

The Anarchism in the “Other Europe”: From the Fin de Siècle to the Present

Workshop, 16–17 September 2022

Program

September 16

Workshop sessions - Charles University, Faculty of Arts, Jana Palacha 1, Praha 1, room 104

9:00 Introduction

9:30-10:30 chair Kristina Andělová

András Bozóki: *Anarchism in the European semi-periphery*

Michael Polák and Ondřej Slačálek: *How to periodize (and maybe explain?) history of the Czech anarchism*

10:45-12:15 chair Joe Feinberg

Iveta Leitane: *Litvak Anarchism movement - the case of Abba Gordin*

Piotr Laskowski: *“This is the sort of thing fanatics can do”. Jewish anarchists in Russian Poland, the Revolution of 1905, and the anarchism in Western Europe*

Kadir Yildirim: *Ottoman Empire and its Role in the International Cooperation against Anarchism (1898- 1913)*

12:15-13:30 lunch

13:30-14:30 chair Ondřej Slačálek

Endre Barát: *Direct action in the cubist movement in 19th century Hungary*

Eszter Balázs: *Cultural or Political Anarchism? Lajos Kassák's Avant-Garde Magazines in the 1910's*

14:45-15:45 chair Piotr Laskowski

Matti Eskelinen: *Fleeting Possibility Not Taken: Anarchism in Finland at the Turn of the 20th Century and its Consequences for Today*

Aki Lemmetyinen: *The Spirit of Revolution in Finland - Arvid Järnefelt in the Crazy Year of 1917*

16:00-17:30 chair András Bozóki

Adrian Tătăran: *Anarchism in Romania during „la belle époque” - a cultural and transnational analysis*

Manuel Mireanu: *Contesting Authority in Transylvania: Anarchistic Confrontations and Repression After the End of World War I*

Yavor Tarinski: *TBA (anarchism in Bulgaria)*

18:00

Keynote lecture - Workshop sessions - Charles University, Faculty of Arts, Jana Palacha 1, Praha 1, room 104

Grzegorz Piotrowski: *Critical potential of anarchism and its consequences*

September 17

Workshop sessions - Charles University, Faculty of Arts, Jana Palacha 1, Praha 1, room 104

9:30-10:30 chair Tereza Reichelová

Bob Kuřík: *Anarchy in 'the Velvet Prague', 1987-1992*

Gleb Koran: *Detournement as satire in Belarussian newspaper Navinky*

10:45-12:15 chair Grzegorz Piotrowski

Matyáš Křížkovský: *Czech Antifascism after the 1989 and Anarchist Direct Action: Clashes and Matches between Class, Community, and Civic Oriented Variants of Anarchism*

Maja Wróblewska: *The Disturbing Absence of the Grounded Eco-Anarchist Thought in Contemporary Poland: Potential Reasons and Alternatives*

Alexandra Wishart: *The Radical Left in Ukraine since Maidan: The Case of a 'Nationalist' Anarchist Movement*

12:15-13:30 lunch

13:30-15:00 chair Arnošt Novák

Aleksej Panov: *Toulouse squatters 'people house': Ethical construction of space*

Daria Salwerowicz and Krzysztof Hankus: *Subversion of re-socialization as a tool of the abolitionist struggle*

Benjamin Shepard: *The Sarajevo Project: On Conflict in a City of Friends*

15:15-16:30 closing debate

The Anarchism in the “Other Europe”: From the Fin de Siècle to the Present

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Abstracts

Anarchism in the European semi-periphery

András Bozóki, Central European University

Where democracy developed, anarchism was way of protest against its deficiencies and injustice, This occurred in the industrialized societies of Western Europe. Where democracy was not even on the horizon, anarchism was a way of escapism from the stifling conditions of dictatorship. This was largely the case in Russia and Eastern Europe. However, in Central Europe, democracy was not a dream but a possibility for the near future, and the regimes were non-democratic, but relatively liberal. In this context of the semi-periphery, anarchism did not present itself as a fully separate ideology, it went together with other ideas, particularly liberalism, socialism and democracy. If anarchism got closer to liberalism, it was a non-violent middle-class initiative. If it went together with socialism, it presented itself either as a way of independent agrarian socialism, or anarcho-syndicalism. Some anarchists realized the popular wish for democracy so they tended to accommodate anarchism as "anarcho-democracy". All these initiatives were observable in Hungary in the last 150 years. Therefore, anarchism often presented itself not as clear-cut ideology but as a hybrid idea appearing together with other anti-systemic initiatives.

