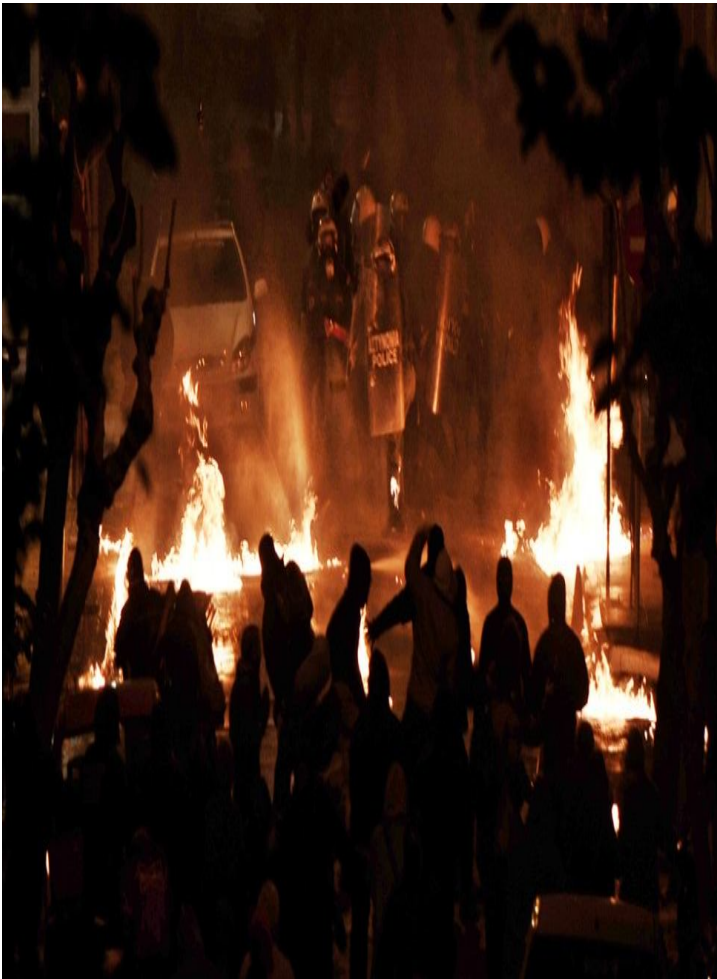


NIETZSCHE & ANARCHISM AN ELECTIVE AFFINITY

**AND A NIETZSCHEAN READING OF THE DECEMBER '08
REVOLT IN ATHENS**



CHRISTOS ILIOPOULOS

LOUGHBOROUGH 2013

*To all those fighting to
“Become Who They Are”*

Acknowledgements

I still cannot realize that this research has reached an end. Nevertheless, every single step during these five years was accomplished because of the help of certain people, to whom I feel the need to offer a minimum of acknowledgement for their direct or indirect contribution to this thesis.

My family played the most significant role to my reaching this level of education and I would like to thank them all for what they have offered me these thirty-three years of my life. The “turn” to my academic career and its evolution could hardly be as it is without the stimuli and inspiration I constantly gained from my teachers and colleagues during my BA and MA courses. Thank you all. My “journey” to this “doctoral world” started and ended under the presence of a most exceptional person and teacher that I was more than lucky to have as my supervisor. Prof. Ruth Kinna showed me what it means to be a leading expert in a field and at the same time treat students as equals. My gratitude also goes to my co-supervisor, Dr. Ian Fraser, whose constant advice provided me with invaluable improvements, as well as my independent supervisor, Dr. Jeremy Leaman, for his “Nietzschean view” on my research.

Finally, a special “thanks” to Pandora, for all the love, patience, kindness, advice, help and inspiration she has offered me for more than ten years. Nothing would be the same without her, least of all this dissertation.

Christos Iliopoulos
Athens, November 2013

Table of Contents

Abstract	viii
Part A: Introduction – Chapter Plan	1
A.1/ Thesis Aims – Queries	1
- Central Hypothesis and Aims	1
- Contribution of the Dissertation	2
- Nietzsche’s Interpreters	3
- Queries/ Secondary Aims	3
- Elective Affinity and its Effects	5
A.2/ Chapter Plan	8
A.3/ Literature Context	11
- First Literature Group – Positive/Negative Approaches to Nietzsche and Anarchy	11
- Second Literature Group – Positive/Negative Approaches to Nietzsche and Anarchy	13
- Conclusions and Perspectives from the Existing Literature Context	15
Summary	16
Part B: Methodology	17
B.1/ Elective Affinity	17
- Quality and Levels	17
- Elective Affinity in Nietzschean and Anarchist Studies	21
B.2/ The Anarchists	24
Origin and “Definition”	24
B.2.1/Anarchism as an Ideology	25
B.2.2/ Features and Currents of (Classical) Anarchism	27
- Ideology and Experience	27
- Authority and Freedom	27
- Equality	28
- Revolution	29
- Direct Democracy	29
- Means and Ends	30
- Anti-Statism	30
- Solidarity	30
- Violence	31
- The Anarchist Corpus/Contesting the Ideological Approach of Anarchism	31
- The Anarchist Canon	32
- The Anarchist Currents	33

- Mutualism	33
- Collectivism	34
- Anarcho-Communism	34
- Anarcho-Syndicalism	34
- Egoism	35
- Libertarianism	35
- Elective affinity Versus an Ideological Perception of Anarchism	36
B.2.3/ Beyond Classical Anarchism: The New, Anarchistic Social Movements	39
- New Anarchistic Movements: Anti-Hegemony and Politics of Affinity	39
B.2.4/ Neo-Anarchism / Post-Anarchism	41
- Post-Anarchism	41
- Neo-Anarchism	42
B.2.5/ Figures of Anarchism (A) and Libertarian Marxism (L/M)	43
- Mikhail Bakunin (A)	43
- Peter Kropotkin (A)	43
- Errico Malatesta (A)	44
- Gustav Landauer (A)	44
- Emma Goldman (A)	44
- Walter Benjamin (L/M)	44
B.3/ The Political Friedrich Nietzsche	48
B.3.1/ The Philosopher and His Legacy	48
- Categorization of Nietzsche's Works	49
B.3.2/ Nietzsche as a Political Thinker	51
- Nietzsche and the Western Culture	52
- Nietzsche and Democracy	53
B.4/ Context of Interpretation	56
- Qualitative Type of the Interpretation Context	56
- Interpretative Tools	58
- Nietzschean Concepts	59
- Genealogy	59
- Type of Forces and Will to Power	60
- Perspectivism	61
- Hierarchy – The Master and The Slave	61
- Truth and Knowledge	62
- Apollonian and Dionysian	63
- Nihilism	64
- Resentment and Bad Conscience	65
- Transvaluation of Values	65
- Affirmation	66
- Overman	67
- Eternal Return	67
- Becoming Who One Is / Amor Fati	68
B.5/ Selecting the Historical Incidents of Anarchism	69
Summary	71

Part C: Nietzsche and the Anarchists – Establishing the Elective Affinity	72
C.1/ Nietzsche in Anarchism (A) and Libertarian Marxism (L/M)	76
- Emma Goldman (A)	76
- Gustav Landauer (A)	80
- Walter Benjamin (L/M)	86
- Post-Anarchism	91
- Post and Classical Anarchism	92
C.2/ Anarchism in Nietzsche	97
- Genealogy	98
- Resentment	101
- Perspectivism	103
- Ontology/Truth/Knowledge	106
- Will to power/Active (master) and Reactive (slave) Forces	108
- Morality – Good and Evil	110
- Violence, Means and Ends	112
- Nihilism – Death of God/Free Will/Transvaluation of Values	114
Summary	118
Part D: Case Study	119
Acronyms of the Groups, Political Parties and Organizations	119
December '08 – Athens	120
D.1/ Nietzsche and December '08	120
- The Elective Affinity Framework	120
- The Nietzschean Three Metamorphoses of the Spirit	122
- First Use of the Case Study: The Three Metamorphoses as an Interpretative Tool	124
- Second Use of the Case Study: Reinforcing the Elective Affinity	125
D.2/ December's Historical Background	127
- Recent Political and Movement History in Greece	127
- Civil War (1946-1949)	127
- The Post War State and the Dictatorship (1949-1974)	128
- The Post-Dictatorship Era of “Metapolitefsi” (1974-1980)	129
- The “Socialist” Years (1981-1989)	129
- The Neoliberal Era and the Escalation of Social Antagonism (1990-1998)	131
- International and Domestic Alterations in the Antagonist Movement (1999-2007)	131
- From the Neoliberal Policies of the 90's to their Social/Economic/Political Effects: Economic and Monetary Union (2001), Olympic Games (2004)	132

- The Anarchist Space in Greece / The Anarchist Agents of the Revolt	133
D.3/ Mainstream Perceptions of the December '08 Revolt and their Inadequacies / The Anarchist Reading	142
- The Political Parties	142
- New Democracy (ND)	144
- Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)	145
- Greek Communist Party (KKE)	146
- People's Orthodox Alarm (LAOS)	147
- Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	148
- Labour Revolutionary Party (EEK) and Anti-capitalist Left Cooperation for Subversion (ANTARSYA)	149
- The Media	150
- Inadequacies of the Revolt's Mainstream Perceptions, the Anarchist Reading and its Zarathustrian Theorization	153
D.4/ December as a Bakuninist Revolt	157
D.5/ The Three Metamorphoses and/of the Decembrian Revolt	161
- The Camel – First Metamorphosis of the Spirit	164
- The Lion – Second Metamorphosis of the Spirit	168
- The Child – Third Metamorphosis of the Spirit	179
D.6/ A Nietzschean Critical Synopsis of December '08	184
Summary	186
Part E: Conclusions	188
Bibliography	195
General	195
Elective Affinity	199
-Primary	199
-Secondary	201
Case Study	203
- Brochures and Proclamations	203
- Magazines and Newspapers	204
- Internet	204
- Books	207
- Articles	208

ABSTRACT

The aim of this research is to establish the bond between Friedrich Nietzsche and the anarchists, through the apparatus of “elective affinity”, and to challenge the boundaries of several anarchist trends – especially “classical” and “post” anarchism – and “ideologies” like anarchism and libertarian Marxism. Moreover, it highlights the importance of reading Nietzsche politically, in a radical way, to understand his utility for the contemporary anarchist movement.

The review of the literature concerning the Nietzsche-anarchy relationship shows the hitherto limited bibliography and stresses the possibility of exploring this connection, with the methodological help of Michael Löwy’s concept of “elective affinity”.

The research opens with a discussion of anarchism, following the dominant model for categorizing anarchist traditions, presenting its basic features and currents and drawing on its historical development. This leads to the introduction of two points (the questioning of the anarchist canon and the exposure of the diversity that basic anarchist concepts bear among different anarchist currents) which contest the rigid ideological perception of anarchism in favour of a fluid and dynamic anarchy. There emerges the elective affinity with Nietzsche, serving a double goal: the unification of the distinct anarchist tendencies and the definition of the anarchist parameters in relation to other ideologies.

The following section of the thesis examines Nietzsche, by presenting the evolution of his philosophical thought and the fundamental theses of his perception of politics. It, then, continues with a detailed analysis of the main concepts of his philosophy based on the interpretation made by Gilles Deleuze, Alexander Nehamas and Keith Ansell-Pearson, thus structuring its interpretative context for establishing the Nietzsche-anarchy connection. This establishment is realized in a dual way. Firstly, by exploring the elective affinity through the “presence” of Nietzsche in the thought and politics of anarchist/libertarian thinkers (Goldman, Landauer, Benjamin) and currents (post-anarchism), and secondly by recognizing the anarchist worldview in the Nietzschean philosophy.

The first path (Nietzsche in anarchism) shows how Nietzsche has interacted with or has been absorbed by the anarchist way of thinking, whereas the second path (anarchism in Nietzsche) reveals the affinal worldview of the two parts by extensively using the interpretation context mentioned above.

The final section of the thesis applies the whole analysis above on a Nietzschean reading of the December ’08 revolt in Athens based on the “Of the Three Metamorphoses” discourse from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*.

What has been found is the existence of a clear bond, between Nietzsche and the anarchists, which even reaches the upper levels of Löwy’s “elective affinity”, that is Nietzschean Anarchism as a result of the two parts interactive fusion. The significance of this finding is that the relevant affinity may contribute to an alternative, to the dominant, perception of anarchism as an ideology. It may also designate its special features together with its weaknesses, meaning the objections of Nietzsche to certain aspects of the anarchist practices and worldview (violence, resentment, bad conscience), thus opening a whole new road of self-criticism for the anarchists of the twenty first century. In addition, the location and analysis of the elective affinity serves the debunking of the Nietzschean concepts used by conservative and right-wing readings in order to appropriate Nietzsche, and of the accusations that the German philosopher had unleashed against anarchists, which reveals his misunderstanding of anarchist politics.

Nietzsche & Anarchism: An Elective Affinity and a Nietzschean reading of the December '08 revolt in Athens

PART A: INTRODUCTION-CHAPTER PLAN

A.1/ Thesis Aims – Queries

Central Hypothesis and Aims

The central claim of my thesis is that Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy promotes, even indirectly, basic anarchist notions. Hence, what I am primarily intending to show in this research is the existence of a clear bond between anarchist traditions and Nietzsche's writings.

The claim is supported by a review of Nietzsche's work, from an anarchist perspective, and, at the same time, a reading of anarchist thought with a Nietzschean spirit, that is through a body of basic philosophical concepts that underline his idiosyncrasy. I will re-examine basic concepts of Nietzschean philosophy by comparing them to the notions of prominent anarchists and libertarian thinkers, such as Walter Benjamin who cannot be classified as anarchist even though his approach to communism deviates significantly from Orthodox Marxism. I will then use these concepts to provide a Nietzschean interpretation of certain historical incidents and attitudes which refer straightforwardly to anarchist theory and practice. Despite the fact that Nietzsche expressed his hostility to anarchism several times, my argument is that his worldview, based on these concepts, dovetails with the anarchist one. Moreover, I will try to show that despite the validity of some of his accusations against the anarchists, it is the "lightness of the aristocratic spirit" of Nietzsche that explains a total rejection on his part: It is Nietzsche himself who says that aristocrats may misunderstand and miscomprehend reality because of an insufficient familiarity with what they despise. This happens because of their excessive self-affirmation, their light, joyful spirit.¹ Thus, in a way, Nietzsche was, to some extent, prejudiced against anarchism, his aristocratic spirit led him to a rejection of anarchism, and the interesting point here is that this prejudice can be deconstructed through his own thought, as I am going to demonstrate in part C.2.

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, first essay, §10, in *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, Vintage Books, New York 1989.

Contribution of the Dissertation

The new dimension the thesis offers to the study of Nietzsche and anarchism lies in two basic fields.

On the one hand, up to now, all works referring to Nietzsche and anarchism deal with Nietzschean philosophy selectively and partially, something logical and acceptable if we take into consideration that the most substantial essays are academic papers and that Nietzsche's philosophy embodies quite contradictory concepts, or even posterior self-retractions of his early work.² For example, the dominance of the Dionysian force over the Apollonian³ (actually, Nietzsche's preference for the former), as presented in Andrew Koch's exceptional article,⁴ is a subsequent thought of the German philosopher and does not reflect the true vital contribution of the Apollonian force to the "transvaluation of the existent values" and to the birth of the "overman". I intend to carry out a research that, through a deep analysis will combine, and deal with, all basic aspects of Nietzschean philosophy in order to clarify the philosophical bonds between anarchism and Nietzsche's work and promote an anarchist interpretation of his.

On the other hand, I am going to apply Nietzsche's notions to specific incidents of anarchist history and, in particular, re-examine and interpret the events and choices of the anarchist movement during the December 2008 revolt in Athens from a Nietzschean angle. This is something that has been done before but, again, only limitedly.⁵

This new dimension in Nietzschean and anarchist studies establishes an "elective" bond between Nietzsche and the anarchists, meaning a dynamic relationship which exceeds the limits of a mere influence even leading to the formation of a new anarchism (Nietzschean Anarchism). That results in challenging the boundaries between classical and post-anarchism and anarchism and libertarian Marxism, and therefore reading Nietzsche in a radical, political way which will be of significant utility for the contemporary anarchist movement, especially through the

² See for example how Nietzsche himself held a different view on his *The Birth of Tragedy* after breaking up with Wagner.

³ Dionysian and Apollonian forces constitute a dipole that Nietzsche used a lot in order to discuss the correlation between our primal instincts and the control over them respectively. It first appears in *The Birth of Tragedy* and here it will be discussed in chapter B.4.

⁴ Andrew M. Koch, "Dionysian Politics: The Anarchistic Implications of Friedrich Nietzsche's Critique of Western Epistemology", in John Moore (ed.), *I am not a Man, I am Dynamite, Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist Tradition*, Autonomedia, New York 2004.

⁵ See for example the comparison between Nietzsche and the Libertarian Worker's Movement: Daniel

conclusions drawn by the case study of December 2008.

Nietzsche's Interpreters

Up to now, Martin Heidegger, Georges Bataille, Walter Kaufmann, Gilles Deleuze, Alexander Nehamas, Keith Ansell-Pearson and Sarah Kofman have been the most important interpreters of the German philosopher. Each of them approached Nietzsche with a personal and distinctive style offering several different views in the “Nietzsche studies” project. Heidegger holds a deep and, rather obscure, philosophical interpretation of Nietzsche whereas Kaufmann, who detested this obscurity on the part of Heidegger, is well known for Nietzsche’s rehabilitation after World War II: in the eyes of the Western world, Nietzsche was regarded as a prophet of Nazism. Georges Bataille comes closer to a more spiritual reading of the German philosopher defending the non-reductionism of his thought to theoretical frameworks that serve political, ethical or social goals and utilities, whilst Sarah Kofman analyses Nietzsche through Freudian psychoanalysis, focusing on his ambivalent perception of things. Nevertheless, and in order to explore the aims of my research, I chose to use the interpretative work of Deleuze, Ansell-Pearson and Nehamas. Their Nietzschean approaches are based on features (radical perception of Nietzsche’s philosophical concepts, literary style of his philosophy) that will be presented thoroughly in part B.4 and that shed light on both the bond between Nietzsche and the anarchists (part C) and the selected case study (part D).

Queries / Secondary Aims

All the above, meaning the re-introduction of Nietzschean terms, their comparison to anarchist tradition and application on a specific historical incident, will not only be used as a path leading to the validation of my hypothesis but will also give an answer to two rising questions of great interest:

a/What is the importance of reading Nietzsche not only as a philosopher or a poet but also as a (radical) political thinker? and

b/What does Nietzsche have to say to contemporary radical movements and especially to the anarchist one?

The first question is clearly associated with the need to refresh and renovate politics through a subverting and radical path. Nietzsche’s ripe philosophy is one of

Colson, “Nietzsche and the Libertarian Worker’s Movement”, in John Moore.

the three “revolutions” of the nineteenth and twentieth century (the other two are Marx’s economics/politics and Freud’s psychoanalysis) that – with the exception of the extremely limited and distorting application by the Nazis – has not been tested in the area of politics as much as the other two. Freudian psychoanalysis, which owes a lot to Nietzsche’s thought,⁶ has been clearly associated with Marxist politics,⁷ and, furthermore, unlike Freudism and Marxism, Nietzsche’s philosophy is a schema that rejects any normativity or universality. Hence, in principle it stands closer to anarchist thought versus the other two and its perspectives constitute open challenges, for social and political life, that have not been taken up yet. At the same time it remains, historically, outside the socialist/anarchist field and thus, as I will show in part B.1, it fits the model of the “elective affinity”. Once Nietzsche’s thought is acknowledged to be political, it can form the starting point of a metamorphosis of the contemporary political scene, taking into account, of course, that contrary to what happened in the past, this time it will be the radical and not the reactionary currents that will adopt, interpret and put his vision into effect. Nietzsche’s perception as a political thinker is not something new in the Nietzschean literature but the vast majority of the relative books and articles⁸ give three options for his political preferences: Nietzsche is either

⁶ A. H. Chapman and M. Chapman-Santana, “The Influence of Nietzsche on Freud’s Ideas, *British Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 166, February 1995, pp. 251-53.

⁷ See the activities of The Frankfurt School.

⁸ Keith Ansell-Pearson, *An Introduction to Nietzsche as Political Thinker: The Perfect Nihilist*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994.

Ronald E. Osborn, “Nihilism’s Conscience: Nietzsche’s Politics of Aristocratic Radicalism”, *Modern Age*, Vol. 52, No 4, Fall 2010, pp. 292-307.

Brian Leiter, "Nietzsche's Moral and Political Philosophy", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2011 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/nietzsche-moral-political/> (accessed on 12/4/2012).

Martha Nussbaum, “Is Nietzsche a Political Thinker?”, *International Journal of Philosophical Studies*, Vol.5, Issue 1, 1997, pp. 1-13.

Paul Patton (ed.), *Nietzsche, Feminism and Political Theory*, Routledge, London 1993.

Robert Guay, “Nietzsche, Contingency, and the Vacuity of Politics” in Jeffrey Metzger (ed.), *Nietzsche, Nihilism and the Philosophy of the Future*, Continuum, London 2009, pp. 158-70.

Daniel W. Conway, *Nietzsche and the Political*, Routledge, London 1997.

Don Dombowsky, *Nietzsche’s Machiavellian Politics*, Palgrave, New York 2004.

Christian Emden, *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008.

Peter Bergmann, *Nietzsche, “The Last Antipolitical German”*, Indiana University Press, Indiana 1987.

Bruce Detweiler, *Nietzsche and the Politics of Aristocratic Radicalism*, Chicago University Press, Chicago 1990.

Lawrence J. Hatab, *A Nietzschean Defense of Democracy: An Experiment in Postmodern Politics*, Open Court Publishing, Illinois 1995.

Tracy B. Strong, *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of Transfiguration*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago 2000.

Leslie Paul Thiele, *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of the Soul: A Study of Heroic Individualism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1990.

Frank Cameron, Don Dombowsky (ed.), *Political Writings of Friedrich Nietzsche*, Palgrave, New

anti-political or in favour of authoritarian politics or close to liberal democracy. The bottom line is that no direct links have been made with anarchism, and in the few indirect ones, the supposed incompatibility between his thought and the anarchists is stressed. In part A.3 I will also refer to the limited works that promote such a connection. Therefore, there is enough room in the area of political philosophy to pose and develop consistently the argument of an affinity between the two parts.

Possible answers to the second question (What does Nietzsche have to say to contemporary radical movements and to anarchists in particular?) can offer an informal guide to the anarchist movements, which will help them proceed to a thorough self-criticism and a re-interpretation of important historical incidents. This will, consequently, help the justification or rejection of the respective historical choices, whilst the main goal for the anarchist movements is to relocate and re-identify their special features that distinguish them from socialists and communists.

Moreover, a side effect/aim of the whole research will be the questioning of boundaries within the anarchist family – such as the dichotomy between classical and post-anarchism, but also between (current) ideological trends like anarchism and libertarian Marxism.⁹ This questioning will take place in part C.1 of my thesis, through Walter Benjamin by treating him as a representative of libertarian Marxism.

Elective Affinity and its Effects

The importance of the connection between Nietzsche and the anarchists lies in highlighting the “elective affinity” of the two parts and the whole research is supported by the discussion of this elective relationship. “Elective affinity” will and must play a crucial role in the process of bringing Friedrich Nietzsche and the anarchists together and, furthermore, can tell us a lot about both.

As far as the German philosopher is concerned, this will be an indirect and secondary contribution to the already existing works of various writers that tried, with success, to free Nietzsche from the racial bonds that the Nazis tried to impose on him

York 2008.

