as a university fellow at Cardiff University, Critchley was appointed a lecturer in philosophy at Essex in 1989, becoming reader in philosophy in 1995, and professor in 1999. Since 2004 Critchley has been professor of philosophy at the New School for Social Research. He held the position of chair in philosophy at the New School from 2008–2011, and became the Hans Jonas Professor of Philosophy in 2011. He has held visiting professorships at numerous universities, including Sydney (2000), Notre Dame (2002), Cardozo Law School (2005) and at the University of Oslo (2006). In 2009 he was appointed a part-time professor of philosophy at Tilburg University in the Netherlands, where he runs a summer school and teaches in philosophy and liberal arts. Critchley is also a professor of philosophy at the European Graduate School in Saas-Fee, Switzerland.

THIS SHORT PAPER IS THE DISTILLATION INTO A single, continuous and concise argument of much that I have been thinking about for many years, at least since my time as a student in France in the late 1980s.

My aim is very simple: firstly, to lay out my position with regard to ethics as clearly as possible around the theme of commitment; and, secondly, to show how that position not only has, I hope, significant political consequences, but constitutes a persuasive vision of political resistance.

I shall begin with what our German friends call a *Zeitdiagnose*, a diagnosis of the times. Although the core of this analysis was completed in 2006, I think that it still has strong explanatory power. The picture of a world framed by war where purportedly democratic regimes, like the USA, deploy terror in their attempts to confront it, is still very much with us – even if full-scale, classical military invasions have given way to the cowardice of drone strikes and the cynicism of assassination. We could call this *military neo-liberalism,* where economic policies intended to further the interests of Western powers are backed up with the threat of military intervention.

There is a massive motivational deficit at the heart of Western democracy, whatever alleged consensus governed states like France has long since broken down. Political parties have shifted from being the extensions and expressions of genuine social movements to compromised elements in a corrupt technocratic game that leaves citizens more and more disillusioned and therefore open to the seductions of populism, atavistic nationalism and racism.

The experience of motivational deficit and political disappointment can lead to the responses of 'passive nihilism' and 'active nihilism'. Both forms of nihilism are in agreement that the world is a meaningless, disappointing place. The difference between them is that the passive nihilist withdraws from the world into a quest for private perfection, while the active nihilist seeks to destroy that world through acts of spectacular violence.

The challenge is thus the following: if we accept that there is a massive, disillusioned, motivational deficit in contemporary democracy, then how might this be addressed without sliding into either passive or active nihilism? What I try to provide is the vision of an ethics that would be motivating, practicable and empowering; an ethics which can both face up to the wide-scale drift and slackening of the present and become a key element in an account of political praxis and resistance. In other words, what we require in order to face up to the fact of motivational deficit is not one more expression of an exhausted moral theory, whether based on utility (Mill), deontology (Kant) or virtue (Aristotle), but an account of the *formation of ethical subjectivity*.

What interests me is the existential matrix of ethics, its visceral dimension, the experience of a subjective

affirmation that binds us to a conception of the good and where subjectivity is shaped in relation to that good. I don't want to rehearse arguments that the reader will find elaborated below, but I propose a meta-ethics – what could be called a grammar of moral insight – based on the concepts of approval and demand. The core of any ethics is the experience of a demand of which the subject approves. It is in relation to that lived experience of the demand of the good that the ethical subject takes shape and forms itself.

On the basis of this very simple theory of ethical experience, I developed a normative account of the subject which leads to the following postulate: an ethical subject is defined by commitment or fidelity to an unfulfillable demand, an infinite demand, that is internalized subjectively and which divides subjectivity. The ethical subject is a *dividual*, a split subject.

This formal claim is then worked out in much more detail in relation to a psychoanalytic theory of sublimation, particularly sublimation through *humour*. I am proposing an ethics of discomfort, based on an essentially *inauthentic* experience of the self. However, the split at the heart of the ethical subject does not lead to some depressive self-punishment, but is the experience of an ever-divided humorous self-relation. Humour is the expression of my essential lack of self-coincidence, my eccentricity with respect to myself. This is how I attempt to understand – and this is very important to me – the phenomenon of *conscience.*

Which bring us to politics and to the account of the formation of political subjectivity. The theory of ethical subjectivity is intended to support political remotivation and the experience of *resistance.* To try and express this in a single proposition: politics is praxis in a situation that can articulate and indeed create an *interstitial distance* from the state that allows for the emergence of new political subjectivities which exert a universal, ethical claim.

I see this proposition as consistent with the affirmation of *anarchism*. Whereas Marxism can be seen as a theoretical discourse about revolutionary strategy based on a more or less eschatological theory of history, anarchism can be understood as an ethical discourse about revolutionary practice. Anarchism emphasizes ethics as a binding factor in political practice, as opposed to the hostility to ethics that one can find in Marx and many Marxist thinkers. However, unlike classical anarchism with its concern with liberation, think of the 1960s' obsession with an often individualized sexual liberation, what we might call *neo-anarchism* is more organized around *responsibility*, an infinite responsibility that arises in relation to a felt wrong: an experience of injustice. It is in relation to this neo-anarchism that I attempt to understand contemporary political struggles.

*

> Since 2006, much in the world appears to have changed into the complex sequence of events that began to unravel with widespread and bloodily suppressed protest against fraudulent elections in Iran in June 2009, through to what is all-too-complacently referred to as the Arab Spring, which began with Mohamed Bouazizi's act of bodily resistance in Tunisia in December 2010, and on to the series of events that we summarize with the word 'OCCUPY' that kicked-off in New York on September 17th, 2011. I remember a Dutch friend of mine, who had always been highly skeptical of my views, telephoning me late at night during the height of the protests in Tahrir Square in February 2011 and 'You were right. What we're seeing is political resistance as the creation of distance within the state against the state. It's what you call true democracy'. I was little perplexed.
>
> An important passage for this argument is Gramsci acknowledgement, "It is at this intensely situational, indeed local level that the atomising, expropriating force of neo-liberal globalisation is to be met, contested and resisted." That is, resistance begins by *occupying* and controlling the terrain upon which one stands, where one lives, works, acts and thinks. This needn't involve millions of people. It needn't even involve thousands. It could involve just a few at first. Resistance can be intimate and can begin in small affinity groups. The art of politics consists in weaving such cells of resistance together into a common front, a shared political subjectivity. What is going to allow for the formation of such a political subjectivity – the hegemonic glue, if you will – is an appeal to universality, whether the demand for political representation, equality of treatment or whatever. It is the hope, indeed the wager, of this book that the ethical demand – the infinite responsibility that both constitutes and divides my subjectivity – might allow that hegemonic glue to set into the compact, self-aware, fighting force that motivates the subject into the political action.'
>
> However, much as I would narcissistically like to take the credit for providing the recipe for the stunning political dislocations of the last years, this would be a serious misapprehension. The statement above is not prophetic of things to come; it is descriptive of events that happened. Allow me to explain myself.
>
> Although, as I said already, ethical and political concerns have been at the center of my thinking since I

was a student, this argumentation first began to take shape in response to the political radicalization that burst into media prominence with the famous 'Battle in Seattle' against the meeting of the WTO in late November 1999 and which spawned the so-called anti-globalization movement and, later, the anti-war movement. What suddenly seemed to be available, and which had in truth gestated for a long time in a series of interconnected movements such as the Zapatistas, was a new language of civil disobedience, an often intensely comical language, anarchist in its tactics and aspirations, which conducted a wildly imaginative and successful non-violent warfare against the state apparatus. Whatever might be true about the political argument, it was based on an almost ethnographic attention with what was going on within these movements, from talking to activists and, at times when courage permitted, being an activist myself. Whatever remains compelling about this analyses was learned from others and from paying close attention to what was happening in various resistance struggles, such as the struggles for indigenous rights discussed below.

To say this is also to make an important clarification: this is not a work of political philosophy, a locution which often strikes me as a contradiction in terms, particularly when we think of the tradition that extends from Plato to John Rawls. The lofty philosopher surveys the landscape of political regimes from his armchair and offers both a critique of the latter and the picture of another political regime based on a set of abstract metaphysical principles. In my view, in order to think through the situation in which we find ourselves, we do not need political philosophy as much as a combination of four factors:

1 ~ A scrupulous historical investigation into the *genealogy* of political forms and the analysis of their mechanisms of legitimation, governance and oppression and how those mechanisms have generated inequality. I see historical analysis as the exposure of the *contingent* articulation of political forms. Resistance must begin with a history lesson.

2 ~ We need a strong *formal* analysis of the conditions under which an oppositional, egalitarian politics might be constructed. This could include the sketching of an alternative set of political practices and institutions, with concepts like association, general assembly, affinity groups and spokes-councils.

3 ~ We need a detailed local *ethnography* of social life that would try and identify how any such formal model might become operationalized in a specific context. For that, we need an account of habits, morals, what the 18th century French authors like Rousseau used to call *les moeurs*: local traditions and local conditions. A radical, egalitarian politics must not be imposed from above, but must be generated from below, from the molecular infrastructure of social life.

4 ~ Then, finally, when we are done with the *genealogical, formal* and *ethnographic* research, then it becomes a question of *argumentation* and persuasion of the most lucid kind, what the Greeks called *peitho.* Persuasive political argumentation is parasitic on the other three elements listed above. There is no philosophical ground to politics, nor should there be. There are no guarantees. This doesn't mean that we have empty hands. On the contrary.

*

A truly democratic politics requires the simultaneous articulation of at least two elements: first, there is a demand, the infinite demand that flows from the felt perception of a wrong or an injustice. Secondly, there is a location, the terrain where that infinite demand is articulated. There is no politics without location.

Think about this in relation to an event like Occupy Wall Street (OWS). First, there was the visceral sense of a moral wrong, namely that corporate, financial capitalism, particularly the banking system, had used federal, government money in order to save itself at the expense of ordinary citizens. One of the key slogans of autumn 2011 was 'Banks got bailed out, we got sold out'. The people were simply ripped off.

In relation to this wrong, this clear injustice, the OWS movement took shape not in relation to the pragmatic demands of normal politics, but in relation to infinite demands, demands that called into question the entire existence of the normal, governmental political system and the capitalism that it fostered and served. OWS was persistently criticized by those in power, particularly in the broadcast media, in the form of the following question: who are your leaders and what do you want? But the strength and horizontalist discipline of the movement consisted in the *refusal* to congeal around a leader in the manner of conventional politics or indeed Leninist vanguardism. The request for pragmatic, finite demands was met with infinite demands: 'Occupy everything!' 'End income inequality!' 'This is what democracy looks like!'

OWS formed a new political subjectivity around the slogan, 'We are the 99%!' In relation to the massive disappointment that grew through the first years of the Obama administration, the Occupy movement created a political space where none previously existed,

an interstice created through infinite demands. But in order for movements like Occupy to become effective, a location was required. What took physical shape in Zuccotti Park from September 2011 onwards was a location where radical demands were linked together with the occupation and redefinition of space: a small, inconsequential, privately owned park in Lower Manhattan became the material evidence of another form of life, one based not on privatized acquisitiveness, but on mutual aid. Utopia found its *topos*.

Demonstration and protest are essential, but transient, phenomena, often doomed to abstraction. In order to avoid that fate, the slogans of protest need to be harnessed to the occupation of space and the formation of alternative locations for politics. The lesson of Zuccotti Park was both the necessity of location and its *unpredictable* character. Nobody expected what happened with OWS and the Occupy movement to happen in the way it did and where it did.

If the classical nation state, or indeed the supra-national sphere (like the EU), is no longer a political terrain because sovereignty has been 'outsourced' from the people to banks, credit rating agencies and shadowy investors, then the political task is the creation of such a terrain at a distance from the state, to show that another form of life is not just possible, it can become actual. What erupted so gloriously in Autumn 2011 under the name Occupy and precursor movements like *los indignados* was only the beginning. The genie of popular protest cannot be put back in the bottle. It is not the business of philosophers to engage in prophecy, but in relation to the increasing disillusion with normal politics, I foresee a period of continuing social dislocations which will have dramatic effects, often deeply reactionary, but sometimes radical and egalitarian. ⊙

*

* This paper will be comprised as «Preface» to the forthcoming French translation *Une Exigence infinie* (Francois Bourin, Paris, 2013) of the Author's book *Infinitely Demanding*.

ANARCHY, PHILANTROPHY,

AND THE PREVISION OF PUBLIC GOODS IN A FREE SOCIETY

CRISTOPHER J. COYNE ~ ABIGAIL R. HALL

Christopher Coyne is the F.A. Harper Professor of Economics at George Mason University, USA, and the Associate Director of the F. A. Hayek Program for Advanced Study in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics at the Mercatus Center. Email: ccoyne3@gmu.edu.

Abigail Hall is a PhD student at George Mason University, USA, and a PhD Fellow at the Mercatus Center. Email ahall15@gmu.edu

1 ~ INTRODUCTION

Most individuals view the government as a necessary entity for social and economic order and stability. One of the main justifications for government is the provision of "public goods" – goods and services which are non-excludable (an individual cannot be prevented from using the good) and non-rivalrous (the use of the good by one individual does not prohibit its use by another individual). Goods and services like national defense, knowledge, clean air, public television and radio are common textbook examples of public goods. Services like healthcare and education, while possibly excludable, have also been often categorized as "quasi-public" goods which, many argue, the government should provide, or at least heavily subsidize, due to the large positive externalities, or benefits, they provide society.

The logic behind government provision is straightforward and has been addressed by a variety of economic scholars for over fifty years (see Samuelson 1954, 1955, Bator 1958, Tiebout 1956, and Musgrave 1959). Because public goods are non-excludable, those who do not pay to use a given public good, by definition, cannot be barred from its use. Recognizing that they cannot be prevented from exploiting the good, consumers face an incentive to become "free riders" and make use of the good without helping to pay for its cost. Simultaneously, would-be private producers of the goods, because they cannot prevent non-paying individuals from using their products, are unable to establish a connection between delivery of their goods and services and payment. With private goods, a producer receives payment for a good or service upon delivery to the consumer. The non-excludability of public goods, however, means that such linkages are much more difficult or even impossible to establish. This creates a disincentive for producers to undertake production of a good or service with public qualities. This disincentive to produce combined with the incentive for consumers to free ride results in a scenario where the private market underprovides a good or service even though it may be highly valued by the society relative to its production costs. With every person responding to the incentives they face individually, society is made worse off as valued goods are underproduced or not produced at all. It follows from this that, in principle, society may be better off if the government works to prevent the problems of free riding and underprovision by collecting the funding (i.e. taxes) for and by producing public goods. Baumol (1965: 180) summarizes this idea clearly " In those cases where the welfare of various members is partly dependent on each other's activity, it is possible that persons in pursuit of their own immediate interests will be led to act in a manner contrary to the interests of others. To the extent that such a situation is general, the members of the economy may find themselves busily engaged in the frustration of each others' desires. In these circumstances it may be to their mutual advantage to restrict their activity so as to prevent this happening [...] where [private] arrangements cannot be relied on, it becomes advantageous...to have their activities restricted by coercive means."

While this narrative works to make a case for the government provision of public goods, we observe numerous instances that private individuals do in fact work to provide public and "quasi public" goods. There are numerous examples of private entities working in various ways to overcome problems of "collective action" and produce goods like roads (Klein 1990), irrigation systems (Ostrom 1990; Ostrom and Gardner 1993),

city streets, sewer lines, and public parks (Boudreaux 2010), disaster relief (Horwitz 2009, Shughart 2011), police and the law (Benson 1989, 1990, 1998; Stringham 1999, 2002, 2003, 2007), and even larger-scale defense (Sechrest 2003). One key area where we see the private provision of many goods with public qualities is the philanthropic sector. Private philanthropists fund a range of public services including health care research, infrastructure, and education. Philanthropic giving is substantial as evidenced by the fact that in 2011 alone, charitable and philanthropic giving in the United States reached a total of more than USD 298 billion (Giving USA 2012: 4). These examples, as well as many others, suggest that perhaps the government is *not* in fact needed to provide these highly-valued goods. The fact that we observe past and present cases of private individuals providing goods and services with public qualities indicates that private action may be more effective and robust than it appears in textbooks and on the blackboard.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the role of private giving in a free society with particular focus on how it relates to the private provision of public goods and quasi-public goods. In particular, we examine how such goods as infrastructure, healthcare, education, etc. might be provided by self-interested individuals in a state of anarchy. We define "philanthropy" to include a variety of forms of giving, including individual contributions and family foundations, work by non-profit organizations, corporate philanthropy, as well as the activities of grant-making and other charitable foundations. In our analysis, we employ Leeson's (2011) extension of Buchanan's (1965) theory of clubs as means for providing governance absent a formal state. We use this framework as a springboard to examine how charitable giving and philanthropic action in a competitive market environment could operate to provide public or large positive externality goods. Our analysis is speculative in that we begin with a conceptual rendering of how a stateless society may be structured. At the same time, our analysis is applied and empirical in that we draw on examples from actual instances of private philanthropy as they relate to public and quasi-public good provision.

We proceed as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the theory of clubs as well as a discussion of contract enforcement mechanisms in an anarchic society. This section looks to lay the conceptual groundwork for our analysis and provides the framework through which we examine how philanthropic giving might operate under anarchy. Section 3 explores philanthropy within the theoretical framework of section 2 and looks to understand the role of philanthropic action in a free society. Through this analysis, we come to understand how such activity works to provide a variety of goods, including those with public qualities. Section 4 concludes.

2 ~ CONCEPTUALIZING A STATELESS SOCIETY: THE THEORY OF CLUBS AND CONSTITUTIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

To understand how philanthropic and other charitable ventures might provide public goods in a state of anarchy, we must first set forth a conceptual model of private societal governance. Private philanthropy, after all, requires certain institutional prerequisites in order to both accumulate and transfer assets. Buchanan (1975) provides an appropriate starting point for our analysis. He suggests that we ought to begin our investigation of societal cooperation by thinking of a state in which each individual is responsible for securing his own private property rights and creating his own goods without a third party—i.e., government –to oversee interactions or enforce contracts. Following Hobbes ([1651] 2007), Buchanan suggests this state of affairs is unstable and each individual would be continuously confronted with the threat of predation by his fellow man. As a result, it becomes incredibly difficult, if not impossible, for an individual to privately produce goods at all, let alone goods with a public element. It follows for Buchanan that there exists a strong incentive for individuals to contract with one another in order to decrease the overall level of expropriation. Thus, individuals enter into a "social" or "constitutional contract" in which the various members of society bestow the power to enforce agreed upon rules upon one or more individuals – a government.

Leeson (2011) combines Buchanan's insights above with his earlier theory of clubs (see Buchanan 1965) to speculate about how a society absent a central state might be structured. Clubs goods are excludable but non-rivalrous up to some congestion point. Examples include public parks, golf clubs, or cinemas. Leeson notes that with a few subtle changes, Buchanan's (1975) story of the emergence of a central government could lead instead to the emergence of another form of governance without the creation of a centralized government power – governance via clubs – or competing sets of rules. As Leeson (2011: 302) notes "Insecure in their property and unable to enjoy the public goods they desire in the state of nature, individuals demand governance services. Some of them [...] offer to sell property protection, and thus some delineation of rights, to others. The kind, quality, and price of that protection varies [...].

Individuals' different government demands – demands for protection and non-protection related public goods – drive the particular contracts that are offered [...]. Each of these contracts creates a "club [...]" [and] can explain how individuals can supply goods with a high degree of "publicness" privately."

Leeson continues his analysis by discussing the idea of "constitutional effectiveness," or the self-enforcement mechanisms of contracts. He argues that clubs differ in three distinct ways from centralized government in their ability to enforce contractual agreements. These features, he argues, demonstrates that clubs are likely more effective at providing the types of goods and governance individuals desire.

First, clubs, unlike government, maintain a residual claimant. This works to align the incentives of the principals, or the individuals purchasing the good or service (in this case governance), with the incentives of the agents, the party contracted to oversee the agreement. In a club scenario, the interests of the purveyor or purveyors of a set of rules would be directly tied to the success or failure of the club. The residual claimant would stand to profit if the club performed its function but would incur losses if the club functioned poorly. As there would be a potentially infinite number of clubs, a club which performed poorly would likely see its members leave, thus leaving the residual claimant to bear the costs. The success or failure of a club is tied directly to its ability to effectively enforce its contracts, thus providing strong incentive for the club owners to impose the agreed upon rules.

Second, governance by clubs is highly competitive. As noted above, individuals potentially have many options available to them in a club system, including not entering into a club contract at all. This exposure to the pressures of market competition again works to align incentives to ensure that club owners work to effectively enforce contracts and provide the goods and services their patrons desire. Unlike the current system of government, the possibility of exit on part of the patrons works to enforce contracts as well as minimizes the ability of club owners to predate against their clients.

Third, a system of clubs is highly assortive. Again, since there may be a large number of clubs or potential sets of rules, individuals are likely to join systems which most closely align with their desires. Individuals who prefer high levels of income redistribution, for example, may join a club in which income is redistributed. By contrast, those who prefer little or no such redistribution may select into a group in which no such rules are present. This assortive quality implies that clubs will attract individuals who share the same goals and preferences. This quality in particular allows for coordinated punishment. The threat of collective exit by club members provides further incentive for club owners to effectively provide their services.

Taken together, these three characteristics indicate that a club system might very well be *superior* to a monopolistic government – in terms of providing people with what they want while minimizing predation – as clubs work to align the incentives of those charged with enforcing rules with those looking to enter into rules contracts. This club framework is important in the context of this analysis as it provides us a structure through which to analyze governance outside of a monopolistic state. Moreover, it provides us a conceptual model to consider how philanthropy in a free society might work to provide public or quai-public goods in the absence of a central state.

3 ~ PHILANTHROPY IN A FREE SOCIETY

In a free society, the defining characteristic of philanthropy is that it is a *voluntary action* on the part of the financier. This may appear to be common sense, but discussions of philanthropy often neglect this point and instead focus on the recipients of philanthropic funding and the fact that such funding often has broader public implications. For example, Reich (2013) raises concerns that philanthropic foundations are not held accountable by the public even though many of their investment decisions have public implications. This view, however, neglects the purposeful choices of those financing philanthropic activities. An alternative view of philanthropy, which we embrace, is that it is a form of voluntary consumption for the financier. While some individuals prefer to consume their accumulated wealth by transferring it to members of their family or through the purchase and use of material items, other individuals prefer to consume their wealth through philanthropic giving. This is important because it implies that in a stateless society, just as in a society with a central state, at least some individuals would engage in philanthropic giving as part of their broader consumption bundle. This funding is crucial for the private provision of public and quasi-public goods.

In his analysis of philanthropic foundations in present-day American, Reich (2013) argues that philanthropy may be seen as fulfilling two distinct purposes. Both

support the contention that private philanthropy can provide public and quasi-public goods. First, he recognizes that foundations fill the gaps left by government in their provision of public goods. Foundations fill these gaps by providing "minority" public goods. In a democratic society, the goods preferred by the majority of citizens are, in theory, those most likely to be produced by government. If many citizens prefer enhanced infrastructure to art, for example, the government is more likely to produce roads than fund programs for the arts. Philanthropy, however, allows for a greater diversity in the type of goods provided. Since philanthropic efforts are driven by the preferences of those engaging in the giving, and since philanthropists, unlike politicians, have no concern with pleasing voters to gain reelection, it follows that the goods and services produced may not be those that are most desired by the greatest number of individuals. Instead, philanthropic outputs are likely to be much more diverse.

Examples of this pluralism in philanthropy abound. In 2011, philanthropic and charitable giving in the US totaled nearly USD 300 billion (Giving USA 2012: 4). Contributions went to a variety of projects. Thirty two percent of giving, or over USD 95 billion, for example, went to religious organizations. These organizations provide a variety of goods and services. One of these goods, religious services, is an example of a good with quasi-public qualities provided by philanthropy, but not by the government1. In addition to funding religious organizations, philanthropic giving in the US funded initiatives in education, human services, health, arts, culture, and humanities, international affairs, environmental programs, animal care organizations, as well as ventures in a multitude of other categories (Giving USA 2012: 10).

Second, philanthropic activities serve as part of a discovery process through which philanthropic agents engage in experimentation and innovation. Unlike the central government which must navigate the political process, and unlike for profit firms which must focus on pleasing shareholders, philanthropic activities face no such restrictions. Instead, since these activities are driven by the preferences of philanthropists, philanthropy is able to assume more time-intensive, risky, and controversial projects than either the government or many for-profit firms. In addition, philanthropic experimentation may generate significant positive spillover effects. New innovations discovered through a philanthropic project may be copied by other groups, further perpetuating advancements. Even failed experiments may provide benefits as the information obtained may be used by future researchers.

Just as there are numerous examples of philanthropy providing marginalized goods, so too may we find numerous examples of philanthropic giving sparking innovation. Perhaps the most striking examples involve the funding of education and research at various universities. Stanford University, for example, has been funded by philanthropic giving since its creation. Founded in 1885, the university now has an annual research budget of over USD 806 million (Acs 2013: 89). These funds have spawned some of twentieth century's most profound innovations and helped mold the minds of a cadre of world-class entrepreneurs. The university's alumni include the founders of companies like Hewlett-Packard, Cisco Systems, and Google, Yahoo!, Sun Microsystems, Youtube, Instagram, PayPal, and Mozilla Firefox.

Given that these two functions characterize foundations embedded in the present American system, which has a strong central government, what insights can we draw about philanthropy in a stateless society? Present-day private philanthropy already serves to provide public goods, so we can envision the same logic discussed above extending to a situation of clubs. Recall that clubs are highly competitive and assortive. In the context of philanthropy, this means that individuals deciding between alternative clubs would self-select into that which provided rules that they desired. For those concerned with philanthropy, they would demand rules that allowed them to voluntarily give away part of their wealth as they see fit or to invest in initiatives they value. And, just as in the present day where the state exists, so too can we envision philanthropists funding an array of public and quasi-public goods in the context of clubs discussed in Section 2. None of these claims requires one to make significant leaps of faith since present-day philanthropy is, in effect, already working to provide the different goods, services, and innovations which would similarly be offered under a club system.

In addition to providing public and quasi-public good within a club, one can also imagine philanthropists providing benefits to members of other clubs either indirectly or directly. Indirectly, the investments made by philanthropists can serve as an example to others of what works and what does not for a certain initiative or goal. In other words, philanthropic activity has learning effects that spill over to others both within a club and between clubs. Direct benefits entail targeted initiatives or efforts to provide a good or service to those in other clubs. Again, we can look to present-day philanthropy for an example of how this dynamic might work.

Hewlett Packard undertook efforts in Kenya to more quickly diagnose and treat infants born with HIV. Through the company's philanthropic endeavors and by leveraging their comparative advantages in information technology, Hewlett Packard was able to double the number of children tested for the virus between 2009 and 2011. As a result, 7,000 more children were able to receive life-saving treatment for the illness. The project has served as a guide for other agencies, including a variety of NGOs, private firms, and governments wishing to make similar progress in health. The initiatives undertaken by Hewlett Packard are now being implemented in a variety of countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Hudson Institute 2012: 26). These positive spillover effects and the replication of successful efforts by philanthropic organizations is what we would also expect from a system of clubs. Just as the success of Hewlett Packard has been used as a basis for new ventures, we would expect clubs to mimic the successful practices of others in order to better provide goods and services to its members. Similarly, we would expect clubs, like philanthropic agents, to learn from the failures of others. Finally, we would expect philanthropists to provide direct services – in this example health care – which benefit others. These initiatives can generate benefits for people both within the philanthropist's home club, as well as to those in other clubs.