How to periodize (and maybe explain?) history of the Czech anarchism

Michael Polák and Ondřej Slačálek, Charles University

The story of the Czech anarchism contains many surprises and changes, condensed in a few decades: from terrorist faction of social democracy up to office of minister in the first republican government, from hatred both against state socialism and nationalism up to merge with Czech national socialists and Leninist communists. After short presentation of the development of the movement, we will discuss three possible explanations of its development: (1) dynamics of ideas, above all (1a) dialectics of individualism and socialism in anarchism, and (1b) ambivalence of nationalism (2) dynamics of interactions with the world-history, especially (2a) waves and networks of spreading of anarchist ideas, (2b) influence of wars and revolutions (above all the first Russian revolution of 1905, WWI, and the second Russian revolution of 1917); and (3) social-historical dynamics, above all (3a) dynamics of tactics employed by the movements (strikes, above all), and (3b) dynamics of movement self-organization.

Litvak Anarchism movement: the case of Abba Gordin

Iveta Leitane, University of Bonn

Abba Gordin (1887 - 1964) was the leader of the spiritual branch of Jewish anarchism and founder of the “Jewish ethical culture society”. He extensively used both languages Hebrew and Yiddish (besides English during his years in America and Russian until the 1920s, and Russian in the early period of his work) with their respective religious or secular conceptual vocabulary to perform two tasks: to draw on Jewish sources to support certain (selective) anarchist ideas, and, along the guidelines of several anarchist ideas interpret some more or less known Jewish texts. In the only anarchist monthly magazine, which also included articles in Hebrew, „Problemot/Problemen” [Problems], Gordin regularly published articles, in which he, to some extent, set up a “discussion” between these (secular, traditional, and modern scholarly) inner-Jewish sources of different provenience. What does it mean to use Yiddish as a medium instead of or beside Hebrew for the translation of anarchist ideas? I shall propose two readings of Gordin’s Yiddish-against-Hebrew-strategy. At first sight it seems that Gordin preferred Hebrew when writing on metaphysical or “theological” issues so that Hebrew assumed the same role that

medieval Hebrew had or that Latin had in scholastics. He wrote in Yiddish, however, when it came to discussing social and juridical issues. Yet, he also opened a space, in which both languages intersected and competed with each other or even enlightened each other. Is it possible to put forward an argument based on in-depth analysis of this “translation” of one world-view into another? What does this mean for the strategy of anarchism itself, not just for anarchist ideas? Does his explicit use of an authoritative referential basis form a kind of theological-political decision or does it vehemently negate it? I will try to answer these questions in my report, delving into the relationship between anarchism and religion.

“This is the sort of thing fanatics can do”. Jewish anarchists in Russian Poland, the Revolution of 1905, and the anarchism in Western Europe

Piotr Laskowski, University of Warsaw

At the time of the Revolution of 1905 anarchism gained some popularity among Jewish youth in Russian Poland. Although it never became a mass movement, it was a social phenomenon not limited – at that single moment in the history of anarchism in Polish lands – to individuals. The group portrait of this milieu was sketched by Daniel Grinberg (2008: 159-171). One can develop his research by observing that these young people were perceived as a very new type of anarchist militants by their comrades in Western Europe. Since many of them were forced to escape persecutions and migrate to the West where they immersed in local anarchist milieus, the confrontation of two models of anarchist activity was inevitable. This encounter proved to be a difficult one. Rudolf Rocker described it in *The London Years*, in a chapter entitled meaningfully “Trouble With New Immigrants” (Rocker 2005: 106-111). In this paper I will try to reconstruct the dynamics of conflict, and the reasons behind it, taking as a case study the biography of Moishe Tokar, one of the organizers of the first anarchist groups in Warsaw who later met with Rocker in London only to go back and continue with revolutionary struggle until his failed attempt on commanding general of the Vilna Military District Sergey Gershelman.

Grinberg, Daniel, “Formes de la militance juive radicale en Pologne”, in: A. Bertolo (ed.), *Juifs et anarchistes. Histoire d'une rencontre*, Paris-Tel Aviv, Editions de l'éclat.

Rocker, Rudolf, 2005, *The London Years*, Oakland, AK Press.

Ottoman Empire and its Role in the International Cooperation against Anarchism (1898-1913)

Kadir Yildirim, Ruhr-University Bochum

By 1890s, the anarchist movement began to be treated as equivalent to terrorism by the public authorities and the press in many countries. In particular, with the increasing number of attacks allegedly made by anarchists in various countries led to an international cooperation such as Rome (1898) and St. Petersburg (1904) in order to share information to make deportation easy for anarchists.