⁹ “Libertarian Marxism” refers to an antiauthoritarian perception of Marxism that opposes Marxism-Leninism, Stalinism, Maoism and Trotskyism, as well as the reformism of the Social Democracy, whilst at the same time accepts basic Marxist tools, like the economic analysis or the class struggle. The connection between anarchism and libertarian Marxism has been the subject of various past works – see for example the approaches of Wayne Price, summarized in his article “Libertarian Marxism’s Relation to Anarchism”, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/wayne-price-libertarian-marxism-s-relation-to-anarchism> (accessed on 06/04/2013), or part six of Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible, A History of Anarchism*, Harper Perennial, London 2008.

and to restore his reputation. For example, Karla O. Poewe says that Nietzsche's anti-Christianity and positive approach to eugenics was a clear sign of anti-Semitism and of an ideological leaning that anticipated Nazism.¹⁰ Nevertheless, these two features of his thought, if examined thoroughly and in accordance with the whole of his philosophical work, can show exactly the opposite. This was more or less achieved in works like those of Rudolf Kuenzli,¹¹ Roderick Stackelberg¹² and Maria Deppermann.¹³

Moreover, Nietzsche's philosophic vision is open to other interpretations and can be placed in a social context, far removed from nationalist propaganda. This flexibility serves to remind us that he can not only be seen as a poet or an existential philosopher but also as a political philosopher. In other words, we can read Nietzsche in a more political, practical and less abstract way than we read existential philosophers, like Kierkegaard for example. As a result, anarchism might also become a virtualising field for his theory.

From an anarchist point of view, the gain from this affinity is possibly even greater. With his compact and mature philosophy Nietzsche promises to provide the factor that will distinguish anarchism from the other movements within the socialist family and will identify its special features. As Richard Day puts it, all newest social movements have more or less adopted anarchist concepts – like anti-state propaganda, rejection of parliamentary politics, direct democracy and action – without necessarily considering themselves to be anarchist.¹⁴ So, what is needed is a new approach of anarchist identity among neo-anarchism (contemporary anarchism) and post-anarchism¹⁵ but always on grounds of classical anarchist thought and deed, following the analysis of Tomás Ibañez.¹⁶ What I will argue is that Friedrich Nietzsche is more than suitable to play the role of the catalyst that can, firstly, recognize and express anarchist idiosyncrasy as it appeared in the revolutionary deeds of past centuries and, secondly, re-locate these features in specific historical events of the present.

¹⁰ Karla O. Poewe, *New Religions and the Nazis*, Routledge, Abingdon 2006, pp. 12-13.

¹¹ Rudolf E. Kuenzli, "The Nazi Appropriation of Nietzsche", *Nietzsche Studien* 12, 1983.

¹² Roderick Stackelberg, "Nietzsche and the Nazis: The *volkisch* Reaction to Nietzschean Thought", *Research Studies*, 51(1), March 1983.

¹³ Maria Deppermann, "Nietzsche in the Soviet Union, Let us dig out the buried Nietzsche" in Ζήσης Σαρίκας (επιμ.), *Ο Νίτσε και η Πολιτική*, Νησίδες, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004 [Zisis Sarikas (ed.), *Nietzsche and Politics*].

¹⁴ Richard Day, *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements*, Pluto Press, London 2005, pp. 19-20.

¹⁵ I will deal with all these terms in the B.2.4 part of this essay.

¹⁶ Tomás Ibañez, "From Anarchism to Post-Anarchism", *Libertaria*, No ¾, 2008.

The next important step is to consider the methodological issues raised by this “elective affinity”. These issues include the definition of both sides – anarchy as an “ideology” and Nietzsche as a political thinker, the context theory that will allow me to interpret the two parts, and the selection of a case study which illustrates this “elective affinity”. The following plan outlines how I am going to develop my research.

A.2/ Chapter Plan

In this chapter, I would like to illustrate the structure of my thesis in order to organize the material and, thus, facilitate the reader's navigation. My thesis consists of five parts, most of which include more than two sub-chapters.

What precedes this chapter plan is the part of the Introduction that poses the aims of my research and the relative questions that emerge (A.1). It also outlines the methodological issues raised in order to support the main idea, which is the elective affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchists.

What follows this chapter plan is, firstly, the literature context of this research (A.3). Here, the reader will find information about essays that have been written about the direct or indirect connection of Nietzsche to the anarchists, classified by the approach taken toward this connection: positive or negative, political or philosophical, specified or general.

Part B is exclusively dedicated to the methodological issues mentioned in the Introduction and consists of five chapters: B.1 deals with elective affinity, giving some information about the history of the term and on how I choose to use it, notably borrowing from Michael Löwy. According to Löwy's approach of elective affinity, I present its different levels or degrees, each of which answers to a different type of affinity between Nietzsche and anarchy. In addition, I refer to the literary context of "elective affinity" in Nietzschean and anarchist studies, to show that this term is not at all something new for any of this affinity's poles, and shortly discuss the gains to be made from this affinity, for both Nietzsche and the anarchists.

B.2 is the chapter of anarchy. It presents the definition and origin of anarchism, the presentation of its ideological dimension (B.2.1) and of the basic general features and trends in the anarchist family, extending to a libertarian version of Marxism (B.2.2 – B.2.4). What I argue here is that ideological approaches to anarchism are ineffective, especially when compared to a perception of anarchism based on elective affinity. The rigid boundaries of ideology contradict anarchism's fluidity and anti-dogmatism, and thus alienate it from its dynamic nature. Therefore, although I follow the artificial categorization of "classical" and "post" anarchism, I will end up showing that elective affinity can help us understand the importance of the differences between anarchist trends since anarchy's uniqueness lies in the ceaseless correlation, debate, interaction and convergence of them. That is, their elective affinity. Chapter B.2.5 covers the exponents of anarchism and libertarian Marxism

whose views and ideas I am going to use in order to establish the elective affinity with the German philosopher.

The next chapter (B.3) belongs to Friedrich Nietzsche. Here, we come across a general schema of his philosophical ideas and of how they sit in the context of his periods of thought (B.3.1). Seeing Nietzsche through a political lens, and thus being able to compare his thought to the anarchist one, means defining the limits between philosophy in general and political philosophy in particular, in order to show that his ideas, although hostile to politics, were of a political nature, as well as purely philosophical (B.3.2). Nevertheless, Nietzschean ideas are expressed through basic key-concepts of his philosophy and in part B.4 I will refer to the context of interpretation of these concepts, meaning the different reading made by Gilles Deleuze, Alexander Nehamas and Keith Ansell-Pearson, that will allow me to present and define these concepts before using them for establishing the elective affinity. The last chapter of Part B (B.5) is a presentation of the case study I have chosen in order to construct Part D, where the upper Nietzschean concepts will be traced in certain anarchist practices.

The third part of my thesis is the establishment of the elective affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchists. This establishment will take place in two ways. By locating Nietzsche in anarchism (C.1), that is, reviewing how the German philosopher influenced specific anarchists, and vice-versa, Anarchism in Nietzsche (C.2), meaning the connection of Nietzschean ideas with original anarchist views, following the structural analysis of chapter B.4. In part C.1 the case of the libertarian Marxist Walter Benjamin will serve as a common ground for this affinity: The simultaneous connection of Benjamin to the anarchists and of Nietzsche to Benjamin will provide an additional, indirect, route to the affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchists.

Part D focuses on the case study. Here, I will elaborate on the Nietzschean reading of the December 2008 revolt in Athens using the “Of The Three Metamorphoses” passage from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* as an interpretative tool of the revolt, as well as a reference point for reinforcing the elective affinity. Before reading the events of December through the Zarathustrian lens, I will give a detailed historical background of the political history in Greece in order to place the development and evolution of the Greek anarchist movement, until the days of December, within it. Then, I will present the mainstream reading of the events, made by the political parties and the media and I will contrast it with the anarchist reading, theorized by the

Zarathustrian metamorphoses. This theorization will be unfolded in the core of part D which reads the revolt in three parts (before the assassination of Alexandros Grigoropoulos, during and after the three weeks of the revolt), respectively with the Three Metamorphoses of the Spirit (the Camel, the Lion and the Child).

In the last part of my thesis I will give an overall view of my work. That is, point out the hypothesis and aims of my research and the way I dealt with them through elective affinity and the case study, and present the conclusions I reached concerning the political nature of Nietzschean philosophy, the benefits for the anarchist movement and the relationship between Nietzsche and the anarchists per se.

A.3/ Literature Context

Nietzsche's affinity to the anarchists can be traced in several relevant essays that have hitherto been written and that can be divided into two basic groups.

First Literature Group – Positive/Negative Approaches to Nietzsche and Anarchy

This first group includes books that maintain a more philosophical, sociological, artistic and political approach to Nietzsche and therefore suggest a rather indirect reference to a possible connection with anarchism, either negative or positive.

For example, Charles Abram Ellwood includes Nietzsche among the most destructive negative critiques of human history (together with Rousseau and Bakunin), which finally led to a moral anarchy through the deconstruction of Western civilization.¹ Moreover, he argues, Nietzsche's devotion to power leaves no room for social solidarity and social living. David Frisby shares this opinion while extending the argument to say that although Nietzschean philosophy is a revival of Stirner's, it seems neither anarchistic nor socialistic, as it is atomistic and against every social orientation.²

An unbridgeable gap between Nietzsche and socialism/anarchism was also supported by Jacob Leib Talmon,³ Nikos Kazantzakis⁴ and Ike Okonta,⁵ more or less based on the same arguments about Nietzsche's preference for hierarchy, order, anti-egalitarianism and aristocratism, whereas Julian Young gives a softer "Nietzschean" objection to the state, saying that Nietzsche only rejected the type of state that turns humans into beings without will.⁶ For Pierre-Andre Taguieff, Nietzsche's anti-socialism can be understood in terms of his anti-Christianism, since "egalitarianism, herd mentality...should be recognized as Christian inheritances".⁷ In particular, the whole book that hosts Taguieff's article⁸ is a collection of critical approaches to Nietzsche based on a defense of the Enlightenment's rationality, attacking Nietzsche's

¹ Charles Abram Ellwood, *The Social Problem: A Constructive Analysis*, Forgotten Books, n.p., 2012, pp. 85, 194-95.

² David Frisby, *Georg Simmel: Critical Assessments*, Routledge, London 1994, p. 64.

³ Jakob Leib Talmon, *The Myth of the Nation and the Vision of Revolution*, University of California Press, California 1981, pp. 13, 468.

⁴ Nikos Kazantzakis, *Friedrich Nietzsche on the Philosophy of Right and the State*, Suny Press, New York 2006, p. 62.

⁵ Ike Okonta, *Nietzsche: the Politics of Power*, P. Lang, n.p., 1992, p. 72.

⁶ Julian Young, *Nietzsche's Philosophy of Religion*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006, p. 113.

⁷ Pierre-Andre Taguieff, "The Traditional Paradigm – Horror of Modernity and Antiliberalism: Nietzsche in Reactionary Rhetoric", in Luc Ferry and Alain Renaut (ed.), *Why We Are Not Nietzscheans*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1997, p. 187.

“obsession with hierarchy”, his irrational views on religion and art and his reactionary stance on science.⁹

On the other hand, this first group of works also includes essays that hold a positive opinion concerning a possible connection of Nietzsche to the anarchists.

Hakim Bey links the Hyperboreans, mentioned by Nietzsche¹⁰ in order to introduce the new philosophers who try to find a way out of the labyrinth of decadent modernity that is dominated by dualism, metaphysics and nihilism, with the members of the Association for Ontological Anarchy, who have gone far beyond the *death of God* to the kingdom of monism, where spirit and matter have become one.¹¹ Patrick Bridgwater speaks of the obvious influence of Nietzsche on the anarchist poet Herbert Read,¹² a view shared by Ruth Kinna¹³ as well, whereas Teodor de Wyzewa, Robert John Ackermann, Hugo Ball and Mencken and Flathman spot pure anarchist concepts in Nietzschean philosophy.

Wyzewa, after thoroughly studying Nietzsche's work, reached the conclusion that the German philosopher combined Schopenhauer's pessimism with Tolstoy's anarchy and Ibsen's temperament.¹⁴ Ackermann and Mencken and Flathman also acknowledged him as an intellectual and spiritual anarchist: Ackermann because Nietzsche had certainly read and accepted the individualist anarchism of Stirner, which he saw as an escape from Hegel's absolutism,¹⁵ and Mencken and Flathman because Nietzsche's objection to society's interference in the creative expressions of individuals through laws and obligations.¹⁶ In addition, Hugo Ball, the well-known Dadaist, held the opinion that like Bakunin (who was a political anarchist), Nietzsche was an (intellectual) anarchist as well.¹⁷

Speaking of the Nietzschean influence on the anarchist tradition, it is also

⁸ Ferry and Renaut.

⁹ Ferry and Renaut, back cover.

¹⁰ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Anti-Christ*, §1, 7, 8, 14, 47, in *Twilight of the Idols and the Anti-Christ*, Penguin Books, London 2003.

¹¹ Hakim Bey, *The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*, Forgotten Books, n.p., 2008, p. 53.

¹² Patrick Bridgwater, *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony: a Study of Nietzsche's Impact on English and American Literature*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1972, p. 95.

¹³ Ruth Kinna, *Anarchism: Beginner's Guide*, Oneworld Publications, Oxford 2005, pp. 55-56.

¹⁴ In Elga Liverman Duval, *Teodor de Wyzewa: Critic Without a Country*, Librairie Droz, Geneve 1961, p. 86.

¹⁵ Robert John Ackermann, *Nietzsche: A Frenzied Look*, University of Massachusetts Press, n.p., 1993, note 10, p. 77.

¹⁶ Henry Louis Mencken, Richard E. Flathman, *Friedrich Nietzsche*, Transaction Publishers, New Jersey 1993, p. 192.

¹⁷ In Seth Taylor, *Left-wing Nietzscheans: the Politics of German Expressionism, 1910-1920*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 1990, p. 174.

worth mentioning what Steven E. Aschheim and Richard Hinton Thomas have to say in their essays about the German philosopher. The former refers to Dionysus, the champion God of Nietzsche, as an abstract, fantastic escape into anarchy,¹⁸ an opinion also supported by Ernst Bloch.¹⁹ Bloch adds that socialism, anarchism, feminism and the vast majority of the youth uprisings fell under the influence of his libertarian touch.²⁰ The latter describes the controversial relationship of Nietzsche to his contemporary anarchists (his vicious comments on the “anarchist herd” and the short or non-existent references to him in various studies of his time about anarchism),²¹ insisting on the Nietzschean influence on German anarchists and especially on Landauer.²² Moreover, Thomas makes a very interesting and important point when saying that the voluntaristic and anti-determinist approach of the anarchists matches basic notions of Nietzsche’s philosophy.²³

To all the above, one can add the more neutral commentary on Nietzsche from two very different writers, Élisée Reclus and Keith Ansell-Pearson, whose references to him are of great importance since they deal with two quite fundamental concepts of his thought: “resentment”²⁴ and aristocratic radicalism.²⁵ The former was used by Reclus to remind that, although in most cases opposition to the dominant order stemmed from feelings of injustice and of abhorrence towards exploitation, there were many cases that this creative rage degenerated to a reactive resentment. The latter, as Ansell-Pearson suggests, describes Nietzsche’s spiritual, and not racial, elitism (aristocratism), the anticipation of a human kind that will be capable of giving birth to new values, values of inspiration, creation and culture (radicalism).

Second Literature Group – Positive/Negative Approaches to Nietzsche and Anarchy

The second group of works bears, in general, the same approaches to Nietzsche but focus more on his relationship with the anarchists. As in the first category, here we

¹⁸ Steven E. Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany, 1890-1990*, University of California Press, California 1994, p. 289.

¹⁹ In Jacob Golomb, Robert S. Wistrich, *Nietzsche, Godfather of Fascism?: on the Uses and Abuses of a Philosophy*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 2002, p. 268.

²⁰ Aschheim, p. 6.

²¹ Richard Hinton Thomas, *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society, 1890-1918*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1983, p. 48.

²² Hinton Thomas, p. 15.

²³ Hinton Thomas, p. 48.

²⁴ Elisee Reclus, John P. Clark, Camille Martin, *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: the Radical Social Thought of Elisee Reclus*, Lexington Books, Maryland 2004, p. 34.

²⁵ Keith Ansell-Pearson, *An Introduction to Nietzsche as Political Thinker: the Perfect Nihilist*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994, p. 95.

also meet opinions that are in favour or against such a connection. Nonetheless, the majority of the approaches see this link through a positive lens.

E. V. Zenker, in his book *Anarchism*, claims that Nietzsche gives anarchy a bad flavour. His anarchism is a bad one, not really anarchism at all.²⁶ Contrary opinions to this view have since been expressed by Mohammed A. Bamyeh, Jonathan Purkis and James Bowen and David Weir.

Bamyeh suggests the division of anarchism into communist and libertarian and links Nietzsche to the second wing.²⁷ He says that in *Ecce Homo* Nietzsche expresses his indifference towards improving humanity, as he is not interested in saving something he ignores.²⁸ The same thing, according to Bamyeh, happens with anarchists. They only talk about things of which they are aware. They fight for human emancipation not like heroes but like actors. Like those who will set the foundations for self-liberation, not like themselves being liberators of others.²⁹

Purkis and Bowen analyze John Carroll's belief that Nietzsche's (and Stirner's) political anarchism is a logical consequence of his (their) ontological anarchism. According to this opinion, writers that hold an individualistic and irrational point of view stand out for their "anarcho-psychological" genealogy, which constitutes an alternative and antiauthoritarian scientific example. Stirner, Hakim Bay and Nietzsche can be regarded as such writers.³⁰

David Weir speaks of Benjamin Tucker and his critique of Nietzsche's political limitations. For Tucker, the German philosopher expressed some anarchist points but he cannot be regarded as an anarchist thinker in any way.³¹ Nevertheless, for Weir, the Nietzschean "overman" became the model for the ethical individualism that anarchism called for.³²

Finally, we have the two most extended references to Nietzsche and anarchism to complete this literature review. The first is part of Peter Marshall's history of anarchism and offers a quite essential, though still short, exposure of some basic Nietzschean notions that connect him directly to the anarchists. It is not by accident

²⁶ E. V. Zenker, *Anarchism*, Read Books, n.p., 2008, note 1, p. 232.

²⁷ Mohammed A. Bamyeh, *Anarchy as Order: the History and Future of Civic Humanity*, Rowman & Littlefield, Maryland 2009, p. 22.

²⁸ Bamyeh, p. 29.

²⁹ Bamyeh, p. 30.

³⁰ Jonathan Purkis, James Bowen, *Changing Anarchism: Anarchist Theory and Practice in a Global Age*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2004, p. 61.

³¹ David Weir, *Anarchy & Culture: the Aesthetic Politics of Modernism*, University of Massachusetts Press, n.p., 1997, p. 148.

that Friedrich Nietzsche is included - as a German Libertarian - in such an essay and Marshall makes that clear.³³ The second essay is the only, up to now, exclusive effort to explore the limits of the interaction between Nietzsche and the anarchist tradition. John Moore gathered in one edition³⁴ the articles of prominent thinkers, like Daniel Colson, Andrew Koch, Franco Riccio, Saul Newman and others, dealing with Nietzschean philosophy, trying to give an alternative dimension to his relationship with anarchist political thought.

Conclusions and Perspectives from the Existing Literature Context

The conclusion we can reach by reviewing the above literature is that, firstly, there is only one work (Moore) directly addressing the nature of the relationship between Nietzsche and the anarchists. Nevertheless, this work is not a unified and coherent research but consists of several different papers each of which focuses on specific Nietzschean features (egoism, individuality, will to power, master-slave morality, overman, Dionysian and Apollonian, anti-statism, anti-dogmatism, nihilism, eternal return, resentment). Secondly, the general context indicates that both sides (those favouring and those rejecting the Nietzsche-Anarchists relationship) use more or less the same concepts from the arsenal of the anarchist and Nietzschean philosophy in order to support their view.

This double conclusion gives a two-level perspective: on the first level, it seems that there is enough ground to think about elective affinity as a more explicit link between Nietzsche and the anarchists. There is sufficient evidence showing that the first degree of elective affinity, that is simple affinity, lies here as a potential analogy. Even the ideological heterogeneity supported by those who reject the Nietzschean-anarchist relationship is a basic presupposition for the use of the “elective affinity” apparatus (See chapters B.1, B.2.2).

On the second level, the challenge goes one-step further by trying to give simple affinity flesh and bones, systemize its exploration and upgrade it – from a potentiality to an activity. This can happen through a unified study of the two parts and of the way they interact in order to establish the elective affinity, not only on the grounds of prominent - but still selective - concepts but also on the basis that the

³² Weir, p. 170.

³³ Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible, A History of Anarchism*, Harper Perennial, London 2008, pp. 155-62.

³⁴ John Moore (ed.), *I am not a Man, I am Dynamite, Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist Tradition*,

hardcore of Nietzschean and anarchist philosophies offer (See part C). Moreover, a limited case study, in part D, will illustrate the higher degrees of elective affinity whilst raising, and trying to answer, specific questions regarding the utility of Nietzschean philosophy for anarchism and the consequences its active presence brings to the contemporary antagonist movement (see parts D and E).

The next part deals with the methodology of this research starting with the presentation of elective affinity, its levels, presuppositions and potentialities.

Summary

This discussion has illustrated the aim of my research, specifically the acknowledgement and exploration of the bond between Nietzsche and the anarchists, through the apparatus of the “elective affinity”. It has also indicated the challenge of boundaries that exist between different anarchist trends as well as between “ideologies” like anarchism and libertarian Marxism. Moreover, it has shown the importance of reading Nietzsche politically in a radical way in order to understand his utility for the contemporary anarchist movement. Finally, the review of the literature concerning the Nietzsche-anarchy relationship has shown the hitherto limited bibliography and has stressed the possibility for exploring this connection, with the methodological help of the “elective affinity”.

PART B: METHODOLOGY

B.1/ Elective Affinity

Quality and Levels

The term of “elective affinity” comes mainly from Johann Goethe and Max Weber but, from my part, I intend to follow Michael Löwy's usage in his essay on Jewish libertarian thought.¹ For Löwy, “elective affinity is a special kind of dialectical relationship that develops between two social or cultural configurations, one that cannot be reduced to direct causality or to ‘influences’ in the traditional sense”.² It is all about a mutual and active attraction that can even result in a fusion. It is a tool that can help us comprehend a certain type of connection between seemingly irrelevant phenomena within the same field,³ which in this piece of research will be the political-philosophical one. Elective affinity is not an ideological affinity between different variants of the same social and cultural current.⁴ Later on I will refer to affinity within anarchist circles in order to show that the conversation about affinities is not something new for anarchism. To begin, however, elective affinity is used to describe a specific type of relation between two ideologically heterogeneous poles, that may start as a mere influence but that becomes a more active and mutual correlation, to fill the prior gap and cover the spiritual distance that formerly existed between the two poles.⁵ In parts C and D, this methodological tool will serve as a medium for the active correlation of Nietzschean philosophy and anarchist worldview and practice that can even reach a fusion of the two parts.

More specifically, the core of the definition consists of four main levels or degrees. According to Löwy. the first one is that of

simple affinity: a spiritual relationship, a structural homology... an analogy that [...] creates the possibility, but not the necessity, of active convergence... Transforming potentiality into activity, making the analogy dynamic, having it evolve towards active interaction - this depends upon concrete historical

¹ Michael Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia: Jewish Libertarian Thought in Central Europe. A Study in Elective Affinity*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 1992.

² Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, p. 6.

³ Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, p. 10.

⁴ Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, p. 12.

⁵ Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, p. 12.

circumstances such as... cultural movements or political events.⁶

So, simple affinity begins as a mere influence but it is something more, in a way that its dynamic, its potentiality, is the first decisive step for a possible (although not necessary) passing to the more advanced levels of elective affinity. I would say that this level responds to the application of Nietzschean philosophy to the specific “anarchistic” historical incidents mentioned above. The “political events” of Löwy’s first level of “elective affinity” can coincide with the historical events I will refer to in the present research, where the potentiality can turn into an active interaction - through a Nietzschean reading of various anarchist movement’s deeds and their re-interpretation, or via an unconscious realization of Nietzsche’s “doctrines” on the part of the anarchists. That is, an interaction - although unconscious in most of the cases.