Of course the specifics of philanthropy would vary in a stateless society. So while we cannot predict with certainty how philanthropic action would evolve, we can say that the club framework creates the conditions under which philanthropists can self-select into the club of their choosing and then invest in the projects and initiatives that they deem worthwhile. Based on empirical evidence from past and current philanthropy, at least some of these funds will be invested in public and quasi-public goods provision.

4 ~ CONCLUSION

We have theorized about how philanthropy might operate in a stateless society to provide public and quasi-public goods. For those interested in the possibility of a stateless society, the provision of these goods poses a potential problem given the prediction from economic theory that they will be undersupplied absent government subsidization or provision. However, an appreciation for the present-day philanthropic sector indicates that there is reason to believe that these goods can, and will, be provided by private actors. Indeed, the present amount of philanthropic giving in the US, despite the provision of many goods by the government, is a testament to the immense benefits such activities provide. Combining these empirical realities with the theoretical logic of the club system suggests that philanthropy in a stateless society could provide the goods and services that people value in an effective and efficient manner. The ability of individuals to diversify the provision of public goods combined with the ability to opt into and out of clubs would allow for innovation, imitation of effective efforts, and a broader array of choices for individuals. It is precisely these characteristics that allow for improvements in standards of living and well being.

[1] The text refers to the United States. In other nations where there exists no legal separation between religious organizations and the state, we may observe such services being provided by the central government.

REFERENCES

ACS, Z. (2013). *Why Philanthropy Matters: How the Wealthy Give, and What it Means for Our Economic Well-Being*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP).

BATOR, F. M. (1958). 'The Anatomy of Market Failure." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 72: 351-379.

BAUMOL, W. J. (1965). *Welfare Economics and the Theory of the State*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP).

BENSON, B. L. (1989). "Enforcement of Private Property in Primitive Societies: Law without Government," *Journal of Libertarian Studies* 9(1): 1-26.

—— (1990). *The Enterprise of Law: Justice Without the State*, (San Francisco, CA: Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy).

—— (1998). *To Serve and Protect: Privatization and Community in Criminal Justice*. (New York, NY: New York UP).

BOUDREAUX, D. (2010). "The Private Provision of Public Goods." *The Freeman*. Available online at <http://bit.ly/13LeAwJ>.

BUCHANAN, J. M. (1965). "An Economic Theory of Clubs." *Economica*, 32: 1-14.

—— (1975). *The Limits of Liberty: Between Anarchy and Leviathan*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

GIVING USA FOUNDATION (2012). "Giving USA 2012: The Annual Report on Philanthropy for the Year 2011, Executive Summary." Available online at <http://tinyurl.com/nkpcllm>.

HOBBES, T. ([1651] 2007). *Leviathan*. (Radford, Virginia: Wilder Publications).

HORWITZ, S. (2009). "Wal-Mart to the Rescue: Private Enterprise's Response to Hurricane Katrina," *The Independent Review: A Journal of Political Economy* 13(4): 511-528.

HUDSON INSTITUTE (2012). "Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances." Available at <http://tinyurl.com/nfxk9jq>.

KLEIN, D. B. (1990). "The Voluntary Provision of Public Goods? The Turnpike Companies of Early America," *Economic Inquiry* 28: 788-812.

LEESON, P. T. (2011). "Government, Clubs, and Constitutions." *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, 80(2): 301-308.

MUSGRAVE, R. (1959). *The Theory of Public Finance*. (New York: McGraw-Hill).

OSTROM, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. (Massachusetts, MA: Cambridge UP).

OSTROM, E. AND GARNER, R. (1993). "Coping with Asymmetries in the Commons: Self Governing Irrigation Can Work," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7(4): 93-112.

REICH, R. (2013). "What Are Foundations For?" *Boston Review*, March/April: 10-14.

SAMUELSON, P. A. (1954). "The Pure Theory of Public Expenditure." *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 36: 387-389.

—— (1955). "A Dynamic Exposition of a Theory of Public Expenditure." *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 37: 350-356.

SECHREST, L. J. (2003). "Private Provision of Public Goods: Theoretical Issues and Some Examples from Maritime History. Available online at <http://tinyurl.com/67q4w4>.

SHUGHART II, W. F. (2011). "Disaster Relief as Bad Public Policy," *The Independent Review: A Journal of Political Economy* 15(4): 519-539.

STRINGHAM, E. P. (1999). "Market Chosen Law," Journal of Libertarian Studies 14(1): 53-77.

—— (2002). "The Emergence of the London Stock Exchange as a Self-Policing Club," *Journal of Private Enterprise* 17(2): 1-19.

—— (2003). "The Extralegal Development of Securities Trading in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam," *Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance* 43(2): 321-344.

—— (ed.). (2007). *Anarchy and the Law: The Political Economy of Choice*. (Oakland, CA: The Independent Institute).

TIEBOUT, C. M. (1956). "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures." *Journal of Political Economy*, 64: 416-424.

Six-lobed incense burner *(akoda koro)*, first half of Edo period (1615–1868) Japan 8.3 x 9.8 cm, The Metropolitan Museum, New York.

TURNING CHALLENGES INTO OPPORTUNITIES.

KEY ELEMENTS OF AN ICSO[1] CHANGE AGENDA

BURKHARD GNÄRIG

In April 2007 Burkhard Gnärig, together with Peter Eigen, founded the Berlin Civil Society Center. The Center is a not-for-profit organisation that helps the leading international civil society organisations (ICSOs) to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of their work. Key areas of the Center's expertise are governance, management and leadership. The Center is co-owned by ten of the world's most prestigious ICSOs.

Burkhard has 29 years' experience in international cooperation and management of CSOs. From 1998 to 2007 he was the CEO of the International Save the Children Alliance, located in London. Before this, Burkhard was CEO of Greenpeace Germany and Terre des Hommes Germany. He also worked for the German Development Service as a field director in Papua New Guinea. Burkhard has ample experience working with national and international governance structures. He has been Board Chair and/or Board Member of various organizations in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, India, Korea and Japan. Burkhard has provided advice on international leadership, governance and management to Amnesty International, CARE, Greenpeace, Oxfam, Plan, Transparency International and other ICSOs.

THE CONTINUED RISE OF FUEL PRICES, INCREASING numbers of climate refugees, the ongoing destruction of the last primeval forests and many other examples of the depletion of crucial resources, such as water, arable land, and oil as well as accelerating climate change are slowly creating a broader awareness of the earth's planetary boundaries. Globally, we have already reached an unsustainable level in our use of renewable and non-renewable resources.

As people in rich countries continue their wasteful lifestyles and as millions of people in emerging economies join the ranks of "modern" consumers, the scarcity of the world's resources will increasingly come into focus. If we do not address these challenges globally, we will face the continued deterioration of living conditions worldwide, an enormous increase in poverty and a growing number of local, regional and global conflicts. Avoiding such a development requires a dramatic global change in our values, policies and approaches.

Who can initiate such change? Sadly, our international institutions are not able to effectively deliver the required global response. Rather than protecting the global commons, they try to reconcile competing national interests, often at the expense of the global commons. Equally, our economic system is not geared towards promoting sustainable use of the earth's limited resources. Exploiting natural resources is usually more profitable than recycling or protecting them.

This leaves the third sector, civil society: are we any better prepared for the challenges that come our way? The answer is: no. ICSOs are part of a world dominated by consumerism, growing inequality and national interests. However, as organisations such as Amnesty International, Oxfam or WWF strive for global objectives for instance securing human rights, eradicating poverty or protecting the environment, their missions are strongly affected by these global developments and they are all called upon to address the challenges more effectively.

In order to take on this task, ICSOs must, above all, change themselves significantly. Here are some key elements of an ICSO change agenda:

1 – FROM COMPETITION BETWEEN SECTORS TO AN INTEGRATED ECONOMIC, ENVIRONMENTAL AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY

At present we can observe three different and, unfortunately, mostly disconnected strands of discussion: one is the discussion about the banking, financial and economic crises of the past few years; the second is the environmental discussion about sustainable development in the wake of the climate and "Rio+20" conferences; and finally the discussion about the successor to the Millennium Development Goals.

We need to integrate all three strands into a new global development philosophy: an economic policy which demands and facilitates the sustainable use of the limited resources of our planet, an environmental policy which protects biodiversity and preserves our planet for future generations and a development

policy, based on human rights, which guarantees an adequate livelihood for all.

ICSOs can contribute to establishing such a new global development paradigm: firstly, by overcoming the division between environmental organisations on the one hand and development organisations on the other and secondly, by addressing one of the most common deficits in our sector, the lack of economic competency.

2 ~ FROM DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH TO DEVELOPMENT IN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

Even though we have been made aware of "The Limits of Growth" since the 1972 publication by the Club of Rome, development policy has still not drawn any conclusions and continues to indulge in the illusion that the transfer of money and knowledge alone will help all mankind to achieve living standards comparable to those in developed countries. Due to the lack of available resources this is simply impossible.

Ending poverty and ensuring everyone has the chance to lead a dignified life, requires all those who enjoy affluent lifestyles, to dramatically reduce their use of resources, in order to provide those who are suffering with the opportunity to overcome poverty. We must succeed in creating an integrated global development policy, one which will greatly reduce waste and achieve comprehensive sustainability in the North, whilst at the same time encompassing sustainable improvement in the quality of life for those living in the South.

For ICSOs this means that an exclusive focus on the transfer of funds and services from the North to the South is no longer enough. For our own credibility and legitimacy we must mobilise our employees, activists and supporters to help initiate and actively contribute to a change of lifestyle in the North.

3 ~ FROM NATIONALLY ORGANISED TO GLOBALLY ORGANISED CIVIL SOCIETY

In a globalising world, the key questions concerning the future of mankind are all global. However, national interests determine the existing power structures that are supposed to tackle the challenges. A power shift away from the national level and towards larger regional entities, such as the EU, and global ones, such as the UN, is unavoidable.

Founded at a time before globalisation was even a topic, many ICSOs are largely dominated by national interests. Thus global decision-making often produces compromises between competing national interests rather than optimal responses to global requirements. No wonder that many Chairs of international boards name "ineffective global governance" as their main headache.

In order to successfully address the challenges and opportunities of globalisation, ICSOs must make decisions that prioritise global considerations over the interests of individual national members. This means a power shift from the national to the international level is unavoidable. ICSOs that address this challenge pro-actively will stand a better chance of finding a more effective balance between local, national and global roles and responsibilities.

4 ~ FROM STAGNATING MARKETS IN RICH COUNTRIES TO NEW CUSTOMERS IN EMERGING ECONOMIES

The traditional fundraising markets of the large ICSOs are in Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. Practically all of these are saturated markets with very limited growth potential. An aging supporter base together with the reduction of government grants as a consequence of financial crises, are making it difficult to even maintain existing income levels.

At the same time millions of people, mainly in Asian countries, are joining the middle classes and are financially able and often willing to support the fight against poverty, the protection of the environment, or other typical ICSO activities. But with the emergence of Asia as a key global player, different concepts of international cooperation are gaining traction. The European concept of charity organisations, which implies the selfless altruism of the donor and the expected gratitude of the recipient, is gradually being replaced by the concept of an equal partnership that delivers benefits to both partners.

Establishing a legitimate and sustainable presence in emerging countries will be critical for the future of ICSOs. This implies much more than learning the fundraising rules of a new geography. It requires deep changes in many organisations' culture away from, often deeply engrained, paternalism towards equal partnership. And this means not just a change in attitude, but the transfer of a significant share of an organisation's power.

5 ~ FROM INDISPENSABLE INTERMEDIARY TO UNNECESSARY COST FACTOR

Many ICSOs see fundraising in wealthy countries, for the support of projects in poor countries, as

their main task. For decades this intermediary role between donors and recipients was indispensable: without an intermediary, both sides could not get in touch with each other. With the rapid development of and increasing access to the internet, the intermediary is becoming superfluous. Today, even the smallest local initiative often has its own website, which can be accessed by potential donors through a variety of virtual platforms and other instruments.

As their, mostly older, donors still use the traditional means of giving, many ICSOs have not fully awoken to this development yet. But once the younger generation reaches the age and income of typical donors they will, most probably, use the internet to give directly to the organisation they want to support, rather than going through an intermediary that usually deducts 20-30% of their donation for administrative and fundraising overheads.

At that point the income of ICSOs, which today often generate 80-100% of their income through their role as intermediary, may shrink dramatically in a matter of a few years. If these organisations have not developed, and put into practice, an alternative business model by this time they will fade into obscurity.

6 ~ FROM SILO TO PLATFORM

In the last few years, ICSOs have become more aware of the meaning and value of their brand and brand protection has become an important element of organisational policy: an ever growing number of rules and regulations govern the use of names and logos and restricts the flexibility of those who use the brand of the organisation. This development is strengthening a silo mentality which can be observed throughout the sector: organisations tend to think of themselves as unique and all too often put up high entry barriers stressing the difference between insiders – members, activists, employees etc. – and outsiders.

This puts narrow limits on open and inclusive communication, which is the hallmark of the internet. Today, politically active young people often reject being tied long term to a single organisation as members. They want to be free to choose between campaigns and other forms of action. The constantly growing choice of spontaneous campaigns, which do not represent a particular brand and are therefore much more open, serve this preference and pose a serious threat to ICSOs' traditional campaigning.

ICSOs need to find the right balance between protecting their brand and providing an open platform for political action. If they fail to manage this balance they may endanger their brand and/or lose their political standing. But if the balancing act is successful, then a considerable growth in political influence is possible.

7 ~ FROM GOOD INTENTIONS TO PROOF OF EFFECTIVENESS

For decades, charity organisations have benefited from a broad, uncritical and supportive public perception. To strive for 'goodness', was enough to become a role model worthy of donations. But with increasing public focus on our sector, inefficiencies, poor management and governance and even criminal practice by some 'black sheep' have come to light. As a result, today a much more critical public expects civil society organisations to be transparent and accountable. But instead of embracing this requirement, many organisations seem to follow the motto: we are only as transparent and accountable as we must be. They seem to believe that transparency and accountability are unimportant for the quality of their work and that the costs involved should be avoided.

However the opposite is true: transparency and accountability are the basis for the systematic learning and conscious development of an organisation. When mistakes are covered up or not even noticed, when the reason for success is unknown, then an organisation loses its most important instrument for learning and for further development which – in a time of fast-paced change – endangers its survival.

Rather than being driven by an increasingly sceptical public, ICSOs should embrace transparency and accountability for their own sake. Investing significantly in monitoring, evaluation and reporting and becoming more self-critical and open about mistakes are the cornerstones for systematic organisational learning, which is the basis for ICSOs' future relevance.

8 ~ FROM GATECRASHER TO PARTNER OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Since the 1990's, ICSO have regularly participated in most major international conferences. Often only after massive pressure from the public, have the UN, World Bank and others invited representatives from ICSOs to join their meetings. Usually ICSOs' participation in these meetings is informal, limited and lacking in any specific role or authority. However, as the climate conferences in Copenhagen and Rio have shown once again, national governments on their own are not in a position to tackle complex and interdependent global challenges such as climate change, scarcity of resources and the fight against poverty: the direct and meaningful involvement of organised citizens is indispensable.

Building effective and legitimate global governance, able to successfully address pressing global challenges,

requires the full involvement of ICSOs. While governments and international institutions will have to overcome internal resistance against bringing ICSOs in, ICSOs will have to become more professional and pragmatic in their political engagement and, above all, much better in building coalitions and joining forces, both inside and outside the sector.

9 ~ FROM CHANGE AS AN EXCEPTION TO CHANGE AS A PRINCIPLE

Little more than a decade ago, when the Millennium Development Goals were declared, climate change was a minor point on the agenda, yet today we have already almost met the threshold which our CO2 levels should not exceed; China was just another developing country, yet today it is the undisputed second world power; the internet was still in its early stages, yet today it has revolutionised our communication possibilities and forms; and globalisation was not thriving in the way it does today.

As the world changes so fast and in so many different facets, ICSOs will have to change as well. They only have the choice between embracing change, which means pre-empting challenges and opportunities and proactively navigating change in pursuit of their mission, or rejecting change, which means being driven by external developments, being haunted by the challenges and being unable to exploit the opportunities. There will be very little space between being a change leader and being a victim of change. And becoming a change leader requires – more than anything else – the preparedness to continuously change oneself.

The structures, identity and organisational culture of established ICSOs are too focussed on preservation instead of change. It will require a revolution if ICSOs are to become change leaders rather than victims of change.

Obviously there are other important elements of an ICSO change agenda, which have not been listed here, and not all elements on our list are equally relevant to all ICSOs. But, wherever the differences lie, the need for in-depth change in our sector is obvious. The next few decades will bring enormous transformations and just remaining where we are is not a viable option. ⊙

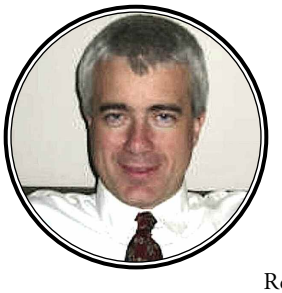
[1] ICSOs: international civil society organisations. The common terms used until now, "nongovernmental organisation" or "non-profit organisation", merely describe what the sector is not, namely neither government nor a profitable enterprise. Such a negative label is unsatisfying and insufficient in describing both the present role and the future perspectives of the sector. Therefore we use the term "civil society organisations" (CSOs). In this article we focus on the large international civil society organisations (ICSOs) like Amnesty International, Greenpeace and Oxfam among others.

ALBRECHT DÜRER, (1461-1528), *Three studies of a bullfinch,* 1543, w/c & gouache on paper, 10.0 x 14.0cm, The Albertina, Vienna.

THE NON-GOVERNMENT ALTERNATIVE:

ANARCHIST THEORY AND GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

SCOTT TURNER



Scott Turner is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Montevallo, USA, and holds the PhD from the University of Georgia. His research interests include anarchist theory and human rights. He has published articles in Peace and Change, Journal of Peace Research, International Ethics, *and the anthology* New Perspectives on Anarchism. *Email: turners@montevallo.edu.*

Anarchist theory was developed in the 19th century as a revolutionary critique of both capitalism and the state. Unlike many socialists, anarchists sought to replace capitalism not with a state-run economy but with worker cooperatives. As for the state, it would have to be abolished altogether and replaced by voluntary associations. Notable anarchists like Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin advocated freedom and equality and viewed the state as an irredeemable obstacle to both. Today's liberal democracies would be unrecognizable to the original anarchists, for they often act to protect and promote the very rights that autocratic states abuse. Nevertheless, a revised anarchism remains useful for conceptualizing global civil society, wherein non-governmental organizations (NGOs) act both independently and in cooperation with states to advance many of the humanitarian ideals that were lauded by past revolutionaries.

THE STATE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Before considering anarchist theory's relevance to present-day NGOs and global civil society, one should consider the nature of the state system that 19th century anarchists assailed. It is not difficult to see why Russians like Bakunin and Kropotkin would have viewed the state as an obstacle to human freedom and equality. When Bakunin was imprisoned by the *tsar* in 1851, the vast majority of Russian people were peasants, and almost half of them were serfs. These were approximately 23 million people who were bound to the properties on which they were born. They were required to perform labor and pay dues to their lords, who made up the small class of land-owning nobility. Serfs could be sold, beaten, and even killed with virtual impunity. They essentially possessed no legal rights or recourse from abuse[1].

Neither women nor men could vote in mid-nineteenth century Russia, for the tsar ruled as an absolute monarch. Constitutional rights and liberties were non-existent. The tsar's secret police enforced strict censorship and kept a sharp eye on political activities[2]. The tsar was the head of the Russian Orthodox Church, which helped to promote his authority, and followers of other faiths – especially Jews – were persecuted. Homosexual acts were illegal[3]. Like other European powers, such as England and France, the Russian Empire was made up of conquered peoples and lands, including parts of Sweden, Poland, Lithuania, Finland, Georgia, and the Ottoman and Persian Empires. Territorial expansion was a routine instrument of policy, and the right of self-government did not exist for conquered populations.

Looking westward, the collapse of the 1848 revolutions would only have confirmed an attitude of despair about the prospects for reform within the state. Even in relatively liberal and modernizing Britain and France, the extension of voting rights remained quite limited. After Britain's Great Reform Act of 1832, some 90% of the adult population (including women) remained disenfranchised[4]. In France, while Louis Napoleon was elected president through universal male suffrage in 1848, three years later he dissolved the National Assembly and established the Second Empire. Prospects were even bleaker, and more similar to Russia, in conservative empires like Austria and Prussia. For the anarchists, liberal reform did not appear feasible. Achieving the goals of liberation and equality would require abolition of the state itself. Authoritarian hierarchies must be replaced by democratic collectives.

THE ADVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Despite the anarchist insistence upon decentralization and communalism, however, it is striking to consider how many of the demands of the nineteenth century

revolutionaries have since been accomplished within liberal democratic states. Consider the following objectives enumerated in Bakunin's *Revolutionary Catechism*, which author H.E. Kaminski described as "the spiritual foundation of the entire anarchist movement":

> "The abolition of all state religions and all privileged churches, including those partially maintained or supported by state subsidies. Absolute liberty of every religion to build temples to their gods, and to pay and support their priests.
>
> Abolition of monarchy; establishment of a commonwealth.
>
> [A]bsolute equality of political rights for all men and women; universal suffrage.
>
> The right of every man and woman, from birth to adulthood, to complete upkeep, clothes, food, shelter, care, guidance, education (public schools, primary, secondary, higher education, artistic, industrial, and scientific), all at the expense of society.
>
> Unlimited freedom of propaganda, speech, press, public or private assembly, with no other restraint than the natural salutary power of public opinion. Absolute freedom to organize associations even for allegedly immoral purposes including even those associations which advocate the undermining (or destruction) of individual and public freedom.
>
> [T]here must be free commerce, exchange, and communication among all federated countries, and abolition of frontiers, passports, and customs duties [tariffs]. Every citizen of a federated country must enjoy the same civic rights and it must be easy for him to acquire citizenship and enjoy political rights in all other countries adhering to the same federation.
>
> No federated nation shall make war against another federated country. If there is war and the International Tribunal has pronounced its decision, the aggressor must submit. If this doesn't occur, the other federated nations will sever relations with it and, in case of attack by the aggressor, unite to repel invasion.
>
> The old, sick, and infirm will enjoy all political and social rights and be bountifully supported at the expense of society"[5].

Through an array of liberal reforms and social welfare commitments, these objectives have been substantially met by modern democracies.

Another seminal figure of nineteenth century anarchism was Peter Kropotkin. His critique of the state is premised upon a rather romantic view of medieval communes, guilds and cities, which he sees the modern state as destroying through centralization:

> "It was only then, after the defeat of the free medieval communes had been completed that the mutual insurance company between military, judicial, landlord, and capitalist authority which we call «State,» could be fully established. It was only in the sixteenth century that a mortal blow was dealt to ideas of local independence, to free union and organization, to federation of all degrees among sovereign groups, possessing all functions now seized upon by the State[6]."

Unquestionably, the emergence of absolute monarchies was destructive of many freedoms, but Kropotkin surely overestimates the profusion of personal liberty in decentralized medieval societies. Furthermore, he is oblivious to the possibility that reformed states could actually protect and enhance individual rights and liberties.

As we consider the relevance of nineteenth century anarchist thought to our present time, we must recognize that the state toward which anarchist progenitors like Bakunin and Kropotkin directed their ire was radically different from twenty-first century liberal democracies. The defining characteristics of the latter include freedom of religion; freedom of speech, assembly, and association; universal suffrage and representative government; legal equality of rights irrespective of gender or race; free trade; free public education; and an array of social guarantees, including healthcare and retirement security. These familiar rights, often taken for granted in our generation, were no more than fanciful ideals in Bakunin's *Catechism*. Today, they are enshrined not only in many national constitutions but also the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, agreed to in principle if not always in practice by all member states of the United Nations.

Employing such rights as criteria, the organization Freedom House publishes an annual rating of states as Free, Partly Free, or Not Free. As of 2012, it identified 90 sovereign states as Free, or 46% of all states[7]. Similarly, the Polity Project charts the number of democracies in the world from 1800 to the present. In 1800, there were no true democracies, whereas today there are almost 100, or more than 50% of all states. Alternatively, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, almost all states were autocracies. Today, only about 1 in 8 states are classified as autocratic[8].

In addition to the broad advance of political freedoms over the past two centuries, the past half-century also witnessed the end of imperialism. The European empires that incorporated almost all of Africa and much of Asia in 1945 have been replaced by sundry self-governing states. Correspondingly, the total number of independent states in the world increased from 71 to almost 200 over the same time period. The illegitimacy of imperialism was formally recognized by the United Nations in 1960 with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 89 to 0, with 9 abstentions.

The delegitimizing of imperialism corresponded with another revolutionary development in world

affairs since the end of the Second World War: the virtual disappearance of territorial expansion as an objective of national policy. The ruthless chess game that was international relations prior to the mid-twentieth century has largely given way to the principle of non-aggression, as recognized by the United Nations Charter, and the inviolability of national borders, as recognized in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Accords) in 1975. Stephen Pinker's *The Better Angels of Our Nature* provides an excellent statistical analysis of the dramatic decline of international violence since World War II. Indeed, he observes that the period since 1945 has been the longest era without a major war between great powers since the end of the Roman Empire[9]!

In addition to the demise of imperialism and the promises of international agreements, the previously noted proliferation of democratic governments is surely another of the factors explaining the progress of peace in our time. Historical experience thus far, demonstrated by a plethora of quantitative analyses, appears to confirm Kant's thesis regarding the pacific character of representative governments, at least in their relations with one another. In other words, liberal democracies – which Kant termed "republican" governments - do not fight each other[10]. They also do not murder their own citizens *en masse*[11].

Consequently, a judicious reconsideration of the anti-statist dogma of nineteenth century anarchism would seem to be in order. As the authors of the Policy Project's *Global Report 2011* conclude:

> The one thing that most clearly distinguishes the Globalization Era is that, for the first time in human history, the global system is predominantly comprised of independent states and populated by democratic regimes[12].

While Bakunin's radical critique was entirely appropriate for most of the states that existed when he wrote from Russia's Peter-Paul Fortress in 1851, it appears profoundly anachronistic in a world of 95 democracies, nearly 200 self-governing states, and *relatively* peaceful international affairs.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

So does anything remain of anarchism as a relevant theory and program? I think so. But given the track record of liberal reform since Bakunin's time, smashing the state hardly seems a fruitful or feasible program. Who knows what the future holds, but in our present era anarchist theory seems less applicable to domestic revolution than to the transformative role played by non-governmental organizations within global civil society.