This study aims to make two main contributions to the existing literature. Firstly, by considering the Ottoman Empire, it will clarify the international network which was established with the intention of sharing information about the anarchists at the end of the 19th century. Archival documents (surveillance reports, police interrogations et. al) and the Ottoman periodicals of the era will be used for this purpose. Many European countries had been target of anarchist attacks by the 1890s. On the contrary, there was no concrete danger for the Ottoman Empire. Yet, what were the factors that brought these countries together in the international struggle against anarchism?

The role and position of Ottoman Empire were important since it was the only Muslim participant of the both meetings and it was one of the active members of this cooperation in terms of action as well as sharing information. Therefore, the aim here is not just an investigation of the only Muslim member of international cooperation. More importantly, the study aims to clarify the international network against anarchism by considering the Ottoman Empire whose role and importance in the international network has been largely neglected in the historiography. Analyzing the Ottoman archival documents related to this international cooperation will enable us to see the effects of the international cooperation on the lives of

ordinary workers.

Direct action in the cubist movement in 19th century Hungary

Barát Endre, Eötvös Loránd University

Direct action has been one of the most important types of action in the anarchist movement since its beginnings. David Greaber defines direct action as a form of action in which the means and ends are

indistinguishable, in which the form of action itself is the model for the change that the participants seek to achieve. It is a participatory action of freely organised communities that ignores the regulation of the state and instead of mediating organisations, the community takes care of its own affairs.

Hungarian agrarian socialism, as a radical movement of the rural agrarian population, emerged in parallel with the agrarian countries of Europe, following the same patterns. The movement began in 1891 with a gendarmerie action against a local workers' association in Orosháza. The movement spread to villages and farms of the Viharsarok culminating in the harvest strikes of 1897. These affected a large part of the Tiszántúl region and ended with the nationwide harvest strikes of 1906, followed by general strike. The core group of the agrarian socialist movement in Hungary were the ditch diggers or "cubists", the term used for men who dug drainage ditches and built levees for river and flood regulation, who developed their own work culture as a reaction against alienated wage labour. Working in brigades, the cubists made decisions together and worked cooperatively, as equality within the brigades was one of their core values. Their political activity was characterised by various types of direct action, such as the founding of reading circles, the organisation of cooperatives, the holding of spontaneous popular assemblies, strikes and sabotage actions.

This study aims to present the direct actions as well as autonomous and self-directed communities

of the cubists and their relationship with anarchism. My research will synthesise and interpret previous ethnographic publications, local history works and political history studies according to the perspectives outlined above and will draw on content analysis of contemporary agrarian socialist press reports written by cubists or written about them.

Cultural or Political Anarchism? Lajos Kassák's Avant-Garde Magazines in the 1910's

Eszter Balázs, Museum Kassák, University János Kodolányi

Leading Hungarian avant-garde artist Lajos Kassák (1887–1967) and the historical avant-garde movement in Hungary, flourishing between 1915–1928, have been subject of a great number of studies since the 1920's. However, neither Kassák, nor the movement have been systematically analyzed from the perspective of the relationship between avant-garde and political trends, including anarchism. In this paper I discuss the influence of anarchism on Kassák's literary and art journals. Two journals had been the principal platforms of his movement's activity during the second decade of the 20th century : A Tett [The Deed] (1915–1916) and the MA [Today] (edited in Budapest between 1916–1919).

Before he had founded these journals, Kassák – still as a member of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party – already joined some informal syndicalist and anarchist circles in Budapest. When Kassák visited his mentor, the Hungarian-French vagabond author and painter Emil Szittya (1886–1964) in Paris in 1909, Szittya also introduced him to French syndicalist and anarchist groups. Taking into account these experience of Kassák and of his fellow writers with anarchism, a main question emerge. How were anarchist ideas presented Kassák's avant-garde journals? More specifically, was anarchism influential as political ideology, or rather a specific cultural anarchism could be distinguished in the journals?

In fact, some writers published openly anarchist content (Tivadar Raith, Lajos Kassák), while others popularized cultural anarchist ideas as a main source of new radical aesthetics (Zoltán Haraszti). During the revolutionary period in 1918–19 anarchism as a political and a social trend became very explicit in the journal MA. At the same time, the concept of activism – as a sort of socialist humanism patterned after contemporary German activism – also characterised of the

political aesthetics of MA. As several reserachers point out, there exists an essential similarity between the avant-garde and the anarchistic repertoire - such as, e.g., the use of distructive techniques, essential characteristics of cultural anarchism (Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, 145-146.).