The second level, the “election”, is an evolved version of the first one. The two parts (Nietzsche and the anarchists) remain separated and distinctive but the mutual activation and certain kinds of interaction take place.⁷

The interesting part begins with the emergence of the third and fourth levels. The third level is the “articulation”, or combination of the two figures, which can lead to three types of union. Out of these three types proposed by Löwy, I will concentrate on the first two, the “cultural symbiosis” – where the two parts remain distinct but “are organically associated”⁸ and the “partial fusion”. I consider these two subcategories to be depicted in the theory of Emma Goldman and Gustav Landauer who were both deeply influenced by Nietzsche: Goldman’s reference to the German philosopher is a sample of “cultural symbiosis”, since she often used Nietzsche’s notions in order to enrich the philosophical background of her anarchist arguments. In the case of Landauer, this relationship has turned into a partial fusion. Landauer views the state and all repressive structures through a Nietzschean lens, as relationships between subjects. The two parts here are not distinctive as in the case of Goldman, as Landauer has absorbed a part of Nietzsche’s point of view.

The fourth and last level (or degree) of the “elective affinity” is the “creation of a new figure” out of the two part fusion. In this essay the creation of a new figure can be seen either in the determinative role Nietzschean philosophy played in the formation of post-anarchism, or in the sense of a re-definition of anarchist identity -

⁶ Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, p. 11.

⁷ Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, p. 11.

⁸ Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, p. 11.

through stressing particular components (anti-determinism, voluntarism) and rejecting others (resentment) - while staying faithful to the context of the Nietzschean critique towards anarchists. This could mean the introduction of a new figure/term, that of “Nietzschean Anarchism”, that may blossom on the grounds of this research’s conclusions.

Acknowledging the need to make “elective affinity” as clear as possible, especially since it is this essay’s methodological tool, I would like to expand some more on its nature and elaborate further on its different levels.

The first question that might come to the reader’s mind is what exactly differentiates elective affinity from the usual link between two structures, meaning the ideological affinity. The answer lies in the development of the comment made above on the prior distance that exists between the two types. Hence, elective affinity, contrary to ideological affinity, does not seek to reunite things that are already united in a broader or an indirect sense - since they belong to the same ideological family. That would be the case if we wanted to talk about the affinity between anarchism and communism or anarchism and the concept of freedom or anti-statism. Nevertheless, the intention here is to speak of two types that are like “skew lines”, as called in Mathematics; two straight lines of this kind are neither parallel nor do they have a meeting point. They are incompatible; any correlation between the two is impossible since they belong to different geometrical planes.

The same thing applies here to Nietzschean philosophy and anarchism. Since these types do not belong to the same field, to the same “geometrical plane”, ideological affinity would be useless, if not meaningless. Elective affinity comes in to combine things that have a prior distance with each other, a heterogeneity that cannot be discussed with the use of a tool that will not recognize it as such in the first place. Therefore, I chose elective affinity as the reference point of the connection between Nietzsche and anarchism exactly because I take their heterogeneity for granted.

The second question emerging is how elective affinity can go beyond the limits of a mere correlation, escaping from the barriers of a simple influential relationship between the two types. At this point, we must review the different and gradual levels of elective affinity. Although the first level (simple affinity) starts as an analogy, it instantly bears the seed of a potential evolution to the second, third and fourth levels. Whereas mere influence is like the intersection of the two lines of our prior geometrical example that allows them to follow their own different directions

henceforth, simple affinity is the starting point of various other connections; lines that will become parallel or asymptotic, or even different vectors that give a brand new resultant, thus developing a mutual interaction of a gradual effectiveness. The other three levels just confirm this deviation from a normal influence. Their different intensities depict the different ways through which anarchism and Nietzschean philosophy will structure their fruitful interaction.

At this point, one more dimension must be clarified. Elective affinity, as introduced by Michael Löwy, speaks constantly of a mutual impact to the two types that interact. In our case, it is clear that at first sight mutuality does not apply. Anarchists are to a great extent aware and in favour of Nietzsche's philosophy but the German philosopher seems to ignore or reject anarchist ideas and practices. Nevertheless, further down – in part C – I will show that this rejection on Nietzsche's part can be confuted through his own arguments. Moreover, the absence of a conscious interaction with anarchist ideas does not lower the elective affinity Nietzsche has with the anarchists or the importance of elective affinity as a tool for the exploration of their relationship. On the contrary, this absence of deliberate interaction is an additional reason why mainstream types of correlation, like ideological affinity or mere influence, are inadequate, since they presuppose a higher level of volition. The unique type of connection between Nietzsche and anarchism, the conscious attraction on the part of the anarchists as well as the "ignorant" stance of Nietzsche towards a political current whose ideas he shares - both of which lead even to the creation of a new figure - need the dynamic nature of an interpretative tool like elective affinity, instead of the superficial, static and limited context of an analogy or a mere influence.

In summation, "elective affinity" is, firstly, a tool of different quality than ideological affinity or simple correlation. It is based on the prerequisite of an existing distance between the two types analysed and builds on it. Secondly, it is a lot more than a mere influence, meaning that it calls for a more active and mutual relationship that can even reach a status of fusion.⁹ This interaction depends on certain historical conditions that take the form of cultural changes or political incidents, both of which take place in the context of Nietzschean philosophy and anarchist history. To paraphrase Löwy, "elective affinity" does not occur in the azure of pure (political) philosophy: it is encouraged by specific historical and social conditions. This is the

⁹ Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia*, p. 12.

case in certain anarchist events, where the presence of Nietzschean philosophy unfolds.

Elective Affinity in Nietzschean and Anarchist Studies

However, “elective affinity” is not something new in terms of Nietzschean scholarship. Almost every dissertation on Nietzsche refers to the direct or indirect influence the German philosopher had on his contemporaries and successors and therefore, according to Löwy’s multi-definition, “elective affinity” is present to most, short or extended, relevant works.

George Stack’s *Nietzsche and Emerson, An Elective Affinity*¹⁰ is a typical example of Nietzsche’s affinity to his contemporaries, whereas, according to Michael Tanner, books like those of Steven Aschheim¹¹ and Patrick Bridgwater¹² sketch the general Nietzschean impact on German and British thought respectively.¹³ Tanner also mentions the recognition of Nietzsche, on the part of the post-structuralist and deconstructivist movement, as their reference point and source of inspiration.¹⁴ Moreover, Max Horkheimer, in his dialogue with Adorno and Gadamer, stresses the close affinity between Nietzsche’s ultra-conservatism and revolt.¹⁵

Additionally, we also come across “elective affinity” in essays on anarchy or even in the writings of prominent anarchists. For example, the whole approach of anarchism made by Peter Marshall¹⁶ and Max Nettlau¹⁷ is, in fact, an exposition of historical incidents and the “elective affinity” between anarchists and anarchistic ideas of the past (even of Ancient Greece¹⁸) and the present. Furthermore, great anarchists, like Peter Kropotkin, never missed the chance to refer to the special affinity anarchist ideas always shared with the libertarian worldview of many well-known writers, artists and philosophers of their era, like Ibsen, Whitman, Zola, Mill and others.¹⁹ In

¹⁰ George J. Stack, *Nietzsche and Emerson, An Elective Affinity*, Ohio University Press, Ohio 1993.

¹¹ Steven Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany, 1890-1990*, University of California Press, California 1994.

¹² Patrick Bridgwater, *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony: a study of Nietzsche's impact on English and American literature*, Leicester University Press, Leicester 1972.

¹³ Michael Tanner, *Nietzsche, A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994, p. 1.

¹⁴ Tanner, p. 3.

¹⁵ H.G. Gadamer, T.W. Adorno, M. Horkheimer, *Για τον Νίτσε*, Ίνδικτος, Αθήνα 2003, p. 22 [*On Nietzsche and us (Über Nietzsche und uns)*].

¹⁶ Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible, A History of Anarchism*, Harper Perennial, London 2008.

¹⁷ Max Nettlau, *A Short History of Anarchism*, Freedom Press, London 1996.

¹⁸ See the article of D. Ferraro, “Anarchism in Greek Philosophy”, *Anarchy*, No 45 (November 1964), pp. 321-25.

¹⁹ Peter Kropotkin, “Anarchism – Encyclopedia Britannica Article”, in Roger Baldwin (ed.), *Kropotkin’s Revolutionary Pamphlets*, Dover Publications, New York 1970, pp. 299-300.

spite of including Nietzsche's works in this category, Kropotkin seemed to believe that individualists like Nietzsche (and Stirner) stand far from the working masses and the anarcho-communist ideas workingmen prefer.²⁰ This is an "orthodox" point of view that, despite revealing the ideological heterogeneity between Nietzsche and anarcho-communism, is questioned by the above literature review and is to be further challenged in part C.

Nevertheless, "elective affinity" remains a rather controversial term in the field of anarchist studies, a controversy that has to do with the inside conflicts between the many different anarchist currents. Murray Bookchin's detestation for lifestyle anarchism²¹ brings forward the debate for an "elective affinity" between social anarchism and individualist, hedonist, primitivist, feminist, situ, poststructuralist and gay anarchisms that, notwithstanding, his polemic shows that the existing affinitive relationships are not sufficient for all these trends to get along with social anarchism. This is due to their differences on means and desired goals, according to him. In the same spirit, Saul Newman rejects anarcho-capitalism, not because he does not share anarcho-capitalist's concern about individual freedom and autonomy but because he considers it to be trapped into the fetishistic circle of money and private property.²² This is also the case for anarcho-syndicalism and the objections prominent anarcho-communists express against it.²³

The Big Anarchist Survey results highlight the contentiousness of the term "elective affinity" within anarchist circles.²⁴ Here, responses to two questions (questions 23 'Which of the below do you consider to be problematic trends in anarchism today (multiple options possible)?' and 25 'Which, if any, of the following tendencies do you consider to be not genuinely anarchist (multiple options possible)?'), make it obvious that those identifying with particular currents of anarchism believe some other currents to be problematic and see little affinity between them. Nevertheless, in every case the point is that by the time one enters into such a debate he/she acknowledges, to some extent, the affinity between his/her trend and the one criticized.

²⁰ Kropotkin, "Anarchism – Encyclopedia Britannica Article", p. 297.

²¹ Murray Bookchin, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm*, AK Press, San Francisco 1995.

²² An Interview of Saul Newman to Süreyya Evren, Kursad Kiziltug, Erden Kosova about poststructuralist anarchism, <http://community.livejournal.com/siyahi/2019.html> (accessed on 3/9/2010).

²³ See the article by Murray Bookchin "The Ghost of Anarcho-Syndicalism" in which Bookchin recapitulates all objections against this anarchist current. http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bookchin/ghost2.html (accessed on 14/10/2010).

As showed, the contentiousness of the approach captured by the term “elective affinity” is not something new in anarchist studies but at the same time, it depends on the occasional reading one makes in order to accept or reject it. As a result, my reading of “elective affinity” will and must play a crucial role in the process of bringing Friedrich Nietzsche and the anarchists together through a gradual process, unfolded in part C and D.

²⁴ <http://pimpmygarden.org/anarchistsurvey.com/results/> (accessed on 14/10/2010).

B.2/ The A-(n)archists

Origin and "Definition"

The term anarchy is quite an old one and its etymology derives from the Greek word *αρχή*, which means authority, and the letter "α", that, when used before a word, expresses the lack of what the word describes. So, anarchy (*αναρχία*) literally means "without authority".

We can find references to anarchy in Plato's *Republic* (575a) and in Aristotle's *Politics* (1302b), but anarchy, as a social and political movement, is something completely different, a phenomenon of the nineteenth century. What anarchy (or anarchism, in terms of ideology) represents is a revolt whose roots can be traced back to philosophical and religious movements like the Stoics and the Cynics in ancient Greece, as well as the Gnostics and the Anabaptists in the Middle Ages. In particular, the Cynics, with their critique of democracy, authority and the social conventions, bore a life stance clearly defined by anarchistic ideals. But the elective "religious" affinities are also making anarchism a heir of all the utopian and millenarian religious movements with emphasis on an eschatology, which aimed at the earthly "kingdom" of justice, equality and fraternity.

However, the Enlightenment may also claim the paternity for anarchism. Freedom, equality and political action are concepts that, fermented during the chain reactions of the French Revolution, led anarchists to criticize its very methods and goals.

This ambiguity - of idealism and materialism, of faith and rationalism - has become one of the basic characteristics of anarchism in general, as it detests homogeneity, authenticity and dogmatism. According to Tomás Ibañez, we have to accept the imperfect and provisional nature of anarchism because only then will it, indeed, keep up with its principles.¹

If we are to give an, as short as possible, definition, we could say that an anarchist is someone who rejects every kind of external authority, including the state, believing that society and individuals would function well without them.² However, my approach to anarchism does not claim to be "the" approach. Within the vast range

¹ Tomás Ibañez, "From Anarchism to Post-Anarchism", *Libertaria*, No ¾, 2008. Every part of this article has been taken (and translated into English) from its Greek edition, "Από τον Αναρχισμό στον Μεταναρχισμό" [From Anarchism to Postanarchism], *Παρέγκλιση*, No 1, p. 3.

² Marshall, p. xiii.

of perceptions of anarchist thought and its evolution my outline here is neither uncontested nor unique, and for this very reason it comes to confirm the above view of Ibañez about the fluid and imperfect nature of anarchism that keeps it safe from dogmatism and homogeneity. Additionally, and in spite of following a mainstream model for categorizing anarchist tradition (meaning the division to “classical” and “post” anarchism, “new” anarchist movements, etc.) my intention is to gradually promote anarchism’s diversity and dynamism in order to expose the inefficient description of anarchism with tools of ideology. It is “anarchy versus anarchism”, where the flexible, multilevel elective affinity opposes the rigid boundaries of ideology, and the compatibility/inseparability of practice and theory surpass the ideological dominance of theory over practice.

B.2.1/ Anarchism as an Ideology

Speaking of anarchism in terms of ideology requires a short introduction to political ideas and ideologies.

For Michael Freeden, the definition of ideology is neither definite nor generally accepted since the amount of its different conceptualizations has produced various approaches that seem to confuse scholars. Some forms that ideology has taken up to now is an expression of distorted and power-serving political thinking or a simplistic label for classifying political belief-systems and the historical traditions these systems stem from.³

Freeden goes even further by attempting to give an, even provisional, definition. For him, ideology

is a set of ideas, beliefs, opinions, and values that: 1) exhibit a recurring pattern, 2) are held by significant groups, 3) compete over providing and controlling plans for public policy, 4) do so with the aim of justifying, contesting or changing the social and political arrangements and processes of a political community.⁴

It is very interesting to note that some of the above meanings and features are

³ Michael Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach*, Oxford University Press, New York 2006, p. 1.

⁴ Michael Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2003, p. 32.

rejected by anarchism. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that anarchism cannot be regarded as a political ideology. That would depend on how crucial one considers these features and meanings to be for their definition of ideology - for example, anarchism does not claim a monopoly of truth and it does not compete over controlling plans for public society, at least not in the way Freeden describes it.⁵ Moreover,

...the study of ideology is most profitably recognized as the study of actual political thought - the concrete thinking of political communities and within political communities⁶ and "...human discourse has an ideological dimension to it, but that it cannot be reduced to that dimension alone."⁷

Hence, political ideas can guide political action and can form material life. They do not emerge in a vacuum, but are shaped by historical and social circumstances within which they develop. Political theory feeds political action. There is a constant interaction between ideologies and the social activity called "politics". The former is an internal dimension of the latter.⁸

We cannot reject ideologies since it is through them that we interpret reality, without, of course, meaning that ideologies represent an objective, external reality.⁹ The point is that ideas and ideologies provide a perspective for understanding and interpreting the world, they fall in our cultural framework through which we interpret our experience, guide our action and define our world. People do not view the world the way it really is, but the way they expect it to be, through a veil of beliefs, opinions and assumptions.¹⁰ It is very interesting that Nietzsche would agree on the very concept of this argument, about interpretation and reality, bearing, nevertheless, two objections: he would substitute ideology with will and he would reject the existence of an objective reality. For him "there are no facts, only interpretations".¹¹

Taking into consideration all the above, together with Freeden's argument that "an ideology is a wide-ranging structural arrangement that attributes meaning to a

⁵ Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, p. 34.

⁶ Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, p. 123.

⁷ Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, p. 124.

⁸ Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, p. 124.

⁹ Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, New York 1973, p. 145.

¹¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, Vintage Books, New York 1968, aphorism 481.

range of mutually defining political concepts”,¹² I will proceed to an exposition of anarchism’s basic features and currents. However, what we should keep in mind – in order to deal with it right away – is that, even if political theory and political action are inseparable, ideology means that in such a relationship theory prevails over practice by determining it through shaping and constraining its possibilities.

B.2.2/ Features and Currents of (Classical) Anarchism

This section provides some features and currents of Anarchism, and the aim is to provide an outline of the most basic anarchist characteristics and trends, suitable for the comparison that will take place between Nietzschean and anarchist philosophy in part C, challenge the ideological boundaries within anarchism (part C.1) and, finally, provide the basis for the case study of part D.

The choice of these characteristics has been made by selecting the main principles and currents presented in most works of anarchist literature, a part of which is used throughout this thesis, either as works of prominent anarchists or essays of anarchist history. Nevertheless, the treatment of these descriptors is rather indicative, exactly because of the basic argument presented here. That is, the approach of anarchism in terms of elective affinity rather than ideology, resulting in the acceptance of a more fluid and flexible anarchist nature that, as shown further down, can expand its limits in order to embrace currents like libertarian Marxism.

Ideology and Experience

Tomás Ibañez stresses the need to distinguish between two bodies of anarchism, the body of ideology (a system of principles and opinions which is, more or less, coherent and well structured) and the body of historical experiences (social-political movements, groups, struggles, symbols, antagonist practices). The ideological body shaped itself within ferments of a specific era, has certain time and space coordinates and, inevitably, undergoes alterations whenever new debates come up.¹³ Some of its most basic characteristics are the following:

Authority and Freedom

The dispute between authority and freedom, which focuses on the exclusion of authority in favour of freedom, can be regarded as the foundation stone of

¹² Freedon, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, p. 52.

anarchism.¹⁴ All its basic characteristics actually stem from this antiauthoritarian critique and the demand for liberty. Nonetheless, one must seriously take into consideration the ambiguous perception of the term “authority” within anarchist circles. For example, Bakunin accepted the natural authority of competent individuals and many anarchists have argued that people “in authority” are acceptable as long as they act on the basis of egalitarianism and consent. Additionally, Simon Critchley tries to “replace an idea of anarchism based around the idea of freedom, a humanist idea of individual freedom, with an anarchism of responsibility”¹⁵, by speaking of an infinite commitment to an ethical demand, a freely accepted “authority”. In this case, “the coercion that is exerted is a kind of self coercion. I put myself under a demand, freely, and that’s what conscience would be in that sense”.¹⁶ Nevertheless, this critique of the libertarian impulse of anarchism, in favour of responsibility, does not contrast the demand for liberty but rather reinforces it, especially if we recall Kropotkin’s arguments in *Anarchist Morality* about the unbreakable bond between freedom and responsibility. Therefore, it is not authority anarchists reject but rather authoritarianism.¹⁷ An example of this view can be seen in the way the anarchist troops were self-managed during the Spanish Revolution, where there was always a commander elected by the fighters, whose duties were strictly administrative and who could be recalled at any time.¹⁸

Equality

“Equality” has not only to do with fighting for justice, but with the rejection of an unequal distribution of authority - among groups and individuals - as well, which becomes an obstacle for the practice of freedom. The anarchist concept of equality is more radical than the liberal understanding of equality before the law or equality of opportunity precisely because anarchists reject the authoritative system that produces these laws and opportunities. Moreover, the other central concept of freedom allows the existence of various “inequalities” for the avoidance of both a dominant mediocrity as well as tyranny. For example, Bakunin accepted the physical and social

¹³ Ibañez, p. 2.

¹⁴ Ibañez, p. 3.

¹⁵ Infinitely Demanding Anarchism: An Interview with Simon Critchley, http://www.ucd.ie/philosophy/perspectives/resources/Simon_critcheley_interview.pdf (accessed on 14/4/2012), p. 14.

¹⁶ Infinitely Demanding Anarchism, p. 18.

¹⁷ Marshall, p. 647.

¹⁸ Robert Alexander, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War*, Janus Publishing, London 2007, Vol. 1,

equality of humanity¹⁹ but he could also accept economic inequality through the collectivist system he supported. Kropotkin, by adopting the communist definition of justice (from each according to ability, to each according to need), also favoured a certain type of inequality that took into consideration the special abilities and needs of the individual, always in a communal context. Likewise, Bookchin called for “an equality of unequals”, thus recognizing the particularity of every individual within a communist framework.²⁰

Revolution

“Revolution” is not an objective goal per se but a road to anarchy, and it could easily be substituted by other means if these proved themselves to be more effective against authority. Therefore, the concept of revolution, especially as a particular event, is not fundamental for anarchism, no matter how important its position in the imaginary of the anarchist tradition. We come across this view in Emma Goldman’s realization that to reconstruct a society you have to use example and education²¹ rather than guns,²² in Malatesta’s belief that after a short period of insurrection, anarchy would come as a result of a gradual evolution rather than a violent revolution,²³ and Landauer’s concept of revolution as a non-violent and constant procedure that embraces all aspects of life.²⁴

Direct Democracy

The “rejection of parliamentary representation”, the “practice of direct democracy and direct action”, the “direct control of the representative procedures” and the right of minorities to exist, even in the shadow of majority decisions, all come from the will to take decisions through non-authoritarian procedures and to avoid a “mediocrity rule”.²⁵ In addition, one basic principle applied to the anarchist decision-making procedures is that of “consensus”, an effort to combine all tendencies appearing during an assembly in order to avoid the dipole majority-minority that preserves a

pp. 167-69.

¹⁹ Mikhail Bakunin, “Revolutionary Catechism”, in Dolgoff, Sam (ed.), *Bakunin on Anarchy*, Vintage Books, New York 1972, pp. 78-79.

²⁰ Marshall, p. 49.

²¹ Emma Goldman, *Red Emma Speaks*, Wildwood House, London 1979, p. 46.

²² Goldman, *Red Emma Speaks*, p. 207.

²³ Marshall, p. 358.

²⁴ Gustav Landauer, “Revolution”, in Gabriel Kuhn (ed.), *Gustav Landauer, Revolution and Other Writings*, PM Press, Oakland 2010, pp. 112-13, 129, 135-36.

²⁵ Peter Kropotkin, “Anarchist Communism”, in Roger N. Baldwin (ed.), *Kropotkin's Revolutionary*

type of dominance, that of majority over minority.

Means and Ends

The “accordance between principles and practices” is also a derivative of the authority-freedom conflict, since the aim of this accordance is for anarchists not to give in to practices of dominion, and, as a result, never to use means that are in contradiction with the desirable goals.²⁶ This is mainly because of the idea of “prefiguration”, a pre-taste of the future in the present, contrary to the Machiavellian politics of Bolsheviks. As Cindy Milstein puts it, prefigurative politics is the vision of direct action where the means coincide with the ends. This consistency makes room for the future here and now and gives a model of ethical politics for tasting what we are fighting for.²⁷

Anti-Statism

“Anti-statism” is an expression of anarchists’ detestation of the authority the state exercises over society, an authority regarded as absolute, compulsory and unlimited. Anarchist thought rejects the liberal notion of the “social contract”, attributing the existence of the state in a condition of dominance.²⁸ Nevertheless, views of the state differ among anarchists: classical anarchists, like Bakunin and Kropotkin, believe that the state is the generator of authority and dominion, whereas thinkers like Landauer, or post-anarchists of the twentieth and twenty first century see it not as a structure but as a complex of relationships²⁹ that mainly derives from, and not only give birth to, authority.