NGOs are transnational actors in a world that lacks a single governing authority and is therefore, essentially, anarchical. This interpretation parallels the realist theory of international relations, premised upon the anarchical nature of the international system and the *state of nature* theory expounded by Thomas Hobbes[13]. But realism recognizes only states as relevant actors, seeking power after power in a zero-sum game of cutthroat competition. In our contemporary world, the global anarchical system is a much more crowded arena than realist theory allows. In addition to some 200 sovereign states, there are approximately 7,500 international governmental organizations (IGOs), and more than 50,000 NGO's that operate internationally[14]. Furthermore, domestic NGOs number in the millions, with an estimated 3.3 million in India alone[15].

Many NGOs interact and cooperate with both states and IGO's. However, they pursue their own objectives, independently of national loyalties, and those objectives are characteristically humanitarian in nature. When considering why the anarchical international system has come to look quite different from the nasty and brutish arena described by Hobbesian realism, some observations about the character of NGOs are in order. In general,

> NGOs are best-known for two different, but often interrelated, types of activity – the delivery of services to people in need, and the organization of policy advocacy and public campaigns in pursuit of social transformation. NGOs are also active in a wide range of other specialized roles such as democracy building, conflict resolution, human rights work, cultural preservation, environmental activism, policy analysis, research, and information provision[16].

While the range of NGO activities is extremely varied, characteristic themes are illustrated by the statements published on the websites of a few prominent organizations:

> *Amnesty International* is a global movement of more than 3 million supporters, members and activists in over 150 countries and territories who campaign to end grave abuses of human rights. Our vision is for every person to enjoy all the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights standards. We are independent of any government, political ideology, economic interest or religion, and are funded mainly by our membership and public donations[17].

In 1977 Amnesty International was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for «having contributed to securing the ground for freedom, for justice, and thereby also for peace in the world[18]".

> *Médecins Sans Frontières* provides assistance to populations in distress, to victims of natural or man-made disasters and to victims of armed conflict. They do so irrespective of race, religion, creed or political convictions.

MSF operates independently of any political, military, or religious agendas. On any given day, more than 27,000 committed individuals representing dozens of nationalities can be found providing assistance to people caught in crises around the world[19].

Oxfam is an international confederation of 17 organizations networked together in more than 90 countries, as part of a global movement for change, to build a future free from the injustice of poverty. Working with thousands of local partner organizations, we work with people living in poverty striving to exercise their human rights, assert their dignity as full citizens and take control of their lives. We press decision-makers to change policies and practices that reinforce poverty and injustice[20].

Regardless of particular priorities, there is broad consensus within the NGO community on common humanitarian principles. But humanitarian principles are not limited to activist organizations. As noted before, documents like the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and a multitude of other declarations and conventions likewise illustrate the commitment of many, though not all, contemporary states and IGO's to human rights, social justice, and non-aggression. Significantly, in many cases international commitments and state policies are, in no small measure, the result of concerted efforts by civil society organizations. As described by the World Bank: "This dynamism is exemplified by successful advocacy campaigns around such issues as banning of land mines, debt cancellation, and environmental protection which have mobilized thousands of supporters around the globe[21]". Marshall and Cole also credit NGOs with contributing to "proactive international (global) engagement" that has helped to prevent "anocratic" regimes – neither fully autocratic nor fully democratic – from collapsing into civil war or lapsing into autocracy[22].

NGOs pressed for "the inclusion of human rights provisions" in the UN Charter, and they have continued to play important roles in forging more humane international norms and legal obligations. Various NGOs had input into the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Amnesty International participated in drafting the Convention against Torture[23]. In the 1990s, a coalition of NGOs formed the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), which persuaded governments to establish the Mine Ban Treaty in 1997, and that same year the ICBL was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of its efforts[24].

NGOs also play an important role in treaty enforcement by monitoring human rights violations. UN Committees responsible for supervising human rights conventions rely on NGOs to provide information on states' compliance with international law, providing an alternative source of information from the states themselves. "According to the former director of the United Nations Human Rights Centre in Geneva, NGOs provide 85 percent of the information provided to the Centre and thus prove that the United Nations are greatly dependent on NGOs for information[25]". In addition to the work of human rights organizations, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines continues to monitor and press for the full implementation of state obligations under the Mine Ban Treaty, and many other NGOs continue to work on implementation once legal instruments are established[26].

Finally, many NGOs provide direct services, where state efforts are either absent or inadequate. Prime examples include Care International, Danish Refugee Council, and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF). According to their website, in 2009 "MSF medical teams carried out more than 7.5 million outpatient consultations; delivered 110,000 babies; treated 1.1 million people for malaria; treated 200,000 severely and moderately malnourished children; provided 165,000 people living with HIV/AIDS with antiretroviral therapy; vaccinated 7.9 million people against meningitis; and conducted 50,000 surgeries[27]". Such services are an essential supplement to the humanitarian work of states and IGOs.

ANARCHIST THEORY AND GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

The extensive role played by NGOs in promoting more humanitarian norms and providing direct services illustrates their importance in global civil society. As noted earlier, international NGOs function in a global environment that lacks any single, over-arching authority. They interact with states and state-formed IGO's, but this interaction takes place within a global environment that remains fundamentally anarchical. While few NGOs aim to dismantle or replace states altogether, overall NGOs have played two very important roles that have affected the nature of the international system:

1 ~ They have contributed substantially to forging a more humane legal and moral environment within which states operate;

2 ~ They have performed vital services that neither states nor IGOs perform adequately on their own.

Consequently, a substantially revised anarchist theory remains applicable to the realm of global civil society. Recall that nineteenth century anarchists like Bakunin were centrally concerned with human rights and

human freedom. Since that time, these objectives have been substantially advanced not only by liberal democratic governments, but also by a transformed international environment in which a robust system of international laws sets a standard against which state behaviors are measured. NGOs have played an important role in that transformation.

In democracies like the United States, liberal pluralism is an effective model for framing the role of private interest groups that compete to influence government policies. But such domestic interest groups tend to be less characterized by humanitarian motives than by narrow ideological or economic interests. Accordingly, some other theoretical formulation is needed to capture the distinctive character of global civil society. The phenomenon bears important similarities to liberal pluralism as well as classical anarchism, but with substantial differences from both. Consequently, the term *anarcho-pluralism* may be apt.

Even in Kropotkin's time, something resembling our contemporary global civil society appeared to be emerging:

> "Europe is covered by thousands of voluntary associations for study and teaching, for industry, commerce, science, art, literature, exploitation, resistance to exploitation, amusement, serious work, gratification and self-denial, for all that makes up the life of an active and thinking being. We see these societies rising in all nooks and corners of all domains: political, economic, artistic, intellectual. Some are as shortlived as roses, some hold their own for several decades, and all strive - while maintaining the independence of each group, circle, branch, or section - to federate, unite, across frontiers as well as among each nation; to cover all the life of civilized men with a net, meshes of which are intersected and interwoven. Their numbers can already be reckoned by tens of thousands, they comprise millions of adherents"[28].

The key revision to Kropotkin is that NGOs do not seek to substitute themselves for the state, but they seek to supplement and reform the state system in accord with humanitarian ideals and human needs. When state policies and practices are molded by interaction with a robust civil society, states serve to enhance rather than destroy rights and freedoms.

When nineteenth-century anarchists surveyed the states of their time, they saw little cause for hope that those brutal institutions could ever act in the service of human freedom. Such skepticism could still have been justified through much of the twentieth century. But the advance of human rights among liberal democracies, the increasing number of those democracies, and the broad recognition of humanitarian principles in international law give reason to hope that properly reformed and monitored states have a valuable role to play in enhancing rather than destroying human freedom. However, the monitoring must come from engaged *global* citizens.

The robust global citizenry that has made thousands of NGO's a transformative force is, in important respects, a contemporary manifestation of the ideals of past visionaries, including anarchists like Bakunin and Kropotkin. While Kropotkin decried the state's centralizing authority away from autonomous communities, global civil society illustrates a new kind of decentralizing authority. In its essence, the anarchist credo is freedom, and global civil society is freedom in the service of humanity. Perhaps over time the habits of humanitarian responsibility and direct action will further expand and develop the sphere of global civil society, and that expanding sphere may one day render the state itself obsolete. ⊙

---

[1] Wallace 1905, *Russia*.
[2] "The Evolution of Secret Police Forces" 2012.
[3] Healey 2004, "Russia."
[4] Barrell 2013, "Perilous Question."
[5] Bakunin 1972, "Revolutionary Catechism."
[6] Kropotkin 1896, *Anarchism*.
[7] Puddington 2013, *Freedom in the World*.
[8] Marshall 2011, *Global Report 2011*: 12.
[9] Pinker 2011, *The Better Angels*: 249-251.
[10] Kant 1795, *Perpetual Peace*.
[11] Pinker 2011, *The Better Angels*: 278-288.
[12] Marshall 2011, *Global Report 2011*: 12.
[13] Hobbes 1651/1982, *Leviathan*: 185-186.
[14] Marshall 2011, *Global Report 2011*: 15.
[15] Shukla 2010, "First Official Estimate."
[16] Lewis 2010, "Nongovernmental Organizations": 1056.
[17] Amnesty International 2013, "Who We Are."
[18] Amnesty International 2013, "The History of Amnesty International."
[19] Médecins Sans Frontières 2013, "History & Principles."
[20] Oxfam 2013, "About Us."
[21] World Bank 2011, "Defining Civil Society."
[22] Marshall 2011, *Global Report 2011*: 13.
[23] Icelandic Human Rights Centre 2013, "The Role of Non-State Entities."
[24] International Campaign to Ban Landmines 2013, "About Us."
[25] Marcincutė 2012, "The Role of Human Rights NGO's": 56.
[26] International Campaign to Ban Landmines 2013, "About Us."
[27] Médecins Sans Frontières 2013, "How We Work."
[28] Kropotkin 1896, *Anarchism*.

REFERENCES

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL. (2013). Web. (Accessed 6 June, 2013).

BAKUNIN, M. (1972). "Revolutionary Catechism," in Sam Dolgoff (ed), *Bakunin on Anarchy*: (A.A. Knopf). Marxists Internet Archive. Web. (Accessed 5 June, 2013).

Barrell, J. (3 May, 2013). "Perilous Question: The Drama of the Great Reform Bill 1832 by Antonia Fraser – review." *The Guardian*. Web. (Accessed 10 June, 2013).

Healey, D. (2004). "Russia." *glbtq: An Encyclopedia or Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, & Queer Culture*. Web (Accessed 10 June, 2013).

Hobbes, T. (1985). *Leviathan.* Ed. C.B. Macpherson. (London: Penguin).

Icelandic Human Rights Centre (2013). "The Role of Non-State Entities." Web. (Accessed 31 May, 2013).

International Campaign to Ban Landmines (2013). Web. (Accessed 3 June, 2013).

Kant, I. (1795). *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. Mount Holyoke College (Vincent Ferraro's page). Web. (Accessed 6 June, 2013).

Kropotkin, P. (1896). *Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal*. Panarchy. Web. (Accessed 6 June, 2013).

Lewis, D. (2010). "Nongovernmental Organizations, Definition and History." *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*. (New York: Springer).

Marcincutė, L. (2012). "The Role of Human Rights NGO's: Human Rights Defenders or State Sovereignty Destroyers?", *Baltic Journal of Law & Politics* 4(2): 52-77. Web. (Accessed 31 May, 2013).

Marshall, M. and B. Cole. (2011). *Global Report 2011: Conflict, Governance, and State Fragility*. Center for Systemic Peace. Web. (Accessed 6 June, 2013).

Médecins Sans Frontières / Doctors Without Borders. (2013). Web. (Accessed 6 June, 2013).

Oxfam. (2013). Web. (Accessed 6 June, 2013).

Pinker, S. (2011). *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (New York: Viking).

Puddington, A. (2013), *Freedom in the World 2013: Democratic Breakthroughs in the Balance*. Freedom House. Web. (Accessed 5 June, 2013).

"The Evolution of Secret Police Forces." (2012). *Columbia Encyclopedia*. 6th ed. (New York: Columbia University Press). Web. (Accessed 10 June, 2013).

Shukla, A. (7 July, 2010), "First Official Estimate: An NGO for every 4000 people in India," *The Indian Express*. Web. (Accessed 30 May, 2013).

Wallace, D.M. (1905). *Russia*. Project Gutenberg. Web. (Accessed 10 June, 2013).

The World Bank. (2011). "Defining Civil Society." Web. (Accessed 6 June, 2013).

STABLE ANARCHY AND THE PERSISTENCE

OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN ETHIOPIA

CARL MILOFSKY ~ BERHANU NEGA

Carl Milofsky is Professor of Sociology at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and Anthropology at Bucknell University, USA. He has a long-standing interest in nonprofit organizations, especially small, community-based organizations. Professor Milofsky edited the Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly *and is currently Chair of the Publications Committee as a board member of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA). In the last two years he has been particularly interested in grass roots development organizations. Email: milofsky@bucknell.edu*

Berhanu Nega is currently an Associate Professor of Economics at Bucknell University, USA. He has also thought at Addis Ababa University from 1994-2000. He was the director of the Ethiopian Economic Policy Research Institute from 2000-2005. Elected to be Mayor of Addis Ababa in the first meaningful election in the country in 2005, he was sent to prison by the government that lost the election for 21 months before serving in his elected position.

We have an image of authoritarian, coercive states as being so dominant and restrictive that citizens are afraid to be involved in the associations or informal advocacy groups that elsewhere make up civil society. When no network matrix of associations exists, there is concern that democracy and liberal governance systems cannot quickly emerge should the authoritarian state collapse. This paper argues the contrary position, suggesting that, in Africa at least where our research is focused, states are domineering but weak. The consequence is that many centers of interaction, community service, and local entrepreneurship develop outside of the sphere of control exercised by the state. We call this sort of social ecology a stable anarchy. In such a system, the state is but one of many significant institutional players rather than being the only dominant player. If the state ceases to be powerful and coercive, there is a good chance as we saw in the Arab Spring that the other actors, working collectively, can step forward to govern society in a reasonably democratic fashion.

The presence of many strong, institutionalized loci of legitimate, symbolically meaningful, and well-resourced nodes is threatening to the authoritarian state. In realistic practice, the state often depends on these organized clusters of activity and includes their leaders in state building and service provision but not in a way that makes them part of the state. The fact that the leaders are involved in state activities yet independently powerful makes them objects of suspicion and state harassment. True though this may be, the separate nodes endure because the state cannot prevent them from being active and the leaders continue to be influential even if they occasionally are put in prison or if their organizations are forcefully shut down.

This paper presents a history of civil society organizations in Ethiopia based on interviews with nine leaders of domestic nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The study was carried out two months after a new law limiting activities and international funding for Ethiopian NGOs began to be implemented, causing most of the organizations studied to lose funding, to eliminate most of their staff, and to terminate many programs (Nega and Milofsky 2011). The interviews occurred shortly before the May 2010 election, a time when civil society activity normally is high. The crackdown on NGOs was a manifestation of the authoritarian state, military control, and frequent arrests of opposition figures that became especially severe after the elections in 2005 when there was a strong electoral performance by democratic opposition parties. The government responded by negating election results, imprisoning opposition leaders, and making outspoken public discussion of issues difficult.

A central question for this study was whether assertion of strong authoritarian control by the state stifles the kinds of public expression that are at the heart of civil society activity and whether authoritarian states effectively end decentralized civil participation by citizens. Testimony by our respondents indicates

that active participation in civil society continues despite state coercion. We argue this happens because Ethiopia is organized as a stable anarchy.

That means, first, that the state is not strong enough or comprehensive enough to create a hierarchical, hegemonic relationship with other significant interest groups and institutional actors within the society. At all levels of society, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have built up bases of resources, developed constituencies and support networks, and developed social functions that are valued and important to citizens. Other cultural, ethnic, and religious entities have done this as well. The result is an interorganizational social ecology in which the state is but one of many significant players, each of whom has an enduring place in the institutional structure and political organization of the country. It is this polycentric structure and the lack of a dominant state hierarchy that defines Ethiopia as a stable anarchy.

STABLE ANARCHY

To theoretically understand the political economy of Ethiopia, we argue that one must understand that the society operates as a stable anarchic system. In Hirshleifer's (1995: 27) definition, "[…] anarchy is a social arrangement in which contenders struggle to conquer and defend durable resources, without effective regulation by either higher authorities or social pressures."

In Ethiopia, as in many African nations, the state has limited reach and effectiveness in terms of providing services and addressing needs of citizens (Bratton 1989). While the state has the power to be coercive, it does not have the resources, administrative infrastructure, or motivation to provide comprehensive services and to be always present in the lives of citizens. Alternative entities in the form of NGOs (Hyden and Hailemariam 2003), religious and ethnic organizations (Nega 2011), and community-based business ventures (MacGaffey 1994) provide such services as exist. They create a social ecology that is polycentric and thus anarchic rather than centralized around the structure and organization of the state.

In the West, states are omnipresent in small ways. Paved streets and traffic lights, publicly provided education, weights and measures certificates on elevators and supermarket scales, meter maids checking parking meters, ubiquitous road construction during summer months, and other small functions and services are important. They make the government visible as a real and functioning part of everyday life and the fact that it is present and functioning is well advertised. Citizens come to believe that state activity is intertwined with the routines of life, and we believe that government workers are doing meaningful things, guided by regulation, and with some responsiveness to expert knowledge (even if it is inefficiently applied). The density of this activity leads citizens to feel as though the society is coterminous with governmental structures responsible for geographic areas at different levels of aggregation. There is a background feeling that whatever annoyances it may create, the state is carrying out necessary functions, it is important for the smooth functioning of daily life, and it works in a way that is more or less fair, logical, and legitimate.

Although the state has a monopoly on the use of force in a place like Ethiopia, it is not able to create a hegemonic ideology about how activities of the state are interwoven with everyday life in the way we see this happening in the West. A major function of social services and community development activities is that they build and foster that ideology. Gramsci (Femia 1981; Schneider 1988) asserts that ideological control in the service of corporate and political elites is one of the main functions of the civil society/NGO sector in Western societies. But for this control to develop there must be sufficient institutional density for an integration of services and beliefs to develop. Institutional density partly refers to the number of organizations providing a specific kind of service that are located within a geographic area (Wiewel and Hunter 1985). It also refers to the number, substantive content, and frequency of network interconnections that cut across community boundaries. These are used for the kinds of economic transactions and political relationships that draw the state in to regulate or to govern disputes. These relationships that cut across community boundaries represent one of the aspects of Putnam's (2000) social capital and in his view they are essential for the integration and political control of a society (Putnam 1993).

Granovetter (1985) uses the term embeddedness to refer to organizations and people that live and function within such dense networks. He believes this embeddedness is essential for the successful operation of modern economic markets and political relationships in Western societies. People operate in terms of long-term relationships, systems of culture and tradition, and processes that produce trust and legitimacy that are contextual and individually specific.

He offers two contrasts. One is between societies that have dense networks and those that have sparse networks. The second is has to do with situations where we can imagine people operating in atomized ways Granovetter says conventional economic theory assumes that people are atomized so that they can make rational business transactions. Similarly, he

refers to what he calls "Hobbesian" liberal political theory that assumes a state of nature where citizens operate as atomized actors and where the state is a powerful presence that restricts free economic and political action. Countering atomization theories, Granovetter states the sociological position that, to be dynamic, all business activity must operate within a societal and cultural system of established norms, legitimacy, and authority. This is necessary in order for the kinds of rules neoclassical economists propose to work (Granovetter 1985; Krippner and Alvarez 2007).

However, network relationships need not just be dense, they must also be institutionalized. Coleman (1957) contrasts network situations – he is referring to residential communities – where ties are simply interpersonal or relational with situations where there are large numbers of associations with long histories of interaction. It is in the latter situations where community conflicts tend to become intense whereas in communities where networks are mostly relational conflicts are simply personal and they do not spread to envelop the whole community.

In the highly organized communities Coleman (1957) describes in his sample of community studies, there exist a large number of business and voluntary associations. They are brought into existence for particular purposes, they persist over time, and members of one association or business network have a history of dealing with people in other groups. They have cooperated, conflicted, and developed investment and commitment to the economic, social, and political commitments that "people like them" have.

Where there is history of many associations interacting around a variety of issues over time associational density exists and this creates both the potential for intergroup conflict and a need for effective governance to keep the system under control. In Max Weber's (1958) theory, repeated, persistent conflicts among economic and political groups within a society lead to democratic institutions and governance. Democracy is not imposed from above in some hierarchical or coercive fashion by a powerful government or international political authorities. Rather it emerges as a rough consensus developed among the active and powerful groups that dominate business and political activity. If there is not sufficient density of activity this pressure to create consensual governance institutions does not develop. Instead society is left with somewhat disconnected social and economic networks. They do not produce the conflicts that Coleman (1957) describes where allies are brought in, conflict spreads, everything is disrupted, and bystanders demand a resolution. That resolution demanded by bystanders may be achieved by the creation of fair, participatory, collective dispute resolution processes – by democracy.

In a society like Ethiopia the reach of the state and core members of the elite are limited. Citizens in their communities, ethnic groups, and NGOs operating as professionalized support organizations, only sometimes having international funding support, organize and provide essential services to the extent that they are available at all. While the state is important, present, visible, and known, it ends up being only one institutional player in the overall organization of Ethiopian society. Because of this, cultural traditions and independent social and political discourse become a means for significant self-organization (Hayek 1979) among Ethiopians and a basis for questioning and challenging state rule.

This questioning and challenging may lead to revolution and regime change as happened in other places during the Arab Spring of 2011. That might not be an immediate prospect in Ethiopia, although the possibility is always there in this kind of state structure. Our perspective is that an active civil society system, embodied in part by local nongovernmental organizations (what in Europe or the United States would be called nonprofit organizations [Budrys 2013; Lewis 2007]) constitutes an ongoing institutional structure that is largely independent of state control. They allow Ethiopian society to self organize and to provide a dynamic democratic process within the context of an authoritarian state. The visibility and effectiveness of these non state actors could be marginal or latent at any one period depending on the severity of the repression they faced, but the infrastructure that exists could be used as a potent force for a democratic change when the opportunity arises. This is in contrast to the perception of some informed observers like Hyden and Hailemariam of Oxfam Canada (2003) who argue that potential civil society participants are so intimidated by the state that they remain inactive.

We found, in contrast, that NGO leaders and other important civil society figures that were active at the founding time of the current Ethiopian state government in 1992 continue to be active and engaged. While they created independent and autonomous organizations that were self-supporting, they also had been important in helping to build the institutional structures of the state, in helping to write the constitution, and in establishing operational rules and norms for the parliament.

Individuals in the civil society sector and those in leadership positions in government had long-standing personal relationships with each other. Those relationships continued up to the time of our interviews

even though individuals we interviewed had been imprisoned and in other ways faced the coercive power of the state. NGOs perform important functions that a strong government would otherwise perform. Sometimes they carry out these functions at the request of and in partnership with government. Other times they work independently and their effectiveness may create a sufficient feeling of threat and danger that the government stops them from working.

NGO leaders we talked to expressed confidence that their work would go on and that the civil society sector would continue to be vital and effective despite the crackdown that was occurring at the time of our interviews. Leaders also did not necessarily fear imprisonment or look back on their personal times in prison with hostility. They view state coercion as part of a trajectory of unfolding history and change. The basic political dynamics in Ethiopia seem to change substantially about every five years. Recognizing this the leaders expect that a time will arrive again when civil society organizations can operate openly, effectively, and with sufficient resource support. This might happen because regime change has occurred or simply because political tides have shifted.

It is this orientation that causes us to propose the stable anarchy theoretical framework. NGOs are important players in creating a dynamic of self-organization (Leeson 2008) and legitimacy for society. Hirshleifer (1995) tells us that stable anarchies are distinguished from chaotic situations where there is no meaningful, ongoing organization and also from fluid anarchies where certain people and groups are active over time but continually "graze" for resources, shifting locations of work, constituencies of support, and means of maintaining their activities. In a stable anarchy like Ethiopia there is a network or system of players who remain present over time and who have linkages to important, ongoing, historically meaningful constituency groups. In Ethiopia these often are based in ethnicity (Nega 2011). Players in anarchy are able to access pools of resources not controlled by the state and thereby maintain themselves, their networks, and their activities.

In this framework the state is an important player but it is best understood as just one of a variety of competing institutional leadership groups (Bratton 1989). All of these institutional groups have leaders who are embedded in a national network (it also is international because it includes members of the diaspora) where ties interpenetrate institutional structures (Granovetter 1985; Krippner and Alvarez 2007). Thus, the NGO leaders we interviewed are "part of" the state in network and friendship terms even though they are part of the opposition in terms of their formal institutional positions and perhaps because they have been imprisoned or forced into exile as enemies of the state.

THE RESAERCH

The argument we present in this paper is based on nine interviews of Ethiopian leaders of civil society organizations in Ethiopia in April 2010. The interviews were motivated by passage of Ethiopia's Charities and Societies Law in 2009 and its implementation in February 2010, immediately preceding the parliamentary elections in May 2010 (Nega and Milofsky 2011).

Bucknell University's Institutional Review Board approved the research plan. The research was challenging because various of the Ethiopian participants worried that if their participation was known they were endanger of being imprisoned. One of the important participants was a prominent Ethiopian journalist who served as the "fixer" for the project. That is, in advance of arrival by the interviewer, Milofsky, he secured a list of NGOs in Ethiopia from the national association of nonprofits. Scanning the list, he selected about 15 NGOs that he knew to be significant and that he judged to represent different types and political positions among the array of NGOs. He then made appointments with leaders of these NGOs to coincide with the ten-day period when Milofsky was on site. It is important to know that Nega had no role in these field interviews and he has not read the detailed field accounts produced from the interviews. Nega is a nationally known opposition leader and subjects' sense of risk would have been greatly heightened had he been part of the project. Thus, although Nega and Milofsky are both employed at Bucknell University and interact frequently, we were careful to maintain strict separation between Nega and the research. He came to play a role only when the first draft of this paper was written for a conference presentation[1] and then his role was to correct historical detail and to help develop the conceptual framework.

The fixer who worked with Milofsky in Ethiopia served as a translator with interview subjects when that was necessary. He also helped to explain the social and political background context factors when they were relevant to the interviews. In each case after an interview was completed Milofsky wrote up a field notes account of the interview and then this was over-read by the fixer who corrected errors and elaborated on important contextual points.

While the people interviewed and the fixer felt at risk, each of them also wanted the story they would tell to

come out and preferably before the election scheduled to occur three weeks after the interviews. To meet their desire, Milofsky wrote a blog (http://milofsky1.wordpress.com) providing a detailed academic analysis of the political situation in Ethiopia. The blog was widely circulated within Ethiopia. Following our agreement with the Bucknell University IRB, with publication of this paper the data are being destroyed.

Seven of those interviewed led organizations with significant programs labeled "advocacy" by the Law and since they received more than 10% of their funding from outside of Ethiopia those programs had to be terminated and staff members had to be fired. While the initial focus was on organizations, each interview became a life history and a story about the respondent's involvement in building institutions of government and developing civil society within Ethiopia.