I argue that in Kassák's journals cultural anarchism was more pervasive and inherent in the avantgarde artistic program than as an explicit commitment to the anarchist political ideology of the era. Anarchism became one of the most important, fertile ideological source of characteristics of the avant-garde such as a sharp sense of militancy, the praise of nonconformism, the exploration of new horizons of creativity, confidence in the final victory of change over tradition.

The avant-garde, from its emergence as a term since the end of the 18th century in Europe, had a tendency toward radicalism first in politics, later in aesthetics. Kassák's movement, in the beginning of the 20th century, reflects an intensive merging of the two by creating an exemplary radicalism in the Hungarian context.

Fleeting Possibility Not Taken: Anarchism in Finland at the Turn of the 20th Century and its Consequences for Today

Matti Eskelinen, University of Turku

In my presentation, I would look into anarchism in Finland both theoretically and historically at the turn of the 20th century. Anarchism did not take root in Finland as it did in its neighbouring countries Sweden and Russia. This even though one of the major anarchist thinkers, Pyotr Kropotkin, saw radical potential in Finnish people's endurance amid harsh conditions during his visits to Finland while he was doing geographical fieldwork in Finland. There were influential Finnish anarchists and syndicalists during that time, but they were mainly Finnish immigrants to North America like humourist and labour activist Matti Valentin Huhta aka T-Bone Slim. Tolstoyanism had some influence in Finland, but overall social-democratic parliamentary Marxism which later moderated into the modern welfare state social-democracy came to have hegemony on the Finnish working-class movement. While Finland is on the outskirts of the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, I think there are both some important parallels to other countries in the region as vacillating between East and West Europe while differing from other countries of the CEE by becoming a Nordic welfare state. By looking at the historical and philosophical currents seemingly supporting the spread of anarchism and how it was thwarted, I paint the picture of anarchism as it could have been and how anarchism nevertheless can be seen as having influenced the development of the Nordic welfare state which Finland did become. I also look into the contemporary anarchism in Finland and how anarchism's previous history has shaped the current anarchistic movement. On that task, the work of sociologist Mari Kuukkanen and her research into the Finnish anarchist movement during the 2010s will be of immense help.

The Spirit of Revolution in Finland – Arvid Järnefelt in the Crazy Year of 1917

Aki Lemmetyinen, Tampere University

When the revolution of March 1917 broke out, Arvid Järnefelt was 55-year old famous author from a family of old nobility. As a young man he had given up radical nationalism for tolstoyan anarchism, turned down prospective career in judiciary and moved to the countryside to live out of the land by his own hands, as a strict pacifist and refusing to pay taxes.

At the beginning of the revolution he had a mental health crisis where he felt being in direct contact with God, and that he had a mission to prevent the revolution from becoming a bloodbath.

He organized with his supporters and held unauthorized speeches in the churches of Helsinki in an attempt to open them for the free use of people.

After that he went back to the countryside and tried to organize his municipality to declare independence. He proposed an anarchist model of federative organization from bottom up, with a taxation scheme to distribute land and wealth equally. Later he refused to participate in any court session regarding his activities.

The paper is based on my Master's Thesis (2021) where I go through the activities and thoughts of Arvid Järnefelt, reflect them on classical anarchism and the relation it had with religion and violence, and argue that Tolstoyanism is an inherent part of classical anarchism, and that Järnefelt was a consistent anarchist in his actions during the revolution who had a rational and reasonable program despite having an acute mental health crisis.

Anarchism in Romania during „la belle époque” - a cultural and transnational analysis

Adrian Tătăran, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj

Although anarchism did not inspire a significant popular following in Romania, as it did, for example, in Spain, and didn't have the literary and political breadth of the French movement, or its global outreach, the penetration and spread of anarchist ideas had not been completely insignificant or echoless in Romania during the 19th century. I would like to propose a periodization of “classical anarchism” in Romania, from the first narodnik-inspired circles to Panait Muşoiu's activity as a popular and libertarian editor. Also, following Richard D. Sonn's suggestion that anarchism cannot be understood on solely political terms, but must be interpreted as a wide-ranging “cultural rebellion”, I argue that the spread of anarchist and socialist ideas in Romania during the 19th century should be understood through the “political culture” lens.