Solidarity

“Solidarity” is another basic feature of anarchist thought and it is present in almost every famous anarchist work.³⁰ It is not only a vital ingredient of a future, emancipated, anarchist society but a necessary weapon in the hands of people for their

Pamphlets, Dover Publications, New York 1970, pp. 51-52.

²⁶ Ibañez, pp. 4-5.

²⁷ Cindy Milstein, “Reclaim the Cities: From Protest to Popular Power”, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/cindy-milstein-reclaim-the-cities-from-protest-to-popular-power> (accessed on 12/9/2013).

²⁸ Marshall, p. 22.

²⁹ Day, p. 16.

³⁰ See, for example, Kropotkin’s *Ethics: Origin and Development*, Kessinger Publishing, New York 2007, pp. 174, 293, and Bakunin’s *Statism and Anarchy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

conquest of anarchy, as well. According to Reclus, even the radical slogan of anarchist communism “from each according to ability, to each according to need” seems conservative before a distribution according to solidarity. Because for him, need remains an egoistic principle that is renewed only within the context of the needs of others, meaning in solidarity.³¹

Violence

“Violence” is something that has divided anarchists through time. Between the edges of terrorism and pacifism, anarchists have adopted many intermediate stances with most of them holding a distinction between the violence of the oppressor and the violence of the oppressed. What that means is that although violent phenomena are not welcomed in an anarchist society, violence might be seen either as a way of confronting the violence of the oppressors, like Kropotkin believed,³² or as an instant expression of a sentimental discharge, a (divine) violence that liberates, according to Walter Benjamin.³³

The Anarchist Corpus/Contesting the Ideological Approach of Anarchism

All the above components have contributed to the formation of an anarchist corpus which leads to either a macro-ideological or a micro-ideological³⁴ version of what anarchism stands for. Nonetheless, there are two main reasons for which an ideological approach to anarchism is flawed. The first has to do with the anarchist canon, meaning the representation of anarchism as a fixed ideology through the work of specific nineteenth century anarchist writers and the additional reduction of their thoughts to “certain clusters of ideas that only help to confirm prejudices about the ‘classical anarchists’”.³⁵ Secondly, even if we overlook the arbitrary selection of the prominent thinkers/core concepts and agree on a conceptual corpus of anarchism, this would mean that the perception of these concepts within anarchist circles is widely shared. Yet, this ideological approach itself seems to contradict this conclusion as it (rightfully) acknowledges different currents within anarchism. Where do these

1990, pp. xxxiii, 17, 220.

³¹ Marshall, p. 342.

³² See “The Significance of Kropotkin’s Life and Teaching”, in Roger N. Baldwin (ed.), *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, Dover Publications, New York 1970.

³³ Walter Benjamin, “Critique of Violence”, in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms Autobiographical Writings*, Schocken Books, New York 1978, pp. 296-97.

³⁴ As defined by Freeden in chapters 6 and 7 of his work (Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, pp. 78-81, 98).

³⁵ Süreyyya Evren and Duane Rousselle (ed.), *Post-Anarchism, a Reader*, Pluto Press, New York 2011, p. 4.

different tendencies stem from? Without a doubt, they come from the different interpretation of the concepts that constitute the common ideological corpus.

Let us analyze these two objections to the ideological approach of anarchism in more detail.

The Anarchist Canon

The selection of the prominent thinkers/core concepts of anarchism was not the result of an “apocalyptic” process of religious type but a subjective product of the writers that have composed the history of anarchism. Different writers ended up with a different group of thinkers and this relativity reminds us of the Nietzschean labeling (in the case of morality) for the absence of objectivities, since every epoch bears its own values.³⁶ The same thing is happening here. At the end of the nineteenth century, Paul Eltzbacher regarded Proudhon, Godwin, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tucker and Tolstoy as the most prominent anarchists,³⁷ whereas six decades later, George Woodcock’s *Anarchism* followed Eltzbacher’s selection except for Tucker.³⁸ Two years after Woodcock, Irving Horowitz considered Bakunin, Malatesta, Sorel and Kropotkin to be the key thinkers,³⁹ whereas for Henri Arvon the prime group consisted of Godwin, Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin and Tolstoy⁴⁰ and James Joll broadened the list by including Voline, Goldman, Godwin, Cafiero, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Makhno, Bakunin, Babeuf, Durruti, Stirner, Proudhon, Fourier and others.⁴¹ Max Nettlau also included a large number of theorists/activists in his history of anarchism, in 1971, consisting of Landauer, Duhring, Reclus, Margall, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta and Merlino among others.⁴² In the 80s, Alan Ritter only referred to Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin,⁴³ whilst Daniel Guérin omitted Godwin, Tucker and Tolstoy but included others like de Paepe, Guillaume, Pelloutier, and Pouget.⁴⁴ In the 90s and the 00s the number seems to increase and

³⁶ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, first essay.

³⁷ Paul Eltzbacher, *Anarchism: Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy*, Freedom Press, London 1975, ref. in Ruth Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner’s Guide*, p. 10.

³⁸ George Woodcock, *Anarchism*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 2004, ref. in Ruth Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner’s Guide*, p. 10.

³⁹ Irving Horowitz, *The Anarchists*, Dell, New York 1964, ref. in Süreyya Evren and Duane Rousselle (ed.), *Post-Anarchism, a Reader*, p. 14.

⁴⁰ Henri Arvon, *L’Anarchisme*, Presses Universitaires De France, n.p., 1964, ref. in Süreyya Evren and Duane Rousselle (ed.), *Post-Anarchism, a Reader*, p. 14.

⁴¹ James Joll, *The Anarchists*, Harvard University Press, 1980 (first edition in 1964).

⁴² Max Nettlau, *A Short History of Anarchism* (first published in French in 1971).

⁴³ Alan Ritter, *Anarchism: A Theoretical Analysis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1980, ref. in Süreyya Evren and Duane Rousselle (ed.), *Post-Anarchism, a Reader*, p. 14.

⁴⁴ Daniel Guérin, *No Gods, No Masters: An Anthology of Anarchism*, AK Press, Oakland 2005

reduce according to the historian, with Peter Marshall expanding the anarchist canon drastically, by including almost all the above theorists/activists⁴⁵ contrarily to Colin Ward and Daniel Colson who focused only on Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Stirner, Proudhon, Bakunin, retrospectively.⁴⁶

The fundamental point is that the effort to detect a coherent corpus of thinkers and (their) concepts to define what anarchism is, has led to arbitrary conclusions and to a selective anarchist canon. Accordingly, more recent trends of anarchy – like post-anarchism – claim not only to refresh but also to correct the supposed false views of classical anarchists.

The Anarchist Currents

The second objection has to do with the panspermia of philosophical differentiations that led to the formation of the basic currents within the anarchist tradition I present below. Taking into account that anarchism draws from socialism and liberalism alike, there are two main categories that include these currents: Social anarchism and Individualist anarchism. The former is closer to socialism whilst the latter stands closer to liberalism.

In the first category we come across “mutualism”, “collectivism”, “anarcho-communism” and “anarcho-syndicalism”.

Mutualism

“Mutualism” might be placed between individualism and collectivism since, although looking forward to a social reformation, it still shares some individualist principles like private property (or, more accurately, “possessions” as Proudhon, its main representative, put it).

...society should be organized, without the intervention of a State, by individuals who are able to make free contracts with each other. To replace the existing State and Capital, mutualists proposed, and tried to create, a co-operative society, comprising individuals who exchange the necessities of life on the basis of labour value and

(originally published in French in 1980), ref. in Ruth Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner's Guide*, p. 10.

⁴⁵ Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible*, ref. in Ruth Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner's Guide*, p. 10.

⁴⁶ Daniel Colson, “Nietzsche and the Libertarian Worker's Movement” and Colin Ward, *Anarchism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004, both ref. in Süreyya Evren and Duane Rousselle (ed.), *Post-Anarchism, a Reader*, pp. 13-14.

obtain free credit through a people's bank. Individuals and small groups would still possess their instruments of labour, and receive the produce thereof.⁴⁷

Collectivism

“Collectivism” stands between mutualism and anarcho-communism, in a way that constitutes a developed financial system of mutualism together with a social model of communism. Its principle is “from each according to his ability, to each according to work done”. Bakunin was the first to use this term⁴⁸ and his example was widely put in action during the Spanish Revolution by the peasants and communities that adhered to anarchist principles.

Anarcho-Communism

“Anarcho-communism” is a radical form of collectivist anarchism since it elects a community based on extreme solidarity and self-government. The motto here is “from each according to ability, to each according to need”, highlighting the principles of mutual aid and cooperation in all fields of everyday life for the members of the commune. Anarcho-communism is the current of anarchist tradition that clashes the most with Marxist communism, since both communisms dream of an anarchist society but through different paths. Kropotkin's vision of self-sufficient and independent communes and Malatesta's highlighting of the central role the will and tolerance must play in such societies, are all hostile to Marxist determinism and centralization.

Anarcho-Syndicalism

Anarchism reached its zenith as a social mass movement in Spain 1936, immediately before the Spanish Revolution and during it. The accomplishment of many of anarchism's goals took place due to “anarcho-syndicalism”, a current of social anarchism that is based on autonomous, revolutionary syndicates as a model of a future anarchist society. The syndicates are for anarcho-syndicalism what collectives are for collectivist anarchism and communes for anarcho-communism, and its special features include the rejection of conventional politics, direct action, self-determination and an ultimate weapon, the myth of a general strike.

The second, main category of the anarchist tradition, Individualist anarchism,

⁴⁷ Marshall, p. 7.

consists of “egoism and libertarianism”.⁴⁹

Egoism

“Egoism” is based upon the idea of a sovereign individual and its principles have best been put forward in Max Stirner’s *The Ego and His Own*.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, egoism must not be reduced to an extreme self-interest philosophy - thus perceived in a Lockean or Hobbesian way - for egoism is the current that places the individual in the centre of the moral universe without denying cooperation of the egoist individuals.⁵¹

Libertarianism

Libertarianism is a term we come across at both ends (Right, Left) of the political spectrum, but here I will focus on the anarchist and Left perception of it. Libertarianism combines the view of a stateless society with the protection and preservation of individuality. Henry David Thoreau, Benjamin Tucker, William Godwin and Josiah Warren best developed this argument and although they avoided using the term “anarchist”, their thought remains within an anarchist context. Many anarchists (used to) refer to anarchism as “libertarian socialism”. This happens either to distinguish anarchism from its negative historical components (like terrorism), or to stress the position of anarchism within the socialist family.

However, libertarianism also appears in the field of the broader Left as “antiauthoritarian communism/Marxism” and thinkers like Walter Benjamin or Cornelius Castoriadis can be included in this family. The timeless interaction of libertarian thinkers with the anarchist tradition shows that the boundaries of anarchism can extend even to some trends of the antiauthoritarian Left. After an extended, and historically detailed, presentation of schools of anarchism, Ruth Kinna⁵² reaches the conclusion that the several typologies of anarchist schools seem to give

⁴⁸ Marshall, p. 8.

⁴⁹ (Right-wing) *Libertarianism* and *Anarcho-capitalism* are usually included in the currents of Individualist anarchism but in my opinion both are rather an extreme edition of liberalism than part of the anarchist family. The basic reason for this is that they focus not on the emancipation of people in whole, but on the emancipation of the market and the profit. A stateless society is not necessarily an anarchist one.

⁵⁰ Johann Kaspar Schmidt (Max Stirner), *The Ego and His Own*, Dover, New York 1973, first published in 1845 in Germany.

⁵¹ Marshall, p. 38.

⁵² Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner’s Guide*, pp. 15-26.

a picture of confusion. The tendency of each new generation of writers is to have expanded the number of anarchist schools and to have redefined their membership, making the boundaries between schools increasingly diffuse.⁵³

Hence, the case of Walter Benjamin, which will be examined separately in part C.1, is to give evidence for a connection between anarchism and libertarian Marxism through the flexibility of elective affinity and the inclusion of Friedrich Nietzsche to this connective schema.

Elective affinity Versus an Ideological Perception of Anarchism

For all the above, I argue that “elective affinity”, as illustrated in part B.1, is a much more productive approach to anarchism than ideology. Although we can trace the existence of the above political concepts in all currents of anarchism, the different ways that these concepts are usually interpreted and prioritized seem to reveal an ideological body that is not coherent.

To borrow Michael Freeden’s words, these political concepts are like pieces of furniture. The way we choose to combine them takes us to a different room, that is, to a different ideology.⁵⁴ And it is true that this set of furniture, meaning the way every concept is linked to all the rest,⁵⁵ is common to all trends of anarchism. What is different - something that we do not come across in any other ideology, at least not to such an extent - is the definition of some of these concepts within every current. In other words, what is different is not the arrangement of the furniture but their colour, size or the material they are made from, factors that maintain the affinity between these trends, whilst favouring a significant diversity and leaving little room to the homogeneity that a strict ideological approach presupposes. Even Kropotkin questioned the coherence of the anarchist worldview when acknowledging that what defined anarchism were not the theories elaborated by people like himself but the numerous propagandist materials circulated by almost every single anarchist.⁵⁶

In this context, let us, for example, examine the concept of anti-statism. On the one hand, classical anarchists consider the state to be something concrete, evil and the very source of human exploitation. On the other hand, post-anarchists regard it as a

⁵³ Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner’s Guide*, p. 19.

⁵⁴ Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, p. 52.

⁵⁵ Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, p. 54.

⁵⁶ Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner’s Guide*, p. 13.

certain complex of human relationships, because of power and exploitation, which keeps on reproducing both, rather than being the source of them. Nevertheless, all agree that the state, in relation to freedom and human emancipation, plays a negative role. So, the way the state and freedom “furniture” are combined leads us to the “room of anarchy”, but the differences in size and colour of the “state-furniture” in this example show the weak points of a pure ideological approach.

In addition, Freeden suggests that an ideology decontests all political concepts, aiming at attributing a clear and certain meaning to them.⁵⁷ Yet, this does not always happen in anarchism, where we may come across concepts that hold a central role but these concepts are not decontestable at all. Power for example, as illustrated in chapter B.2.4, seems to be perceived differently by classical anarchists and post-anarchists in terms of its nature and the role it plays in anarchist politics and theories. Furthermore, whilst for Freeden “all ideologies begin with non-negotiable assumptions”⁵⁸ post-anarchism seems to question such a starting point. With its pluralism, it rejects the normativities and axioms of classical anarchism. However, even classical anarchist thought seems to carry within it the seeds of questioning every certainty concerning human nature (one of anarchism’s supposed “non-negotiable assumptions”), as Richard Day stresses below and as I am going to show in part C.1.

So, there is definitely some kind of confusion deriving from the analysis of anarchist trends but this confusion can designate the significance of the elective affinity approach. Kinna describes how Horowitz regarded different schools of anarchism not as carriers of “separated doctrines” but as “alternative responses to particular historical, cultural and political conditions”.⁵⁹ This reference to different social/political contexts not only explains but also welcomes the fluidity between anarchist tendencies, and at the same time brings the unification of anarchism, under a leading idea. The difference versus Eltzbacher’s legalistic analysis and the rigid ideological approach is that the core values can be expressed in several ways, depending on the specific cultural and political conditions of their time. Moreover, this contextual approach, which focuses on the historical development and evolution of anarchism, favours the examination of anarchism’s positive content contra to the

⁵⁷ Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, pp. 51-55.

⁵⁸ Freeden, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, p. 56.

⁵⁹ Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner’s Guide*, p. 20.

usual definition of anarchism in negative terms, as opposition to the state.⁶⁰ Here comes elective affinity to foster the interaction between the several conceptual interpretations and tendencies of anarchism without selective readings that would create stagnation and dogmatism. This is how anarchism turns into anarchy, and is being recognized as theoretical as well as practical at the same time, maintaining its open, anti-static, dynamical character. In addition, this open character can embrace/include the affinal characteristics of currents such as libertarian Marxism. As I will show in part B.2.5, libertarian Marxism can be linked to anarchy, in the name of Walter Benjamin thanks to an anti-ideological approach of anarchism through elective affinity, by broadening the boundaries of anarchist thought and giving its basic characteristics a more flexible essence.

As a result, I would argue that although “all forms of political thinking have an ideological dimension”,⁶¹ an approach to anarchism highlighting “elective affinity” rather than promoting an ideological profile, may contribute much more to the effort of decoding anarchy and linking it both to Nietzsche and libertarian communism. The unification of an anarchy that preserves its several different components can be easily understood under the affinal Nietzschean project of “becoming who you are” that will be analytically exposed in part B.4. There we will see that the unification of one’s self is a dynamical process that requires the incorporation and balance of many different qualities, impulses and experiences. This unification is also the way that one can locate and affirm our qualitative differences from others. In the same way, the elective affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchists may help “to define the parameters of anarchism in relation to other ideologies”⁶² something that answers the second query of this research (as stated in part A.1). Finally, the promotion of anarchy’s positive content is of great interest and importance since the most basic accusation of Nietzsche towards anarchists was the negativity nestling in their resentful feelings and bad conscience. This is how the elective affinity with Nietzsche can lead to a positive re-ordering of anarchism, aiming at evaluating and dealing with possible reactive elements of anarchist behaviours.

⁶⁰ Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner’s Guide*, p. 24.

⁶¹ Freedon, *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, p. 67.

⁶² Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginner’s Guide*, p. 24.

B.2.3/ Beyond Classical Anarchism: The New and Contemporary Anarchistic Social Movements

In the previous chapter, we saw the importance elective affinity has in order to approach anarchism in an alternative, rather than ideological, way. The activation and ongoing project of elective affinity has to do with the harmonization of anarchist tendencies, so it is directly interested in the development and evolution of the anarchist movement and the emergence of new tendencies within anarchist circles. Chapters B.2.3 and B.2.4 deal with the anarchist(ic) movements of the era after 1968, present their main characteristics, which are typically anarchistic, and delineate their affinal relationships. Additionally, I will examine the post-anarchist current and will give a first hint of what will be completed in the end of chapter C.1. That is, the understanding of post-anarchist not as a “post” but as one more tendency of anarchism.

New Anarchistic Movements: Anti-Hegemony and Politics of Affinity

The red line for crossing the borders of “classical” anarchism could be the new social movements of the 60s, 70s and 80s which, even though they did not define themselves as such, they could be included in the anarchist family, for they openly adopted anarchist principles and practices, such as direct action, non-hierarchical formations, direct democracy, voluntarism, self-discipline, mutual aid, solidarity, etc.

In this category, we come across “movements” that kept an antagonistic stance towards the dominant political scene from 1968 until the big demonstrations of Seattle in 1999. These “movements” are May 68 in Paris, Autonomia in Italy in the 70s, Autonomien in Germany in the 80s and 90s and other affinal ventures throughout Europe in this period.

All of these movements represent an effort on the part of the social antagonism, consisted of the new subjects of the Western metropolis, to respond to advanced capitalism. Occupations, open assemblies and collective decision forums; the rejection of hierarchy and representation, clashes with the police for asserting the right to resist statist and financial repression, are some of these movements’ characteristics in their effort to realize tomorrow’s dreams today.

Additionally, my definition of contemporary, anarchist(ic), radical movements includes groups that follow tactics similar to those Richard Day calls “contemporary radical activism”. These movements are contemporary in the way that they connect

with the activism of 90s and early 00s, which has its roots in the new social movements of 60s - feminism, red power, the struggle of gays and lesbians, etc. - and in the Marxist and anarchist socialist traditions. They are also radical since their intention is not to reform or beautify the dominant structures and procedures, but to block and demolish them, aiming at the overthrow of the causes, not only that of the symptoms.⁶³

Most of these aforementioned movements - some more, some less - did not and do not wish to establish a hegemony, as Antonio Gramsci put it⁶⁴. That is, they do not try to take power or impose their worldview on a large scale.

From the refusal of work to the construction of concrete alternatives to the existing order, these dispersed and constantly morphing tactics nonetheless share some common characteristics. They are not oriented to allowing a particular group or movement to remake a nation-state or a world in its own image, and are therefore of little use to those who seek power over others...Rather, they are appropriate to those who are striving to recover, establish or enhance their ability to determine the conditions of their own existence, while allowing and encouraging others to do the same.⁶⁵

This is why most of these “movements” are not movements that traditional sociology might recognize. As far as their anarchistic character is concerned, this is because of the implicit adoption of traditionally anarchist methods - direct action, non-hierarchical formations, voluntarism, mutual aid, solidarity, etc. - as mentioned in section B.2.2. Because of these anarchistic characteristics, and although only a small percentage is self-defined as purely anarchist, these groups can be regarded as an evolution, a contemporary version of the classical anarchist movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In particular, these groups exist within a frame of affinity, they are the so called “affinity groups” which act by openly questioning the core of hegemony. They are identified by relationships freed from universality, compulsion and hierarchy and their bonds are based on mutual aid and common ethical commitment.⁶⁶ Living in a

⁶³ Day, pp. 4-5.

⁶⁴ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence & Wishart, London 1998, part I.3 and II.2

⁶⁵ Day, p. 13.

⁶⁶ Day, p. 9.

relationship based on affinity not only it means to come together with those with whom you share common principles, but also to actively hold off, and stand against, all those whose practices maintain a reality of distinctions, domination and exploitation.⁶⁷ A politics of affinity does not put identities aside but rather abandons the illusion of stable and coherent identities, the view that a certain identity is better than others are, and the belief that the state must act as an arbiter for what each identity should be given.⁶⁸ Contrary to revolutionary struggles, which try to impose their effect on all aspects of present society by taking over state power, and also contrary to politics of reformation, that seek to alter certain domains, on a global level, by reforming state power, these movements/networks/tactics of affinity do not aim at an holistic effect. They are rather willing to block and resist state and corporate authority on a local, national and international level by deconstructing the hegemonic character of (neo)liberal and (post)Marxist theory and practice.⁶⁹

Moreover, their struggle cannot be just reduced to class struggle or economic issues but represent a wide range of action: racism, patriarchy, the exploitation of nature, gender issues, etc.

From this perspective, the affinity frame can include: autonomist groups (for example, non-Leninist components of the Autonomia movement), groups that practice in Temporary Autonomous Zones, as Hakim Bey suggests, networks like Reclaim the Streets, open assemblies or groups that take action in order to protect nature or/and to create and preserve “green zones” in the urban scenery of the contemporary metropolis, fighters in the Animal Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front, squat movements, etc.

B.2.4/ Neo-anarchism / Post-anarchism

Post-Anarchism

Post-anarchism refers to the call for a review of basic anarchist concepts and their evolution, as well as the emergence of other characteristics that exist within the anarchist tradition in a less profound way. It goes together with post-structural theories and the current of post-modernity and as a term “was first used by intellectuals influenced by the French post-modernist thinkers, especially in their

⁶⁷ Day, p. 186.

⁶⁸ Day, p. 188.

⁶⁹ Day, p. 45.

opposition to ‘totalizing systems’ and their analysis of power”.⁷⁰ For Saul Newman, Foucault’s post-structural analysis of power, and the exposure of the multiple and hidden dominations that pervade society extended the classical anarchist critique of power but at the same time made the epistemological basis of this critique seem problematic, by rejecting the axioms about human nature and rationality.⁷¹ This is what Newman calls “anarchism’s uncontaminated point of departure”,⁷² meaning the classical anarchist belief that humans possess a natural morality, an essence that is fundamentally good and rational.