The authoritarian government of Ethiopia was an adversary for these organizations and blocking their efforts to build civil society was a specific target of government repression. Despite a variety of government attacks, including imprisonment of leaders, all but one of the interviewees were confident that they could continue to find ways to use their organizational programs to build civil society. Furthermore, all were confident that civil society networks would play a significant role in moving past the present period of authoritarian rule in Ethiopia.

Recounting the interviews in this paper will do two things. First, the interviews lay bare a historical trajectory of the development of civil society in Ethiopia that makes the present moment a chronological point on an unfolding time line. We tend to understand societies in terms of static concepts and frozen causal patterns – if we have a dictatorship then civil society is suppressed and cannot be brought back to life. This then justifies the claim that these societies are not ready for democracy. Our respondents instead saw the current moment, a time of repression, as but one episode in a developing history.

Respondents told a shared story having to do with institution building. Sometimes they were part of government and other times they were opponents, perhaps even being imprisoned for a time. There is a second story having to do with the evolution of the international aid industry and its changing programmatic, ideological, and assistance commitments. The involvement of international NGOs and multilateral aid in Ethiopia has been inextricably bound up with the national political culture as it is with the prospects for political change and liberalization in the future.

Second, we will learn that civil society in Ethiopia has meant four things. First, it involves networks of interconnection among leaders, constituencies, and support groups that have experience, endurance and the capacity to be mobilized. Second, it involves a cultural infrastructure within Ethiopian society such that citizens have skills related to participation and mobilization and these are embedded in the normal living patterns of the country's life. Third, it involves political learning by citizens that fosters dialog and participation. Fourth, it involves the diaspora community whose members both provide remittances back to the country and linkages to the international movement for human rights.

Citizens learned that involvement in a single participatory project could serve as a template for being involved in other, substantively disconnected actions and debates. In this way single participatory involvements became an orientation towards and an interest in politics more generally. These insights about civil society among citizens are basically the same as lessons we see taught by civil society in other countries where we have worked – the United States and Northern Ireland (Milofsky 1987; 2008; Acheson and Milofsky 2008; 2011).

A HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY

Respondents gave surprisingly similar stories about the development of state structures and the involvement of international actors in the evolution of the public sphere in Ethiopia. There is a clear trajectory. Ethiopian society should not be explained by taking one slice in time and making assertions about static, structural relationships between, for example, authoritarian government and civil society actors. One has to understand the country as an unfolding narrative where current conditions are but a moment in a story certain to change dramatically in a few years.

Local context and history are important. It is equally important to see that the Ethiopian story parallels stories in other countries as they went through the post-colonial experience. Together they encountered changes in the nature and role of NGOs, international monetary institutions, and bi-lateral and multi-lateral government policies. Ethiopia's historical trajectory is unique but it also is shared in common with other countries in sub-Saharan Africa and in the Middle East.

A striking aspect of the story shared by our Ethiopian informants is that rapid changes occurred in the national definition of the situation, the focus of public action, the evolution of Ethiopian government institutions, and the financial and material contributions

international actors made to Ethiopian society. Every five to seven years, everything changed. Interviewees lived through these changes, benefited from them or were punished by them, built up third sector enterprises based mostly on their own ideas, expertise, and network connections, and in every case played a substantial role in the institutional development of the state.

Each respondent was deeply and passionately committed to Ethiopian society and to its public order. They all were connected into networks of other voluntary organization actors in civil society and most of them also had strong work ties with individuals and projects in the government. The Charities and Societies Law annoyed most of them because of the ways it hurt their employees and cut off important work. Most of them were neither afraid of it nor deflected from simply refocusing and re-ordering their work. This was the case even if they thought there was a good chance they would spend time in prison.

THE HISTORICAL STORY

The most recent history of Ethiopia begins with the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974. He was toppled and murdered by a revolutionary military clique called the Dergue and from this followed nearly 25 years of "communist" rule. Another ethnic-based, revolutionary movement, the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), eventually toppled the Dergue. The TPLF remains in power today and the Marxist leadership, that led the movement also heads it, albeit with a changed ideology of crony capitalism. Despite the ideological preferences of the recently deceased head of government, he had an epiphany about the value of capitalism when the Soviet Union collapsed and their support for Ethiopia evaporated. Private businesses play an important role in the Ethiopian economy and over the first nearly fifteen years of its rule democratic institutions of government and civil society had constitutional support, although severely curtailed in practice.

Despite early openness, the current government has become increasingly authoritarian over time, especially after 2005. Its first fifteen years involved experimentation with "controlled political opening" and this is the period that laid down the network of relationships that make up civil society. In this period, activists developed knowledge about how to organize local social and political movements, formed interpersonal relationships and commitments with other activists, and made personal investments in Ethiopian society and its governance. These represent an enduring commitment to the processes of building civil society organizations and to the infrastructure of civil society. Despite being suppressed in the current period, the activism of this system can spring back to life if the current authoritarian style of government ends.

THE DERGUE PERIOD

The Dergue leaders were explicitly communist in orientation and were strongly allied with the Soviet Union. With the mounting resistance against military dictatorship, particularly from the left, the Dergue soon proved to be arbitrary and murderous, quickly decimating its multi-ethnic, left opposition. This stimulated another revolutionary movement that began to take shape by the early 1970s in the northern district of Tigray with Marxism and Tigrayan nationalism as its twin ideological foundations.

Aside from beginning a tradition of authoritarian government, the Dergue period left two important legacies. One is land reform. Where Ethiopia traditionally was controlled by a feudal system where aristocratic leaders controlled land, the Dergue made all land the property of government and gave use of the land to the peasants who currently were living and working on it. This system remains in place today and it is both a source of egalitarianism in the country and a factor that locks farmers in poverty. Since they do not own land, they cannot build wealth by improving or selling land. Meanwhile, land plots have been progressively subdivided as farmers pass land on to their children. The current government with its underlying Marxist political orientation has continued this arrangement. The result is that in many parts of the country (including the impressive ecological reclamation district we observed in Tigray), the size of the average family farm is too small to support a family even with the best farming practices and the most favorable weather[2].

The second legacy of the Dergue is that, as a client state of the Soviet Union, Ethiopia was formally cut off from Western aid until the Soviet Union fell in 1992, a date that coincides with the successful TPLF revolution. For most of our interviewees, the period 1970-1992 involved some sort of complex story about relating to the TPLF rebels. Some were active in the revolutionary movement. Some were in prison and gained notoriety for being publicly known as enemies of the Dergue. Some left the country to secure education. In most cases people told complicated stories about being targeted as an enemy of the Dergue but managing to turn the tables to gain support from abroad for their education.

The important "historical trajectory" story of this era had to do with the Ethiopian famine in Northern

Ethiopia, including Tigray of the early 1980s. While drought caused agricultural failure, the guerilla movement in the countryside led government to be less responsive than it might have been. The image of starving citizens became visible internationally and led to a massive emergency foreign aid response from NGOs and large-scale fundraising initiatives like the Band Aid concerts that raised USD100 million for famine relief.

An important consequence of this emergency relief is that international NGOs came to work in Ethiopia for the long term. They entered their aid activities in the 1980s both directly through the government and by working with the rebels. This is important to recognize because that is partly explains why the TPLF has been both cooperative and anxious about the trustworthiness of NGOs. They are afraid that they will work with the opposition or opposition sympathizers which then could threaten their stranglehold on power. This is a reason the government today is willing to renege on the thirty-year partnership it has had with international NGOs.

In the 1980s, NGOs began providing emergency relief and a commitment to the prevention of starvation that remains today as a central motivation for both public (from USAID and multilateral donors) and private relief. While disaster relief started the process of aid, one of our respondents explained that rather quickly the commitment of international religious charities that this NGO worked with shifted. They began working on short-term survival work but reframed their intervention to promote development, sustainability, and economic independence for residents. This became the NGO's primary focus in the 1990s and it dovetailed with the focus in the international aid community following the neo-liberal agenda (Harvey 2011). An important legacy of 1980s famine relief is that NGOs and foreign government donors established a presence that grew rapidly after the 1992 revolution. Today Ethiopia is the largest recipient of Western aid in sub-Saharan Africa.

Another piece of the famine relief legacy came into public view in Spring, 2010, when the BBC broke a story (Plaut 2010) that much of the aid contributed by international NGOs in the early 1980s, through the rebel movements, was spent to support the TPLF revolutionary movement. About USD 45 million went to purchase arms and USD 50 million was used for administrative expenses of the movement, particularly to shore up the Marxist Leninist wing of the movement. About USD 5 million went to feeding starving citizens. This information from former TPLF leaders was reinforced, according to the BBC, by evidence from the CIA that resources of NGOs were channeled to support the TPLF revolutionary movement (Clay and Holcomb 1986). A large indigenous NGO, the Relief Society of Tigray (REST) was the vehicle for these transfers. REST remains a large recipient of food relief funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)(Gilligan, et al 2008; 2009). One reason the Ethiopian government is uncomfortable with international NGOs is that organizations like Human Rights Watch (2010) have challenged the food security programs run by REST, claiming they serve as instruments of government coercion.

THE REVOLUTION TRANSITION

While corruption related to the Band Aid concerts has upset sponsors the connection between donors and the revolutionary movement had an important effect. Despite the strong Marxist philosophical elements that have become explicit in the last five years, the TPLF government publicly embraced democratic principles when it came to power in 1992 because of its historical dependence on NGOs. It wrote a constitution that included many democratic guarantees because the TPLF had strong ties to NGOs that themselves were committed to democratic principles. With the fall of the Soviet Union, Western government foreign aid became an important resource, reaching as high as 20% of GDP in some years, and the new government wanted to ensure access to that assistance.

Many of our respondents were pulled in and immediately became involved in government building after the revolution. Most of them had university educations so they were able to work directly on writing elements of the constitution or they were given leadership roles in setting up new government institutions. Some of them had particular areas of expertise and were given responsibility at the ministerial level, sometimes in one of the states that make up the Ethiopian nation. It is important to appreciate that the educated class in Ethiopia is relatively small, and this was especially true in the 1990s because much of the intelligentsia had either been killed or forced to emigrate in the 1980s.

Thus the early 1990s period was one where government leaders and future civil society leaders worked closely together and formed strong network ties. Without exception our civil society informants left the government within a short period of time – by 1995 in all cases. This happened because they were asked to do things for authoritarian elements of the government that they were unwilling to do or because they were troubled by graft they witnessed. They also left because the 1990s was a period of great entrepreneurial opportunity for educated Ethiopians living in the national capital.

Our informants started companies and made considerable amounts of money or took jobs as leaders in large, national social and political organizations that were supported with funding from the international community.

It took until 1995 for the constitution to be sufficiently written that parliamentary elections could be held. By all accounts the parliament that was seated in 1995 was chaotic. Informants explained and reiterated that this was a society in which the entire idea of government had to be invented beginning in 1992. Nothing existed in terms of government institutions and everything had to be designed and implemented as the state was created and put into motion. This included making rules for parliament and our informants were involved in the whole spectrum of institution building and governmental invention that went on in the period. Because these individuals tended to be ones who had professional education and expertise in aspects of policy and politics they were particularly important participants.

Heading into the 2000 elections, the government in partnership with our NGO leader informants recognized that significant work had to be done to create a polity in Ethiopian society. No one wanted to repeat the chaos that attended the 1995 election and thus two broad initiatives were undertaken. One was to launch a national voter education campaign and the other was to create political forums for discussing public issues. The forums were particularly important in 1998 and 1999 and they generated a great deal of press attention to the political discussions. The forums also were the platform from which new democratic political leaders emerged.

While the government did not particularly like the criticism they received, as far as our informants could tell leaders were supportive of the process. As time passed this did not turn out quite to be true. One informant said that he was standing, watching one of the forums with the head of the secret police and that individual jokingly said, "Well, someone is going to be held accountable." The friendly quality of the exchange sticks in the mind. And people ended up in prison. But even with imprisonment, leaders continued to maintain their role and to retain a positive attitude towards building civil society and partnering with government. Some people were killed and so the story is neither as positive nor as casual as our interviewees presented it. They survived and moved on but it was certainly a difficult period for activists.

A TIME OF ORGANIZATION BUILDING

For most of our informants, the period 1998 to 2002 was a time when the indigenous NGO organizations they led took shape, gained institutional stability, and started attracting large-scale funding from Western NGO donors. The period 2002 to 2005 was a time when the organizations expanded and provided large-scale programs on different democratic civil society themes around the country.

A significant area of work was voter education. Since historically there had been no institutions of democratic governance in Ethiopia and since large segments of the population were extremely poor and uneducated, the voter education task was huge and essential. One part of the task was to build up a force of workers trained to understand the concepts of democracy, capable of explaining the process of government, telling citizens about the voting process, and setting up town hall meetings where citizens could talk about issues that concerned them.

Several informants said their organizations had sixty or more workers spread around the country and that they had involved more than two million citizens in their educational efforts. These individuals were emphatic in saying that their work was simply educational and had no orientation to partisan politics – it was civics instruction work. But, for the ruling party, this activity contributed to its defeat in the 2005 elections. Accordingly, the entirety of these operations was summarily closed down between November 2009, and February 2010, as Western NGO funding was terminated and as each organization anticipated enforcement of the Charities and Societies Law.

The leaders were emphatic in saying that the many staff members who were trained and educated in concepts of civil society would not disappear. This is one reason they were optimistic about being able to change the focus of their NGOs. Several said they would work on capacity building for local organizations – an approved activity. In their view capacity building is as much about civil society education as is voter education. It would have helped their organizations and their networks to survive if Western NGOs had planned ahead and put transition funding into effect so that they could change focus, get new programs up and running, and help their staff and network survive financially.

While voter education programs had a direct connection to politics those programs were most important in helping citizens to generalize lessons they learned from other kinds of civil society organizations. Many of these other programs were funded by outside NGOs and government agencies. Informants told us about some of these efforts.

We learn, for example, about painstaking processes of local community enterprise development, sometimes

fostered by assistance from outside NGOs. These indigenous organizing efforts seem remarkably successful to outside eyes given political theory in the United States that suggests that effective participation in civil society and governance requires experience and practice that is not present in many communities (cf., Lipset 1971; Lipset, Trow, and Coleman 1956; Putnam 1993). The native society of Ethiopia includes group building and microcredit processes that make many Ethiopian citizens naturally skilled at building self-sufficient local movements. Usually these projects required support from local government officials, support officials might not give because they wanted to use projects to build their own political influence systems. Other times local organizations have been successful at building bridges to government extension agents who can help with agricultural development. Citizens mostly see the ebb and flow of government cooperation as part of the struggle of building a successful seed saving cooperative or a manure collecting organization (Cunningham 2008; Hodinott, Dircon, and Krishnan 2005).

Voter education programs suddenly made these practical local civil society groups political in the most innocent of ways. To explain politics, workers would ask citizens what government programs and offices were supposed to do and they asked if programs were working well. Citizens often recognized that local government officials actually were not doing their jobs or they were corrupt. In some cases, the central government, sought out the information from these local groups and when citizens pointed out malfeasance, and when it considered it politically beneficial, replaced the former local government officials with new personnel who followed the rules and were responsive.

This is the way a democratic government is supposed to work and so, our respondents told us, when ineffective local officials were replaced the process was very positive. The problem for the government was that it also caused citizens to see that there was an analysis at work. The process helped them to understand in a new light, interactions they experienced that were highly contextualized and specific to the particular issue and project. Suddenly they realized that the same analysis could be applied to other projects and questions they had based on working in their own domain could be asked about other areas of social service.

Voter education programs became dangerous to the national government because they created forums and a process of discussion in which citizens generalized specific experiences so they gained a broader political awareness. They saw that specific government failures also were connected to the process of voting and election. Very quickly in 2005 there was a national upwelling of democratic discussion and political opposition to the government. In one sense this is what ought to happen in a democratic system.

From the standpoint of the authoritarian government this kind of democracy was very threatening. It began by negating the 2005 election results and arresting democratic opposition leaders. Then over the ensuing four years it passed a series of legislative measures that progressively limited free speech, freedom of the press, and freedom for civil society organizations to organize around certain issues to receive outside financial support. This is the authoritarian state situation in which Ethiopians now find themselves.

DISCUSSION

The historical narrative shows that nongovernmental organizations in Ethiopia have a significant and continuing presence and influence on society even though the Charities and Societies Law has forced them to give up grant funding and lay off many staff members. NGOs grew up and prospered as a by-product of a network of national leaders who continue to interact. Those leaders continue to interact with a large cadre of former employees located throughout the country whose values oppose the authoritarian style of the government. This means that there are many centers of interaction and of informal resource mobilization that continue to function despite elimination of the formal organizational structures that previously attracted and distributed resources.

One way of understanding this is to say that civil society is alive and well despite the coerciveness of the national state and despite the expectations of Western observers that government threats cause people to disengage from civil society (Hyden, G. and M. Hailemariam 2003). Our argument is that politically meaningful and economically productive networks persist outside of the reach of the state. The state may occasionally punish individuals who engage in specific acts or who are judged symbolically important in political terms. But a society like Ethiopia is so massive and the state infrastructure is so flimsy that it is simply impossible for the government to impose the kind of tight totalitarian control, even if that is its wish, that previously existed in the Soviet Union and in some other societies. The leaders we interviewed are able to maintain their networks and their bases of resources, which usually are in the form of social capital, in kind materials, and networks. Their networks

of power remain effective, stable, and outside the control of government. The situation, therefore, fits the conditions of a stable anarchy.

The narrative of this paper reveals three key social interaction factors that give presence to a rich civil society. First, there are a large numbers of leaders, of whom our NGO respondents are a sub-group, who have been deeply and intimately involved in the invention of state structures over the history of the current regime. Second, there are traditions of community projects and local cooperation that give Ethiopians cultural knowledge of governance skills necessary for democracy. Third, participation in development projects led by NGOs and Western governments and the national process of democratic education has led to political learning so that there is widespread knowledge of and commitment to processes of democracy among citizens. These three aspects together mean there is an extensive informal network of people and organizations committed to democracy. Citizens have learned skills and attitudes necessary for democracy and as long as those citizens remain resident in the country their knowledge about democracy and their commitment to its processes remain intact.

The fourth critical aspect of civil society is the Ethiopian diaspora community (Brinkerhoff 2009). As is true in many poor countries around the world, residents who have migrated elsewhere are relatively wealthy, send resources home, and are a respected sponsor group for local groups and organizations. Since these people are not constrained by the authoritarian government, they are inclined to push residents who remained behind to be active in civil projects.

When there is an authoritarian leader an additional factor is that a significant number of members in the overseas community are people who were expelled because of their civil society activities. In the case of Ethiopia this includes leaders of the 2005 pro-democracy movement as well as journalists who were expelled for their writings. Rather than following the pattern of economic migrants who simply want to make more money, political refugees generally would have preferred to continue living and being politically active in Ethiopia. Being forced to live overseas, they are active organizing refugee political organizations, forming alliances with ethnic groups that would have been antagonists at home, and establishing media institutions geared to inform both the diaspora and the community at home as well as writing for journalistic outlets in the electronic media that continue to be widely read back home. With wealth and motivation, the overseas community keeps the pressure on for civil society organizations to remain vital and for them to work on political change within the country[3].

A reality of globalization and the technological change that it has ushered in, is that countries cannot easily establish the sort of sovereignty that gives authoritarian rulers complete control over their population the way Stalin, for example, controlled the Soviet people. The government in a poor country like Ethiopia simply cannot control all of the ways people communicate and it cannot remove all politically thoughtful people from productive roles in society (Keck and Sikkink 1998). It needs their productive energy. Nor can the government shut down all communication from the committed ex-patriot community. Not only do those individuals manage to communicate with friends and family members within the country. They also lobby internationally against the government and help to mobilize both foreign governments and international human rights NGOs to put pressure on the national state.

CONCLUSION

We have argued that NGOs along with other actors like ethnic associations involve reservoirs of resources, social capital, and network ties that make them centers of organization that are independent of the state. While the state in Ethiopia is coercive and authoritarian it also is weak in the sense that it cannot provide services and in other ways make it present and significant in the daily lives of citizens. Many small, self-sufficient networks, some of them including NGOs of various sizes, are an alternative to the state. They serve both as a way of securing services and also developing a life style and an "ideology" of the community that makes the state distant, not particularly relevant, and not a friendly presence. In this sense, Ethiopian society is self-organizing and polycentric. This, in turn, makes it appropriate to call Ethiopia a stable anarchy rather than a state-centered, hierarchical society.

It also is apparent that a stable anarchy of the sort we have described can be a precursor to a full democracy. If we follow Weber's (1958; see also Marshall 1977) argument it is stable anarchy that provides the foundation for democracy. The multiplicity of strong institutions and interests, the possibility for some of them to become strong enough to challenge central authority and to provoke revolution, and the desire of bystanders to reduce conflict leads to democracy. Democracy in Weber is a legitimate governance system that institutionalizes conflict in the form of elections, allowing for orderly regime transitions without open, disruptive revolutionary conflicts. Democracy also requires that the governance system be open and tolerant of the pluralistic

system of groups that defines stable anarchy. Thus our account suggests that were the dictatorship the exists in Ethiopia to disappear, the stage is set for a strong democratic system based in civil society to assert itself. ⊙

---

[1] An earlier version of this paper titled "Democratic Governance in the Wake of Authoritarian Regimes: Ethiopia as a Case Example," was presented at meetings of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA), November 17-19, 2011, Toronto, Canada.

[2] According to a thorough study done by the Ethiopian Economic Policy Research Institute in 2002, the average holding for a family of six is about one hectare. See, Ethiopian Economic Association/Ethiopian Economic Policy Research Institute: "Land Tenure and Agricultural Development in Ethiopia." EEA/EEPRI Publications, October 2002. We learned in the field interviews for this project that it requires .5 hectare for a farm to support a family and that in the area we observed in Tigray average land holdings were .35 hectare, or too little land to support a family. In this way, the land reform system creates conditions of permanent food dependence for these families. See Lazaro, Fred De Sam (2010). "Ethiopia's Abundent Farming Investments Leave Many Still Hungry." *PBS Reports*, April 22. Special correspondent Fred de Sam Lazaro reports. <http://tinyurl.com/24uh5cq> [accessed May 14, 2010]. Also see Epstein, Helen (2010) "Cruel Ethiopia." May 13. <http://tinyurl.com/3ad7yg6> (accessed May 12, 2010).

[3] A little known fact is that remittances sent home by members of diaspora communities of all nationalities is by far the largest international aid funding source dwarfing all NGOs combined and all national governments combined. See *Hudson Institute, Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances 2010*, <http://tinyurl.com/p2fglyx>.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACHESON, N. ~ C. MILOFSKY (2008). "Peace Building and Participation in Northern Ireland: Local Social Movements and the Policy Process since the 'Good Friday' Agreement." *Ethnopolitics* 7 (1): 63-80.

—— (2011). "Derry Exceptionalism and an Organic Model of Sustained Dialog." In *Resolving Community Conflicts and Problems: Public Deliberation and Sustained Dialogue*, Roger A. Lohmann and Jon van Van Til (eds.) (Columbia UP).

BRATTON, M. (1989). "Beyond the state: Civil society and associational life in Africa." *World Politics* 41 (3): 407-430.

BRINKERHOFF, J.M. (2009). *Digital Diasporas. Identity and Transnational Engagement* (New York: Cambridge UP).

BUDRYS, G. (2013). *How Nonprofits Work* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers).

CLAY, J. ~ B. HOLCOMB (1986). *Politics and the Ethiopian Famine: 1984-1985* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).

COLEMAN, J.S. (1957) *Community Conflict* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press).

CUNNINGHAM, G. (2008). "Stimulating asset based and community driven development: Lessons from five communities in Ethiopia." Ch 11: 263-298 in A. Mathie and G. Cunningham, *From Clients to Citizens. Communities Changing the Course of Their Own Development* (Rugby, Warwickshire, UK: Practical Publishing).

EPSTEIN, H. (2010) "Cruel Ethiopia." May 13, <http://bit.ly/1ahOAge> (accessed May 12, 2010).

ETHIOPIAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION/ETHIOPIAN ECONOMIC POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE (2002). "Land Tenure and Agricultural Development in Ethiopia" (EEA/EEPRI Publications, October).

FEMIA, J.V. (1981). *Gramsci's Political Thought. Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process* (Oxford, GB.: Clarenden Press of Oxford UP).

GILLIGAN, D.O., J. HODDINOTT, N.R. KUMAR, AND A. S. TAFFESSE (December 2008). *The Impact of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Net Programme and its Linkages*. (Washington, DC: International Food Policy Institute, < http://bit.ly/14apHyf>.

—— (June 30, 2009). "An Impact Evaluation of Ethiopia's Productive Safety Nets Program" (Washington, DC: International Food Policy Institute).

GRANOVETTER, M. (1985). "Economic action and social structure: The problem of embeddedness", *American Journal of Sociology* 91 (3): 481-510.

HARVEY, D. (2011). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. (New York: Oxford UP).

HAYEK, F.A. (1979). *Law, Legislation, and Liberty. A New Statement of the Liberal Principles of Justice and Political Economy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), *Afrika Spectrum* 2: 215-234 (downloaded from JSTOR 29 April 2013).

HIRSHLEIFER, J. (1995). "Anarchy and its breakdown", *J Political Economy* 103 (1):26-52.

HODINOTT, J.; S. DERCON; AND P. KRISHNAN (2005). "Networks and Informal Mutual Support in 15 Ethiopian Villages" (Washington, DC: Food Policy Institute).

HUDSON INSTITUTE (2011). *Hudson Institute, Index of Global Philanthropy and Remittances 2010*, <http://bit.ly/10nmn5U> (Accessed May 23, 2013).

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH (2010). *One Hundred Ways of Putting Pressure. Violations of Freedom of Expression and Association in Ethiopia,* <http://bit.ly/124ptWl> (Accessed March 24, 2013).

HYDEN, G. AND M. HAILEMARIAM (2003). "Voluntarism and civil society in Ethiopia in comparative perspective", *Africa Spectrum* 38: 215-234. (Accessed from JSTOR, April 29, 2013).

KECK, M. E. AND SIKKINK K. (1998). *Activists Beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics.* (Ithaca: Cornell UP).

KRIPPNER, G. R. AND A.S. ALVAREZ. (2007). "Embeddedness and the Intellectual projects of Economic Sociology" *Annual Review of Sociology* 13: 219-240.

LAZARO, F. DE SAM (2010). "Ethiopia's Abundent Farming Investments Leave Many Still Hungry" *PBS Reports*,

April 22. Special correspondent Fred de Sam Lazaro reports, <http://to.pbs.org/1bJVgBL> (Accessed May 14, 2010).

Leeson, P.T. (2008). "Coordination without Command: Stretching the scope of spontaneous order" *Public Choice* 135: 67-78.

Lewis, D. (2007). *The Management of Non-governmental Development Organizations* (2nd ed.) (Milton Park, UK, and New York: Routledge).

Lipset, S. M. (1950; 1971). *Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan: A Study in Political Sociology*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.)