Apart its cultural and (counter)discursive dimensions, another equally important element defining anarchism was its basic transnational character. Thus, anarchism had not been an exclusively local or “national” phenomenon and should not be understood exclusively within a national framework. Anarchists such as Panait Muşoiu or Zamfir Arbure, for example, fully participated in the wider revolutionary networks, as Romania became one of the main transit points for the smuggling of subversive literature in Russia and a hub of revolutionary activity. At the same time, anarchists from Romania, mostly of Jewish origins, started to migrate, at the turn of the century, to the U.S.A. and Great Britain. They became involved with the local movements, while also keeping in touch with the Romanian movement, groups and publications. Thus, the aim of the paper is to present the development of anarchist ideas in Romania during la belle époque period, approaching it from a “political culture” and transnational studies point of view.

Contesting Authority in Transylvania: Anarchistic Confrontations and Repression After the End of World War I

Manuel Mireanu, Universitatea Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj

My paper looks at various forms of resistance and repression in Transylvania in the months following the end of World War I. After having been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Transylvania became a territory to be disputed between various groups. As the central authority broke down in November 1918, the imperial security apparatus was decomposing. In this context, the province became the theatre for a multitude of violent political and social confrontations.

A number of these confrontations were anarchistic in nature, in that they posed a direct challenge to the state's authority, being at the same time opposed to war, nationalism, imperialism and exploitation. I look at three types of such anarchistic confrontations: peasant riots, workers' strikes and self-governed republics.

The soldiers of the former Austro-Hungarian army returned to their homes demanding land redistribution among peasants. Being still armed, these soldiers often attacked the manors and estates of the local aristocracy. In parallel to this wave of riots, the end of the war also saw a wave of strikes in Transylvania, especially from miners and railway workers. In some cases, these strikes led to prolonged periods of resistance against authorities. In addition, the vacuum of authority catalysed a republican movement in the province. Having barely escaped imperial authority and facing the prospect of being incorporated in the Romanian kingdom, many people of Transylvania opted for self-organisation and for rejecting monarchical authority.

This paper also focuses on the repression enacted by the paramilitary groups of the Transylvanian Romanian nationalist government, called the National Guards. These groups were used against the peasants' uprisings and the workers' strikes. This was mainly aimed at

preserving law, order and security. The paramilitary groups helped the Romanian authorities to pacify the province, consolidate their authority and enforce the nationalist hegemony.

Critical potential of anarchism and its consequences

Grzegorz Piotrowski, University of Gdańsk / European Solidarity Centre

With the Spanish Civil War being the last episode of classic anarchism, the revival of this doctrine that began in the 1950s has marked a new era in defining what anarchism is. These changes can be linked to the shift from the old social movements to the new social movements interpretation that became more broadly used in the 1970s and 1980s. The experiments with returning to the anarchist doctrine by countercultural social movements in the 50s, 60s, and in the 70s have extracted a very important issue of what anarchism is; its critical potential.

Development of anarchist doctrine embedded in and used by social movements overlapped with philosophical discussions about power and its relations to subjects and societies. Anarchism and its critical potential have less focused on society as a mass, but more on the individual level, generating a plethora of various anarchisms like for instant queer anarchism, eco-anarchism and other forms focused on individualism. The writings of Michel Foucault, and in particular his concept of bio power, have had a significant impact on contemporary anarchist doctrine.

By referring to the sociological concept of framing, developed from the writings of Erving Goffman I would like to point out to the three main elements that are the diagnostic element, the prognostic element, and the mobilizing element. In the context of anarchist doctrine, those three elements have not developed in an equal pace with the diagnosis of societal problems being the most developed and most widely spread part of contemporary energies doctrine, however with the other two elements of framing there are still some developments observed.

Anarchy in „the Velvet Prague“

Bob Kuřík, Charles University

Analysing newspapers, zines, magazines and flyers of late 1980s and early 1990s, the task of the paper is to reconstruct ways in which anarchist attitudes and perspectives have been rediscovered and woven together between 1987 and 1992 in the Czech capital city of Prague. In addition to describing the broader context of four worlds (independent initiatives, non-conformist music worlds, student activities, left intellectuals) in and out of which anarchists were formed as political subjects, the presentation seeks to answer a basic battery of research questions: What positive meanings did anarchism take on? What did anarchists fight for in 1987-1992? In what spheres of reality did these struggles take place? In replying to these questions, the paper outlines three main spheres - ethico-political sphere of human freedom, individuality and autonomy; new forms of cultural-underground politics forged mostly around DIY punk, political hardcore and anarcho-punk; resuscitated sphere of social/socio-economical optics. If Eyal characterizes the first years of post-socialism in Czechia as "making capitalism without capitalists", then in the case of „the Velvet Anarchy“, the paper argues, it is possible to speak of the „making of anarchists without anarchism“, if by anarchism we mean a coherent political ideology. Anarchy, was much more about ethical values, attitudes to life, action, cultural underground, the pursuit of freedom, self-defence, intuition, fragmented slogans, questioning, trying to keep social optics alive, as well as about the forming of material infrastructure supporting the movement - printers, papers, offices, concerts, magazines, demonstrations or direct actions.