Moreover, the essential link Todd May sees between anarchism and post-structuralism “is the denial that there is some central hinge about which political change could or should revolve”.⁷³ It is very important to say that, in terms of genealogy, the starting point of prominent post-structuralists is Nietzsche and his forerunner, Max Stirner. Both, via their attack on the Enlightenment, humanitarianism, essentialism and subjectivity, played their role in the debate between individuals and society. Consequently, post-anarchism stresses the differences between Individual and Social Anarchism, whilst acknowledging the advantages of both currents: Individual Anarchism offers an insight, concerning the burning issues of liberty and autonomy, whereas Social Anarchism seems to be more productive in relevance to collective political action. At the same time, post-anarchism strongly questions the traditional idea of “society” on which social anarchism has been founded, meaning the questioning of society as a rational and sociable organic wholeness, favoured as such by thinkers like Kropotkin and Bookchin.⁷⁴

Thus, post-anarchism seeks to combine the classical anarchist concepts of equality and emancipation with the pluralistic contemporary political struggles that are open to multiple identities and perspectives and are mainly expressed by the new social movements mentioned above.

Neo-Anarchism

Neo-anarchism is the contemporary anarchism, after the decline anarchism suffered

⁷⁰ Marshall, p. 677.

⁷¹ Interview of Saul Newman.

⁷² Saul Newman, *From Bakunin to Lacan: Anti-Authoritarianism and the Dislocation of Power*, Lexington Books, Lanham 2001, pp. 39, 48.

⁷³ Poststructuralist Anarchism: An Interview with Todd May by Rebecca DeWitt, <http://www.oocities.org/ringfingers/mayint.html> (accessed on 3/10/2010).

during the October Revolution and the Spanish civil war. It is a critical anarchism or a transitional stage from classical anarchism to post-anarchism, a first step towards the birth of something new and different to classical anarchism, but always in the field of the battle against dominance and authoritarianism.

For Tomás Ibañez, the self-criticism of anarchism, and its shift towards post-anarchism, goes through a critique of the absolute concepts of the Enlightenment, especially those of an autonomous, unified and essential subject and of the universal value of its principles.⁷⁵ In post-anarchism absolutism loses ground to relativism, tomorrow's revolution gives its place to today's revolt, structures are reduced to human relationships, objective truths become subjective interpretations and the stable and clear identities of modernity now turn into more pluralistic and obscure ones.

What keeps post-anarchism in the anarchist tradition is that these elements of questioning basic Enlightenment concepts are also immanent in classical anarchism, something that will be discussed further on in this research. The important point is that (classical) anarchism is the only "ideology" based on the Enlightenment which questions, if not undermines, its very foundations. In this way not only does it keep up with its principles (as an anti-dogmatic worldview) but it also builds up a very interesting and interactive relationship with the similar worldview of Friedrich Nietzsche.

B.2.5/ Figures of Anarchism (A) and Libertarian Marxism (L/M)

The ideas and concepts illustrated in the previous sections, concerning the anarchist tradition, will be used to establish the elective affinity mainly through specific figures of anarchist and libertarian thought such as Mikhail Bakunin (A), Peter Kropotkin (A), Errico Malatesta (A), Gustav Landauer (A), Emma Goldman (A) and Walter Benjamin (L/M).

Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta are generally considered to be prominent anarchists and if one wished to refer to anarchism in any way it would be rather peculiar not to include at least one of these thinkers.

Bakunin implemented anarchist ideas and stressed the deep theoretical and practical differences between anarchists and Marxists – differences that will be also discussed in the case study presented in part D.

Kropotkin was the most systematic and scientific anarchist thinker and the one

⁷⁴ Interview of Saul Newman.

who most intensively dealt with ethics and morality introducing, in this way, a genealogical approach of thinking that could unveil the origins of bourgeois values.

Malatesta, an active agitator and revolutionary, was one of the anarchists who was most consistent with his ideas. Believing that truth is not a fixed quantity⁷⁶ and opposing any kind of scientific or mechanistic fatalism (even the one of his friend and comrade Kropotkin), by favouring the will power,⁷⁷ he developed an extremely anti-dogmatic stance, insisting that anarchy does not belong to any particular philosophical system. He is also renowned for his articles about violence and the end-means correlation.

Landauer and Goldman will be treated separately for two reasons. The first is that Nietzsche openly influenced them both and therefore I will examine their contribution to the elective affinity in the chapter C.1. The second reason is that, as mentioned in the introduction, one of this research's objectives is to question the boundaries between different anarchist currents and especially between "classical" and "post" anarchism. Landauer and Goldman, standing into the "classical" anarchist era like Nietzschean preachers, are the most suitable figures to do so.

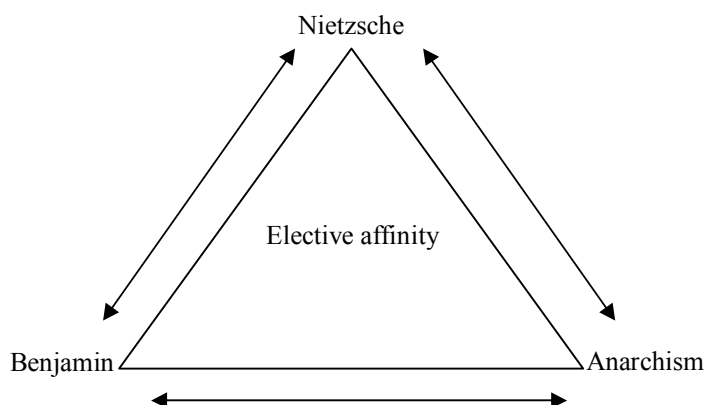
Finally, Walter Benjamin – whose thought will also serve the establishment of the affinity in chapter C.1 – is a prominent libertarian Marxist whose case, I will argue, illustrates how libertarian Marxism is much closer to anarchism than to mainstream/orthodox Marxism. Hence, the use of his ideas, for which I will straightaway give the rationale, will question the boundaries between ideologies like anarchy and libertarian Marxism or, even better, libertarian communism.

The role of Benjamin in this thesis is a conjunctive one since I intend to use Nietzsche, Benjamin (as a representative of libertarian Marxism) and anarchism as the three vertexes of the same triangle.

⁷⁵ Ibañez, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁶ Marshall, p. 354.

⁷⁷ Marshall, pp. 358-59.



The three sides of this triangle stand for the connection between Nietzsche-Benjamin, Nietzsche-anarchism and Benjamin-anarchism. Hence, apart from the straightforward connection between Nietzsche and anarchism, the parallel connections of Nietzsche to Benjamin and of Benjamin to anarchism will serve as a double-checked evident affinity between anarchism-Nietzsche (through Benjamin), and Benjamin (libertarian Marxism)-anarchism (through Nietzsche). This schema is, apparently, based on a fundamental mathematical property, the transitive property of equality, revised here in terms of elective affinity: If $a = b$ and $b = c$, then $a = c$.

Benjamin is a very idiosyncratic thinker mainly because of the, seemingly, controversial components of his philosophy. The combination of German romanticism, Judaic messianism and historical materialism produces a heretic view of time, progress and revolution.

The primary and most significant connection between Benjamin and anarchism was made by Benjamin himself in works like *Critique of Violence*, where he praises the idea of a revolt without prior organization and without the presence of a party.⁷⁸ Similarly, in his essay on *Surrealism*, he identifies the model of revolution with anarchism by binding revolt to revolution.⁷⁹ Hence, he expresses a clearly anarchist view when implying that if revolution does not take the form of a simple revolt then it will not be able to escape depression.⁸⁰ In addition, Benjamin perceived general strike in an anarcho-syndicalist way. For him, the goal of such a strike has

⁷⁸ Benjamin, "Critique of Violence", p. 292.

⁷⁹ Walter Benjamin, "Surrealism", in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, Schocken, New York 1978, p. 189.

⁸⁰ Giorgos Sagriotis, "Benjamin and Anarchism", <http://lboro.ac.uk/departments/eu/research/ResearchGroups/AnarchismRG/Docs/Sagriotis%20Paper%20-%20Benjamin%20and%20Anarchism.pdf> (accessed on 31/1/2012), p. 5.

nothing to do with a reformist strike of the Left that aims at just replacing the oppressors with new ones. On the contrary, it seeks to destroy the state, its power and all its institutions.⁸¹

The above combination of romanticism, messianism and historical materialism is not only heretic from a scientific point of view (against historicism, progress and objectivity) but from a Marxist-communist one as well. Benjamin approaches Marx quite selectively rejecting fundamental theses of scientific socialism like historical necessity or the dogma of the inevitable progress, keeping in his arsenal historical materialism and class struggle. Therefore, even when it seemed that he shifted from anarchism to communism we cannot say that he actually embraced Marxism. One more reason for this is

...Benjamin's limited knowledge of Marxist literature as well as of the writings of Marx himself. Apart from that it should be attributed to Benjamin's aversion to dogmatism as well as to certain forms of communist practice during his lifetime.⁸²

Even when noting that anarchist methods are not applicable, his critique of the communist ends as nonsense asserts that his ends are still anarchist.⁸³

In thesis I of his *Theses on the Philosophy of History* Benjamin puts theology in the service of historical materialism, meaning a spiritual fuel to the materialist machinery, in order to free the latter from the deterministic and reformist plans of communists and social democrats, respectively.⁸⁴ For him, class struggle is a dialectic of the material and the spiritual that exceeds the mechanistic model of infrastructure and superstructure. The struggle is material but its motive is spiritual. Class struggle for Benjamin is not the development of the productive forces or the antinomy between the productive relationships, but the war between the oppressed and the oppressive, the exploited and the exploiters,⁸⁵ a war that clearly questions the historical victories of the oppressed since it undermines the legitimacy of the authority of the past and present dominant classes. Hence, Benjamin opposes the evolutionary and deterministic Marxist view, which justifies the bourgeois victories, praises the

⁸¹ Benjamin, "Critique of Violence", p. 291.

⁸² Sagriotis, p. 8.

⁸³ Sagriotis, p. 9.

⁸⁴ Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History", in *Illuminations*, Pimlico, London 1999, Thesis I, p. 245 and Michael Löwy, *Fire Alarm: Reading Walter Benjamin's On the Concept of History*, Verso, London 2005, p. 25.

evolutionary laws of history and stresses the immaturity of the conditions for social emancipation.⁸⁶ This is the reason that his version of “dialectics” departs from the orthodox Marxist one by insisting on joining the past with the present and theory with practice.⁸⁷

On these terms, continuity, thus progress, belongs to the dominant classes. The only moments of freedom are the moments of discontinuity, when the oppressed revolt and seek to emancipate themselves.⁸⁸ Therefore, Benjamin rejects the tranquility of social democrats and communists when staying inactive and waiting for the, supposedly, inevitable advent of revolution. On the contrary, he argues that every historical moment has its own revolutionary capacity,⁸⁹ for a direct, revolutionary, anarchistic and messianic disruption of history’s continuity.

Moreover, in addition to progress, Benjamin criticizes the Left for one more reason, in the same way anarchists have been doing so: bureaucracy. The blind trust in the party, the fetishism of the unmistakable avant-garde, has become an end in itself that has enslaved and paralyzed the oppressed without permitting them to act.⁹⁰ “Our consideration proceeds from the insight that the politicians’ stubborn faith in progress, their confidence in their ‘mass basis’, and, finally, their servile integration in an uncontrollable apparatus have been three aspects of the same thing”.⁹¹

In summation, Benjamin’s thought, although expressed in a more communist context must not let us forget the purely libertarian, thus, anarchist character of this communism. After all, in his own words “ethics, applied to history is the doctrine of the revolution; applied to the state, it is the doctrine of anarchy”.⁹²

⁸⁵ Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis IV, p. 246 and Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 38.

⁸⁶ Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 39.

⁸⁷ Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis IX, p. 249, where, through “Angelus Novus”, Benjamin attacks the Hegelian and Marxist concept of rational progress, and Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 40.

⁸⁸ Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis XIII, p. 252 and Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 86.

⁸⁹ Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis XVII, p. 254 and Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 96.

⁹⁰ Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis X, p. 250 and Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 70.

⁹¹ Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis X, p. 250.

⁹² Quoted in Sagriotis, p. 13.

B.3/ The Political Friedrich Nietzsche

B.3.1/ The Philosopher and his Legacy

Friedrich Nietzsche can be considered the most critical thinker in the history of Western thought, not only because of his influence on his subsequent philosophers but mainly because he was the first one that chose to systematically bring down the whole construction of the Western way of thinking, starting from the philosophers of ancient Greece up to his contemporaries.

This deconstruction inevitably included the most significant names of the Western tradition such as Socrates, Plato,¹ Luther, Kant² and Hegel³ while, at the same time, he attacked the well-established constitutions of society,⁴ art,⁵ science,⁶ morality⁷ and religion.⁸ The substratum for Nietzsche's "philosophizing with a hammer",⁹ and the theoretical frame of his approach in this research, was the severe attack on the Enlightenment and the explicit challenge of its heritage - that is, in short, rationality, the concept of truth and the triplet of the French Revolution: Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.¹⁰

Nietzsche's opposition to the rational way of thinking was a simultaneous call for a return to the "weltanschauung" of the pro-Socratic philosophy in Greece. Combining the notions of obscure philosophers, like Heraclitus, with the central and crucial role Tragedy played in the everyday life of the Greek "polis", he attempted to bring out the values of heroism, transformation of life, aristocracy of the spirit and the anti-static (anti-platonic) view of living. The substratum of all these was the unexplored and bottomless world of "will", which he inherited from Schopenhauer, this vital flow of energy that clearly preferred thinking to knowledge, sentiments to moral codes, self to subject, exegesis to truth.

Without any doubt, we can claim that within the nineteenth century - the hardcore of modernity, where the world was changing drastically based on the

¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Twilight of the Idols*, "The Problem of Socrates", in *Twilight of the Idols and the Anti-Christ*, Penguin Books, London 2003.

² Nietzsche, *The Anti-Christ*.

³ Gilles Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, Continuum, New York 2005, pp. 8, 139-79.

⁴ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, book two.

⁵ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy and other writings*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007.

⁶ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Penguin Books, London 2003, "Of Science".

⁷ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, Penguin Books, London 2003, part five.

⁸ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, third essay.

⁹ "How to Philosophize with a Hammer": Subtitle to Nietzsche's *Twilight of the Idols*.

¹⁰ Lewis Call, *Nietzsche as Critic and Captive of Enlightenment*, <http://www.scrve.com/~station/dissertation.html> (accessed on 8/11/2010).

principles of the Enlightenment - the era of post-modernity had already begun and Friedrich Nietzsche was its main representative. His conception of human nature ceased to be rational and essential, against every acceptable method of his time. What he put in effect, was a purely psychological approach that equated psychology to the feeling of power, of “will to power”. For that reason, he chose to study the origins of his contemporary Western society via a genealogy of morals,¹¹ not in a historical, passive and supposedly objective way but actively and through the lens of his values.

In addition, this new perspective, concerning the study and interpretation of history and the view of a different and superior man type, created a legacy that was passed down to prominent thinkers and artists in all fields of human science and creativity: philosophers (Georg Brandes, Martin Heidegger, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze), psychologists (Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung), novelists and poets (Nikos Kazantzakis, Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, Rainer Maria Rilke) and so many others were more or less deeply influenced by the heretic, subverting and progressive notions of the German philosopher.

Categorization of Nietzsche's Works

The development of Nietzsche's works is usually treated in three main divisions and periods of time: early (1872 – 1876), middle (1878 – 1885) and late (1885 – 1888). The first period, which includes the *Birth of Tragedy* and the four *Untimely Meditations*, stresses the metaphysical nature of the artist and the need for cultural rebirth and revival. The idea, typifying Western culture, that the individual describes a coherent and stable whole is rejected by Nietzsche through the dipole of Dionysus and Apollo. Nietzsche does not see the individual as a fixed stability but as a complex of inferior and superior forces which guarantee the plurality of the self. Nevertheless, Nietzsche is not against a united self, but this unity is not a presupposition – as Descartes suggests – but a desirable goal, a continuous and harmonious connection of all our different tendencies, with the inferior ones (those that are life-denial) obeying the superior ones (those that are life-affirmative). Schematically, the qualitative distinction of the forces and tendencies belongs to Dionysus, whereas the project of conjunction is an Apollonian task.

After *The Birth of Tragedy* Nietzsche's interest shifted significantly towards the issues of knowledge and science, though art still played a central role in his

¹¹ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, first essay, §1, 2.

worldview.¹² In the second essay of *Untimely Meditations* – “On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life” – Nietzsche favours direct experience, over indirect knowledge of history, to be the motive for human action,¹³ a view that can be linked with anarchists’ direct experience and action versus the historically deterministic plan of some Marxists.

The second period, marked by *Human, All Too Human*, *Daybreak* and the *Gay Science*, concentrates on the overcoming of metaphysics and the acceptance of science and especially physics. *Human, All Too Human, a book for free spirits*, is dedicated to Voltaire as a sign of Nietzsche’s siding with the Enlightenment: He now rejects Wagner and all kinds of knowledge based on supernatural, and not scientific, means. His “invitation to the free and enquiring mind to subject prejudices, customs, and beliefs to scrutiny”¹⁴ answers the similar anarchist call for a holistic critique to society’s institutions or foundations like morality.

Nevertheless, Nietzsche’s overcoming of metaphysics does not constitute a full surrender to the arms of science. In *The Gay Science*, the German philosopher deals with the “Death of God” in the same liberating way Bakunin did when he said, in *God and State*, that if God exists then man is nothing. However, like anarchists, he does not rely on science for finding adequate answers. Since humans are only partially logical, he prefers to keep his distance from both metaphysics and blind faith to science.¹⁵

Between the second and the third period stands Nietzsche's magnum opus, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. Here, it is clearly stated that after God’s death and the sovereignty of nihilism, the world will hear about its new meaning, that is, the “overman”. Together with this concept, Nietzsche introduces “the will to power” and develops the theme of “eternal return” that was first mentioned in *The Gay Science*. All these concepts will inspire prominent anarchists and libertarians either in the way of the first (“simple affinity”- Malatesta, Bakunin, Kropotkin), second (“election” – Benjamin), third (“articulation” - “cultural symbiosis” and “partial fusion”- Goldman, Landauer) or fourth level (“creation of a new figure” – post-anarchism) of elective affinity.

Works like *Beyond Good and Evil*, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, *Twilight of the Idols*, *Antichrist* and *Ecce Homo* belong to the third and last period where

¹² Keith Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, Granta Books, London 2005, pp. 4, 16.

¹³ Carol Diethe, *Historical Dictionary of Nietzscheanism*, Scarecrow Press, Maryland 2007, p. xiii.

¹⁴ Diethe, p. xiii.

¹⁵ Diethe, p. xiv.

Nietzsche aims for the “transvaluation of values” and the war against Christian morality. In *Beyond Good and Evil* he warns against a passive and mechanical acceptance of the current values of “good” and “evil”, whereas in *On the Genealogy of Morals* he develops a new approach to philosophical issues, foreshadowed in *Human, All Too Human*. He calls this approach “historical philosophizing” or “historical method”¹⁶ opposing the reactive analysis of history by his contemporaries. Finally, in *Twilight of the Idols*, Nietzsche deals not with the origins of morality, as he did in *On the Genealogy of Morals*, but with the iconoclastic project of its foundations.

However, this essay aims to pass Nietzsche’s philosophy through a political filter and put forward those basic and radical concepts of his thought that can be associated with anarchist theory and practice. This filtering will take place in parts C and D, by directly connecting Nietzschean philosophy to anarchist thought and by reviewing certain historical incidents of anarchism from a Nietzschean angle.

B.3.2/ Nietzsche as a Political Thinker

Political philosophy can be said to constitute an important subgroup of philosophy in general and this is mainly because it is difficult, if not impossible, to define the distinguishing line between philosophy’s subgroups. According to Robert Simon,

political and social philosophy is concerned with the moral evaluation of political and social institutions, and the development, clarification, and assessment of proposed principles for evaluation of the political and social order.¹⁷

From this point of view, Nietzsche cannot only be regarded as an existential philosopher, but as a political philosopher as well. All his works, even those that at first sight seem to be purely artistic - like *The Birth of Tragedy* - always carry out a dual function: exploring the moral and, more indirectly, the political culture of the past and the present, and suggesting a brand new life model that seeks to embrace human activities as a whole, including the political ones too.

Moreover, as David Miller opines, by referring to a relevant painting of Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena, political philosophy deals with

¹⁶ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, pp. 4, 22-23.

¹⁷ Robert L. Simon, “Social and Political Philosophy - Sorting Out the Issues”, in Robert L. Simon (ed.), *Social and Political Philosophy*, Blackwell Publishers, Massachusetts 2002, p. 2.

government, not in a strict sense (which party rules, etc.) but as a complex of human relationships,¹⁸ something that Nietzsche strongly believed, influencing thinkers like Landauer and Foucault.

In addition, and in order to acknowledge Nietzsche's political approach as inseparable from the rest of his philosophy, once and for all, we must also take into consideration what Aristotle says about humans, being political animals who naturally want to live together.¹⁹ For Aristotle, the only beings that are not political and bear no need of co-living, are gods and beasts.²⁰

However, the "political" theory of Friedrich Nietzsche is complicated, contradictory and mostly controversial. The superiority of monism over dualism,²¹ the rejection of every kind of metaphysics, the ideas of hierarchy and competitiveness, the "will to power", the "transvaluation of values" and the "overman", constitute the main components of his thinking. It is the ambiguity of those terms that has led thinkers from every part of the political spectrum²² – Nazis, Anarchists, conservatives and radicals – to adopt his philosophical and political heritage and thus has provoked a timeless debate over his political taste, one aspect of which – his affinity to anarchists – is the main theme of the present thesis.

Nietzsche and the Western Culture

Nietzsche confronted Christianity, the Enlightenment and their heritage – democracy, progress, egalitarianism, nationalism, socialism and state – and questioned the Western way of thinking as a whole by promoting a mortal path that leads beyond good and evil, opposing every objectivity, authenticity and dogmatism. For Theodor Adorno, Nietzsche's work was a holistic negation of mainstream philosophy and liberation from the lies of "truth", ideology and morality, in favour of what he used to call "life".²³ This way is how Nietzsche went on to reveal the totalitarian (universality, rationality, one truth in society and science) and manipulative (nationalism, Christianity) aspects of the modern way of thinking while still living in

¹⁸ David Miller, *Political Philosophy, a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2003, p. 1.

¹⁹ Aristotle, *The Politics*, Penguin Books, London 1992, I.2.

²⁰ However, for Nietzsche there is also a third case: their combination, which is a philosopher! See in *Twilight of the Idols*, "Maxims and Arrows", aphorism 3.

²¹ Zarathustra, the well known (anti) hero - philosopher of Nietzsche has two equally favourite animals, the eagle and the snake. In this way, Nietzsche wants to abolish the dipole of idealism (represented by the flying of the eagle) and materialism (expressed by the crawling of the snake).

²² Perhaps Jean-Jacques Rousseau was the only thinker to have undergone such a wide and multilevel appropriation, but not in the direct way Nietzsche has.

it.

As far as his theory on the individual and their political environment is concerned, Nietzsche held an opinion, especially in his early writings, similar to that of some earlier philosophers, like Kant. On the one hand, he believed in the autonomy the great spirits should have, concerning their relationship with the state but on the other hand, those free spirits would have to avoid questioning the political authority if they wanted to protect their tranquility and creativeness from the herd and the riots. Nevertheless, as the years passed by, without abandoning the vitality of autonomy and freethinking, he developed an interest for politics since he acknowledged the non-stop interaction between intellectuals and modern democracy.

These two different conceptions of “politics”, express nothing more than two antagonist currents, both arising from the Enlightenment: promoting the need for autonomy while disdaining the fundamental axiom of equality. This differentiation sketches the Nietzschean political model of governing: the one that governs himself has the ability to govern the others, and vice versa. Only those who are capable of prevailing are truly worthy of being free.²⁴

Nietzsche and Democracy

Another important dimension of the Nietzschean “political” work is the relationship he had with democracy. His criticism, as a radical aristocrat,²⁵ has to do with the fear that the masses, under the flag of egalitarianism, would rush to destroy the fountain of culture, the aristocracy. It is obvious that Nietzsche was not a democrat, since the absolute equality democracy called for, was, for him, equalization towards the depths of society, where its less remarkable members would be given the chance to prevail. Nonetheless, Nietzsche acknowledged the formation and development of two different human types, both stemming from democracy, whose battle gives a boost to life and creativity. On the one hand there is the weak man who seeks to put an end to his polemic nature, cannot face the diversity of his drives and values, so desires a peace that will end the creative war of his inside. On the other hand, the era of democracy favours another human type, the man who welcomes the war inside him and develops a mastery of unifying and controlling his contradictory drives. This is

²³ T. Adorno in Gadamer, Adorno, Horkheimer, p. 15.