Lipset, S. M., M. Trow, and J. S. Coleman (1956). *Union Democracy. The Internal Politics of the International Typographer's Union* (New York: Free Press).

MacGaffey, J. (1994). "Civil society in Zaire: Hidden resistance and the use of personal ties in class struggle": 170-188 in J. Harbeson, D. Rothschild, and N. Chazon (eds.), *Civil Society and the State in Africa* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Pub).

Marshall, T.H. (1977). *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Milofsky, C. (1987). «Neighborhood based organizations: A market Analogy», Ch 16: 277-295 in *The Nonprofit Sector. A Research Handbook,* W.W.Powell (ed.) (New Haven: Yale UP).

—— (2008). *Smallville. The Institutionalization of Community in Twenty-First Century America* (Medford, MA: University Press of New England).

—— (2012). "Suppression of civil society in Ethiopia." Blog, <http://bit.ly/11RqntC> (Accessed 23 May 2013).

Nega, B. (2010). "Identity politics and the struggle for liberty and democracy in Ethiopia." Paper prepared for the Oromo Studies Association (OSA) 24th Annual Conference, Howard University, Washington, D.C. July 31-August 1.

Nega, B. and C. Milofsky (2011). "Ethiopia's Anti-NGO law and its consequences for economic development." *Community Development Journal* 46 (52): ii33-ii48.

Plaut, M. (2010). "Aid for Arms in Ethiopia." BBC World Service, *Assignment*. March 7. <http://tinyurl.com/yeo3o6r> (Accessed May 13, 2010) (audio programme), <http://bbc.in/18NzpgC> (accessed April 17, 2011 – news story).

Putnam, R.D. (1993). *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP).

—— (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York, London, Simon & Schuster).

Schneider, J.A. (1988). *In the Big Village: Economic Adjustment and Identity Formation for Eastern European Refugees in Philadelphia.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Graduate Board, Department of Anthropology).

Weber, M. (1958). *The City* (ed. and trans. Don Maartindale and Gertrud Neuwirth) (New York: Free Press).

Wiewel, W. ~ A.D. Hunter (1985). "The interorganizational network as a resource: a comparative case study on organizational genesis." *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 30: 482-96.

Pendant Icon, 17th–18th century, Ethiopia, Anharic wood, tempera paint, 9.53 x 6.96 cm, The Metropolitan Museum, New York.

AN ANARCHISTIC UNDERSTANDING

OF THE SOCIAL ORDER: ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE, AND A PLACE FOR THE SCIENCES

ANDREW GAVIN MARSHALL

Andrew Gavin Marshall is a 26-year old researcher and writer based in Montreal, Canada. He is Project Manager of The People's Book Project, chair of the Geopolitics Division of The Hampton Institute, research director for Occupy.com's Global Power Project, and hosts a weekly podcast show with BoilingFrogsPost.

For roughly five hundred years, Indigenous peoples have been struggling against the dominant institutions of society, against imperialism, colonialism, exploitation, impoverishment, segregation, racism, and genocide. The struggle continues today under the present world social order and against the dominant institutions of 'neoliberalism' and globalization: the state, corporations, financial institutions and international organizations. Indigenous communities continue to struggle to preserve their cultural identities, languages, histories, and the continuing theft and exploitation of their land. Indigenous resistance against environmental degradation and resource extraction represents the most direct source of resistance against a global environmental crisis which threatens to lead the species to extinction. It is here that many in the scientific community have also taken up the cause of resistance against the destruction of the global environment. While Indigenous and scientific activism share similar objectives in relation to environmental issues, there is a serious lack of convergence between the two groups in terms of sharing knowledge, organizing, and activism.

Indigenous groups are often on the front lines of the global environmental crisis – at the point of interaction (or extraction) – they resist against the immediate process of resource extraction and the environmental devastation is causes to their communities and society as a whole. The continued repression, exploitation and discrimination against Indigenous peoples have made the struggle – and the potential consequences of failure – significantly more problematic. This struggle has been ongoing for centuries, and as the species heads toward extinction – as it is along our current trajectory – Indigenous peoples will be on the front lines of that process. Many in the scientific community have been struggling for decades to address major environmental issues. Here, the focus is largely on the issue of climate change, and the approach has largely been to work through institutions in order to create enough pressure to reform. Yet, after decades of organizing through academic and environmental organizations, lobbying governments, corporations and international organizations, progress has been slow and often ineffectual, with major international conferences being hyped up but with little concrete results. Indigenous peoples continue to struggle against the dominant institutions while many in the scientific community continue to struggle within the dominant institutions, though their objectives remain similar.

A major problem and disparity becomes clear: Indigenous peoples – among the most repressed and exploited in the world – are left to struggle directly against the most powerful institutions in the world (states and transnational corporations), while many in the sciences – an area of knowledge which has and continues to hold enormous potential to advance the species – attempt to convince those powerful institutions to profit less at exactly the point in history when they have never profited more. Indigenous communities remain largely impoverished, and the scientific community remains largely dependent for funding upon the very institutions which are destroying the environment: states, corporations and international organizations. Major barriers to scientific inquiry and research can thus be established if the institutions feel threatened, if they choose to steer the sciences into areas exclusively designed to produce 'profitable' forms of knowledge and technology. As humanity enters a critical stage – perhaps the most critical we have ever faced as a species – it is important to begin to acknowledge, question, and change the institutional contradictions and constraints of our society.

It seems only logical that a convergence between Indigenous and scientific activism, organization, and the sharing of knowledge should be encouraged and facilitated. Indeed, the future of the species may depend upon it. This paper aims to encourage such a

convergence by applying an anarchistic analysis of the social order as it relates to environmental degradation, specifically at the point of interaction with the environment (the source of extraction). In classifying this as an *anarchistic* analysis, I simply mean that it employs a highly critical perspective of hierarchically organized institutions. This paper does not intend to discuss in any detail the issue of climate change, since that issue is largely a *symptom* of the problem, which at its source is how the human social order interacts directly with the environment: extraction, pollution, degradation, exploitation and destruction at the *point of interaction*.

This analysis will seek to critically assess the actions and functions of states, corporations, international organizations, financial institutions, trade agreements and markets in how they affect the environment, primarily at the *point of interaction*. It is also at this point where Indigenous peoples are taking up the struggle against environmental degradation and human extinction. Through an anarchistic analysis of Indigenous repression and resistance at the *point of interaction* between the modern social order and the environment (focusing primarily on examples from Canada), this paper hopes to provide encouragement to those in the scientific community seeking to address environmental issues to increase their efforts in working with and for the direct benefit of Indigenous peoples. There exists an historical injustice which can and must be rectified: the most oppressed and exploited peoples over the past five hundred years of a Western-dominated world are on the front lines of struggling for the survival of the species as a whole. Modern science – which has done so much to advance Western 'civilization' – can and should make Indigenous issues a priority, not only for their sake, but for the species as a whole. Indeed, it is a matter of survival for the sciences themselves, for they will perish with the species. An anarchistic analysis of the social order hopes to encourage a convergence between Indigenous and scientific knowledge and activism as it relates to resolving the global environmental crisis we now face.

GLOBAL CORPORATE POWER

Corporations are among the most powerful institutions in the world. Of the top 150 economies in 2010, 58% were corporations, with companies like Wal-Mart, Royal Dutch Shell, ExxonMobil, and BP topping the charts[1]. According to *Fortune*'s Global 500 list published in 2012, the top ten corporations in the world were: Royal Dutch Shell, ExxonMobil, Wal-Mart, BP, Sinopec Group, China National Petroleum, State Grid, Chevron, ConocoPhillips, and Toyota Motor[2]. The Global 500 corporations posted record revenues for 2011 at USD 29.5 trillion, up 13.2% from the previous year. Eight of the top ten conglomerates were in the energy sector, with the oil industry alone generating USD 5 trillion in sales, approximately 17% of the total sales of the Global 500. The second largest sector represented in the Global 500 was commercial banks, followed by the auto industry[3].

> A scientific study conducted by the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich analyzed the 'network of control' wielded through 43,000 transnational corporations (TNCs), identifying "a relatively small group of companies, mainly banks, with disproportionate power over the global economy." The researchers identified a 'core' of 1,318 companies which owned roughly 80% of the global revenues for the entire network of 43,000 TNCs. Above the core, the researchers identified a 'super-entity' of 147 tightly-knit corporations – primarily banks and financial institutions – collectively owning each other's shares and 40% of the wealth in the total network. One researcher commented, "In effect, less than 1 per cent of the companies were able to control 40 per cent of the entire network[4]."

Writing in the *Financial Times*, a former US Treasury Department official, Robert Altman, referred to financial markets as "a global supra-government," explaining:

> They oust entrenched regimes where normal political processes could not do so. They force austerity, banking bail-outs and other major policy changes. Their influence dwarfs multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund. Indeed, leaving aside unusable nuclear weapons, they have become the most powerful force on earth[5].

The "global supra-government" of financial markets push countries around the world into imposing austerity measures and structural reforms, which have the result of benefitting the "super-entity" of global corporate power. The power and wealth of these institutions have rapidly accelerated in the past three decades of neoliberal 'reforms' promoting austerity, liberalization, deregulation, privatization and financialization. Neoliberal ideology was politically championed by Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain, but was largely imposed upon the so-called 'Third World' (Latin America, Asia, and Africa) through major international organizations like the World Bank and the IMF. The results of this massive transfer of wealth and power to an increasingly connected and small fraction of the world's population have been devastating for humanity and the world as a whole. This process guided by neoliberal dogma has been most often referred to as 'globalization.'

As the 1980s debt crisis gripped the 'Third World,' the IMF and World Bank came to the 'rescue' with newly designed loan agreements called 'Structural Adjustment Programs' (SAPs). In return for a loan from these institutions, countries would have to adhere to a set of rigid conditions and reforms, including austerity measures (cutting public spending), the liberalization of trade, privatization, deregulation, and currency devaluation[6]. The United States controls the majority shares of both the World Bank and IMF, while the US Treasury Department and Federal Reserve work very closely with the IMF and its staff[7]. If countries did not adhere to IMF and World Bank 'conditions,' they would be cut off from international markets, since this process was facilitated by "unprecedented co-operation between banks from various countries under the aegis of the IMF[8]." The conditions essentially opened up the borrowing countries to economic imperialism by the IMF, World Bank, and transnational corporations and financial institutions, which were able to gain access and control over the resources and labour markets of poor countries. Thus, the 1980s has been known as the "lost decade of development," as many 'Third World' countries became poorer between 1980 and 1990[9]. Joseph Stiglitz, a former chief economist at the World Bank, wrote that, "such conditions were seen as the intrusion by the new colonial power on the country's own sovereignty[10]."

The structural adjustment programs imposed upon the Third World devastated the poor and middle classes of the borrowing countries, often resulting in mass protests against austerity[11]. In fact, between 1976 and 1992, there were 146 protests against IMF-sponsored austerity measures in 39 different countries, including demonstrations, strikes and riots. The governments, in response, would often violently repress protests[12]. The government elites were often more integrated with and allied to the powerful institutions of the global economy, and would often act as domestic enforces for the demands of international banks and corporations. For many countries imposing structural adjustment programs around the world, authoritarian governments were common[13]. The IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programs also led to the massive growth of slums around the world, to the point where there are now over a billion people living in urban slums (approximately one out of every seven people on earth)[14].

Further, the indebted nations of the Third World became increasingly indebted to the powerful financial institutions and states of the industrial world the more loans they took. The wealthy elites within the Third World plunder the domestic wealth of their countries in cooperation with global elites, and send their money into Western banking institutions (as 'capital flight') as their domestic populations suffer in poverty. The IMF and World Bank programs helped facilitate capital flight through the deregulation and 'liberalization' of markets, as well as through the opening up of the economies to unhindered exploitation. Some researchers recently compared the amount of money in the form of aid and loans going into Africa compared to that coming leaving Africa in the form of capital flight and interest payments on debt, and found that "sub-Saharan Africa is a net creditor to the rest of the world by a substantial margin." The external debt owed by 33 sub-Saharan African countries to the rest of the world in 2008 stood at USD 177 billion. Between 1970 and 2008, capital flight from those same 33 African countries amounted to USD 944 billion. Thus, "the rest of the world owes more to these African countries than they owe to the rest of the world[15]."

The neoliberal ideology of 'profit before people' – enforced by the dominant states, corporations, banks and international organizations – has led to a world of extreme inequality, previously established by centuries of empire and colonialism, and rapidly accelerated in the past three decades. As of 2004, one in every three human deaths was due to poverty-related causes. In the twenty years following the end of the Cold War, there were approximately 360 million preventable deaths caused by poverty-related issues. Billions of people go hungry, lack access to safe drinking water, adequate shelter, medicine, and electricity. Nearly half of humanity – approximately 3.1 billion people as of 2010 – lives below the USD 2.50/day poverty line. It would take roughly USD 500 billion – approximately 1.13% of world income (or two-thirds of the US military budget) – to lift these 3.1 billion people out of extreme poverty. The top 1% own 40% of the world's wealth, while the bottom 60% hold less than 2% of the world's wealth. As Thomas Pogge wrote, "we are now at the point where the world is easily rich enough in aggregate to abolish all poverty," but we are "choosing to prioritize other ends instead." Roughly 18 million people die from poverty-related causes every year, half of whom are children under the age of five. Pogge places significant blame for these circumstances upon the "global institutional arrangements that foreseeably and avoidably increase the socioeconomic inequalities that cause poverty to persist [...] [policies which] are designed by the more powerful governments for the benefit of their most powerful industries, corporations, and citizens[16]."

In 2013, Oxfam reported that the fortunes made by the richest 100 people in the world over the course

of 2012 (USD 240 billion) would have been enough to lift the world's poorest people out of poverty four times over. An Oxfam executive, Barbara Stocking, noted that this type of extreme wealth – which saw the world's richest 1% increase their income by 60% in the previous twenty years – is "economically inefficient, politically corrosive, socially divisive and environmentally destructive [...] We can no longer pretend that the creation of wealth for few will inevitably benefit the many – too often the reverse is true[17]." A study by the Tax Justice Network in 2012 found that the world's superrich had hidden between USD 21 and 32 trillion in offshore tax havens, meaning that inequality was "much, much worse than official statistic show," and that "for three decades extraordinary wealth has been cascading into the offshore accounts of a tiny number of superrich," with the top 92,000 of the world's superrich holding at least USD 10 trillion in offshore accounts[18].

THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF INEQUALITY

The human social order – dominated by states, corporations, banks and international organizations – have facilitated and maintained enormous inequality and poverty around the world, allowing so few to control so much, while the many are left with little. This global social and economic crisis is exacerbated by the global environmental crisis, in which the same institutions that dominate the global social order are simultaneously devastating the global environment to the point where the future of the species hangs in the balance.

Just as the dominant institutions put 'profit before people,' so too do they put profit before the environment, predicating human social interaction with the environment on the ideology of 'markets': that what is good for corporations will ultimately be good for the environment. Thus, the pursuit of 'economic growth' can continue unhindered – and in fact, should be accelerated – even though it results in massive environmental degradation through the processes of resource extraction, transportation, production and consumption[19].

Trading arrangements and agreements between the powerful rich nations and the 'periphery' poor nations allow for the dominant institutions to exploit their economic and political influence over weaker states, taking much more than they give[20]. These trading relationships effectively allow the rich countries to offshore (or export) their environmental degradation to poor countries, treating them as exploitable resource extraction sources. As the resources of poor nations are extracted and exported to the rich nations, the countries are kept in poverty (with the exception of their elites who collude with the powerful countries and corporations), and the environmental costs associated with the high consumption societies of the industrial world are ultimately offshored to the poor countries, at the *point of interaction*[21]. Thus, international trade separates the societies of consumption from the effects of extraction and production, while the poor nations are dependent upon exports and exploiting their cheap labour forces[22]. This process has been termed *ecological unequal exchange*[23].

Between the mid-1970s and mid-1990s, the majority of the world's non-renewable resources were transferred from poor to rich nations, accelerating in volume over time (due to technological advancements), while decreasing in costs (to the powerful nations). Thus, between 1980 and 2002, the costs of resource extraction declined by 25% while the volume of resource extraction increased by more than 30%. Environmentally destructive processes of resource extraction in mining and energy sectors have rapidly accelerated over the past few decades, resulting in increased contamination of soils, watersheds and the atmosphere. Negative health effects for local populations accelerate, primarily affecting Indigenous, poor and/or migrant populations, who are subjected to excessive pollutants and industrial waste at nearly every part of the process of extraction, production and transportation of resources and goods[24].

In an examination of 65 countries between 1960 and 2003, researchers found that the rich countries "externalized" the environmentally destructive consequences of resource over-use to poor, periphery nations and populations, thus "assimilating" the environments of the less-developed nations into the economies of the powerful states, disempowering local populations from having a say in how their resources and environments are treated[25]. Rich societies consume more than can be sustained from their own internal resource wealth, and thus, they must "appropriate" resource wealth from abroad by 'withdrawing' the resources in environmentally destructive (and thus, more economically 'efficient') ways. Apart from ecologically destructive 'withdrawals,' the rich nations also facilitate ecologically destructive 'additions,' in the form of pollution and waste which cause environmental and health hazards for the poor societies. This is facilitated through various trading arrangements (such as the development of Export Processing Zones), consisting of minimal to no environmental regulations, cheap labour and minimal restrictions on corporate activities[26].

While Japan and Western Europe were able to reduce the amount of pollutants and 'environmental additions' they made within their own societies between

1976 and 1994, they accelerated their 'additions' in waste and pollutants to the poor countries with which they traded, "suggesting a progressive off-shoring over the period onto those peripheral countries" not only of labour exploitation, but of environmental degradation[27]. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) by transnational corporations has been linked to extensive environmental hazards within the countries in which they are 'investing,' including growth in water pollution, infant mortality, pesticide use, and the use of chemicals which are often banned in the rich nations due to high toxicity levels and dangers to health and the environment, and greater levels of carbon dioxide emissions. Indeed, between 1980 and 2000, the total anthropogenic CO2 emissions from the rich countries increased by 21%, while over the same period of time in the poor countries it more than doubled. While forested areas in the rich nations increased by less than 1% between 1990 and 2005, they declined by 6% over the same period of time in poor countries, contributing to soil erosion, desertification, climate change and the destruction of local and regional ecosystems[28].

According to an analysis of 268 case studies of tropical forest change between 1970 and 2000, researchers found that deforestation had shifted from being directed by states to being directed and implemented by corporations and 'economic' interests across much of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. This was largely facilitated by the IMF and World Bank agreements which forced countries to reduce their public spending, and allowed for private economic interests to obtain unprecedented access to resources and markets. The rate of deforestation continued, it simply shifted from being state-led to "enterprise driven[29]."

Using a sample of some sixty nations, researchers found that IMF and World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) were associated with higher levels of deforestation than in countries which did not sign the SAP agreements, as they allowed rich nations and corporations to "externalize their forest loss" to poor nations. Further, "economic growth" as defined by the World Bank and IMF was related to increased levels of deforestation, leading the researchers to acknowledge that, "economic growth adversely impacts the natural environment[30]." World Bank development loans to countries (as separate from structural adjustment loans) have also been linked to increased rates of deforestation in poor nations, notably higher rates than those which exist in countries not receiving World Bank loans[31].

Military institutions and armed warfare also have significant environmental impacts, not simply by engaging in wars, but simply by the energy and resources required for the maintenance of large military structures. As one US military official stated in the early 1990s, "We are in the business of protecting the nation, not the environment[32]." While the United States is the largest consumer of energy among nations in the world, the Pentagon is "the world's largest [institutional] consumer of energy[33]." The combination of US tanks, planes and ships consume roughly 340,000 barrels of oil per day (as of 2007)[34]. Most of the oil is consumed by the Air Force, as jet fuel accounted for roughly 71% of the entire military's oil consumption[35].

Nations with large militaries also use their violent capabilities "to gain disproportionate access to natural resources[36]." Thus, while the US military may be the largest single purchaser and consumer of energy in the world, one of its primary functions is to secure access to and control over energy resources. In an interview with two McKinsey & Company consultants, the Pentagon's first-ever assistant secretary of defense for operational energy and programs, Sharon E. Burke, stated bluntly that, "My role is to promote the energy security of our military operations," including by increasing the "security of supply[37]."

In a study of natural resource extraction and armed violence, researchers found that, "armed violence is associated with the extraction of many critical and noncritical natural resources, suggesting quite strongly that the natural resource base upon which industrial societies stand is constructed in large part through the use and threatened use of armed violence." Further, when such armed violence is used in relation to gaining access to and control over natural resources, "it is often employed in response to popular protest or rebellion against these activities." Most of this violence is carried out by the governments of poor nations, or by mercenaries or rebels, which allows for distancing between the rich nations and corporations which profit from the plundering of resources from the violent means of gaining access to them. After all, the researcher noted, "other key drivers of natural resource exploitation, such as the IMF, World Bank, WTO, and global marketplace, cannot, on their own, guarantee core nation access to and control over vital natural resources[38]." Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, the United States – and other powerful nations – and the major arms companies within them are the largest arms dealers in the world[39].

It is clear that for scientists – and anyone else – interested in addressing major environmental issues, the source of the problem lies in the very structure and function of our dominant modern institutions, at the *point of interaction*. In short: through states, armed violence, banks and corporations, international organizations, trade agreements and global 'markets,' the environment has

become a primary target of exploitation and destruction. Resources fuel the wealth and power of the very institutions that dominate the world, and to maintain that power, they engage in incredibly destructive activities with negative consequences for the environment and the human species as a whole. The global environmental crisis is intimately related to the global social and economic crises of wealth inequality and poverty, labour exploitation, and 'economic growth.' To address the environmental crisis in a meaningful way, this reality must first be acknowledged. This is how an anarchistic understanding of the environmental crisis facing the world and humanity can contribute to advancing how we deal with these profound issues. For the sciences, the implications are grave: their sources of funding and direction for research are dependent upon the very institutions which are destroying the environment and leading humanity to inevitable extinction (if we do not change course). Advancing an anarchistic approach to understanding issues related to Indigenous repression and resistance to environmental degradation can help provide a framework through which those in the scientific community – and elsewhere – can find new avenues for achieving similar goals: the preservation of the environment and the species.

INDIGENOUS REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

Indigenous peoples in the Americas have been struggling against colonialism, exploitation, segregation, repression and even genocide for over 500 years. While the age of formal colonial empires has passed, the struggle has not. Today, Indigenous peoples struggle against far more powerful states than ever before existed, transnational corporations and financial institutions, international organizations, so-called "free trade" agreements and the global 'marketplace.' In an increasingly interconnected and globalized world, the struggle for Indigenous peoples to maintain their identity and indeed, even their existence itself, has been increasingly globalizing, but has also been driven by localized actions and movements.

Focusing upon Indigenous peoples in Canada, I hope to briefly analyze how Indigenous groups are repressed, segregated and exploited by the dominant institutions of an incredibly wealthy, developed, resource-rich and 'democratic' nation with a comparably 'good' international reputation. Further, by examining Indigenous resistance within Canada to the destruction of the natural environment, I hope to encourage scientists and other activists and segments of society who are interested in environmental protection to reach out to Indigenous communities, to share knowledge, organizing, activism, and objectives.

A LEGACY OF COLONIALISM

Historically, the Canadian government pursued a policy of 'assimilation' of Indigenous peoples for over a century through 'Indian residential schools,' in what ultimately amounted to an effective policy of "cultural genocide." In 1920, Canada's Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott bluntly explained: "I want to get rid of the Indian problem [...] Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politics and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department[40]."

The segregation, repression and exploitation of Indigenous communities within Canada is not a mere historical reality, it continues to present day. Part of the institutional repression of Indigenous peoples is the prevalence of what could be described as 'Third World' conditions within a 'First World' nation. Indigenous communities within Canada lack access to safe drinking water at a much higher rate than the general population[41]. Indigenous people and communities in Canada also face much higher levels of food insecurity, poverty, unemployment, poor housing and infant mortality than the rest of the population[42]. Accounting for roughly 4% of the population of Canada (approximately 1.2 million people as of 2006), Indigenous peoples also face higher rates of substance abuse, addiction, and suicide[43].

Indigenous people – and especially women – make up a disproportionate percentage of the prison population[44]. Further, as Amnesty International noted, "Indigenous women [in Canada] are five to seven times more likely than other women to die as a result of violence[45]." The Native Women's Association of Canada has documented roughly 600 cases of missing or murdered indigenous women in Canada, more than half of which have occurred since 2000, while Human Rights Watch reported that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in northern British Columbia had "failed to properly investigate the disappearance and apparent murders of [indigenous] women and girls in their jurisdiction[46]."

RESOURCE EXTRACTION, ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Industries seeking to develop land and extract resources are increasingly turning to Indigenous territories to

develop and seek profits on the land and environment upon which such communities are so often dependent for survival. At the *point of interaction* with the environment, Indigenous peoples are left to struggle with the damaging environmental and health consequences caused by state and corporate interests extracting resources and wealth from the land and environment.

The Alberta tar sands (or oil sands) is a primary example of this process. Many environmental, indigenous and human rights organizations consider the tar sands development as perhaps "the most destructive industrial project on earth." The United Nations Environmental Programme identified the project as "one of the world's top 100 hotspots of environmental degradation." The dense oil in the tar sands (diluted bitumen) has to be extracted through strip mining, and require enormous amounts of resources and energy simply to extract the reserves. It has been documented that for every one barrel of oil processed, three barrels of water are used, resulting in the creation of small lakes (called 'tailing ponds'), where "over 480 million gallons of contaminated toxic waste water are dumped daily." These lakes collectively "cover more than 50 square kilometres (12,000 acres) and are so extensive that they can be seen from space." The processing of the oil sands created 37% more greenhouse gas emissions than the extraction and processing of conventional oil[47].

While the United States consumes more oil than anywhere else on earth, Canada is the main supplier of foreign oil to the United States, exporting roughly 1.5 million barrels per day to the US (in 2005), approximately 7% of the daily consumption of oil in the US. The crude bitumen contained in the tar sands has been estimated at 1.7 trillion barrels, lying underneath an area within Alberta which is larger than the entire state of Florida and contains over 140,000 square km of boreal forest. In 2003, the United States Department of Energy officially acknowledged the reserves of crude bitumen in the Alberta tar sands, and elevated Canada's standing in world oil markets from the 21st most oil-rich nation on earth to the 2nd, with only Saudi Arabia surpassing[48].

Alberta's tar sands have attracted the largest oil companies on earth, including Royal Dutch Shell, ExxonMobil, BP, and Total S.A. Local indigenous communities thus not only have to struggle against the devastating environmental, health and social consequences caused by the tar sands development, but they also have to struggle against the federal and provincial governments, and the largest corporations on earth. The Athabasca River (located near the tar sands development) has been depleted and polluted to significant degrees, transforming the region "from a pristine environment rich in cultural and biological diversity to a landscape resembling a war zone marked with 200-foot-deep pits and thousands of acres of destroyed boreal forests." Indigenous peoples have been raising concerns over this project for years[49].