Establishing the anarchism in Slovakia

Miroslav Michela, Charles University

The lecture will focus on the process of establishing the anarchist movement in Slovakia. Based on information from contemporary and alternative press and from semi-structured interviews with actors of the anarchist movement in Slovakia, it aims to offer the first insight into post-socialist organizing of the movement. This process was related with the transformation of the alternative and above all punk environment. In my contribution, I will try to answer questions related to the continuities and discontinuities of the alternative scene, the relationship to the

post-socialist liberal consensus and the building of a post-socialist state in Slovakia. To what extent did the different trajectories of the development of Czech and Slovak society in the 1980s and 1990s manifest themselves in this process, in the context of the building of neoliberal nation states? I am starting from the hypothesis that in Slovakia before 1989 there was not significantly developed liberal and left-wing dissent or underground, which partly became a nourishing substrate for Czech anarchists, and that also highly affected the generational structure of the movement. At the same time, the inspiration and reception of the Czech environment played a fundamental role, and the movement developed with a certain delay and with its own dynamics and specifics. In my contribution, in addition to the already mentioned levels, I will also present specific activities, opinion positions and organizational platforms of the post-socialist Slovak anarchist environment (demonstrations and other activities, organizations, media, meeting places).

Detournement as satire in Belarussian newspaper *Navinky*

Gleb Koran, European Humanities University, Vilnius

“Navinky” was a Belarussian newspaper founded in 1998 by the local anarchist group Chyrvony zond (“Red Council”). It was started as a DIY newspaper with an edition of 299 pieces. But already in 2001 newspaper had official registration and started to sell by government shops and by post. The history of the newspaper was short – already in 2003, it was closed by the Belarussian court. But its existence was a big impact on the political culture of Belarus – firstly in the history of contemporary Belarus satirical newspaper was circulated freely. The main peculiarity of this satire was that not just official Belarussian power was the object of fun, but also opposition to Lukashenko. Founders of “Navinky” saw satire as continues of the tradition of the Situationist International, generally applying the practice of “detournement”. It means that heroes of stories in the newspaper (State officials or leaders of oppositions or any Belarussian cases) were presented in special non-standard narratives. It could be real events that happened with subjects, or fictitious. For the first example, in one newspaper Lukashenko was drawn as the famous image of Che Guevara with the headline (“LukaChenka visited the Island of Freedom”). For the second, there was a fictitious detective investigation about why Belarus lost Japan in hockey at the Olympics of 2002 (because Japan changed the puck for one with remote control and scored goals with it). It is important not to forget that beginning of the 2000s in Belarus was a very tough time in sense of political affiliation – if a person was interested in politics he must choose a side from just two options (Lukashenko or national-democratic opposition). “Navinky” with all its satire had been disrupting this dualism showing absurdity as Belarussian power, as claims of national opposition. In the full paper, I will show examples of how this worked and why “Navinky” had a big impact on Belarussian anarchism.

Czech Antifascism after the 1989 and Anarchist Direct Action: Clashes and Matches between Class, Community, and Civic Oriented Variants of Anarchism

Matyáš Křížkovský, Charles University

The paper looks at post-1989 history of Czech anarchist antifascism and distinguishes three variants of anarchism that developed alongside with it. In the first part, it refines and expands the widely used schema that pits autonomists against anarchists (or liberal lifestyle anarchists against social anarchists). Whereas autonomists, according to this schema, are individualistic hedonists who are resigned to broader social change and enjoy their privileges in order to create “islands of freedom” in which to live their own alternative. Anarchists, then, are those who participate in the class struggle and seek a social revolution that collectivises the means of production. The problem with this scheme is mainly the simplification of the first position, as it does not recognise any other type of collectivism than class collectivism. It thus presents all other types of collectivism as individualistic. However, purely individualist anarchism has never been the dominant current among anarchists who do not subscribe to the class struggle. In our scheme we will instead work with different types of collectivism and distinguish between community-oriented, civic-oriented and class-oriented types of anarchism.