²⁴ Philippe Raynaud, “Nietzsche” in Ζήσης Σαρίκας (επιμ.), *Ο Νίτσε και η Πολιτική*, Νησίδες, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004, pp. 18-19 [Zisis Sarikas (ed.), *Nietzsche and Politics*].

²⁵ A label first given to him by the Danish academic and great admirer of his, Georg Brandes.

the type of a strong, victorious and marvelous man,²⁶ approved by Nietzsche and attributed to the context of democracy.

In addition, Nietzsche's criticism of liberal democracy goes through state, law and political emancipation. For him, the state represents the dominant "will to power", since, according to him, political superiority stands for psychological superiority.²⁷ Under these psychological terms, he puts forward his own political pathology where in monarchy a people looks forward to a leader, a saviour, aristocracy is the belief in a superior caste and democracy represents the deconstruction of everything exceptional and great, through equality of the individuals.²⁸

The dominant "will to power" of every state is expressed through the imposition of the laws:

To talk of 'just' and 'unjust' as such is meaningless, an act of injury, violence, exploitation or destruction cannot be 'unjust' as such, because life functions essentially in an injurious, violent, exploitative and destructive manner...states of legality can never be anything but exceptional states, as partial restrictions of the true will to life....²⁹

Moreover, and as far as the political emancipation is concerned, Nietzsche considers it to be the passing from an organic form of life (community) to an imaginary, mechanical structure (society) where the instincts of the herd and the mediocrity is being hatched. The datum is that the oppressed masses desire the power they do not have and try to obtain through four "democratic" steps: Firstly, they free themselves. Secondly, they demand to be recognized as such (free) and fight for equal rights and "justice". Then, they take advantage of the democratic representative system and, by drawing the powerful ones to their side, ask for privileges. However, during the last step they come to demand full, exclusive power and, through democracy, they finally get it. The result is that all the values that aristocracy and democracy bear, now change places, in terms of naturalness. The aristocratic ideal

²⁶ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, Penguin Books, London 2003, aphorism 200.

²⁷ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, first essay, §6.

²⁸ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 752.

²⁹ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, second essay, §11.

that used to dominate the great masses of slaves now seems anti-natural.³⁰

The confusion that emerges concerning the political taste of Nietzsche is obvious, since he seems to attribute not only the prevalence of the herd to democracy but the emergence of a strong human type too. As mentioned before, this confusion constitutes the main reason why his philosophical construction appealed to diverse and conflicting ideologies. This also explains the variety of essays written about him, even from the dawn of the twentieth century, shortly after his death. Nonetheless, there are many significant clues that reinforce a research towards anarchy, as shown in chapter A.3.

³⁰ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 215.

B.4/ Context of Interpretation

Qualitative Type of the Interpretation Context

As mentioned in the first part of the introduction, the main idea of my research is to review Nietzsche's work from an anarchist angle and apply his philosophy to certain historical anarchist practices. This implies a context of interpretation that will be accord with the idiosyncrasy of the two parts, meaning the rejection of an a priori methodological validity and of the existence of an ultimate methodology for explaining (or re-defining) Nietzsche's ideas and their use for approaching certain historical incidents of anarchism. Thus, my reading of Nietzsche is not meant to be an "objective" one but a rather active reading between the lines in order to overcome the paradoxes generated by his peculiar style of writing. What I mean by this is that we must take into consideration that parody and irony stand as central features in Nietzsche's discourse,¹ and in accordance with his own view, whatever appears in the forefront or on the surface is nothing but a mask that needs further and deeper investigation.² As Alexander Nehamas says,

Nietzsche inevitably confronts his readers with two sets of paradoxes. One set is contained within his writing. It belongs to the content of his work, and it includes for example, his view of the will to power, the eternal recurrence, the nature of the self, and the immoral presuppositions of morality. This set of paradoxes is part of what interpretations of Nietzsche's work aim to understand. The other set is generated by his writing. It is a product of his work, and it puts the very effort to understand him, to offer an interpretation of his views, including the first set of paradoxes, into question.³

The key word here is "perspectivism", meaning Nietzsche's persistence that every aspect is just an interpretation among many others, including his own aspects. Perspectivism accepts no facts independent of interpretation, no neutral standard that can judge if an interpretation is right or wrong.⁴ Perspectivism reveals that the various points of view depend on values⁵ and this is how "there are no facts, only

¹ Gadamer, Adorno, Horkheimer, pp. 14, 30.

² Gadamer, Adorno, Horkheimer, p. 30.

³ Alexander Nehamas, *Nietzsche, Life as Literature*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2002, p. 1.

⁴ Nehamas, p. 3.

⁵ Nehamas, p. 5.

interpretations” for Nietzsche. Therefore, my “reading between the lines” suggests an active and subjective reading, an interpretation that will go under the mask of the Nietzschean style of writing in order to attribute an alternative meaning to his references to anarchists.

In the case of Friedrich Nietzsche, this is quite important for two reasons: firstly, the only way to review Nietzschean utterances in a radical and subversive way is to avoid being trapped in the intensively aphoristic style of his notions. When he speaks of “masters and slaves”, or talks about “aristocracy”, it would be easy and quite objective, following a positivist model, to conclude that he is anything but in favour of any socialist, never mind anarchist, ideas. Therefore, keeping in mind Nietzsche’s ambiguous style, together with a re-conception of his notions, which may seem to share a lot of common ground with the anarchists, we can construct a rather consistent web that will allow the diffusion of Nietzsche’s hostility to anarchism.

The second reason is that, more or less, Nietzsche himself adopts such an anti-positivist and anthropological approach whenever he seeks to explain certain deeds or situations. For example, his exceptional *On Genealogy of Morals* is a typical approach of this kind – a genealogical approach – for he does not focus on external and objective facts but rather on an effort to understand and explain the quiet, subconscious and secret meanings that hide inside the subjects of his discourse.

Of course, one problem remains. Could not such an alternative reading, of the relationship between Nietzsche and the anarchists, be considered totally arbitrary? Especially if we think about all the cruel words he has uttered against socialists and anarchists in general. I do not argue that a conservative, even a fascist, reading of Nietzsche should be automatically regarded as inferior to an anarchist one. However, this does not mean that some interpretations are not better than others.⁶ Following Nietzsche’s “methodology”, I will try to give a coherent and persuasive connection between the various tendencies of his philosophy, especially those that bear an “anti-anarchist” charge. Our case here, in terms of political philosophy, is the ability to overcome the first, negative, impression of Nietzsche’s opinion of anarchists, in order to interpret his ideas less superficially and provide a narration that will even embody those elements of Nietzschean philosophy that seem to challenge it. Hence, this narration aspires to be superior to a fascist or conservative one in retrospect and in terms of quality, validity and credibility, meaning that will not leave out those aspects

⁶ Nehamas, p. 3.

that seem to contradict it.

In accordance with all the above, the rejection of an ultimate methodology – meaning an a priori most valid and accurate method – stands for the rejection of an absolute truth. This thesis goes together with the Nietzschean and the anarchist worldview, that if there is not an objective and unique truth, then we can create a local truth. That would be an Apollonian illusion in the servitude of Dionysus, created through an alternative and subversive reading and an active interpretation of ideas and meanings, like the one Nietzsche and Walter Benjamin, the prominent libertarian thinker, called for. Nietzsche's and Benjamin's concern consisted in resisting the "idolatry of the factual", meaning the prevailing historicism of their era which dealt with history "objectively" and, as a result, from the side of power.⁷

Interpretative Tools

In this chapter I will present the methodological context to support the exploration of the elective affinity between Friedrich Nietzsche and the anarchists. It draws on a combination of approaches to Nietzsche by three prominent scholars – Alexander Nehamas, Gilles Deleuze and Keith Ansell-Pearson – the interconnection of basic Nietzschean philosophical concepts – such as "will to power", "perspectivism", "slave and master morality", "hierarchy of forces", "Apollonian and Dionysian", "genealogy", "nihilism", "truth and knowledge", "transvaluation of values", "overman", "resentment", "bad conscience", "eternal return" – and the way these concepts are treated by these scholars. The following analysis will not only support the establishment of the elective affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchists elaborated in part C, but, in addition, it will serve as a substratum for the relocation of these concepts in the case study of part D.

The contestability of interpretations, as illustrated in part A.3 of the literature review, shows the variety of Nietzschean (political) readings, where conservative perceptions of Nietzsche are of significant quantity. My aim here is to weave Nietzsche's philosophical concepts in a way that the offered interpretative context for parts C and D will also debunk the hitherto conservative given meanings that are used to indirectly justify the supposed incompatibility between Nietzsche and the anarchists and include "will to power", "overman", "master/slave morality", "amor

⁷ See the more detailed approach in chapter C.1 (Walter Benjamin) of the present thesis.

fati”⁸ – as an antirevolutionary and conservative motto – “hierarchy”, “nihilism”, “resentment”, “bad conscience”, the ambiguous (anti)Semitism of Nietzsche, even his – compatible with the Nazis – antinationalism, since “his concern for the preservation and enhancement of European culture (even to the extent that it might ‘rule the world’), [is] a concern he shared with the National Socialists in their struggle against democracy and communism”.⁹

The selection of the works of Deleuze, Nehamas and Ansell-Pearson as interpretative tools has not, then, been made in order to provide an original interpretation of the German philosopher but rather to locate, promote and apply the elective affinity of the two parts. This selection does not, of course, seek to connect the above scholars with anarchism – not even in the case of Deleuze, whose relationship with anarchist thought has already been sufficiently established¹⁰ – but my intention is to use Deleuze’s interpretation of Nietzsche as a basis, enriched by the artistic reading of Nehamas and the fruitful¹¹ approach made by Ansell-Pearson.

Nietzschean Concepts

If I had to give a quite compact structure to the interconnection of the Nietzschean concepts listed above, I would say that everything begins with genealogy, the method that promotes a critical approach to historical values. The issue here is what value certain values have, meaning how these values were created.¹² Genealogy aims at discovering and exposing the values that every value comes from – it is, at the same time, the value of the origin and the origin of the value.¹³ This process reveals the partiality of simple views that end up becoming universalities, offspring of dogmatic and ontological approaches of the world like the one made by Socrates and Plato.¹⁴ Thus, genealogy is the alternative, Nietzsche gives, to ontology. It allows several alternative options of the world without discovering and imposing a pre-constructed

⁸ Jerry Woodruff, “The Use and Abuse of Friedrich Nietzsche – Review of Curtis Cate’s *Friedrich Nietzsche*, in *The Occidental Quarterly*, Vol.6, No 2, Summer 2006, p. 62.

⁹ Woodruff, p. 65.

¹⁰ See Nathan Jun, “Deleuze, Derrida, and Anarchism”, *Anarchist Studies*, vol.15, No 2, 2007, pp. 132-56 and Saul Newman, *War on the State: Stirner and Deleuze’s Anarchism*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/saul-newman-war-on-the-state-stirner-and-deleuze-s-anarchism> (accessed on 2/12/2012).

¹¹ Ansell-Pearson’s reading may fail to make any possible connections between Nietzsche and anarchism but at the same time it emphatically rejects connections to Nazism. Moreover, his interpretation of basic Nietzschean concepts gives interesting perspectives for the exploration of the given elective affinity.

¹² Deleuze, p. 1.

¹³ Deleuze, p. 2.

¹⁴ Nehamas, p. 32.

reality because it relies on the flux image of the world given by the “will to power”.¹⁵

The history of a thing is the history of its senses. But the one who attributes sense to a thing is the force which appropriates it. Therefore, the history of a thing is the succession of the forces which take possession of it and, by actively interpreting it, attribute a meaning to it.¹⁶ This conclusion takes us to Nietzsche's “will to power”. Genealogy not only interprets but also evaluates, and this evaluation is the active work of force. The concept of force in Nietzsche is a force that always refers to another force and this is how force is called will. Will to power is the differential element of force, an internal complement of it that distinguishes it from other forces.¹⁷ It is the genealogical element of force, both differential and genetic, from which the difference of forces in quantity and quality stems, “force is what can, will to power is what wills”.¹⁸ Depending on their difference in quantity, forces are either dominant or dominated. Depending on their difference in quality forces are active or reactive. However, the difference in quantity is irreducible, therefore in order to estimate it, that is, to say which is the dominant and which the dominated force, we must first find out, in terms of quality, which force gives meaning to a certain thing, event or phenomenon, which is the force that appropriates it. Since every force is related to other forces, will to power is not exercised on matter but on another will – we have the will that commands and the will that obeys.¹⁹ Moreover, as mentioned above, genealogy is also the process of evaluation of values. So, if will to power interprets, thus, names the quality of force, that means that it has also qualities itself. Whereas force is active or reactive, will to power is affirmative or negative.²⁰ What Nietzsche calls noble, high and master is either an active force or an affirmative will. What he calls base, vile and slave is either a reactive force or a negative will.²¹

The difference of quality in forces is a matter of different origin. The affirmative lies in the ground of action, the negative in the ground of reaction, from the very beginning. The active force affirms its difference from other forces, turns this difference into affirmation and satisfaction. On a second level, it denies the other forces, but only as a consequence of its own self-affirmation. On the contrary, the reactive force ends up affirming itself only after it has denied whatever is different

¹⁵ Nehamas, pp. 104-05.

¹⁶ Deleuze, p. 3.

¹⁷ Deleuze, pp. 6-7, 49.

¹⁸ Deleuze, p. 50.

¹⁹ Deleuze, pp. 6-7.

²⁰ Deleuze, pp. 53-54.

from it.²² Active forces are self-defined, contrarily to the reactive ones. This fundamental difference in quality is mainly depicted in the practice of each force: even when the reactive forces prevail, by neutralising the active ones, this does not turn them into active ones. Their triumph is not sufficient for this because their method in order to prevail is to act through separation. They separate the active force from what it can do and, therefore, they do not become active but rather decompose the active force so that it becomes reactive too. Hence, the triumph of reactive forces never happens due to the composition of a force higher than the active one, but because of a subtraction or a division.²³

We can now see how an affirmative will to power is related to what Nietzsche calls “perspectivism”. Such a will is affirmative in a way that it sees itself as a view of the world by which its creator can live his/her life.²⁴ It gives everything a new meaning according to its values without arguing that everyone should comply with this view. This is how perspectivism differs from dogmatism and metaphysics that promote an objective world, a world in itself, which can be viewed and lived only by a certain “true” model. So, perspectivism is the process through which “free spirits”, meaning those who realise that everything is interpretation without losing anything from their will to create, choose to construct or describe a world which reflects their own values and desires, especially the desire to know that this is the world they create.²⁵

Nevertheless, Nietzsche’s perspectivism does lead us to relative concepts. One of them is Nietzschean hierarchy which expresses his belief that not all perspectives are equally good. Another is the issue of truth and knowledge which, in turn, is combined with the dipole that characterises *The Birth of Tragedy*, the “Apollonian and Dionysian”.

Nietzsche’s hierarchical approach starts from forces, and through the forces of the body expands to humans and human society. No matter how negative it may seem to anarchists at first sight, hierarchy for Nietzsche bears a dual meaning, both aspects of which are compatible with anarchist thought. This seemingly contradictory position can be understood if we go through these two aspects: The first one stands for the difference between active and reactive forces, the supremacy of the former to the

²¹ Deleuze, p. 55.

²² Deleuze, pp. 55-56.

²³ Deleuze, pp. 56-57.

²⁴ Nehamas, p. 36.

²⁵ Nehamas, p. 67.

latter.²⁶ This supremacy is neither static nor fatalistic but simply expresses Nietzsche's "good taste", meaning his preference to forces and wills that are self-affirmative and self-defined. His champion is not the powerful but the person who is one with what they can do. What he considers to be slavish is not the least strong but something that can be separated from what it can do. This explains the second aspect of Nietzschean hierarchy. It is the triumph of the reactive forces, it is the slave that prevails without stopping being a slave, it is the dominated master who has stopped being one. Examples of such a reactive hierarchy for Nietzsche are the Church and the state.²⁷ Hence, Nietzsche approves the hierarchical relationship of things not as an inevitable or presupposed status, a value per se (thus he rejects certain versions of hierarchy like the Church and the state) but as a reflection of his preference to affirmation over negation, of what he chooses or rejects. Anarchists also reject reactive hierarchies but at the same time their desires and preferences act like an internal criterion of categorizing things, expressing an active hierarchy of "good taste".

Truth for Nietzsche is a value that no one has, genealogically, tried to find the value of its origin²⁸ or designate the force that possesses it. His commitment to perspectivism reflects the shift that took place in his thought when from believing (in *The Birth of Tragedy*) that there may be some ultimate facts concerning the real nature of the world, he ended up arguing (in *The Twilight of the Idols* and *The Will to Power*) that there is no antithesis between things in themselves and appearance.²⁹ True world and its appearance is one and the same thing. Thus, Nietzsche opines that we cannot identify the world per se (here he agrees with Kant) because the world our empirical terms refer to is rather a world constructed by our categories of thought.³⁰ The quest for truth reveals the denial of this apparent world in favour of a true, better world, it is a quest not in the name of what the world is (misleading, deceiving, blinding) but in the name of what the world is not (truthful, stable, "sincere").³¹ Hence, knowledge is opposed to life, a world-beyond is opposed to this world. The seeker of truth and knowledge wants a better life, so he denies this life. The seeker of truth and knowledge is marked by the same ascetic ideal – the will to nothingness and to escape

²⁶ Deleuze, p. 60.

²⁷ Deleuze, p. 61.

²⁸ Nehamas, p. 43, Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p.45 and Deleuze, pp. 94-95.

²⁹ Nehamas, pp. 42-43.

³⁰ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 44.

³¹ Deleuze, pp. 95-96.

this life – with all other moralists: priests, scientists and ascetic philosophers.³²

The most representative ascetic philosopher for Nietzsche is Socrates (as presented by his disciple, Plato). In *The Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche argues that existence is something terrible, unbearable and full of pain that can be lived in three ways: through the (Dionysian) madness of the one who gets drunk, through the (Apollonian) illusion of the one who dreams and, finally, through the (Socratic) lie of the one who thinks.³³ The innovative presentation of the Apollo – Dionysus dipole is, among other things, a critical opposition to the theoretical optimism of Socrates who argues that not only can we know the world but we can also correct it.³⁴ Apollonian and Dionysian are two competing but also complementary impulses. Apollo is the god of light and of dreams whilst Dionysus is the god of ecstasy and intoxication. Apollo is related to visible form, knowledge and moderation whereas Dionysus is associated with formless flux, mystical intuition and excess. In addition, according to the Apollonian model, the world consists of separated individuals, contrarily to the Dionysian model where individualities have become one with a single living being, one with the primordial unity.³⁵

Apollo's illusions are linked to our surroundings. They create structures that will help us forget the pain and horror of existence and will separate us from the unity of everything, they will individualise us. The Dionysian intoxication comes to unveil the Apollonian illusions and abolish the "self" by unleashing dynamics that lead to the loss of consciousness and individuality. Although intoxicated, man now sees clearly, faces the horror of existence whilst Apollo prepares his new illusion. Dionysus is the hero of the early Greek tragedy. He is the god that undergoes the pain of individualisation since he was cut to pieces by the Titans as a child. He suffers because he is separated from the primordial unity;³⁶ his suffering is the suffering of every human being. For this reason, tragic drama – the dipole of Apollo and Dionysus – is the objectivation of Dionysus in a form and in a world that are both Apollonian:³⁷ through Apollonian illusions tragic drama turns horror, pain and will to death into will to life, god of light is the transforming spirit of "principium individuationis", through

³² Deleuze, pp. 96-97.

³³ Introduction by Pierre Heber-Suffrin in Friedrich Nietzsche, *La Naissance de la Tragedie*, C. Bourgois, Paris 1991.

³⁴ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 9.

³⁵ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, pp. 10-11.

³⁶ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 12.

³⁷ Deleuze, p. 12.

which salvation takes place within appearance.³⁸ With the creation of tragic myth Apollo serves Dionysus in a way that the human will to salvation will be discharged by the suffering and death of the tragic heroes, through death and annihilation. What Dionysus suggests in order to overcome the contradiction between life and suffering, between primordial unity and individualisation, is a higher satisfaction by participating in the primordial will through music. Contrarily to other art expressions, music is not an appearance but the primordial will itself. It can bypass the world of appearance and give us access to the world of will. Only the spirit of music can give us the pleasure produced by the destruction of individuality.³⁹ Furthermore, music's (primordial will's) concepts and action vent through Apollonian images. This is how tragic drama is created. What we have is a dramatic expression of the Dionysian solution to the contradiction mentioned above.⁴⁰ Ancient Greeks were aware of the horror and insanity of this life and by inventing Apollo and Dionysus they could justify this life as it really is.⁴¹ The affirmative stance of Dionysus, with the help of the formative abilities of Apollo, makes life worth living, both for gods and humans. Hence, Dionysus opposes Socrates' optimism by affirming life as it is.

The Birth of Tragedy also makes a first reference to nihilism. In this work the affair is of a cosmic nature – horror of existence favours a will to nothingness – but in Nietzsche's later works it is examined in a historical and cultural context, as devaluation of humanity's highest values.⁴² What Nietzsche calls nihilism is the denial of life, the underestimation of existence, and two of its basic versions are resentment and bad conscience.⁴³ Nihil does not mean something that has no existence but stands for a value of nil. Life takes such a value when denied and underestimated by being compared to a supposed true world that lies over this apparent one. The foundation of this denial and underestimation is will to nothingness. However, nihilism also takes a second meaning. It is not will any more but mere reaction. When life was denied in favour of true and higher values, now even these values are denied. Nihilists deny everything, every ideal, apparent or true,⁴⁴ and this is how they ended up killing God. "Death of God" is a death out of pity, meaning out of the tolerance of a sick and weak life, out of the pity of God for

³⁸ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 14.

³⁹ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 15.

⁴⁰ Deleuze, p. 12.

⁴¹ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 13.

⁴² Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 9.

⁴³ Deleuze, p. 34.

the reactive man. This man – the reactive, the nihilist – kills God because he cannot stand his pity anymore. This pity, the practicing of nihilism, turns will towards nothingness.⁴⁵

God's affair gives birth to "resentment" and "bad conscience". First, it is the idea of God that represents the will to nothingness, because the existence of a true, ideal being automatically leads to a hereafter by underestimating this life. But hating this life means favouring a reactive life based on a heterogeneous determination: "they the evil ones, the sinners...we the good".⁴⁶ This is the consciousness of resentment that uses hatred as the principle of everything, even of the self-determination.

Second, God's death changes the direction of resentment from others to our self. God died because of our sins, we are guilty for his death and this is how our debt to God is created. But we will never be able to pay this debt, only its interest, and thus our guilt never ends. The internalization of resentment forms the bad conscience, feeds our guilt and although it causes feelings of love, it is a love for a reactive type of life, the result of hating life as it is.⁴⁷

The liberation from nihilism, resentment and bad conscience requires the overcoming of man, even of the best one. This is because, for Nietzsche, nihilism is not a side effect but the motor of human history.⁴⁸ Therefore, we need a new way of thinking, a subversion of the genealogical principle, a "transvaluation".⁴⁹ This procedure is not a matter of just changing values but of changing their fundamental principle. Affirmation is the most representative feature of the "overman", "transvaluation of values" means to turn negation into affirmation.⁵⁰

Let me now unfold the complementary relationship within the last group of Nietzschean concepts. Affirmation is expressed through a positive nihilism, it is the activation of the reactive forces whose hierarchy can lead to a dynamic unity of the self – it makes one become who one is. This is the "overman", who has proceeded to a transvaluation of the existing values and places one's self beyond good and evil. He/she represents the "master morality" and a mode of life that is continuously reaffirmed by the idea of "eternal return".