> Disproportionate levels of cancers and other deadly diseases have been discovered among a local Indigenous band, the Fort Chipewyan in Athabasca. These high levels of cancers and diseases are largely the result of the enormous amounts of land, air, and water pollution caused by the tar sands mining[50]. One Indigenous leader in Fort Chipewyan has referred to the tar sands development as a "slow industrial genocide[51]." As pipelines are planned to be expanded across Canada and the United States to carry tar sands oil, this will have devastating impacts for "indigenous communities not only in Canada, but across the continent[52]."
>
> Between 2002 and 2010, the pipeline network through Alberta experienced a rate of oil spills roughly sixteen times higher than in the United States, likely the result of transporting diluted bitumen (DilBit), which has not been commonly transported through the pipelines until recent years. In spite of the greater risks associated with transporting DilBit, the US agency responsible for overseeing the country's pipelines decided – in October of 2009 – to relax safety regulations regarding the strength of pipelines. In July of 2010, a ruptured Enbridge pipeline in Michigan spilled 800,000 gallons of DilBit, devastating the local communities in what the government referred to as the "worst oil spill in Midwestern history." In July of 2011, an Exxon pipeline spilled 42,000 gallons of DilBit into the Yellowstone River in Montana[53].

IDLE NO MORE: THE RISE OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE

In 2009, the Canadian Ministry of Indian Affairs and Northern Development announced the *Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development* which sought to "improve the participation" of Indigenous people "in the Canadian economy," primarily by seeking "to unlock the full economic potential of Aboriginal Canadians, their communities, and their businesses[54]." An updated report on the *Framework* in 2012 reaffirmed the intent "to modernize the lands and resource management regimes on reserve land in order to increase and unlock the value of Aboriginal assets[55]." As John Ibbitson wrote in the *Globe and Mail*, "businesses that want to unlock the economic potential of reserves, from real estate development to forestry and mining, need the legal certainty that a property regime makes possible[56]."

In late 2012, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper's Conservative Party introduced an omnibus Budget Bill (C-45) which amended several aspects of the Indian Act (without proper consultations with Indigenous groups). Bill C-45 also moved forward to "unlock" barriers to resource extraction, environmental degradation, and corporate profits with an amendment to the Navigable Waters Act, which dramatically reduced the number of protected lakes and rivers in Canada from 40,000 to 97 lakes, and from 2.5 million to 63 rivers[57].

Following the introduction of Bill C-45 to the Canadian Parliament, a group of four Indigenous women in the province of Saskatchewan held a "teach-in" to help increase awareness about the Bill, quickly followed by a series of rallies, protests and flash mobs where Indigenous activists and supporters engaged in 'round dances' in shopping malls, organized through social media networks like Twitter and Facebook. This sparked what became known as the 'Idle No More' movement, and on December 10, 2012, a National Day of Action took place, holding multiple rallies across the country. The immediate objectives of the Idle No More movement were to have the government "repeal all legislation that violates treaties [with Indigenous peoples], including those that affect environmental regulations," such as Bill C-45 and the previous omnibus Bill C-38. The longer-term objectives of the movement were to "educate and revitalize aboriginal peoples, empower them and regain sovereignty and independence[58]."

Pamela Palmater, a spokesperson for Idle No More and a Ryerson University professor noted that Indigenous people in Canada were opposing Bill C-45 "not just because it impacts their rights, but also because we know that it impacts the future generations of both treaty partners," referring to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. "The question," she added, "really should be whether Canadians will rise to protect their children's futures alongside First Nations[59]."

Theresa Spence, an Indigenous chief from a northern Ontario community (Attawapiskat) went on a hunger strike for 44 days to support Idle No More and raise awareness about a serious housing crisis in her community. Spence only ended her hunger strike upon being hospitalized and placed on an IV drip[60]. Her community of Attawapiskat had been experiencing a major housing crisis for a number of years, and in 2011, a state of emergence was declared in response to the fact that for over two years, many of the community's 1,800 residents were "living in makeshift tents and shacks without heat, electricity or indoor plumbing." James Anaya, a United Nations human rights expert expressed his "deep concern about the dire social and economic condition" of the Attawapiskat community to the Canadian government, which reflected a situation "akin to third world conditions[61]." The Conservative government of Stephen Harper (which came to power in 2006) blamed the crisis on the internal handling of funds within Attawapiskat, claiming that the government provided USD 90 million in funding for the community since 2006. However, analysis of the funds revealed that only USD 5.8 million in funding had gone toward housing over the course of five years. Meanwhile, estimates put the necessary funds to resolve the housing crisis alone at USD 84 million[62]. The former Minister for Aboriginal Affairs acknowledge that the government had known about the housing crisis for years, saying that it "has been a slow-moving train wreck for a long time[63]."

In 2005, the community of Attawapiskat had signed a contract with the international mining conglomerate De Beers to develop a diamond mine 90 km near their community. The mine officially opened in 2008, projecting a 12-year contribution to the Ontario economy of USD 6.7 billion[64]. In 2005, De Beers dumped its sewage sludge into the Attawapiskat community's lift station, causing a sewage backup which flooded many homes and exacerbated an already-developing housing crisis, followed by another sewage backup potentially caused by De Beers in 2008[65]. Afterward, the company donated trailers to the community to serve as "short-term emergency shelters," yet they remained in place even four years later[66].

As the Idle No More movement took off in late 2012 and early 2013, members of the Attawapiskat community undertook road blockades leading to the De Beers mine. The company sought a legal injunction against the protesters, and the blockade was ended just as a large number of police were headed to the community to "remove the barricades." After successfully blocking the fine from properly functioning for nearly twenty days, the company announced that it was considering taking legal action against the protesters[67].

The Idle No More mission statement called "on all people to join in a revolution which honors and fulfills Indigenous sovereignty which protects the land and water [...] Colonization continues through attacks to Indigenous rights and damage to the land and water. We must repair these violations, live the spirit and intent of the treaty relationship, work towards justice in action, and protect Mother Earth." The movement's manifesto further declared that, "the state of Canada has become one of the wealthiest countries in the world by using the land and resources. Canadian mining, logging, oil and fishing companies are the most powerful in the world due to land and resources. Some of the poorest First

Nations communities (such as Attawapiskat) have mines or other developments on their land but do not get a share of the profit[68]." As Pamela Palmater noted, Idle No More was unique, "because it is purposefully distances from political and corporate influence. There is no elected leader, no paid Executive Director, and no bureaucracy or hierarchy which determines what any person or First Nation can and can't do [...] This movement is inclusive of all our peoples[69]."

The Athabasca Chipewyan Indigenous band which had been struggling for years against the tar sands development were further mobilized with the eruption of Idle No More onto the national scene, including by establishing a blockade on Highway 63 leading to the tar sands development[70]. As Chipewyan chief Allan Adam noted, "The way I look at it, the First Nations people are going to cripple this country if things don't turn out [...] Industry is going to be the target." He also added: "We know for a fact that industry was the one that lobbied government to make this regulatory reform[71]." Indeed, this was no hyperbole.

THE STATE IN SERVICE TO CORPORATIONS

Greenpeace obtained – through access to information laws – a letter sent to the Canadian government's Environment minister and Natural Resources minister dated December of 2011, written by a group called the Energy Framework Initiative (EFI), representing the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, the Canadian Energy Pipeline Association, the Canadian Fuels Association, and the Canadian Gas Association. The letter sought "to address regulatory reform for major energy industries in Canada" in order to advance "both economic growth and environmental performance." It specifically referenced six laws that it wanted amended, including the National Energy Board Act, the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act, the Fisheries Act, the Species at Risk Act, Migratory Birds Convention Act, and the Navigable Waters Protection Act. Referring to many of these laws as "outdated," the letter criticized environmental legislation as "almost entirely focused on preventing bad things from happening rather than enabling responsible outcomes[72]."

Less than a month after receiving the letter, the Canadian Natural Resources Minister Joe Oliver lashed out at activists opposing the construction of Enbridge's Northern Gateway pipeline shipping oil from Alberta's tar sands to the B.C. coast for shipment to Asia, stating, "Unfortunately, there are environmental and other radical groups that would seek to block this opportunity to diversify our trade... Their goal is to stop any major project no matter what the cost to Canadian families in lost jobs and economic growth. No forestry. No mining. No oil. No gas. No more hydro-electric dams." Oliver went on, saying that such "radical groups" were threatening "to hijack our regulatory system to achieve their radical ideological agenda," and accused them of using funding from "foreign special interest groups[73]."

Documents from the energy industry revealed that big corporations advised the Harper government not to amend the many environmentally related acts separately, but to employ "a more strategic omnibus legislative approach," which resulted in the two omnibus bills over 2012, Bills C-38 and C-45, which included "hundreds of pages of changes to environmental protection laws [...] weakening rules that protect water and species at risk, introducing new tools to authorize water pollution, as well as restricting public participation in environmental hearings and eliminating thousands of reviews to examine and mitigate environmental impacts of industrial projects[74]." The energy industry got virtually everything it asked for in the two omnibus bills, including – as their letter to the Harper government suggested – reforming "issues associated with Aboriginal consultation[75]."

Documents from Environment Canada showed how the minister informed a group of energy industry representatives that the development of pipelines were "top-of-mind" as the government pursued "the modernization of our regulatory system." When the new legislation passed the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency announced that it has cancelled roughly 3,000 environmental assessments, including 250 reviews related to pipeline projects[76]. Other documents showed that at the same time the minister was informing energy corporations that he was serving their interests, he was to inform Indigenous leaders that any "changes to the government's environmental assessment or project approvals regime" were "speculative at this point" and that they would "respect our duties toward Aboriginal peoples[77]."

As the Harper government became the primary lobbyist for the Alberta tar sands, documents showed how the government compiled a list of "allies" and "adversaries" in its public relations campaign, referring to energy companies, Environment Canada and the National Energy Board as "allies" and the media, environmental and Indigenous groups as "adversaries[78]." The Canadian government even ran an "outreach program" where diplomats would attempt to secure support among American journalists for the Keystone XL pipeline project – taking oil from the Alberta tar sands to the Gulf Coast in the United States[79].

As the Canadian government revised its anti-terrorism strategy in early 2012, it listed "eco-extremists" alongside white supremacists as a threat to national security[80]. A review of Canadian security documents from the national police force (RCMP) and the Canadian Intelligence Agency (CSIS) revealed that the government saw environmental activism such as blockades of roads or buildings as "forms of attack" and "national security threats." Greenpeace was identified as "potentially violent," as it had become "the new normal now for Canada's security agencies to watch the activities of environmental organizations," noted one analyst[81].

IDLE NO MORE AND OIL PIPELINES

The government of Canada acknowledged in early 2013 that it expected – over the following decade – that there would be "a huge boom in Canadian natural resource projects," potentially worth USD 600 billion, which is foreseen to be taking place "on or near" Indigenous lands. One Indigenous chief in Manitoba warned that the Idle No More movement "can stop Prime Minister Harper's resource development plan and his billion-dollar plan to develop resources on our ancestral territory. We gave the warriors that are standing up now, that are willing to go that far[82]."

In an official meeting between the Harper government and the Assembly of First Nations in January of 2013, Indigenous 'leaders' presented a list of demands which included insuring there was a school in every indigenous community, a public inquiry into the missing and murdered Indigenous women, as well as several other very 'moderate' reforms. For the government, the objectives were much more specific, as internal documents revealed, written in preparation for Harper's meeting with Indigenous leaders. As one briefing memo stated, the government was working towards "removing obstacles to major economic development opportunities[83]."

For the Idle No More movement, which does not consider itself to be 'represented' by the Assembly of First Nations leaders, the objective is largely "to put more obstacles up," as Martin Lukacs wrote in the *Guardian*. Indigenous peoples, he noted, "are the best and last defense against this fossil fuel scramble," specifically in mobilizing opposition to "the three-fold expansion of one of the world's most carbon-intensive projects, the Alberta tar sands[84]."

In March of 2013, an alliance of Indigenous leaders from across Canada and the United States announced that they were "preparing to fight proposed new pipelines in the courts and through unspecified direct action," specifically referring to the Northern Gateway, Keystone XL and Kinder Morgan pipeline projects. One Indigenous leader at the formation of the alliance warned, "We're going to stop these pipelines one way or another." Another Indigenous leader commented: "We, as a nation, have to wake up [...] We have to wake up to the crazy decision that this government's making to change the world in a negative way[85]."

> The territories of the ten allied Indigenous groups "are either in the crude-rich tar sands or on the proposed pipeline routes." One Indigenous leader from northern British Columbia referred to the Canadian government, stating, "They've been stealing from us for the last 200 years [...] now they're going to destroy our land? We're not going to let that happen [...] If we have to go to court, if we have to stand in front of any of their machines that are going to take the oil through, we are going to do that. We're up against a wall here. We have nowhere else to go[86]."

Roughly one week after the Indigenous alliance was formed, an ExxonMobil pipeline carrying Alberta tar sands oil through the United States ruptured in the town of Mayflower, Arkansas, spilling thousands of barrels of oil into residential neighbourhoods and the surrounding environment. Exxon quickly moved in with roughly 600 workers to manage the cleanup and sign checks "to try to win over the townsfolk and seek to limit the fallout[87]." The United States Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) put in place a "no fly zone" over Mayflower, Arkansas, within days following the oil spill. The 'no fly zone' was being overseen by ExxonMobil itself, thus, as Steven Horn commented, "any media or independent observers who want to witness the tar sands spill disaster have to ask Exxon's permission[88]."

Between March 11 and April 9 of 2013 (in a span of roughly thirty days), there were 13 reported oil spills on three separate continents, with more than a million gallons of oil and other toxic chemicals spilled in North and South America alone. The oil spills included an Enbridge pipeline leak in the Northwest Territories in Canada (March 19), a tar sands 'tailing pond' belonging to Suncor leaking into the Athabasca River in Alberta (March 25), a Canadian Pacific Railway train derailment spilling tar sands oil in Minnesota (March 27), the Exxon spill in Mayflower (March 29), oil-based hydraulic fluid spilling into the Grand River from a power plant in Michigan (March 31), a CN Rail train derailment in Ontario (April 3), a drilling leak in Newfoundland (April 3), the Shell pipeline leak in Texas (April 3), a condensate spill at an Exxon refinery in Louisiana (April 4), and a pump station 'error' in Alaska (April 9)[89]. Another spill took place in June on Kinder Morgan's Trans Mountain pipeline in British Columbia,

one of the pipeline extensions being opposed by Indigenous groups[90].

Meanwhile, Stephen Harper was in New York in May, speaking to the highly influential US think tank, the Council on Foreign Relations, where he explained that the proposed Keystone XL pipeline "absolutely needs to go ahead," adding that it was "an enormous benefit to the US in terms of long-term energy security[91]." TransCanada, the company aiming to build the Keystone XL pipeline, along with the government of Alberta, hired a team of lobbyists with connections to the Obama administration and Secretary of State John Kerry in particular to pressure the US government to approve the pipeline[92]. In late April, the president of the American Petroleum Institute confidently declared, "When it's all said and done, the president will approve the pipeline[93]." In late May, the CEO of TransCanada said, "I remain extremely confident that we'll get the green light to build this pipeline[94]."

Leaders from 11 different Indigenous bands in the United States "stormed out" of a meeting in May being held with federal government officials in South Dakota in protest against the Keystone XL pipeline. The leaders criticized both the project and the Obama administration, with one leader commenting, "We find ourselves victims of another form of genocide, and it's environmental genocide, and it's caused by extractive industries." Another Indigenous leader who walked out of the meeting warned, "What the State Department, what President Obama needs to hear from us, is that we are going to be taking direct action[95]." TransCanada has even been supplying US police agencies with information about environmental activists and recommendations to pursue charges of "terrorism" against them, noting that the company feared such "potential security concerns" as protests, blockades, court challenges, and even "public meetings[96]."

While Indigenous communities in Canada and elsewhere are among the most repressed and exploited within our society, they are also on the front lines of resistance against environmentally destructive practices undertaken by the most powerful institutions in the world. As such, Indigenous groups are not only standing up for environmental issues, but for the future of the species as a whole. With the rapidly accelerating 'development' of the tar sands, and the increasing environmental danger of huge new pipelines projects, resistance to how our modern society treats the environment is reaching new heights. Indigenous organizing – much of which is done along anarchistic ideas (such as with the Idle No More movement) – is presenting an unprecedented challenge to institutional power structures. Thus, there is an increased need for environmentalists, scientists, and others who are interested in joining forces with Indigenous groups in the struggle against environmental degradation and the potential extinction of the species. In Canada, there is an even greater impetus for scientists to join forces with Indigenous communities, for there is a state-sponsored assault upon environmental sciences that threaten to devastate the scientific community in the very near term.

THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT'S ATTACK ON ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCE

Since Stephen Harper's Conservative government came to power in 2006, there has been a steady attack upon the sciences, particularly those related to environmental issues, as the government cuts funding for major programs and implements layoffs. One major facet of this attack has been the 'muzzling' of Canadian scientists at international conferences, discussions with the media, and the publication of research. At one conference hosted in Canada, scientists working for Environment Canada were forced to direct all media inquiries through the public relations department in an effort "to intimidate government scientists[97]." Under new government guidelines, scientists working for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) cannot publish material until it is reviewed by the department "for any concerns/impacts to DFO policy." The Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) expressed in a letter to Stephen Harper their "deep dismay and anger at your government's attack on the independence, integrity and academic freedom of scientific researchers[98]." Hundreds of Canadian scientists marched on Parliament Hill in July of 2012 in what they called a "funeral procession" against the government's "systematic attack on science[99]."

One of the world's leading science journals, *Nature*, published an editorial in March of 2012 calling on the Canadian government to stop muzzling and "set its scientists free[100]." Journalists requesting interviews with Canadian government scientists on issues related to the Arctic or climate change have had to go through public relations officials, provide questions in advance, adhere to "boundaries for what subjects the interview could touch upon," and have a PR staffer "listen in on the interviews[101]."

Dozens of government agencies and programs related to environmental sciences have had their budgets slashed, scientists fired, or were discontinued altogether[102]. The Environmental Law Centre at the University of Victoria lodged a formal complaint with Canada's Federal Information Commissioner about the muzzling of

scientists, outlining multiple examples "of taxpayer-funded science being suppressed or limited to pre-packaged media lines across six different government departments and agencies." Natural Resources Canada now requires "pre-approval" from the government before any scientists give interviews on topics such as "climate change" or the "oilsands[103]."

The attack upon the sciences is part of the Harper government's 2007 strategy, *Mobilizing Science and Technology to Canada's Advantage*, which directed "a major shift away from scientific goals to economic and labour-market priorities," aiming to focus on science and research which would be directly useful to industry and for commercial purposes. The Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC) has been steered by the government "toward industry-related research and away from environmental science." The government's minister of state for science and technology noted that the focus for research was to be on "getting those ideas out to our factory floors, if you will, making the product or process or somehow putting that into the marketplace and creating jobs[104]." Further, the National Research Council (NRC) was "to focus more on practical, commercial science and less on fundamental science" which wouldn't be as beneficial to corporate interests. The minister of state for science and technology, Gary Goodyear, announced it as "an exciting, new journey – a re-direction that will strengthen Canada's research and innovation ecosystem for many years to come." The president of the NRC noted that, "We have shifted the primary focus of our work at NRC from the traditional emphasis of basic research and discovery science in favour of a more targeted approach to research and development[105]."

As Stephen Harper said, "Science powers commerce," but apparently to Harper, that is all it should do, even though many scientists and academics disagree[106]. The implications should be obvious: just as society's interaction with the environment is unsustainable, so too is the dependency of the sciences upon those institutions which are destroying the environment unsustainable.

MOVING FORWARD

Regardless of one's position in society – as a member of an Indigenous group, an activist group, or within the scientific community – all of human society is facing the threat of extinction, accelerated by our destruction of the environment sourced at the *point of interaction* (the location of extraction) between the dominant institutions of our world and the natural world itself. Roughly half the world's population living in extreme poverty, with billions living in hunger, with poor access to safe drinking water, medicine and shelter, monumental disparities in wealth and inequality, the production and maintenance of unprecedented weapons of death and destruction, we are witnessing an exponentially accelerating plundering of resources and destruction of the environment upon which all life on Earth depends. If there has ever been a time in human history to begin asking big questions about the nature of our society and the legitimacy of the institutions and ideologies which dominate it, *this is it*.

An anarchistic understanding of the institutions and ideologies which control the world order reveals a society blinded by apathy as it nears extinction. The very same institutions which dictate the political, economic and social direction of our world are the very same ones destroying the environment to such an extent that the fate of the species is put at extreme risk. To not only continue – but to accelerate – down this path is no longer an acceptable course of action for humanity. It is time that socially segregated populations begin reaching out and working together, to share knowledge, organizational capacity, and engage in mutual action for shared objectives. With that in mind, it would appear to be beneficial not only for those involved – but for humanity as a whole – if Indigenous peoples and segments of the scientific community pursued the objective of protecting the environment together. Acknowledging this is easy enough, the hard part is figuring out the means and methods of turning that acknowledgement into action.

This is again where anarchist principles can become useful, emphasizing the creative capacity of many to contribute new ideas and undertake new initiatives working together as free individuals in collective organizations to achieve shared objectives. This is not an easy task, but it is a necessary one. The very future of humanity may depend upon it.

---

[1] Tracey S. Keys and Thomas W. Malnight, "Corporate Clout Distributed: The Influence of the World's Largest 100 Economic Entities," *Global Trends*, 2012.

[2] Fortune, Global 500, *CNN Money*, 23 July 2012, <http://cnnmon.ie/168JfnW>.

[3] Richard McGill Murphy, "The Global 500: No borders, no boundaries," *CNN Money*, 9 July 2012, <http://bit.ly/14aihuW>.

[4] Andy Coghlan and Debora MacKenzie, "Revealed – the capitalist network that runs the world," *New Scientist*, 24 October 2011, <http://bit.ly/11InJTD>.

[5] Roger Altman, "We need not fret over omnipotent markets," *The Financial Times*, 1 December 2011, <http://on.ft.com/1bJNOGA>.

[6] Robert O'Brien and Marc Williams, *Global Political Economy: Evolution and Dynamics*, 2nd ed., (New York: Palgravek Macmillan, 2007): 224.

[7] Alberto Paloni and Maurizio Zanardi, eds, *The IMF, World Bank and Policy Reform* (New Your: Routledge, 2006): 4.

[8] Stephen Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1990): 114.

[9] Robert O'Brien and Marc Williams, Op. Cit.: 224.

[10] Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents* (New York: Norton, 2003): 44-46.

[11] Juha Y. Auvinen, "IMF Intervention and Political Protest in the Third World: A Conventional Wisdom Refined," *Third World Quarterly* 17(3), 1996: 377.

[12] Firoze Manji and Carl O'Coill, "The Missionary Position: NGOs and Development in Africa," *International Affairs* 78(3) 2002: 578.

[13] Ernest Harsch, "Structural Adjustment and Africa's Democracy Movements," *Africa Today* 40(4) 1993: 14.

[14] Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (Verso: London, 2007): 151-173.

[15] Léonce Ndikumana and James K. Boyce, *Africa's Odious Debts: How Foreign Loans and Capital Flight Bled a Continent* (Zed Books: London, 2011): 53-54.

[16] Thomas Pogge, "Keynote Address: Poverty, Climate Change, and Overpopulation," *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 38, 2010: 526-534.

[17] Phillip Inman, "Billionaires' fortunes hinder fight against poverty, says Oxfam," *The Guardian*, 19 January 2013, <http://bit.ly/1bJO2gR>.

[18] Heather Stewart, "Wealth doesn't trickle down – it just floods offshore, research reveals," *The Observer*, 21 July 2012, <http://bit.ly/17dEKx0>.

[19] Andrew K, Jorgenson and Brett Clark, "Societies consuming nature: A panel study of the ecological footprints of nations, 1960-2003," *Social Science Research* 40, 2011: 226-228.

[20] James Rice, "The Transnational Organization of Production and Uneven Environmental Degradation and Change in the World Economy," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 50(3-4) 2009: 219.

[21] Andrew K, Jorgenson and Brett Clark, "Societies consuming nature: A panel study of the ecological footprints of nations, 1960-2003," *Social Science Research* 40, 2011: 228-229.

[22] Andrew K. Jorgenson, "Unequal Ecological Exchange and Environmental Degradation: A Theoretical Proposition and Cross-National Study of Deforestation, 1990-2000," *Rural Sociology* 71(4) December 2006: 690.

[23] James Rice, "The Transnational Organization of Production and Uneven Environmental Degradation and Change in the World Economy," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 50 (3-4) 2009: 221.

[24] James Rice, *Ibidem*: 223-225.

[25] Andrew K, Jorgenson and Brett Clark, Op. Cit.: 240.

[26] James Rice, "The Transnational Organization of Production and Uneven Environmental Degradation and Change in the World Economy," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Op. cit.: 226-227.

[27] James Rice, "The Transnational Organization of Production and Uneven Environmental Degradation and Change in the World Economy," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *Ibidem*: 228.

[28] Andrew K. Jorgenson, Christopher Dick and John M. Shandra, "World Economy, World Society, and Environmental Harm in Less-Developed Countries," *Sociological Inquiry* 81(1) February 2011: 53-54.

[29] Thomas K. Rudel, "Changing agents of deforestation: From state-initiated to enterprise driven processes, 1970-2000," *Land Use Policy* 24, 2007: 35-36, 40.

[30] John M. Shandra, Eric Shircliff, and Bruce London, "The International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and structural adjustment: A Cross-national analysis of forest loss," *Social Science Research* 40, 2011: 210-211, 221-223.

[31] John M. Shandra, Eric Shircliff and Bruce London, "World Bank lending and deforestation: A cross-national analysis," *International Sociology* 26 (3) 2011: 306.

[32] Andrew K, Jorgenson and Brett Clark, Op. Cit.: 229.

[33] Barack Obama, "President Obama's State of the Union Address," *The New York Times*, 24 January 2012, <http://nyti.ms/17dEONv>.

[34] Jeff Brady, "Military's Oil Needs Not Deterred by Price Spike," *NPR*, 14 November 2007, <http://n.pr/12A8aT3>.

[35] Peter Hoy, "The World's Biggest Fuel Consumer," *Forbes*, 5 June 2008, <http://onforb.es/17dEY7v>.

[36] Andrew K, Jorgenson and Brett Clark, Op. Cit.: 230.

[37] Tim Ash and Andrew Erdmann, "Powering the US military: An interview with the Pentagon's Sharon Burke," (McKinsey & Company - Insights & Publications, April 2013), <http://bit.ly/12OKtba>.

[38] Liam Downey, Eric Bonds and Katherine Clark, "Natural Resource Extraction, Armed Violence, and Environmental Degradation," *Organization & Environment* 23 (4) 2010: 437-438.

[39] Michael Martina, "World's Top 5 Arms Exporters: China Replaces UK In Weapons Trade," *Reuters*, 18 March 2013, <http://huff.to/11EsXPe>.

[40] David B. MacDonald and Graham Hudson, "The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45 (2) June 2012: 431.

[41] Robert J. Patrick, "Uneven access to safe drinking water for First Nations in Canada: Connecting health and place through source water protection," *Health & Place* 17, 2011: 386.