In order not to stay only with concepts and ideological schemes, which are rather useless without concrete examples of action in certain contexts, we will apply them, in the second part, to the interpretation of the basic milestones of Czech antifascism after 1989. There, we outline for periods and focus on shifts in understandings of direct action influenced by shifting coalitions between class, community, and civic oriented anarchists.

The Radical Left in Ukraine since Maidan: The Case of a 'Nationalist' Anarchist Movement

Alexandra Wishart, University of Ottawa

When the Euromaidan Revolution erupted in 2013-2014, Ukraine's political fringe groups, most notoriously the radical right, became the focal point of scholarly attention. In the light of Russia's brutal invasion of Ukraine on February 24th, 2022, we again experience a rise in interest in Ukrainian radical politics whereby dynamics within the 'New Radical Left' (NRL) remain largely omitted. While the Ukrainian 'New Radical Left' had a small revival in the 2010s with the emergence of the student-Union 'Direct Action,' the left's attempt at creating cultural hegemony diminished when actors within the movement developed severe ideological cleavages before, during, and after Maidan. With an ideologically divided NRL, one new group, 'National Anarchists,' emerged in Ukraine's political arena, reappropriating aspects of Ukrainian nationalism while simultaneously centering 'traditionally' progressive pro-LGBTQ+ and Feminist talking points. After Euromaidan, the key cleavage within the NRL was between those who viewed Ukraine's anti-imperial struggle against Russia as its primary struggle, and those who took a post-anarchist stance criticizing Ukraine's political trajectory accusing it of historical revisionism. However, since February 24th, a near-complete consolidation and unification of Ukraine's NRL has occurred. This paper addresses how in the aftermath of the transformative Maidan Revolution, internal cleavages within Ukraine's NRL have led them to adapt their internal strategies. I argue that, more often than not, internal dynamics within movements are strong indicators of the movement's political course and path of alliance building. Drawing on ethnographic data carried out in Ukraine between 2018 – 2020 and combined with new reflections in light of the current invasion, I seek to investigate how the dynamic of the NRL internal fragmentation has led to the seemingly contradictory merger between anarchist and nationalist activists.

The Disturbing Absence of the Grounded Eco-Anarchist Thought in Contemporary Poland: Potential Reasons and Alternatives

Maja Wróblewska, University of Warsaw

The aim of the speech is to give an impulse to the development of a grounded theory of green anarchism in Poland. The literature on the subject to date constitutes mostly an elaboration of the Western thought of eco-anarchism. The impact of the transnational transfer of ideas, while inspiring, requires the development of situational knowledge that would respond to the challenges facing Poland, such as the energy transformation.

Whilst Poland has the largest amount of coal in Europe, the country is characterized by a lack of energy sovereignty, i.e. dependence on the export of fossil fuels from countries which, due to the exploitation of workers, offer lower prices of raw materials. In other words, the region's specificity is significantly different from that described by renowned anarchist theoreticians likewise Murray Bookchin.

Drawing from the theoretical framework of the sociology of social movements, I have carried out a case study of the Green Wave movement (pl. Zielona Fala) based on the method of participatory interview and the analysis of the group's postulates. Consequently, I argue that various contradictions characterize green anarchism. First of all, counteracting climate disruption is not an aim initiated solely by anarchists. They cooperate with not only other informal groups but also officially operating organizations. Whereas anarchism resists all forms of legalism, resisting environmental degradation requires systemic regulations, due to, among others, the activity of international corporations.

Nonetheless, I suggest that the given contradictions might be read in an affirmative way. I, therefore, perceive the Green Wave as a potential example of the politics of the common. Such

politics should be understood in two ways: as a protection of the existing good, that is the natural environment, as well as the creative production of new forms of subjectivity and relations that cannot be subject to capitalist reification.

Toulouse squatters 'people house': Ethical construction of space

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This paper analyzes social aspects of the perception of the right to a safe space and its creation among the political anarchist squatters' communities. It is based on a data collected through research performed in Toulouse area in 2021-2022.

Main idea of the research is based around construction and preservation of safety space notion that could be related to community social practices in the context of networking and recognition. Aim of the paper is to describe possible interconnection of human cognitive space perception and social practice of safe place creation. In the course of the work, empirical issues of construction of the "home" space, as well as practices used to create and maintain it, were explored in the field.