⁴⁴ Deleuze, pp. 147-48.

⁴⁵ Deleuze, p. 149.

⁴⁶ Deleuze, p. 152.

⁴⁷ Deleuze, pp. 153-54.

⁴⁸ Deleuze, p. 152.

⁴⁹ Deleuze, p. 35.

The nihilism Nietzsche rejects is an imperfect nihilism that limits itself to the element of negative, but transvaluation, meaning the transformation of negative to affirmative, the activation of the reactive forces, is the ultimate form of nihilism that can overcome itself, a nihilism that destructs itself by destructing the old values and the principle these values are based on. No other critique of the existent values is true and radical. Transvaluation, this affirmative nihilism, this transformation of negative to positive, is a passage to a new foundation of life.⁵¹ Therefore, we should not regard it as a substitution but as a conversion. This is what Dionysus, god of affirmation, calls for. Denial and destruction are conditions of saying “yes”.⁵² Active destruction means that nihilism breaks up with reactive forces, and the will to nothingness takes the side of affirmation. Since the will to power is the differential element of force, its forces are now transformed from reactive into active.⁵³ If we can affirm every single moment, then we actually affirm our own selves.⁵⁴ Accepting the incidents of our past means accepting the data that made us what we are in the present. When the creative will says “this or that happened because I wanted so” it means neither accepting the past passively/fatalistically nor changing it actually. Instead, it means that every incident of the past, and – more specifically – every choice of ours, is what brought us to the present. We can affirm the present if we affirm everything that gave birth to it and thus make it a point of departure for a creative future. The meaning of the past depends on its relationship with the future. Only a creative and affirmative present and future can redeem the past.⁵⁵ So, when one accepts what one has done it is like incorporating all his past actions into a harmonic and unified plan. This plan is the ongoing and endless project of becoming who we are,⁵⁶ and those who put it into practice, who want to become who they are, are the creators who point towards the overman, they represent the type of artists that create their own selves.⁵⁷ This artful creation is nothing but a dynamical, internal, hierarchy of thoughts, desires and deeds, a hierarchy between higher and lower forces that allows us to take responsibility for all our choices and thus find in them who we are.⁵⁸

As mentioned above, this project of unifying ourselves is not a linear

⁵⁰ Deleuze, p. 170.

⁵¹ Deleuze, p. 172.

⁵² Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, “Why I am a Destiny”, §4.

⁵³ Deleuze, pp. 174-75.

⁵⁴ Nehamas, pp. 155-56.

⁵⁵ Nehamas, p. 160 and Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 89.

⁵⁶ Nehamas, p. 162.

⁵⁷ Nehamas, p. 174.

procedure that leads to a final and definitive status. The objective is not a static end but the dynamic procedure of becoming. The constant effort for this unification is also illustrating the moral principles of the overman. Unlike what conclusions we may reach when Nietzsche says “there are no moral facts”,⁵⁹ or argues that we cannot tell the difference between good and evil in advance,⁶⁰ the overman is not immoral in the common sense of the term. To return to genealogy, we see that different values used to bear different meanings in different societies. Hence, whilst a drive and an activity have no moral character per se, they acquire one once we give them a context.⁶¹ The price of being fruitful is to be full of creative internal oppositions that may even end up in a criminal behaviour.⁶² Nietzsche is aware of this and although in almost every crime he sees features that a man must not miss,⁶³ he identifies the criminal with a strong man type made ill.⁶⁴ Therefore, Nietzsche does not imply that we shall give our drives and impulses free rein. When criticizing the weak and petty for castrating the human instincts, he is not in favour of an unrestrained practice. The greatness of the self lies in the ability to manage our impulses, to be sufficiently self-controlled in order not to suppress our drives but to give them a creative way out.⁶⁵ This human training and cultivation is not equal to the end of morality but symbolizes the awareness of its true nature.⁶⁶ And above all, the overman’s morality bears the basic characteristics of self-affirmation and self-determination, mentioned above. This is the “morality of the master”, the practice of affirmation and creation of new values.⁶⁷ On the contrary, “slave morality” is the logic of reaction, a self-affirmation that comes only because of denying what is different and desirable but impossible to achieve. While the masters are artists that dedicate themselves to the project of becoming who they are, the slaves are unable to unify themselves and do not take responsibility for the choices made in the past. Therefore, they always seek to find someone else to blame for their own failures. The result is the approach of the fragments of one’s self always through the denial of someone else.

Finally, the idea of “eternal return” is the ultimate judge that will confirm, or

⁵⁸ Nehamas, p. 188.

⁵⁹ Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, “The ‘Improvers’ of Mankind”, aphorism 1.

⁶⁰ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 272.

⁶¹ Nehamas, p. 212.

⁶² Nehamas, p. 219.

⁶³ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 740.

⁶⁴ Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, “Skirmishes of an Untimely Man”, §45.

⁶⁵ Nehamas, p. 220.

⁶⁶ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 87.

⁶⁷ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 88.

not, the way we have chosen to live⁶⁸ and the success, or not, of the ongoing project for unifying ourselves, for becoming who we are. When the question “are you ready to live your life again and again, countless times, with all its great and petty moments” is posed, our answer will determine the quality of our project. If we answer yes, it means we accept and recognize every past action as our own so, if everything returns we are ready to welcome it with the greatest affirmation. If the answer is no, it means that not only our past but also our present seems to be the life of someone else. If we are not ready to embrace our choices in eternity then every single moment of our life has been nothing but denial. Eternal return gives the opportunity for a Dionysian affirmation of the world as it is,⁶⁹ or brings the curse of escaping this life by squinting towards a hereafter.⁷⁰ Standing in a Dionysian relationship to existence means we can utter “amor fati”.⁷¹ This is the way to re-interpret and redeem the past, live the present and create the future actively.

⁶⁸ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 76.

⁶⁹ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 74.

⁷⁰ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 78.

⁷¹ Nehamas, p. 191 and Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 70.

B.5/ Selecting the Historical Incidents of Anarchism

The interpretation context of the previous section lays the ground for the next step which is the utilization of Nietzsche's thought, taking place in parts C and D, in order to establish the desirable "elective affinity" and re-examine parts of anarchist practices through a Nietzschean prism. Therefore, this essay will also include a case study already connected to the history of anarchism. The question here is how this case study should be selected in order to play its role in the "elective affinity" project. The answer to this question consists of two components.

Firstly, this incident must constitute a space-time context of actions that echo basic anarchist theses and beliefs. This way we get a sufficiently typical sample of anarchist expression in order for it to be filtered through a Nietzschean lens. Secondly, and in connection with the first component, such a historical moment must be acknowledged as important and critical for anarchist history. If so, the conclusions that will be reached will be of much greater force.

On this basis, I refer to a historical period that combines these two upper components, the revolt that took place in Greece, and mainly in the city of Athens, in December 2008. The anarchist nature of this revolt has been recorded in many articles and essays that have since been written.¹ However, what needs to be stressed is that this nature of the revolt has been recognized within the Greek anarchist movement itself and is regarded to be of great importance for the anarchist movement in Greece. This is visible in all the brochures that were circulated during and after the revolt, and the years that followed. The fact that relevant academic research of this uprising is still limited or incomplete should not detract from the singular importance and unique characteristics of the incidents that took place during and after the riots. Moreover, the newness of the events offers an interesting perspective for studying and exploring the

¹ Some of the articles/essays with a more academic profile are the following:

Loukia Kotronaki and Seraphim Seferiades, "Athens December 2008: The Spatial Prerequisites of an Uprising", <http://www.re-public.gr/en/?p=2744> (accessed on 10/5/2013).

Stavros Stavrides, "The December 2008 Youth Uprising in Athens: Spatial Justice in an Emergent 'City of Thresholds'", http://www.jssj.org/archives/02/media/public_space_vo2.pdf (accessed on 20/5/2013).

Josephine Iakovidou, Kostas Kanellopoulos, Loukia Kotronaki, "The Greek Uprising of December 2008", *Situations*, Vol 3, No 2 (2010), pp. 145-57.

Rania Astrinaki, "'(Un)hooding' a Rebellion: The December 2008 Events in Athens", *Social Text*, No 101 (2009), pp. 97-107.

Christos Iliopoulos, "We Wish you a Merry Crisis and a Happy New Fear. A postscript from the December riots in Athens", *Anarchist Studies*, Vol 17, No 1 (2009), pp. 16-17.

Seraphim Seferiades and Hank Johnston (ed.), *Violent Protest, Contentious Politics and the Neoliberal State*, Ashgate, Farnham 2012, and especially section IV of the book, titled "The Greek December, 2008".

correlation of their anarchistic character to Nietzsche's view of deconstruction and creation through a process of "transvaluation of values".

Additionally, the events of December took place in a period when the world economic crisis was reaching its peak. The Greek revolt had a global impact and constituted an answer to the "society of the spectacle" as well as to the measures of social control and repression. This included symbolic actions of anti-commercial significance such as burning the huge artificial Christmas tree in Athens' central square, the occupation of the Greek National Opera and confrontation between the protesters and the riot police that had been positioned for a long time in the central neighbourhoods of Athens, playing the role of an army of occupation.

The presentation and analysis of December 2008 will be based on the Nietzschean notions that will structure my thesis: Anti-determinism, "resentment", "eternal return", "overman", "will to power", "Apollonian and Dionysian", "master and slave morality", "bad conscience". These concepts shall make their appearance through a Nietzschean review of the historical events by connecting certain incidents and behaviours with a Nietzschean notion and explaining them through this prism, and this is how such an analysis will form an alternative reading of history and contemporary radical politics, that is, through a psychological procedure of analysis rather than a strict social-political one.

In addition, the importance of such a review also lies in the fact that "elective affinity" must not be examined only at a theoretical level but also at a practical one. A considerable advantage of this procedure must also be noted: Nietzsche seemed to detest anarchists for both their worldview and actions. Consequently, it is very intriguing that the explanation for the severity of Nietzsche's critique of his contemporary anarchists lies in an elaboration of his thoughts, and that, by this analysis, we can expose the limits of Nietzsche's politics.

The resources for all the discussion of the historical events of December '08 in Athens are a personal collection of newspaper articles, videos, photos and proclamations that cover the whole period just before, during and after the uprising and a limited secondary literature which provides the historical background to December. Every reference will be selective since my aim is to detect certain actions and connect them with Nietzsche's philosophy.

Summary

This part of the thesis has presented the methodological dimension of my research. Starting with elective affinity, I have followed the definition developed by Michael Löwy, I have talked about its different levels and have shown that, as a general term, it is not new either for Nietzschean or for anarchist studies.

I have then dealt with the anarchist part by following the dominant model for categorizing anarchist traditions, presenting its basic features and currents and drawing on its historical development. This has led me to introduce two points that question the rigid ideological perception of anarchism in favour of a fluid and dynamic anarchy where elective affinity with Nietzsche emerges, serving a double goal: the unification of the distinct anarchist tendencies and the definition of the anarchist parameters in relation to other ideologies.

The other part I have dealt with is Nietzsche, by presenting the evolution of his philosophical thought and the fundamental theses of his perception of politics. I have then continued with a detailed analysis of the main concepts of his philosophy based on the interpretation made by Gilles Deleuze, Alexander Nehamas and Keith-Ansell-Pearson. Thus, I have structured my research's interpretative context for establishing the Nietzsche-anarchy elective affinity.

Lastly, I have talked about the historical period that I will use in my case study part and have given a rationale for its selection.

PART C: Nietzsche and the Anarchists – Establishing the Elective Affinity

Having introduced the concept and different degrees of elective affinity in part B.1, this part of the thesis aims to recognize elective affinity and its levels through a connection between Nietzsche and the anarchists in order to establish the elective affinity of the two sides.

Nietzsche's relationship to the anarchists of his time was rather conflictual, as he considered them - like all the rest of the socialists - to be of the same kind with the Christians, meaning decadent and resentful out of weakness, with a hatred and a thirst for revenge.¹ As mentioned in the previous part, Nietzsche viewed egalitarianism as a threat to free spirits; and confronting all basic concepts of the Enlightenment literally means that he also opposed anarchism, on a theoretical basis at least.

The stance of anarchists towards Nietzsche varied, though in most cases can be considered quite positive. As Spencer Sunshine notes,

There were many things that drew anarchists to Nietzsche: his hatred of the state; his disgust for the mindless social behavior of 'herds'; his (almost pathological) anti-Christianity; his distrust of the effect of both the market and the State on cultural production; his desire for an 'overman' — that is, for a new human who was to be neither master nor slave; his praise of the ecstatic and creative self, with the artist as his prototype, who could say, 'Yes' to the self-creation of a new world on the basis of nothing; and his forwarding of the 'transvaluation of values' as source of change, as opposed to a Marxist conception of class struggle and the dialectic of a linear history.²

Emma Goldman, Herbert Read and Gustav Landauer identified Nietzsche as a true philosophical rebel, quite close to anarchist ideals and aims. Translations of Nietzsche's works, and positive comments on them, frequently appeared in American anarchist journals like *The Blast*, *Liberty* (edited by Benjamin Tucker), *Freeland* and *Mother Earth* (edited by Emma Goldman). Tucker hails Nietzsche as a great teacher of individualism and stresses his remarks against the state.³ The *transvaluation of values* was a Nietzschean notion that charmed Emma Goldman, giving a boost to her

¹ Nietzsche, *The Antichrist*, aphorism 57.

² Spencer Sunshine, "Nietzsche and the Anarchists", <http://radicalarchives.org/> 2010/05/18/nietzsche-and-the-anarchists/ (accessed on 28/10/2010).

³Robert C. Holub, "Nietzsche: Socialist, Anarchist, Feminist", <http://infoshop.org/library/pdfs/>

view of anarchists as the ones who could overcome old traditions, transvalue the dead social values and create new, beautiful things.⁴ Murray Bookchin similarly used this concept in support of the Spanish anarchist project when he wrote that workers must no longer see themselves as class beings, “proletarians” and “masses” but as human beings, creative personalities and self-affirming individuals through a transvaluation of values.⁵

Federica Montseny, a well-known anarchist and feminist, used the concept of future-woman, based on Nietzsche’s overman, in order to show that women could fight sexism and revise their social role through art and literature. Rudolf Rocker shared the same opinion about culture’s revolutionary creativity when he used many of Nietzsche’s sayings to reveal the destructive role of nationalism and of the state.⁶

Of course, there were also negative comments about Nietzsche’s individualism made by prominent anarchists. Kropotkin, for instance, “called the individualism of Nietzsche ‘spurious’, remarking that it could exist ‘only under a condition of oppression for the masses’ and in fact destroyed individuality ‘in the oppressor himself as well as in the oppressed masses’”.⁷ More generally speaking, it is quite reasonable that the objections Nietzsche held towards anarchists were at the same time the objections anarchists expressed about Nietzsche, concerning his preference for hierarchy, elitism and power.

It is also worth mentioning that even during the Nazi regime in Germany, and with the appropriation of Nietzsche having already taken place by Hitler’s propagandists, the influence of the German philosopher was still present in states like the Soviet Union, where he was considered a philosopher of fascism and bourgeois decadence. Spiritual anarchists, like A.A. Meier and Nikolai Berdyaev tried to use the Dionysian force of Nietzsche for reviving Christianity, as well as an antidote to both Bolshevism and Stalinism.⁸

Today, post-anarchists, like Saul Newman and Richard Day, try to find answers to post-modernity’s burning political and social issues by also using Nietzsche’s critique of Western epistemology and modernity’s worldview, in

[American Nietzsche.pdf](#), p. 10 (accessed on 4/1/2012)

⁴ Holub, p. 11.

⁵ Sunshine.

⁶ Sunshine.

⁷ Peter Kropotkin, *Kropotkin’s Revolutionary Pamphlets*, Kessinger Publishing, Whitefish 2005, p. 5.

⁸ Maria Deppermann, “Nietzsche in der Sowjetunion. ‘Den Begrabenen Nietzsche Ausgraben’”, *Nietzsche Studien*, 27, 1998. The reference has been made from the Greek translation in Ζήσης Σαρίκας (ed.), *Ο Νίτσε και η Πολιτική*, Νησίδες, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004, pp. 104-05. [Nietzsche and Politics]

accordance with those anarchist concepts that clearly stand against any absolutism.⁹

There are also some incidents in Nietzsche's personal life that seem to connect him, at least symbolically, with an anarchistic point of view: There was a period, in 1880, that Nietzsche chose to be literally stateless. He had just completed *Human, All Too Human*, a book that clearly rejected nationalism and preached the abolition of nations in favour of the rising of a mixed race, that of the "European man".¹⁰ This period was one of a crisis, not only in his physical condition (Nietzsche's health was gradually deteriorating) but in his intellectual one as well. Far from participating in the general euphoria over the remarkable, almost "divine", achievements of his era (in arts, science, economy and politics), Nietzsche was feeling the coming of an avalanche that would reach its peak with the "death of God" and would unveil the very human – all too human –, and not divine at all, foundations of Western culture, two of which were the nation and the state. In this context he was wandering in many French, Swiss and Italian cities, having renounced his German nationality and not having yet obtained the Swiss one.

In addition, in a draft of a letter in early December 1888, addressed to Kaiser Wilhelm II, Nietzsche speaks of the doom of every kind of authority, a spiritual war within which every sense of politics will be lost.¹¹ By that time he had already completed *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, *Twilight of the Idols* and *Ecce Homo* where he, more or less, defines what a war means to him. For Nietzsche, war is not of a physical but of a spiritual interest, an aggressive pathos against the ideas of someone who is considered to be equal. This attack is not on people but on ideas without bad feelings or hatred.¹² It is a war waged for the sake of personal opinions, for the sake of ideas. It is a battle between spirits that promotes courage, bravery, pride and self-discipline over pity, touchiness, and despisal. It is not a good cause that justifies the means/war, but the good means/war that justifies a cause.¹³ But, above all, the declaration of such a war is the need for a transvaluation of all current values with the simultaneous

⁹ See Saul Newman, "Anarchism and the Politics of Ressentiment", in John Moore (ed.), *I am not a Man, I am Dynamite, Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist Tradition*, Autonomedia, New York 2004 and Day, pp. 9-12.

¹⁰ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1996, aphorism 475.

¹¹ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Τελευταίες Επιστολές, 1887-1889*, Άγρας, Αθήνα 2003, letter 28, p. 138, [Last Letters] taken from the relevant edition by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, *Friedrich Nietzsche, Samtliche Briefe Kritische Studienausgabe, Januar 1887 – Januar 1889*, Nachtrage/Register, vol. 8, letter 1171.

¹² Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, "Why I Am So Wise", aphorism 7.

¹³ Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, part I, "Of War and Warriors".

destruction of all idols: “how to philosophize with a hammer”.¹⁴ One such idol is politics, an idol which fights spirituality in many decadent ways: either by nationalist expressions [“Deutschland, Deutschland über alles”]¹⁵ or by meaningless chatter, theatrical pretending, ceaseless flattering and the oppressive, inflexible, lying nature of politicians.¹⁶ Nietzsche makes himself clear: “culture and the state...are antagonists...All great ages of culture are ages of political decline: what is great culturally has always been unpolitical, even anti-political”.¹⁷ The one that spends one’s strength for power politics and parliamentarianism – among other things – has nothing left to spend for creativity, self-overcoming and will.¹⁸ However, only one condition describes the end of authority and domination with a simultaneous emergence of a spiritual war – an anti-political stance that is in favour of creativity rather than political plans and projects – and this condition is anarchy. As a result, Nietzsche – even in a state of mental or emotional tension – seems to appreciate and welcome these anarchist features, although he does not recognize them as such when speaking of the anarchist political movement of his days.

Nevertheless, the establishment of the elective affinity between the German philosopher and the anarchists will be demonstrated, in the first place, through a more detailed presentation of “Nietzsche in Anarchism and Libertarian Marxism” and “Anarchism in Nietzsche”. This relationship is explored by examining the way Nietzsche clearly influenced Emma Goldman, Gustav Landauer, the libertarian Marxist Walter Benjamin and post-anarchist thinkers, and how this elective relationship can be detected and, thus, gradually established, in accordance with the aforementioned development and evolution of Nietzschean thought.

¹⁴ Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, preface.

¹⁵ Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, “What Germans Lack”, aphorism 1.

¹⁶ Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, part I, “Of the Flies of the Market-Place”.

¹⁷ Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, “What Germans Lack”, aphorism 4.

¹⁸ Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, “What Germans Lack”, aphorism 4.

C.1/ Nietzsche in Anarchism (A) and Libertarian Marxism (L/M)

Emma Goldman (A)

Goldman was the best-known anarchist of the twentieth century to make extended and detailed references to the German philosopher during her lectures,¹ conversations and through her articles and other works.² However, Goldman's admiration for Nietzsche had a very special starting point.

For Goldman, expressions of cultural nature, such as literature, music and drama, were of equal revolutionary importance to political direct action since, according to her, anarchism was not just another political theory trying to give satisfactory answers to burning political questions but a worldview that embraced every aspect, stance and expression of human life, whilst opposing old values.³ This preference to culture, and its connection to politics, was mainly expressed through the *Mother Earth* publication, "A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature"⁴, which wanted to be "a place of expression for the young idealists in arts and letters".⁵ This venture was nothing less than the fulfilment of a chronic need of Goldman to "combine [my] social ideas with the young strivings in the various art forms in America".⁶

As a result, *Mother Earth's*, and particularly Goldman's, interests focused, among other things, on personalities that used to be the guiding and inspiring force for intellectuals and artists, personalities like Stirner and Nietzsche⁷ whose emancipative individualism fits with their artistic idiosyncrasy. After all, as mentioned already in parts A.3 and B.1, artists like Ibsen, Whitman or Zola through their works were considered to be the proof of a close connection of anarchism to certain intellectual movements.

On these terms, Nietzsche – commonly accepted as a master of writing – could play an important role in the anarchist cultural explosion, for he not only shared the same feelings about the revolutionary nature of art but also because he was propagating that the "transvaluation of values" could come true through a cultural

¹ For a list of Goldman's talks on Nietzsche between 1913 and 1917 see the appendix of Leigh Starcross, "'Nietzsche was an Anarchist', reconstructing Emma Goldman's Nietzsche lectures", in Moore, pp. 37-38.

² Especially in her autobiography, "Living My Life".

³ Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, Penguin, New York 2006, p. 125.

⁴ This was the magazine's subtitle.

⁵ Goldman, *Living My Life*, p. 229.

⁶ Goldman, *Living My Life*, p. 229.

⁷ Holub, p. 11.

rebirth.⁸ At this point, Goldman's commitment to Nietzsche was also reinforced by her shift towards written expression, driven by her estimation of the deeper impact a book can have in comparison with a lecture or oral expression in general.⁹

As a result, Goldman praised Nietzsche not only for his vision of "transvaluation" but also for the way of writing - the style - he chose in order to express this vision.¹⁰ She acknowledged that he could not be regarded as a social theorist but, definitely, as "a poet, rebel and innovator". Therefore, the "aristocrat" or "modern" labels used for him as an accusation by those radicals that disliked him – like Ed Brady, Goldman's comrade and partner at the time – were also accepted by Goldman but were attributed to his pioneering and renovating way of thinking and his creative potentiality. Consequently, for her, Nietzsche was an aristocrat indeed, but one of spirit not of birth or social class, in the same way that all true anarchists were also.¹¹

Goldman's utilization of Nietzschean philosophy was not just limited to the location of an affinity between the anarchists and the German thinker but stretched to serve as a methodological tool for her passionate lectures on issues having to do with the First World War, the state, the Church, morality, human relationships (free love, jealousy) and even with matters much closer to her feminist interests, such as women's emancipation and birth control.¹² Her distinctively radical approach on issues like homosexuality, that were regarded as taboo even by her anarchist comrades, could be attributed to the Nietzschean "twilight of the idols", meaning the complete deconstruction, and not just the improvement, of every repressive norm concerning the social and sexual role of women. For that reason, and although she was a passionate supporter of women's rights, she opposed the suffrage movement as a reformist one, an "illusory approach rooted in middle-class".¹³

The elaboration of the relevant arguments were based either on specific Nietzschean concepts (the rejection of majorities, "beyond good and evil" morality,

⁸ See for example *The Birth of Tragedy*, the third part of *On the Genealogy of Morals* and the *Untimely Meditations*, works that either directly or indirectly point at the direction of transvaluating the values of the past and the present.