[42] Janet Smylie, Deshayne Fell, Arne Ohlsson, et. al., "A Review of Aboriginal Infant Mortality Rates in Canada: Striking and Persistent Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Inequities," *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 101 (2) March/April 2010: 147.

[43] James D. Ford, et. al., "Vulnerability of Aboriginal health systems in Canada to climate change," *Global Environmental Change* 20, 2010: 669.

[44] Jena McGill, "An Institutional Suicide Machine: Discrimination Against Federally Sentenced Aboriginal Women in Canada," *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 2 (1) Autumn 2008: 92-93.

[45] Issues: Indigenous Peoples, "No More Stolen Sisters," Amnesty International, <http://bit.ly/16utOHF>.

[46] Editorial, "Native families deserve full hearing into missing and murdered women," *The Globe and Mail*, 15 February 2013, <http://bit.ly/11qjGvp>.

[47] Jennifer Huseman and Damien Short, "'A Slow Industrial Genocide': Tar Sands and the Indigenous Peoples of Northern Alberta," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 16 (1) January 2012: 220-221.

[48] Dan Woynillowicz, "Tar Sands Fever," World Watch Magazine 20 (5) September/October 2007), <http://bit.ly/11qjGvp>.

[49] Jennifer Huseman and Damien Short, Op. Cit.: 224.

[50] Jennifer Huseman and Damien Short, *Ibidem*: 224-226.

[51] "Slow Industrial Genocide," *The Dominion*, 23 November 2008, <http://bit.ly/11Et8dC>.

[52] Jennifer Huseman and Damien Short, "'Op. Cit.: 226-227.

[53] Jennifer Huseman and Damien Short, "'Op. Cit.: 227-228.

[54] Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "The Federal Framework for Aboriginal Economic Development," The Government of Canada, 2009: 1.

[55] Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, "Update on the Implementation of the Federal Framework for

Aboriginal Economic Development," Government of Canada, 2012, <http://bit.ly/18NrLCN>.

[56] John Ibbitson, "Do opponents of native property rights think things are okay now?," *The Globe and Mail*, 8 August 2012, <http://bit.ly/17QnjSO>.

[57] Emily Innes, "Put river on list of navigable water citizen'ss group," The Enterprise Bulletin, 7 March 2013, <http://bit.ly/11EtkJP>.

[58] Mia Rabson, "A guide to the Idle No More movement, treaties and legislation," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 26 January 2013, <http://bit.ly/12A9cyA>.

[59] Stephen Starr, "'Idle No More' inspires Canada's indigenous," *Al-Jazeera*, 6 April 2013, <http://aje.me/10nh4TN>.

[60] Natalie Stechyson and Michael Woods, "Theresa Spence hospitalized and placed on IV after ending 44-day hunger protest," *The National Post*, 24 January 2013, <http://bit.ly/14DVoCp>.

[61] Thandi Fletcher, "Attawapiskat's 'dire' conditions are deeply concerning: UN human rights official," *The National Post*, 20 December 2011, <http://bit.ly/16uveSt>.

[62] Chelsea Vowel, "The real math behind Attawapiskat's $90 million," *The National Post*, 4 December 2011, <http://bit.ly/11hAPe2>.

[63] "Feds aware of Attawapiskat crisis for years," *CBC News*, 3 December 2011, <http://bit.ly/10nhiKB>.

[64] Genesee Keevil, "In Attawapiskat, deep-rooted problems won't disappear in an instant," *The Globe and Mail*, 9 December 2011, <http://bit.ly/14aknuN>.

[65] Ossie Michelin, "De Beers decision to dump sewage into Attawapiskat played role in current housing crisis," *APTN*, 13 December 2011, <http://bit.ly/16uvwbZ>.

[66] "Attawapiskat renovates temporary trailers for housing," *CBC News*, 5 February 2013, <http://bit.ly/17dG8jg>.

[67] *CTV News*, "Attawapiskat residents block road to northern Ontario diamond mine: De Beers," *The Canadian Press*, 5 February 2013, <http://bit.ly/17Qo0vp>; "De Beers considers lawsuits after Attawapiskat blockade," *CBC News*, 25 February 2013, <http://bit.ly/11RmrZS>.

[68] Kylie Schultz, "Idle No More: Canada's Growing Indigenous Rights Movement, Fast Going Global," *The International*, 5 January 2013, <http://bit.ly/159maiL>.

[69] Kylie Schultz, *Ibidem*.

[70] Canadian Press, "Idle No More: Alberta Highway 63 Blockade Near Fort McMurray By First Nations Movement," *The Huffington Post*, 20 December 2012, <http://huff.to/17dGkPC>.

[71] Julia Parrish, "'Mark my words': FN Chief on plans to shut down Hwy. 63 in protest," *CTV News*, 11 January 2013, <http://bit.ly/19FUFV4>.

[72] Max Paris, "Energy industry letter suggested environmental law changes," *CBC News*, 9 January 2013, <http://bit.ly/10nhQ3i>.

[73] Laura Payton, "Radicals working against oilsands, Ottawa says," *CBC News*, 9 January 2013, <http://bit.ly/124lp8m>.

[74] Mike De Souza, "Stephen Harper's "omnibus" strategy to overhaul green laws was proposed by oil industry, says records," *The Vancouver Sun*, 10 April 2013, <http://bit.ly/13QU1xp>.

[75] Yan Roberts, "A Love Letter to Harper From the Oil Industry," *The Huffington Post*, 16 January 2013, <http://huff.to/11qlowM>.

[76] Mike De Souza, "Pipeline development was 'top of mind' in Stephen Harper's budget bill, say "secret" records," *Canada.com*, 26 September 2012, <http://bit.ly/12AaYQi>.

[77] Mike De Souza, "Federal government sent mixed messages to industry, First Nations about environmental reforms," *Canada.com*, 24 February 2013, <http://bit.ly/17Qp8Py>.

[78] Meagan Fitzpatrick, "Oilsands 'allies' and 'adversaries' named in federal documents," *CBC News*, 26 January 2013, <http://bit.ly/13LcIEg>.

[79] Mike De Souza, "Harper government targets U.S. reporters to promote Keystone XL pipeline," *The Montreal Gazette*, 6 March 2013, <http://bit.ly/18Nua0f>.

[80] Shawn McCarthy, "Ottawa's new anti-terrorism strategy lists eco-extremists as threats," *The Globe and Mail*, 10 February 2012, <http://bit.ly/13LcNrD>.

[81] Stephen Leahy, "Canada's environmental activists seen as 'threat to national security'," *The Guardian*, 14 February 2013, <http://bit.ly/14am0c7>.

[82] Les Whittington, "First Nations leaders want in on natural resources boom," *The Toronto Star*, 11 January 2013, <http://bit.ly/168Mfkq>.

[83] Joanna Smith, "Star obtains documents outlining federal objectives for meeting with aboriginal leaders," *The Toronto Star*, 22 April 2013, <http://bit.ly/11EuHbm>.

[84] Martin Lukacs, "Indigenous rights are the best defence against Canada's resource rush," *The Guardian*, 26 April 2013, <http://bit.ly/1bJRbNO>.

[85] Canadian Press, "First Nations say they will fight oilsands, pipeline," *CBC News*, 20 March 2013, <http://bit.ly/13Ld26a>.

[86] David Ljunggren, "Alberta Oil Sands Pipelines Opposed By Indigenous Groups In U.S. And Canada," *Reuters*, 20 March 2013, <http://huff.to/13QVggb>.

[87] Edwad McAllister, "Insight: Mayflower, meet Exxon: When oil spilled in an Arkansas town," *Reuters*, 11 April 2013, <http://reut.rs/1ahLfO6>.

[88] Steve Horn, "Exxon's Skies: Why Is Exxon Running the No-Fly Zone Over Arkansas Tar Sands Spill?" *The Huffington Post*, 4 April 2013, <http://huff.to/11hBPit>.

[89] Heather Libby, "13 Oil Spills in the last 30 Days," *The Huffington Post*, 12 April 2013, <http://huff.to/159nIJr>.

[90] Jeff Lee, "Small crude oil spill on Kinder Morgan's Trans Mountain pipeline generates big reaction," *Calgary Herald*, 14 June 2013, <http://bit.ly/10njgdZ>.

[91] Meagan Fitzpatrick, "Keystone XL pipeline 'needs to go ahead,' Harper tells U.S.," *CBC News*, 16 May 2013, <http://bit.ly/16uyo8Q>.

[92] Anna Fifield, "Who's who of Obama lobbyists pushes Keystone pipeline," *The Financial Times*, 30 May 2013, <http://on.ft.com/13LdhOt>.

[93] Justin Doom, "Oil Industry Chief Believes Obama Will Back Keystone Pipe," *Bloomberg*, 23 April 2013, <http://bloom.bg/10njqlO>.

[94] Zack Colman, "Keystone builder 'extremely confident' Obama will approve it," *The Hill*, 31 May 2013, <http://bit.ly/12Ac0vA>.

[95] RT, "'Environmental genocide': Native Americans quit talks over Keystone XL pipeline," *Russia Today*, 18 May 2013, <http://bit.ly/14amKxM>.

[96] Will Potter, "TransCanada Is Secretly Briefing Police About Keystone XL Protests and Urging Terrorism Prosecutions," *Green is the New Red*, 12 June 2013, <http://bit.ly/19bEBaC>.

[97] Margaret Munro, "Critics pan instructions to Environment Canada scientists at Montreal conference," *The Vancouver Sun*, 23 April 2012, <http://bit.ly/11Iqg04>.

[98] Judith Lavoie, "Harper-controlled DFO is censoring federal scientists with research rules, critics say," *The Times-Colonist*, 15 February 2013, <http://bit.ly/10njMJ6>.

[99] Mia Robinson, "Federal cuts dubbed 'attack on science'," *Winnipeg Free Press*, 10 July 2012, <http://bit.ly/13LdEZx>.

[100] Editorial, "Frozen Out," *Nature,* 483(6) March 2012, <http://bit.ly/16u5uWr>.

[101] Kate Allen, "'Muzzling' of Canadian government scientists sent before Information Commissioner Suzanne Legault," *The Toronto Star*, 15 March 2013, <http://bit.ly/11RofC9>.

[102] Joyce Nelson, "Environmental Science Axed by Harper 2012-2013," *Watershed Sentinel* 23 (3) Summer 2013), <http://bit.ly/19FWXTY>.

[103] Bruce Cheadle, "Scientist 'Muzzling' To Be Investigated By Federal Information Watchdog," *The Canadian Press*, 2 April 2013, <http://huff.to/124ndhS>.

[104] Melissa Mancini, "Science Cuts And Muzzling In Canada: How Conservatives Reshaped A Discipline," *Huffington Post*, 30 April 2013, <http://huff.to/11qnxc3>.

[105] The Canadian Press, "National Research Council move shifts feds' science role," *CBC News*, 7 May 2013, <http://bit.ly/ZUHKci>.

[106] Ivan Semeniuk, "Federal budget ignites debate over what science is for," *The Globe and Mail*, 25 March 2013, <http://bit.ly/11IqzYT>.

REFERENCES

Auvinen, J. (1996), "IMF Intervention and Political Protest in the Third World: A Conventional Wisdom Refined", *Third World Quarterly* 17(3).

Davis, M. (2007). *Planet of Slums* (London: Verso).

Downey, L. - Bonds, E. - Clark, K. (2010), "Natural Resource Extraction, Armed Violence, and Environmental Degradation", *Organization & Environment* 23(4).

Ford, J. et. al. (2010), "Vulnerability of Aboriginal health systems in Canada to climate change", *Global Environmental Change* 20.

Gill, S. (1990). *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (New York: Cambridge UP).

Harsch, E. (1993), "Structural Adjustment and Africa's Democracy Movements", *Africa Today* 40(4).

Huseman, J. - Short, D. (2012), "'A Slow Industrial Genocide': Tar Sands and the Indigenous Peoples of Northern Alberta", *The International Journal of Human Rights* 16(1).

Jorgenson, A. (2006), "Unequal Ecological Exchange and Environmental Degradation: A Theoretical Proposition and Cross-National Study of Deforestation, 1990-2000", *Rural Sociology* 71(4).

Jorgenson, A. - Clark, B. (2011), "Societies consuming nature: A panel study of the ecological footprints of nations, 1960-2003", *Social Science Research* 40.

Jorgenson, A. - Dick, C. - Shandra, J. (2011), "World Economy, World Society, and Environmental Harm in Less-Developed Countries", *Sociological Inquiry* 81(1).

Keys, T. - Malnight, T. (2012), "Corporate Clout Distributed: The Influence of the World's Largest 100 Economic Entities", *Global Trends*.

MacDonald, D. - Hudson, G. (2012), "The Genocide Question and Indian Residential Schools in Canada", *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45(2).

Manji, F. - O'Coill, C. (2002), "The Missionary Position: NGOs and Development in Africa", *International Affairs* 78(3).

McGill, J. (2008), "An Institutional Suicide Machine: Discrimination Against Federally Sentenced Aboriginal Women in Canada", *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 2(1).

Ndikumana, L. - Boyce, J. (2011). *Africa's Odious Debts: How Foreign Loans and Capital Flight Bled a Continent* (London: Zed Books).

O'Brien, R. - Williams, M. (2007). *Global Political Economy: Evolution and Dynamics*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

Paloni, A. - Zanardi, M. (2006). *The IMF, World Bank and Policy Reform* (New York: Routledge).

Patrick, R. (2011), "Uneven access to safe drinking water for First Nations in Canada: Connecting health and place through source water protection", *Health & Place* 17.

Pogge, T. (2010), Keynote Address: Poverty, Climate Change, and Overpopulation", *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 38.

Rice, J. (2009), "The Transnational Organization of Production and Uneven Environmental Degradation and Change in the World Economy", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 50(3-4).

Rudel, T. (2007), "Changing agents of deforestation: From state-initiated to enterprise driven processes, 1970-2000", *Land Use Policy* 24.

Shandra, J. - Shircliff, E. - London, B. (2011), "World Bank lending and deforestation: A cross-national analysis", *International Sociology* 26(3).

Smylie, J. - Fell, D., et. al. (2010), "A Review of Aboriginal Infant Mortality Rates in Canada: Striking and Persistent Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Inequities", *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 101(2).

Stiglitz, J. (2003). *Globalization and its Discontents* (New York: Norton).

Woynillowicz, D. (2007), "Tar Sands Fever", *World Watch Magazine* 20(5).

Chilkat Blanket, Canada Northwest native art, wool and cedar bark trimmed with other fur, pre-1870, (courtesy UBC Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver).

.org

PEOPLE-CENTERED ADJUSTMENT:

TRANSCENDING THE DEBT CRISIS AND CREATING A FUTURE OF ABUNDANCE, FREEDOM, AND GLOBAL HARMONY

THOMAS H. GRECO JR

Thomas H. Greco, Jr., is a community economist, educator, researcher, and networker, specializing in moneyless exchange, credit clearing systems, complementary currencies, monetary theory and history, and community economic development. A former engineer, entrepreneur, and tenured college professor, he is widely regarded as a leading authority on free-market approaches to monetary and financial innovation, and is a sought-after adviser and speaker at conferences internationally.

He is the author of many articles and books, including The End of Money and the Future of Civilization *(2009)*, Money: Understanding and Creating Alternatives to Legal Tender *(2001)*, New Money for Healthy Communities *(1994)*, and Money and Debt: a Solution to the Global Crisis *(1990)*. *His websites, www.beyondmoney.net and www.reinventing-money.com, offer a wealth of information on the interplay of money, finance, politics, and economics, and provide detailed explanations and prescriptions for communities, businesses, and governments.*

Isn't it ironic that, despite the tremendous scientific and technological advances, and the massive increases in material production that have been achieved over the past two centuries, the world now finds itself in the grips of an acute multidimensional crisis with one quarter of the world's population living in poverty and squalor? Recent alarms about carbon emissions, global warming, peak oil, resource depletion, burgeoning debt and financial crises have raised the general level of awareness that civilization is now at a turning point, but we have seen little in the way of explanation, other than vague references to human nature and greed.

This is not the natural order of things, and it is no accident. It is the consequence of our reliance upon a deeply flawed and unfair system of money, banking, and finance. It is no mere coincidence that the *most pressing aspect of our global predicament is the debt crisis* which has become especially acute over the past few years. People and governments are falling ever more deeply into debt, and disparities of income and wealth are increasing everywhere. The levels of debt carried by all sectors, both private and governmental, have grown exponentially – much more rapidly than population or any measure of economic output. Virtually every national government around the world is struggling to find a way to avoid defaulting on their debts, and people even in the world's richest and most advanced countries are being told that their governments cannot provide them with the basic requirements for living a dignified life. We are told that social programs must be drastically cut because countries can no longer afford them. Why are we in such a predicament, and where are we to look for workable approaches to solving it?

In order to meet the challenge before us, it is necessary for us to understand the broad context of politics and power and how the systems of money, banking, and finance have all been structured to centralize power and concentrate wealth, serving the interests of a few at the expense of all. I will attempt here to briefly describe what I've learned about the basic cause of our predicament, and outline the means by which we can turn the tide of history toward happier, more democratic outcomes.

CAPTIVE GOVERNMENTS

Our first impulse is to look to government to solve such problems, but the recent government actions, including massive bank bailouts that shift the burden of private losses onto the shoulders of the general public have made it clear that governments' priority is to maintain, at any cost, the flawed system that has, for a very long time, been ever more effectively centralizing power and concentrating wealth. The political machinery has been so thoroughly captured by the elite corporate interests, especially those that control the mechanisms of money, banking, and finance, that we are forced to look elsewhere for solutions. Despite the much vaunted rhetoric about the spread of democracy and "government by the people," the reality throughout the world remains much different. Thirty plus years of research and analysis have convinced me that *true political democracy cannot prevail until economic democracy has been achieved, and economic democracy cannot be achieved without transcending the global, central-banking,*

interest-based, debt-money regime and the debt-growth imperative that is built into it.

THE *GROWTH IMPERATIVE*

All but a handful of economists and political leaders still believe that the answer to our problems is more economic growth –more production, more consumption, more highways, more buildings, more logging, more fishing, etc., ad infinitum. And, of course, with all of that comes not only environmental despoliation, but ever more debt. Any sane person should be able to see that continuous growth on a finite planet cannot be sustained – development and qualitative improvement, yes, quantitative growth, no.

This addiction to growth stems from the way in which money is created, and a general unwillingness to admit that the prevailing system of economics is incapable of fairly distributing the benefits of civilization's progress. To understand the growth imperative, one must first understand the nature of modern money. Quite simply, *money today is credit created on the basis of loans made by banks at interest.* This interest burden on the debt by which money is created causes debt to grow exponentially simply with the passage of time. It therefore requires that banks create ever more debt to enable the payment of the interest due on existing loans. Such is the *debt imperative* which gives rise to a *growth imperative* as debtors struggle to acquire enough money from the market to service their debts. Individual debtors must try to increase their incomes from wages and micro-enterprise, companies must try to increase sales and profits, and government must try to increase their revenues from taxes and fees.

Among other things, the debt/growth imperative prevents the emergence of a steady state economy because no amount of production and increase in business activity can bring about an automatic increase in the amount of money. *Only by deliberate actions by banks to grant more loans can the supply of money be increased*[1].

COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT AND THE EMERGENCE OF ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

I believe that the vast majority of people in the world share with me the burning desire to live in a world that is more inclusive, participatory, just, harmonious, and sustainable. If our political and financial establishment cannot provide that, then *we the people* must create it ourselves.

Fortunately, there exists a peaceful and ready path that leads toward liberation and a world that works for everyone. It will require the devolution of power to the community level and decentralization of control in order to bring about the necessary massive positive shifts in collective human behavior. The key to empowerment lies in rethinking the ways in which we pay one another for the goods and services we need and want. By claiming and exercising the power we already have, we can escape the "debt-trap" and avoid the destruction of our communities, our nations, and the natural environment. Once the flawed money system has been transcended, resolution of the other aspects of the mega-crisis, will then become possible.

There are a few things that individuals can do to empower themselves and improve their situation, but within the context of the complex global economy and deepening crisis, the effectiveness of isolated individual action is greatly limited. *It will require organized, coordinated, collective action to save civilization.* It may seem paradoxical, but that kind of action is more likely to come from the collective intelligence and wisdom of ordinary people dealing with their own problems in the own local communities, than from the knowledge and impulses of a few self-appointed "leaders" who have somehow managed to climb to the top of the heap in the global game of "monopoly[2]." While competition has a role to play in urging us to higher levels of realization, science shows us that life thrives more on cooperation than on competition.

What is required is organized action that:

1 ~ Builds community and restores all aspects of "the commons," including the *credit commons*[3].

2 ~ Supports the localization of economic activity – local production and distribution, local sourcing of inputs, and local investment of local resources.

3 ~ Provides a significant measure of independence from conventional money, banking and finance.

The first two of these cannot be effectively achieved without accomplishing the third, and all of this implies the need for *local* organization at a small, "human scale."

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MONEY

The primary function of money is to serve as a medium of exchange, *i.e.*, as a means of payment to facilitate the reciprocal exchange of goods and services. But conventional political money is centrally controlled by central banks and central governments, and manipulated to serve their own interests at the expense of everyone else. *Community interests can only be advanced by communities assuming control of their own credit.*

There are two ways to provide "home-grown" sources of "liquidity," or means of payment. One is the emission

of private currencies by local "trusted issuers;" the other is the organization of local trading circles called *credit clearing exchanges*.

To illustrate the first case, imagine a local electric power company or telecom company issuing its own currency vouchers by using them to pay its suppliers and employees. These vouchers, being redeemable for electric power or telecom services, have inherent value to anyone who has need for these services, which presumably would be a large portion of the local population. If the vouchers were made transferrable and issued in conveniently small denominations, they could easily pass from hand to hand as a sort of local money that anyone might use to pay for other goods and services. There is plenty of historical precedent for such private currencies that have been circulated at various times by a wide variety of issuers. The only requirements for a sound and effective private currency are that it be:

1 ~ Spent into circulation or given as a rebate to customers,

2 ~ Transferrable, with few or no restrictions,

3 ~ Redeemable at face value by the issuing entity for the goods and services that the it offers for sale at the issuer's regular everyday prices.

Such private currencies and vouchers that are spent into circulation by local enterprises can provide local liquidity without reliance on bank loans and without the payment of interest. Currencies might also be issued by municipal governments or agencies on the basis of their anticipated tax or service revenues, and by non-profit organizations on the basis of in-kind donations pledged by local merchants and service providers.

A credit clearing exchange is an association of producers that agree to provide their goods and services to each other without payment in conventional money. Instead, they simply keep accounts in which a sale is recorded as a "credit" which increases their account balance, and a purchase is recorded as a "debit" which decreases their account balance. In the long run, it is expected that each member will put into the association as much value as s/he takes out from it. In other words, the value of a member's purchases is offset by the value of their sales. In accounting terms, it can be looked at as an offset of accounts payable against accounts receivable.

This is merely an extension of the common business practice of selling on open account – "I'll ship you the goods now and you can pay me later," except it is organized, not on a bilateral basis, but within a community of many buyers and sellers. Done on a large enough scale that includes a sufficiently broad range of goods and services, such systems can avoid the dysfunctions inherent in conventional money and banking. They can open the way to more harmonious and mutually beneficial relationships that enable the emergence of true economic democracy.

This approach is not entirely new. It is a proven and well established process that is used by hundreds of thousands of businesses around the world that are members of scores of commercial trade exchanges (sometimes called "barter" exchanges) that provide the necessary accounting and other services for moneyless trading. In this process, the things you sell pay for the things you buy without using money as an exchange intermediary. Instead of chasing dollars, euros, pounds, etc., you use what you have to pay for what you need.

Unlike traditional barter, which depends upon a coincidence of wants and needs between two traders who each have something the other wants, credit clearing provides an accounting for trade credits, a sort of internal currency, that allows traders to sell to some members and buy from others. There are reportedly more than 400,000 companies world-wide who, in this way, presently trade more than USD12 billion dollars worth of goods and services annually without the use of any national currency.

Perhaps the best example of a credit clearing exchange that has operated successfully over a long period of time is the WIR[4] Economic Circle Cooperative. Founded in Switzerland in the midst of the Great Depression as a self-help organization, WIR provided a means for its member businesses to continue to buy and sell with one another despite a shortage of Swiss francs in circulation at the time. Over the past three quarters of a century, in good times and bad, WIR (now known as the WIR Bank) has continued to thrive. Its more than 65,000 members throughout Switzerland trade about USD 2 billion worth of goods and services each year, paying each other, not in official money, but in their own accounting units called WIR credits.

Businesses, especially small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs), typically find that the availability and cost of conventional money obtained as loans from banks, is unpredictable, unreliable, and expensive. Unlike national currencies that are subject to the policies and machinations of governments and banks, community currencies and exchange credits are readily available and dependable because they:

~ Are created and controlled locally by local producers themselves based on their capacity to provide each other with desired goods and services.

~ *Are always redeemable for goods and services at regular prices.*

- Remain in the local area so they promote "buy local" and stimulate more local production over imports from outside.
- Are accepted throughout the community in payment for all kinds of goods and services.
- Strengthen the entire local economy by providing a supplemental means of payment, especially during depressions when official money is scarce.
- Enhance the communities' quality of life.

While private currencies and credit clearing exchanges have in recent years proliferated around the world, a few additional steps are needed to complete the necessary transformation. It is now necessary to:

1. Optimize and standardize the procedures and protocols involved in the allocation of credit and currency issuance.
2. Provide mechanisms for exchanging private currencies and credits for one another.
3. Organize trade exchanges together into wide area networks to enable trading between widely separated members of different exchanges.
4. Increase the amount and variety of goods and services offered.
5. Include all levels of the supply chain – retailers, wholesalers, manufacturers, basic commodity producers, and ultimately, employees/consumers.
6. Eventually, private currencies and credits will need to be denominated in some concretely defined, independent, and universal measure of value[5].

WHAT GOVERNMENTS SHOULD DO TO ESTABLISH ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL STABILITY

In my book, *The End of Money and the Future of Civilization*, I traced the events and actions that have lead to the politicization of money and banking and described how national governments in collusion with global financial interests have arrogated power to themselves by their abusive issuance of money, abandoning all semblance of monetary and fiscal responsibility, and I argued that government control of money needs to be ended (the separation of money and state). Now let us consider what central governments *could* and *should* do if they were truly interested in serving the common good and promoting a just and harmonious world.

I strongly believe that the most promising approach to the necessary transformation is through private, voluntary initiatives that mobilize resources, empower communities, and restore the "credit commons." So, while I am not at all sanguine about the near-term prospects for the success of political approaches to monetary reform, it is necessary to recognize the power of national governments and the role they might *eventually* play in producing positive outcomes. It is most unlikely, but still conceivable, that some enlightened government in some small country somewhere might be willing to lead the way by renouncing its abuse of the money issuance power and by supporting the kinds of community-based and private exchange mechanisms I have described. So let me outline the specific kinds of legislative and executive actions that are needed.