Main interpretation paradigm is based on the difference of cognitive perception of space: territorial and "spatial self". It was used to explain logic of constructing and reconstructing social dependence from an ethical point of view between members of the Toulouse squats community. A point of special attention was paid to unusual cases of inclusion of socially vulnerable categories – East European migrants and homeless persons, a challenging task for community members due to ethical and "power relations" issues.

As a result, it has been found that Toulouse squatters have developed new norms and practices to overcome the consequences of insecurity and social segregation (ethnic, linguistic, gender, ethnic, age, etc.) that are aligned with the principles of anarchism. This is done through creation and maintenance of community practices, which provide an opportunity to regain a 'good life' through mutual recognition, not only for those seeking help, but also for those providing it. Conclusions drawn on the validity of the initial hypotheses: members of the Toulouse squatters' community in absence of a territory (a home) owned and protected according to property rights, create a safe environment through a relationship of mutual solidarity and network. Relationships are built using a different from usual (individualist based) ethical recognition criterion - an autonomous, but simultaneously vulnerable person. The representation and position of the vulnerable body in the space is recognized by squatters' community as a morally legitimate claim to security and space, necessary for a person's "good life".

Subversion of re-socialization as a tool of the abolitionist struggle

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In the upcoming weeks, after over eight years of preparation, the government draft act „on the support and re-socialization of juveniles” (print no. 2183) will be submitted to the Polish Parliament. Key elements of the 1982 amendment to the law relate to, for example, the extension of the period (from age 10 to 23) of detention, argues for the need to use an adaptive room (known as "isolation room"), and describes a range of "direct coercive measures".

In our speech, we want to focus on using and referencing the concept of re-socialization within a neoliberal and criminalization discourse that is based on a gratifying system of discipline and punishment for everything that remains considered deviant and illegal behavior in the dominant power relations. Next, we will attempt to propose a subversive motion of the concept of re-socialization (a different understanding of the word-core socio) from the perspective of anarchist ethics by referring to such concepts as restorative justice. Framing the problem in this way generates the question of whether it is worth trying to reclaim the concept of re-socialization, and if so, what practices should be so named.

As part of re-socialization practice, we will consider the value of efforts such as working with male socialized persons in radical communities in the context of preventing gender-based violence. Juxtaposing such a subversive form of re-socialization work with the parliamentary proposal to discipline juveniles placed in detention centers, we attempt to consider how to socialize youth and what role the context of sexual difference plays in such a process.

Bringing recent literature against the progressive criminalization of societies, we will try to open a space for discussion whether the practice of subversive re-socialization we propose could be an effective tool in the abolitionist struggle.

The Sarajevo Project: On Conflict in a City of Friends

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Brooklyn poet Walt Whitman dreamed of living in a city of friends, writing *Leaves of Grass*. I have often felt the same way walking down my street to the bike shop and to the wine store and to the bodega not far from where Whitman drafted his poems. Many of my students work at the grocery store nearby. I greet them in the mornings before class. I often feel like I'm in a city of friends. I also see conflict, car horns blaring, screams, the sounds of construction, fights over immigrants, race, policing, and overdevelopment. I wonder, was Whitman missing something? Can we create a city of friends? In his lifetime, he saw the city consumed with riots over who would fight in the US Civil War as his city of friends came close to falling apart. Whitman's anarchist view that poetry could help us realize a democratic promise clashed with an ever-expanding war machine. Anarchist ideas are always contending with global trends. Today, these trends swirl around a similar expanding conflict.

Fast forward, there is no mistaking that nationalism is on the rise, often accompanied by a general antagonism, sometimes even between communities and friends, sometimes between nations. Our democracy is riddled with stories of people taking either or positions, instead of finding common ground or room for compromise. The United States experienced a bloody civil war over such conflicts in the mid-19th century.

In the former Yugoslavia, a non-aligned 'Kingdom of Southern Slavs' favoring solidarity over nationalism and religion, crumbled. Why? What happened? Could it be that absolute positions impeded progress or mechanisms for collaboration, thwarting an equitable exchange of ideas? Yet, this is not an isolated problem.

Today, Europe is experiencing its first ground war in three decades. Increasingly divisions are tearing understandings and approaches to democracy to shreds. How do we reconcile friendship, conflict? What is the nature of conflict and dialogue? What happens when discourse breaks down, when people turn their back on their neighbors or begin to shoot instead of talking to each other? What are the meanings people place in friendship, conflict, and the dynamics which take shape when neighbors begin fighting or shooting? What can be done? Can urban spaces still be cities of friends built around notions of affinity and solidarity or are such anarchist ideas ill equipped for the times?