In light of the dysfunctions inherent in the present global monetary regime that have already been described, I would advocate for legislation that would achieve the following objectives:

- protect against both inflation and deflation,
- eliminate involuntary unemployment;
- protect against the effects of international economic and financial instabilities;
- provide a greater measure of independence from foreign economic and political manipulations, and
- enable the emergence of effective and efficient means for mediating the exchange of goods, services and financial instruments.

It is well within the realm of possibility to achieve all of these objectives, and there exists a solid base of knowledge and experience that makes evident the structural changes that are necessary to do so. The main obstacles to implementing these changes are governments' addiction to deficit spending and their subservience to the vested interests of international finance that manipulate money and finance to serve their own narrow interests.

Inflation is possible only under the circumstance where there is a monopoly on the issuance of money and that money is compelled, by means of "legal tender" laws, to circulate at face value. By putting an end to the issue monopoly and repealing all general legal tender laws, the inflation problem will be solved. These actions, of course, imply the existence of an objective, concrete standard of value, as well as competing exchange mechanisms (competition in currency). Governments must allow private alternative exchange media that are (1) subject to free market valuation and (2) the right of anyone except the issuer to refuse to accept such currencies.

The central banks of all countries are closely interlinked enabling a few individuals to control the national and global economies, to subvert democratic government, and to exploit the people through their monopolization of credit. By their alternating

policies of credit liberalization followed by credit restriction, they cause recurrent cycles of bubble and bust, inflations and recessions with their attendant miseries of diminished purchasing power, bankruptcies, foreclosures, and unemployment.

The global interlinking of banking and finance, and the institutions and procedures that promote chronic indebtedness, have enabled the banks of the developed countries to dominate the economies and governments of lesser developed countries (LDC's). Countries like Ecuador, which have accepted the US dollar as their own domestic medium of exchange, have made themselves completely dependent upon the dollar and the US banking system. In no case should the exchange of goods *within* a country be rendered impossible because there are disturbances in finance *outside* the country. The ill effects of such disturbances can be avoided if private exchange alternatives exist. Thus, governments should permit private entities to establish clearing banks as a self-help measure, *without any government restrictions, discriminatory taxes, or subsidies.* Only mechanisms that ensure openness and transparency should be required. The task of these clearing banks should be to bring into contact the available raw materials with the existing labor power, and the available products with buyers' needs, without requiring payment in conventional money. They will thus contribute significantly to the general facilitation of the exchange of goods and services and the abolition of involuntary unemployment. *These clearing banks are able to guarantee domestic liquidity regardless of conditions elsewhere.* The disadvantages suffered by the provinces and certain deprived sectors, such as agriculture, will be diminished, and the exchange of goods within the country will become independent of the currencies of foreign countries.

LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS IN BRIEF[6]

PROPOSAL I ~ STABLE VALUE RECKONING AND PROTECTION AGAINST INFLATION AND DEFLATION

Stable value reckoning in all transactions is essential to an orderly, equitable, and efficient economy. It is therefore necessary that a unit of account be defined in unambiguous terms. The avoidance of inflation (and deflation) requires that there be a measure of value that is independent of, and separate from, any national or other currency, and that no currency, either public or private, be invested with general legal tender status. A truly stable value reckoning is quite impossible as long as legal tender exists. It is therefore proposed that:

1 ~ All laws granting general legal tender status be repealed,

2 ~ That the official unit of account be declared on the basis of a specific value standard that is defined in concrete physical terms. It should be comprised of a specified amount of some commodity or group of commodities, *e.g.*, 371.25 grains of fine silver (the original definition of the US dollar), or, much preferably, a composite standard comprised of specified weights or volumes of selected standard commodities. (See note 3).

PROPOSAL II ~ EXCHANGE UTILITIES

The substance of modern money is credit and every currency is a credit instrument. The proper functioning of an economy requires that the exchange process be unencumbered by monopoly control over credit by any government, private entity, or cartel. To restore the disturbed private economy, eliminate unemployment, and enable a more complete matching of economic needs with actual and potential supplies, institutions must be established that make free reciprocal exchange in the economy possible. It is therefore proposed that:

1 ~ Governments should not interfere with, and indeed should encourage, the establishment and operation of private credit clearing utilities that are voluntarily subscribed to, and operated according to agreed standards of honesty, openness, and transparency.

2 ~ That there should be no interference with the issuance and circulation of private currencies that are issued upon proper foundation and in accordance with agreed standards of honesty and transparency.

PROPOSAL III ~ PUBLIC FINANCE

There should be a strict separation between money and the state. Any financial instruments issued by the government must be made to stand upon their own merits in the financial markets. It is therefore proposed that:

1 ~ No government-issued security, including bonds, warrants, notes, vouchers, or other instruments intended to circulate as currency, should be forced to circulate at face value by means of legal tender laws or otherwise. Likewise, long-term government debts in such forms as bonds or notes should enjoy no special privilege regarding their acceptance or value in the market.

2 ~ Government may, if it wishes, finance its short-term needs through the direct issuance from the Treasury of non-interest bearing tax anticipation warrants, but the rate, relative to the value standard, at which

such warrants are accepted as payment by private parties shall be determined by the parties themselves in the free market, and *not* be compelled by legislation. *Only the government itself shall be compelled to accept its own financial instruments at face value.*

3 ~ There should be no further monetization of long-term government debts by "open market operations" of central banks, or otherwise.

4 ~ Outstanding government debt should be gradually reduced.

5 ~ Since there is no longer any role for it, the central bank shall be abolished, and government finances should be managed directly by a department of the government.

Such actions as these would force central governments to balance their budgets, but would not totally preclude them from issuing their own currencies[7]. But if a government currency is made to circulate on its own merits in competition with other exchange media, the amount of currency issued would need to be kept within reasonable limits, in proportion to its anticipated revenues from taxes and fees, to prevent its being discounted or refused in the market. A government could spend its own small denomination no-interest bonds into circulation as a way of paying for its immediate needs, guaranteeing to redeem these bonds, not in gold or other currency, but by accepting them *at face value* in payment for taxes and fees. Additional longer-term financial needs would have to be financed in the conventional way of selling interest-bearing bonds to the public at the market rate.

The Rentenmark, that was issued in Germany following the great currency inflation of 1921 to 1923, provides a useful model for a government issued currency. Ulrich von Beckerath described it as follows:

> The Rentenmark had neither a forced market rate nor was its acceptance in general circulation enforced [it was not "legal tender"]. It was not redeemable in gold, although it was made out in gold. It was guaranteed by tax foundation (par. 14, no. 3 of the Act), that is, all taxation offices accepted the Rentenmark at its face value irrespective of any market discount. Inasmuch as the aggregate amount issued (2,000 million marks) corresponded to the revenues of those offices for only two months, Lorenz von Stein's "safety coefficient" (namely total of State paper money not more than a third to a half of the annual requirements of the public revenue offices) was far from reached. In order to make a concession to popular opinion, the Act referred to a cover by landed property, but at the same time the Act provided that no one was obliged to surrender real estate property for Rentenmarks. Also, a small annual contribution was imposed on landowners and manufacturers; but this was not collected because it naturally proved superfluous for safeguarding the currency[8].

Recapping what we said earlier, the features that enabled the Rentenmark to maintain its value were these:

1 ~ the Rentenmark was acceptable by all tax offices *at face value* in payment of taxes,

2 ~ there was no legal compulsion for anyone else to accept it, thus it was made to stand on its own merits in the marketplace and might legally pass at a discount from face value in private transactions,

3 ~ the amount issued was modest in relation to the tax revenues that supported it.

Are there any national political leaders anywhere who are sufficiently enlightened, trusting, and service minded to promote such measures as the proposals outlined above? Are there communities anywhere that are ready to pull together and take control of their own collective credit and demonstrate that they can use this power responsibly to serve the common good? Can we humans use the present crisis as an opportunity to make a successful transition to a higher, more harmonious and equitable level of civilization, or will we descend into a "dark age" of dissension and destruction?

These questions remain open but I believe that the key to our future lies in how we structure money and the mechanisms we use to relate to one another in the material realm. I conclude with these words from E. C. Riegel written more than sixty years ago:

It is a remarkable fact that no constitution of any state, nor any declaration of human rights, has ever proclaimed the right of freedom of money issue. Yet this right is inseparable from the right of bargain or exchange, which is the very foundation of liberty. Man's ignorance of the laws of money has blinded him to the very touchstone of freedom, without which the state cannot be curbed or his own capacity for progress and prosperity facilitated. We stand now at the dawn of a new approach to the ages old problem of human emancipation from superstition, with prospect of a tremendous lift to the spirit of conquest over the forces of darkness and depression[9].

---

[1] For a complete explanation of interest and the debt/growth imperative, see my book, *The End of Money and the Future of Civilization*, especially Chapters 6, 9, and 11.

[2] The effectiveness of this approach has been amply demonstrated by the work of such innovators as Carolyn Lukensmeyer (America Speaks: http://www.americaspeaks.org/), Jim Rough (The Center for Wise Democracy: http://www.wisedemocracy.org/), Tom Atlee (The Co-intelligence Institute: http://www.co-intelligence.org/), and Richard K. Moore (*Escaping the Matrix: how We the People can change the world.* <http://EscapingTheMatrix.org>).

[3] For a fuller explanation of the credit commons, see my chapter, "Reclaiming the Credit Commons". In Bollier, David and Silke Helfrich (eds.) *The Wealth of the Commons: A world beyond market & state.* (Amherst, MA: Levellers Press): 230-235. Also available at <http://bit.ly/19FYLwe>.

[4] WIR, an abbreviation for "Wirtschaftsring-Genossenschaft" is the German word for "we."

[5] I favor the use of a "market basket" of basic commodities as a value standard that can be used as the basis for defining a universal accounting unit or pricing unit. I have described how this can be done in my various books. You can learn about it at <http://bit.ly/18NxubK>.

[6] These proposals are inspired by, and draw heavily upon, *The Four Law Drafts* that were proposed by Dr Gustav Ramin, Heinrich Rittershausen, Dr Munzer, Ulrich von Beckerath, Hans Meis, Walter Unger, and Dr Walter Zander for implementation in Germany in 1932.

[7] Given the financial turmoil as I write this and the likely deep recession into which the global economy seems to be headed, many readers may object to the imposition of such severe restrictions on the central government's fiscal policy options, specifically the option for deficit spending to counteract deflationary pressures in the downside of business cycle. That "cure" is part of the Keynesian orthodoxy that has been sold to both academics and lay people over the past two or three generations. I hope that I have succeeded here in showing that it is the system itself that creates such pressures and that when these restructuring prescriptions are adopted in their entirety, they will greatly ameliorate and even, I believe, eliminate the problem of the business cycle. This is because productive resources of capital and labor never have reason to stand idle, since artificial restrictions on the credit needed by the productive sector to enter the market and to have their products exchanged will have been removed, in which case the "need" for Keynesian deficit spending ceases to be relevant.

[8] Beckerath, Ulrich von, *Does the Provision of Employment Necessitate Money Expenditure*. Reprint taken from Peace Plans #10, compiled by John Zube and available at, http://www.reinventingmoney.com/documents/full-employment.html. For more about the Rentenmark, see the Wikipedia entry, *Hyperinflation in the Weimar Republic* at <http://bit.ly/11IrFnv>.

[9] Riegel, E. C., *The New Approach to Freedom*, p. xiii. Available at <http://bit.ly/11hDdSg>.

GREAME CHESTERS
EXODUS: FROM GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY TO RADICAL DISOBEDIENCE

The rise of network movements utilizing anarchist principles of organization and fusing anarchist, autonomist and ecological critiques deeply problematizes the progressive characteristics of liberal normative conceptions of Global Civil Society. Instead, the potential of a militant reframing of Global Civil Society first proposed by the Zapatistas is now realized in the emergence of radically disobedient network movements that contest the continuity of the present system of production, distribution and exchange. In this context, the role of NGOs and the wider non-profit sector is problematized by its capacity for assimilation by state-private interests. | [11-20].

NOAM CHOMSKY
THE KIND OF ANARCHISM I BELIEVE IN, AND WHAT'S WRONG WITH LIBERTARIANS

The author examines the different efforts through which the state and private power systems have exercised control on people's attitudes and beliefs. He defines anarchy as a tendency suspicious of any kind of domination or authority as positions of power and authority are usually impossible to justify.

Chomsky defends anarcho-syndicalism, primarily concerned with the conception of a very organized society founded on little or no control over the workers, the workers themselves controlling their own work as opposed to the "private tyranny" of the American and English libertarianism. Following the proposal of Bakunin in developing the institutions of a future society within the present one, the author maintains that the manner to achieve a freer and more just society is by working on a larger-scale democratization from the actual state. When discussing propaganda, to show its enormous power as an effective way to ensure control on people's attitudes and opinions, the author makes use of the example of Edward Bernays, whose commercial advertising campaign induced women to smoke cigarettes. He compares these methods to political campaigns that undermine democracy to induce uninformed people to make irrational choices, and proposes to call for awareness to make sure that the people have their own beliefs and are able to recognize the controlling procedures of the propaganda system.

Chomsky concludes by recognizing American tuition as one of the responses to the liberatory movements from the Sixties, such as the "growing worker insecurity", that has been keeping American students drowned in debt so to control and indoctrinate the young. | [7-10].

CHRISTOPHER J. COYNE ~ ABIGAIL R. HALL
ANARCHY, PHILANTROPY, AND THE PROVISION OF PUBLIC GOODS IN A FREE SOCIETY

The provision of public goods is often used to justify the state. Since many highly-valued goods such as education, national defence, roads, etc., possess some public characteristics (i.e. non-rivalry and non-excludability), standard theory predicts such goods will be underprovided by private markets. The state is typically seen as the remedy to this problem. In contrast to this typical view, this paper analyzes the private provision of public and quasi-public goods in a free society. In particular, it examines philanthropy as an avenue through which such goods are already produced and may be provided in a society without a central government. The Authors use Buchanan's (1965) theory of clubs and Leeson's (2011) discussion of clubs and "constitutional effectiveness" as a springboard to analyze how philanthropic giving and the provision of goods with public qualities under anarchy might work. | [25-30].

SIMON CRITCHLEY
INFINITELY DEMANDING

The author maintains that motivational deficit in contemporary democracy is a fact. To avoid citizens to be drawn into nihilistic responses, he proposes a motivating ethics based on the formation of ethical subjectivity, key in political praxis and resistance.

The formation of the ethical subject emerges as a result of the authentic experience of the self, and attends to the commitment to an infinite demand that divides subjectivity. This ethical subjectivity is related to the formation of political subjectivity since it intends to support political resistance, consisting in the creation of distance within the state from which new political subjectivities exerting a universal ethical claim are created.

Critchley asserts that the bond between politics and ethics can be found in anarchism, namely in neo-anarchism which emphasizes the demand of an infinite responsibility arising from the experience of injustice and, through this lens, he explains contemporary political struggle.

Political resistance may be firstly made up by small affinity groups sharing a new political subjectivity. The formation of political subjectivity and the subject's motivation to be involved in political action – as on the "Occupy Wall Street" response – are encouraged by an ethical demand.

Critchley does not conceive resistance and the achievement of a truly democratic politics based on the abstraction of political philosophy, instead, it should be founded on a concrete account from genealogical, formal, ethnographic research and persuasive political argumentation. Therefore, in order to avoid demonstrations of resistance to become an abstraction, politics entails the infinite ethical demand that comes from the experience of injustice in a specific necessary location. | [21-24].

BURKHARD GNÄRIG
TURNING CHALLENGES INTO OPPORTUNITIES

From the eradication of poverty to the limitation and mitigation of climate change, from the mass extinction of species to the depletion of crucial resources: all of today's major challenges are global. But to date humanity seems unable to find appropriate global responses. The UN and other international institutions are stuck in multilateralism: rather than protecting the global commons, they try to reconcile competing national interests, often

at the very expense of the global commons. Equally, the economic sector is not geared towards promoting the fair distribution and sustainable use of the earth's limited resources. Exploiting natural resources is usually more profitable than recycling or protecting them. This leaves the third sector, civil society.

This article reviews a small but important segment of civil society: large international civil society organizations (ICSO). Most of them consist of different national affiliates and often look like small replicas of the UN, seeking compromises between national interests rather than optimal responses to global challenges. And, after a decade of impressive growth, ICSOs are now confronted with a number of potentially disruptive changes directly affecting the way in which they go about their mission. Therefore, major changes are unavoidable. ICSOs only have the choice of embracing change and re-inventing themselves as effective global actors or resisting change and eventually being swept away. | [31-34].

DAVID GOODWAY
NOT PROTEST BUT DIRECT ACTION: ANARCHISM PAST AND PRESENT

The media and other commentators in the UK constantly employ 'anarchists' and 'anarchism' as smear words unworthy of rational consideration, yet they refer to a long-established way of looking at the world which has a distinctive and impressive intellectual history.

Anarchists disdain the customary use of 'anarchy' to mean 'chaos' or 'complete disorder': for them it signifies the absence of rulers in a self-managed society, more highly organized than the disorganization and chaos of the present. The historic anarchist movement of the late-nineteenth century was therefore distinguished from the rest of the international movement of organised labour by its rejection of state intervention from above in favour of self-organisation from below, as well as by its rejection of constitutional protest in favour of direct action.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 redefined the framework of international labour politics, so that by the 1950s the remaining scattered anarchist groups seemed no more than ghosts of a once vibrant political movement. However, the new and largely youthful social movements originating in the 1960s saw a revival of the influence of anarchism, often unconscious or denied, but also often held as a self-conscious political ideology.

Through all these phases of its history the anarchist emphasis on direct action has taken two quite different forms. Firstly, symbolic actions, whether violent or non-violent, but usually illegal, intended as propaganda by the deed: attempts to inspire wider popular revolt. Secondly, the building of institutions in the present which prefigure those which will exist in a post-revolutionary society (for example the occupation and running of factories, or the following of exemplary Green lifestyles), intended as demonstrations of the possibility of by-passing the existing social order.

Self-conscious anarchists who have taken part in recent demonstrations against globalisation or cuts in state spending are therefore not attempting to influence official policy making: their aim is rather to influence their fellow citizens to reject all forms of authority from above and replace it with self-governing, cooperative associations built up from below. | [181-195].

THOMAS H. GRECO JR
PEOPLE-CENTERED ADJUSTMENT: TRANSCENDING THE DEBT CRISIS AND CREATING A FUTURE OF ABUNDANCE, FREEDOM, AND GLOBAL HARMONY

The explosion of debt in recent years in all sectors of the economy is an inevitable result of the way in which money is created by banks based on lending at interest. It is the compounding of interest and increasing indebtedness in both the private sector and the public sector that is the primary driver forcing artificial economic growth that exceeds any bounds of necessity or sustainability and is destroying the environment. The system centralizes power and concentrates wealth, causing unnecessary conflict and deprivation.

True political democracy cannot prevail until economic democracy has been achieved, and economic democracy cannot be achieved without making fundamental changes in the ways we structure exchange and finance, thus transcending the debt-growth imperative that is built into the global, central-banking, interest-based, debt-money regime.

There are steps that national governments could take to ameliorate the situation, but it is extremely doubtful that those steps will be taken since that would mean a significant ceding of power by central government by giving up their addiction to deficit spending. However, the people themselves can act to organize their own methods of exchange that can provide sufficient local liquidity to enable their communities to thrive regardless of the financial turmoil in the national and global systems. These "grassroots" systems can operate in parallel with established systems of money and banking and need not be in conflict with them.

Credit clearing exchanges and private currencies issued by credible economic entities have plenty of historical precedent and, when properly organized and administered, have proven themselves to be effective in enabling communities to take care of their own needs while enhancing the overall quality of life in their communities. It is conceivable that local credit clearing exchanges might eventually be networked together in ways that might provide an acceptable means of payment while maintaining control of credit at the local level. | [69-75].

ANDREW GAVIN MARSHALL
AN ANARCHISTIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE SOCIAL ORDER: ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, INDIGENEOUS RESISTANCE AND A PLACE FOR THE SCIENCES

Indigenous peoples have stood on the front lines of oppression, exploitation, empire and environmental devastation, resisting domination by Western institutions for some 500 years. When it comes to addressing the environmental

issues facing the world, both scientific and Indigenous knowledge and practices provide meaningful answers to discovering the root causes and finding meaningful solutions. While Indigenous peoples struggle under and against the dominant institutions, the scientific community exists within and depends upon those institutions. Imagine what questions could be asked and answers sought if the 'sciences' were not dependent upon institutional sources of funding, such as the state, universities, foundations, or corporations? An 'anarchistic' analysis of environmental issues – of society as a whole – and an 'anarchistic' approach to organization and function could bridge the realms of scientific and Indigenous knowledge, linking these otherwise segregated realms of knowledge to address some of the most fundamental and urgent issues facing humanity and the world. There would be no greater method for addressing environmental issues than through a convergence between hundreds of years of Indigenous knowledge and the potential held by the 'scientific technique.' This convergence could be made possible through an anarchist framework. | [53-67].

CARL MILOFSKY ~ BERHANU NEGA
STABLE ANARCHY AND THE PERSISTENCE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN ETHIOPIA

Based on a series of interviews with NGO leaders, this paper argues that despite the existence of a repressive authoritarian regime, civil society and civil society organizations remain active in Ethiopia and have a strong, autonomous existence. We argue that Ethiopia is a polycentric society where the state is weak. We introduce the concept of "stable anarchy" to describe this configuration where the state, despite its coercive nature, fails to reduce the influence or significance of the many autonomous centers of resource mobilization and social capital that NGOs represent. The paper argues that indigenous NGOs are intertwined with a historical trajectory by which international aid and governmental support created typical organizational styles and stages. The evolution of these NGO organizational patterns is intertwined with the work of institution building within government and the society as a whole. The period 2005-2010 saw increasing repressiveness of government, particularly focused on NGOs that engaged in the work of teaching democratic participation and fostering rights for women, children, and the disabled.

Four factors have led to the persistence and continued vitality of civil society elements in Ethiopia: First, the history of NGO activity has built up networks of interconnection among leaders, constituencies, and support groups that have experience, endurance and the capacity to be mobilized. Second, there exists a cultural infrastructure within Ethiopian society such that citizens have skills related to participation and mobilization and these are embedded in the normal living patterns of the country's life. Third, the activities of NGOs have led to widespread political learning by citizens and their knowledge and sophistication fosters dialog and participation. Fourth, an active diaspora community is involved both in organizing and supporting civil society organizations providing both provide remittances back to the country and linkages to the international movement for human rights. | [41-52].

SAHLAN MOMO
MESOECONOMY AND THE CLEAN CODE

The author maintains that individuals and humankind as a whole are leaping into a new phase of consciousness which integrates them both in the mesoteric undivided dimension of consciousness, the fifth state of the being, or the true human dimension coupling the spiritual to the material planes of existence, the esoteric to the exoteric realities. This new advanced state of the human consciousness, determined by the shifting from an individual ego-driven to an altruistic collective social-based consciousness model, integrates and enacts in itself collective concerns, with relevant outcomes in all fields of human endeavour, from culture to economics, form working to social models, and so forth. In particular economy, no longer ignited by self-interest and individual profit but pointing to the common good, is already generating a mesoecomomy in the spirit of social solidarity.

Momo asserts that, in order to facilitate this shift to the mesoteric consciousness, and to prevent further negative consequences (debris, karma) created by actions not originating in the true human nature, the adoption of a Clean Code of ethical conduct taking into account sustainability, respect for human and social rights, the environment, and social justice is definitely needed. A Clean Code granting that all along the whole supply chain – from extraction, production and distribution to consumption, waste disposal and recycling; in the performance of economic and financial actions and services; in the planning and management process of activities involved in sourcing and procurement, conversion and logistic management – only "clean" (karma-free) actions, products or complex devices or processes are performed. In contrast with the 'sustainable' development so far maintained by the international Development community, the Clean Code ensures a Clean sustainable development that progressively will shape the post-2015 Development Agenda. | V-XII].

SCOTT TURNER
THE NON-GOVERNMENT ALTERNATIVE: ANARCHIST THEORY AND GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

Recent decades have witnessed a dramatic expansion of non-governmental organizations (NGO's). Their work includes advocating for environmental protection and human rights, providing healthcare and emergency services to victims of war and natural disasters, and providing education and development assistance to the world's poor. While this burgeoning nonprofit sector operates in conjunction with governmental institutions, it demonstrates the potential of people who are engaged in voluntary, cooperative action to promote the humanitarian values of freedom, justice, and peace. Classical anarchist thought suggests useful theoretical concepts for interpreting the

emergent global civil society in which NGO's are central actors. Far from smashing the state, however, NGO's are catalysts of global conscience. They aim to supplement governmental efforts to address humanitarian needs, and to tame the extant vestiges of state violence and oppression within a predominantly state-centric world. | [35-40].

↻I BACK NUMBERS

spanda.org/publications

1 | I, 1. 2007 *Multicultural Youth*
2 | I, 2. 2007 *Water-Wise*
3 | I, 3. 2007 *Gender*
4 | I, 4. 2007 *Death Penalty*
5 | II, 1. 2008 *Hunger. A Clima(c)tic Perspective*
6 II, 2. 2008 *Education & Development. Africa*
7 | II, 3. 2008 *Indegeneous Knowledge (IK) & Environment*
8 | II, 4. 2008 *Consciousness & Development*
9 | III, 1. 2009 *Human Rights & Security*
10 | I, 1. 2010 *Energy & Development*
11 | I, 2. 2010 *Microfinance*
12 | II, 1. 2011 *The Placebo Effect*
13 | II, 2. 2011 *Indigenous Culture & Development*
14 | III, 1. 2012 *Consciousness & Development 2.0*
15 | IV, 1. 2013 *Anarchy & Nonprofit. An Emerging Affair*

SPANDA

DISCLOSING
THE STATE OF THE ART IN
ANARCHY AND NONPROFIT
COGITATIONS

*

FROM ETHICS TO PUBLIC GOODS,
FROM CHALLENGES TO OPPORTUNITIES,
FROM PHILANTHROPY TO FREE SOCIETY,
FROM PAST ANARCHISM TO FREEDOM,
FROM GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY TO LIBERTARIANS,
FROM INDIGENOUS RESILIENCE TO STABLE ANARCHY,
FROM ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION TO SOCIAL ORDER,
FROM PEOPLE-CENTRED ADJUSTMENT TO NONPROFIT,
FROM MAYA TO THE CLEAN CODE

ARE SOME OF THE VISIONS
UNVEILED IN

ANARCHY & NONPROFIT

AN
EMERGING
AFFAIR

*
* *
*

GRAEME CHESTERS
NOAM CHOMSKY
CHRISTOHER J. ~ ABIGAIL R. COYNE ~ HALL
SIMON CRITCHLEY
BURKHARD GNÄRIG
DAVID GOODWAY
THOMAS GRECO
ANDREW GAVIN MARSHALL
CARL ~ BARHANU MILOFSKY ~ NEGA
SAHLAN MOMO
SCOTT TURNER

*

£ 28 € 35 $ 45

ISSN 2210-2175
ISBN 978-88-7778-141-3