⁹ Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, Filiquarian Publishing LLC, Minneapolis 2005, preface, pp. 5-6.

¹⁰ Starcross, p. 32.

¹¹ Goldman, *Living My Life*, p. 126.

¹² Starcross, pp. 33-34.

¹³ Judith Faucette, "Women's Rights Activist & Anarchist Emma Goldman", <http://judith-faucette.suite101.com/womens-rights-activist-anarchist-emma-goldman-a65719> (accessed on 1/12/2011).

the “transvaluation of values”, artful living and the creative “Overman”¹⁴) which underpinned her preference for constant flux and dislike of narcotic stability, or on the characteristic that Goldman most admired in Nietzsche, that is, his radical individualism. It is this individualism (together with that of Stirner) that Goldman used firstly to clarify the different meaning she was giving to this term – openly rejecting the American version of it¹⁵ – and secondly, in combination with Kropotkin’s collectivism in order to stress the achievements of cooperation between individuals.¹⁶ The result was to point out the value of anarchism as a harmony between socialism and individualism. As Kevin Morgan argues, in an article that explores the “dark side” of Goldman’s individualism,¹⁷ her anarchist individualism is not altruistic, not “for the good of the people”, but egotistic. Goldman declares to be an anarchist because the suffering of others makes her suffer too; consequently her contribution to the cause is in order to eliminate suffering and unhappiness of others which also make her unhappy. This uncovering of “altruism” and its radical re-approach as egoism is developed in Kropotkin’s *Anarchist Morality*,¹⁸ as well as in Nietzsche’s *Beyond Good and Evil*,¹⁹ *On the Genealogy of Morals*,²⁰ *Twilight of the Idols*²¹ and *Ecce Homo*,²² and does not necessarily mean an anti-social or anti-human egoism. It just clarifies that the deepest motivations even of an “altruistic” action are distilled to giving pleasure to one’s self and that altruism is trapped in feelings of pity and disrespect for those who receive it.

Moreover, by using this concept of Nietzschean individualism and will, Goldman attacked the monolithic and deterministic Marxist view of history by using phrases directly referring to Nietzsche and by presenting a type of individual very close to the one Nietzsche supported, an anti-essential version of the subject:

¹⁴ For a more detailed usage of these Nietzschean concepts by Goldman see Penny Weiss, Loretta Kensinger (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Emma Goldman*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania 2007, pp. 91-107, 151, 218-19, 221-22.

¹⁵ Emma Goldman, “The Individual, Society and the State”, <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/goldman/works/1940/individual.htm> (accessed on 25/3/2009).

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Kevin Morgan, “Herald of the Future? Emma Goldman, Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist as Superman”, *Anarchist Studies*, 2009, vol.17, No2.

¹⁸ Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, pp. 83-88.

¹⁹ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, aphorisms 33, 221.

²⁰ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Preface.

²¹ Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, aphorism 35.

²² Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, “Why I am so Wise”, aphorism 4.

No one single factor in the complex of individual or social behaviour can be designated as the factor of decisive quality. We know too little, and may never know enough, of human psychology to weigh and measure the relative values of this or that factor in determining man's conduct. To form such dogmas in their social connotation is nothing short of bigotry; yet, perhaps, it has its uses, for the very attempt to do so proved the persistence of the human will and confutes the Marxists (...) Fortunately even some Marxists are beginning to see that all is not well with the Marxian creed. After all, Marx was but human - all too human - hence by no means infallible.²³

It is clear from this passage that Goldman tried, through Nietzsche, to distinguish the anarchist view of human history from the Marxist one, by bringing into play all the features that the "metaphysical economic determinism" - the Marxist class struggle - had cast out, meaning man's individual and collective will, his psychic life and his mental orientation. She emphasized how the application of economic determinism in Russia overlooked the human factor, neglecting the need for an inspiring and energising ideal.²⁴ Consequently, the revolutionary process in Russia was very soon deflected, by losing the character of a liberating project. As Goldman notes in the *Afterward of My Disillusionment in Russia*, economic determinism was unable to explain why a social revolution erupted in a non-industrial country like Russia instead of Western countries like the United States, France or Germany, and was not sufficient to keep the revolutionary spirit alive²⁵ (a conclusion that was fully completed with the collapse of the USSR in 1991).

On the other hand, her Nietzschean approach provided an alternative explanation to both issues. Since the philosophy of a new social order should be "based on the released energies of the individual and the free association of liberated individuals"²⁶ the mission of the social revolution could be nothing other than "a *fundamental transvaluation of values*"²⁷ of social and human values. This explains both why revolution did not happen in an economically developed country of the West and why it was possible in Russia. Additionally, it provides a crucial

²³ Goldman, "The Individual, Society and the State".

²⁴ Goldman, "The Individual, Society and the State".

²⁵ Emma Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, Dover Publications, New York 2003, pp. 242-44.

²⁶ Goldman, "The Individual, Society and the State".

explanation for the failure of the Russian revolution. It was because of the distortion of these values, on the part of the Bolsheviks, which can be summarised by the slogan “the end justifies all means”²⁸ and the relative practices that, not only overlooked but, drowned the human element in favour of a deterministic plan.

Gustav Landauer (A)

Nietzsche’s influence on Gustav Landauer can be identified throughout the whole work of the latter. Specific thoughts and views make this connection seem inescapable, even when Landauer does not refer to Nietzsche in a direct way. As Martin Buber wrote in 1929,

...[Landauer] fought in the revolution against the revolution for the sake of the revolution. The revolution will not thank him for it. But those will thank him for it who have fought as he fought and perhaps some day those will thank him for whose sake he fought.²⁹

In his lonely way, he was “accompanied” by ideas able to give a critical boost to the individual and social transformation he had in mind. For Landauer, revolution is inextricably related to art since the latter helps the spiritual rebirth of the individual which is a primary presupposition for the revolutionary transformation of society. According to his belief, the result of poetry is revolution which is renaissance and creation.³⁰ Additionally, Landauer rejects historical materialism and communist teleology because for him socialism can never be absolute but always in accordance with the individual and social changes. This rejection of absolutism also applies to anarchism and the vision of an anti-authoritarian society. The social transformation goes through the individual’s rebirth; only we – no party, no avant-garde – can save ourselves, whenever we decide it and long for it.³¹

In the period of his early anarchism, Landauer wrote a novel, reflecting the influence by Nietzsche, which was named after a chapter of his favourite Nietzschean

²⁷ Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, pp. 258-59.

²⁸ Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, p. 260.

²⁹ Maurice Friedman, *Martin Buber’s Life and Work*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit 1988, p. 256.

³⁰ Gustav Landauer, *Το Μήνυμα του Τιτανικού* [Titanic’s Message], Τροπή, Αθήνα 2000, translator’s preface, p. 9.

³¹ Landauer, *Το Μήνυμα του Τιτανικού* [Titanic’s Message], pp. 10-12.

book, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. The novel, titled *Der Todesprediger* (Preacher of Death), has been described as a libertarian adaptation of Nietzsche.³² Moreover, in a passage from a biographical essay he wrote about his youth, Landauer confessed his attraction for Nietzsche's unique literary style (the same, more or less, attraction Emma Goldman also felt); his approval of the role that emotion played in Nietzsche's philosophy; and his siding with the Heraclitian "to become" over the Platonic "to be", in order to state, as Nietzsche had done, his rejection of the eternal truths that Platonic Ideas represented.

Ibsen's influence was soon joined by that of Nietzsche, especially of his *Zarathustra* (...) Now with Nietzsche, I encountered a thinker in whom thought did not dominate emotion, but in whom thought and emotion were united (...) There was poetry, rich and colorful language, compelling verbal imagery, rhythm and dance (...) And yet, as in the case of Ibsen, reality was not disregarded: there was activity in Nietzsche's spiritual quest, there was permanent destruction and creation, collapsing and rebuilding.³³

For Nietzsche, the concept of "become" stems from Heraclitus, meaning the ceaseless interaction of opposite things, the "everything flows"³⁴ that does not hide a stable nature under the constant change but is the nature of things itself. This flux includes a continuous creation and destruction, unification and breakup. Plato opposed Heraclitus' theory because Plato's World of Ideas, together with the existence of a unique truth that inhabits it, needed a stability that could be reached only by those who would overcome the false world of phenomena – the Heraclitian world – and would allow their souls to acknowledge it as their place of departure for the false world of senses. This knowledge of (the one) truth can be achieved – as Plato suggested through Socrates' words – when thought dominates emotions and leads to self-knowledge, to the state of eudemonia. However, for Nietzsche this theory means two things, and he rejected both: firstly, the World of Ideas is nothing but a world of stagnation that cannot give birth to anything new and, at the same time, is underestimating the world of senses and emotions, the world we live in. Secondly, the process of self-knowledge does not stand for a personal quest for someone to find

³² Gabriel Kuhn – Siegbert Wolf, Introduction, in Kuhn, p. 21.

³³ Landauer, "Twenty-Five Years Later: On the Jubilee of Wilhelm II", in Kuhn, p. 64.

what suits them best but a quest leading to the same end for everyone. The end of this journey will be the one and absolute truth, a dogma, an idol.

Landauer's appropriation of Nietzsche's preference for Heraclitus to Plato, led him to the same conclusions (anti-dogmatism, self-determination) which marked all of his life and social-political practice. His commitment to "become" can also be seen in combination with his dedication to the Nietzschean concept of the will. Landauer argued that solving social problems in a radical way takes a voluntaristic denial of cooperation with the existing state institutions, and the development of alternative relations instead. This process can never be completed or securely established. It is all about "a great balancing of forces", an endless and ongoing struggle.³⁵ Landauer detested stagnation as much as Nietzsche.

It is very interesting how Landauer utilised Nietzsche in order to express his view of the present and the future of humanity and to oppose the deterministic teleology of Marxist thought. When Nietzsche spoke of Apollo and Dionysus in *The Birth of Tragedy*, still under the influence of Schopenhauer, he described Apollo as the god of individuality, him who extracted us from the primordial unity of everything. As mentioned in part B.4, this extraction caused humans an unspeakable horror and pain before the meaningless abyss of existence, feelings that were temporarily cured by the instant re-unification with the universe, through the metaphoric and literal intoxication that the god Dionysus was offering during his fests. Finally, the absence of a meaning and a telos in human existence, not to mention the overwhelming horror of it, were turned into an affirmation of life per se through the cooperation of the two gods in the Attic tragedy. This conjunction justified life not as a passageway to a hereafter but as a "here and now" work of art, able to give joy and satisfaction to the terrified individuals.

Similarly, Landauer in "Through Separation to Community", an article that shows that he was clearly influenced by Nietzsche and Meister Eckhart,³⁶ says that our "individual" is at the same time our most "general" that connects us with the whole "all-one" world, leading us to unity with it.³⁷ Speaking some more of the notion of

³⁴ Τα Πάντα Ρεῖ.

³⁵ Marshall, pp. 412-13, and Day, p. 126.

³⁶ Meister Eckhart was a mediaeval mystic (1260-1327) that seems to have influenced Nietzsche with his affirmation of life and the acknowledgement of a divine creativity within humanity. See aphorism 292 of *The Gay Science*, where Nietzsche invokes Eckhart concerning morality, whereas for a process of linking Eckhart with Nietzsche see Aschheim, pp. 210-11.

³⁷ Landauer, "Through Separation to Community", in Kuhn, p. 96.

individuality he, indirectly, makes use of the Apollo-Dionysus dipole:

I reject the certainty of my I so that I can bear life. I try to build myself a new world, knowing that I do not really have any ground to build it on; All I have is a need. This need, as a part of life, includes a liberating, joyful strength: I know from now on that I live, that I perceive and act in my own, self-created world. Then, however, in order not to be a godforsaken loner, I accept this world and surrender my I. I do this to feel one with the world in which my I has dissolved. Just like someone who jumps into the water to kill himself, I jump into the world – but instead of death, I find life.³⁸

Landauer does not project liberation, or salvation, in a distant future that will come after humanity will have, deterministically, passed through the Marxist historical stages. For him, utopia, which is “the driving force behind all revolutionary action”, is not some “far-away dream that we endlessly chase”, because revolution is a “permanent action”. Therefore, utopia is a force present in our daily lives.³⁹ The same view is expressed in a more political, compared to the above philosophical-mystical, manner in *For Socialism*, where he attacks the monolithic Marxist view of history and via a purely Nietzschean argument does not consider historical determinism to be the reason for the coming of socialism but the creativity of the will:

Socialism, you Marxists, is possible at all times and with any kind of technology. It is possible for the right people at all times, even with very primitive technology, while at all times, even with splendidly developed machine technology it is impossible for the wrong group. We know of no development that must bring it. We know of no such necessity as a natural law (...) Capitalism will not necessarily change into socialism. It need not perish. Socialism will not necessarily come, nor must the capital-state-proletariat-socialism of Marxism come and that is not too bad. In fact no socialism at all *must* come (...) Yet socialism *can* come and *should* come — if we *want* it, if we create it.⁴⁰

³⁸ Landauer, “Through Separation to Community”, p. 97.

³⁹ Gustav Landauer, *Revolution and Other Writings*, Introduction, p. 30.

Additionally, the importance of the will in Landauer's thought can be seen through the active way by which a person recreates his world, based on his desires and this Nietzschean type of will:

(...) Every such man will have the urge to give birth to himself, to recreate his being, and – as far as possible – his environment and his world. This extraordinary moment will be experienced by all who, in Nietzsche's words, are able to recreate the original chaos in themselves and to become spectators at the drama of their own desires and deepest secrets.⁴¹

Finally, the most well known, and probably most important, Nietzschean influence on Landauer is his perception of the state not as a structure, not as a thing or tool, but as a complex of relations.⁴² For Landauer, the state is a relation formed in the free space left by the incapacity of people to affirm their will. "The line which at any time limits this capacity forms the basis of the State at that time; in other words, the degree of incapacity for a voluntary right order determines the degree of legitimate compulsion".⁴³ This stems from the deconstruction by Nietzsche of the myth that presented the state as being the result of a social contract, thus an institution itself,⁴⁴ which made Landauer suggest the alteration of these relations in order to make the state and its institutions redundant.

What needs to be stressed here is the slight but important difference of the conception of the state between Landauer and earlier prominent anarchists like Bakunin or Kropotkin. It is a fact that when Landauer acknowledges the state as a forced association,⁴⁵ which must be abolished together with every other domination,⁴⁶ he follows the path of Bakunin and Kropotkin when they reject the idea of social contract,⁴⁷ and, consequently, the argument that the state is the product of such consent rather than a dominant imposition. Nevertheless, while Kropotkin and Bakunin clearly

⁴⁰ Gustav Landauer, *For Socialism*, Telos Press, New York 1986, p. 75.

⁴¹ Landauer, "Anarchic Thoughts on Anarchism", in Kuhn, p. 88.

⁴² Landauer, *For Socialism*, p. 43.

⁴³ Martin Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, Beacon Press, Boston 1958, p. 33.

⁴⁴ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, second essay, §17.

⁴⁵ Landauer, "A Few Words on Anarchism", in Kuhn, p. 80.

⁴⁶ Landauer, "Anarchism-Socialism", in Kuhn, p. 70.

⁴⁷ Peter Kropotkin, *The State: Its Historic Role*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/petr-kropotkin-the-state-its-historic-role>, p. 11 (accessed on 2/12/2012), and Bakunin, "Federalism, Socialism, Anti-Theologism", in Dolgoff, p. 128.

distinguish society from the state,⁴⁸ Landauer comes to underline the existence of the state within, and not just above, society since it is nothing less than a certain relationship between humans, a mode of their behaviour.⁴⁹ Despite the fact that Kropotkin also seems to think in terms of relations, especially in *Law and Authority*,⁵⁰ and although, like Landauer, he calls for “a new social unit fitted to serve as a cell for the formation of a new society in the midst of the old”⁵¹ (mainly in his book *Fields, Factories and Workshops* and his brochure *Anarchist Morality*) there is a different conception of the cornerstone of such a cell. For Kropotkin it is the rational development of cooperative habits and feelings “that are useful for the preservation of society and the propagation of the race”.⁵² But for Landauer this is a consequence. His cornerstone is a by far more spiritual conception of socialism, not “a rational code where you might think, ‘well, it’s better for others therefore it’s better for me’”.⁵³ It is the re-finding of something that lies within every individual, a mystical discovery, that will cause (and not begin with) the development of mutual aid and solidarity and thus will work as a vital presupposition for approaching people differently and constructing an alternative kind of relationship that, eventually, will make the state seem unnecessary.⁵⁴ This spiritual dimension, which none of the earlier socialists acknowledged very profoundly, is not a mere product or reflection of the material world, or something explicable in terms of economic and technical relationships. It is a *sui generis* entity, closely related to the social being without being able to describe it in these social terms.⁵⁵ This insight of Landauer explains his different, Nietzschean, perception of the state, not as a thing but as a complex of relations, and answers to the bitter ascertainment of Proudhon that confronting the state – i.e. rebelling against it – without sufficient communal spirit, is an act that bears the state and all its dominant characteristics in its own self.⁵⁶ So, we must be seized by the spirit not of revolution, as a void destructive process of the state, but of regeneration.⁵⁷

Additionally, this vision - for realizing alternative, revolutionary communities

⁴⁸ Kropotkin, *The State: Its Historic Role*, p. 9, and Bakunin, “Federalism, Socialism, Anti-Theologism”, p. 129.

⁴⁹ Buber, *Paths in Utopia*, p. 33.

⁵⁰ Kropotkin, “Law and Authority” in Baldwin, pp. 201-02.

⁵¹ Buber, p. 32.

⁵² Kropotkin, “Law and Authority”, p. 202.

⁵³ Interview of Gabriel Kuhn, <http://post-anarchism.blogspot.com/2010/07/state-as-social-relationship-gustav.html> (accessed on 27/12/2011).

⁵⁴ Interview of Gabriel Kuhn.

⁵⁵ Buber, p. 36.

⁵⁶ Buber, p. 34.

hic et nunc⁵⁸ into the shell of the old world - produced one more pioneering view within anarchist thought. Landauer's creation of anarchist communities is based on the principle that those who wish to live this way cannot wait for the others to do so, nor force socialism on anyone. That means that the traditional socialist and, up to then, anarchist faith to the revolutionary instinct and potential of the masses seemed to fade.⁵⁹ Landauer, under Nietzsche's influence, questioned it openly by promoting, once again, the creative will and voluntarism of the individual.

Walter Benjamin (L/M)

The cornerstone of Benjamin's philosophy is the nature of historical time, since this is where his critique of the reformist Left of his days, Social Democracy as well as the USSR,⁶⁰ and his vision for the present and the future were based on. It is interesting to see how Benjamin's time-view can be connected to Nietzsche's idea of time, as it is expressed through the substratum of the overman and will to power, that is, the eternal return.

Benjamin's conception of history is a post-modern critique of post-modernity that expresses an innovative description of emancipation:⁶¹ Historical time is not idle, it does not constitute a "to be" but a "becoming". The future determines whether an event will be considered an authentic historical fact; it becomes historical "post mortem" and because of other events that take place after it and which we have to seek, trace and explain retrospectively in order to give sufficient meaning to the original event.

Here we see a perception of time that, although permeated by a messianic spirit, departs from a linear route⁶² approaching a more circular one, since it includes the interaction between the past and the present. If the past depends on future events then it does not bear its own steady characteristics, while at the same time we cannot foretell if a past event, no matter how insignificant, has been lost for good.⁶³

⁵⁷ Landauer, "Revolution", in Kuhn, pp. 139, 170, 175.

⁵⁸ Here and now.

⁵⁹ Day, pp. 125-26.

⁶⁰ Benjamin's last hope for revolutionary action on the part of the USSR died with the "treacherous" sign of the German-Soviet Pact of Molotov-Ribbentrop just after the end of the Spanish civil war and before the beginning of World War II.

⁶¹ Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, pp. 2-3.

⁶² A messianic perception of history, either in the field of politics or religion, indicates an end, a telos, therefore, a linear course that will lead it there.

⁶³ Aristidis Baltas – Manolis Athanasakis, "Ιστορία, Ιστοριογραφία και Πολιτική Πρακτική, Σχόλιο στο 'Θέσεις για τη Φιλοσοφία της Ιστορίας'" [History, Historiography and Political Practice, a Comment

For Benjamin, revolution does not take place to secure the future of the oppressed but to do justice to earlier, suffering, generations. It is an act of redeeming their past.⁶⁴ This view is reinforced by a peculiar pessimism that, without having anything to do with fatality, stems from the fear of “the recurrence of the blight” and “the ceaseless return of the defeat”.

As far as Nietzsche is concerned, the theory of “eternal return” carries a dual meaning, metaphysical and ethical. The first one has to do with eternity, the infinity of “becoming”. The second one deals with the argument that our responsibility in a given time stands for a responsibility in eternity, since eternal return is the ultimate judge of every one of our actions. Contrary to Benjamin, Nietzsche opines that the lack of a universal meaning or of a final situation is what leads to the idea that “everything returns”. The infinity of the past proves that if the universe were teleological, this telos would have already taken place. If there were a final situation, the act of “becoming” would have already reached it.⁶⁵ Therefore, we stop believing in a distinctive “to be” that opposes “becoming”, but at the same time we believe in a “to be” of “becoming” that coincides with “returning”. The moment that is passing by is simultaneously the present, past and future. It is not a “to be” that returns but a “returning” that constitutes a “to be” and that is why eternal return is a composition of time and its dimensions on the one hand, and of “becoming” and “to be”, on the other:

“Behold this moment!” I went on. “From this gateway Moment a long, eternal lane runs *back*: an eternity lies behind us. Must not all things that *can* run have already run along this lane? Must not all things that *can* happen *have* already happened, been done, run past?...And are not all things bound fast together in such a way that this moment draws after it all future things?”⁶⁶

Of course, there is a problem with eternal return. If everything returns then reactive forces and slave morality will also return. And here lies an analogy with Benjamin’s pessimism regarding the ceaseless recurrence of defeat and oppression. Deleuze argues that, for Nietzsche, eternal return is selective, that petty things are

on ‘Theses on the Philosophy of History’], in Angeliki Spyropoulou (ed.), *Βάλτερ Μπένγιαμιν, Εικόνες και Μύθοι της Νεωτερικότητας* [Walter Benjamin, Images and Myths of Modernity], Αλεξάνδρεια, Αθήνα 2007, p. 295.

⁶⁴ Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis II, pp. 245-46.

⁶⁵ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 1062.

⁶⁶ Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, “Of the Vision and the Riddle”.

excluded from eternity.⁶⁷ However, I believe that such a view is incorrect. Firstly, because if, according to Nietzsche, the past is infinite then everything petty should have already stopped returning, so we would not be able (Nietzsche neither) to trace it in human history, something that Nietzsche definitely does. Secondly, because “becoming” – which is not static, is not “to be” – presupposes the continuous struggle of active and reactive forces as well as the distinction of one type from the other. The absence of reactive forces would possibly pose the danger of the stagnation platonic Ideas have. Hence, for Nietzsche, the return of everything that is petty and reactive has to face the war on the part of the noble values, whilst for Benjamin the return of defeat will be prevented only through remembrance of the past⁶⁸ and the derailment of the “train of progress”.⁶⁹

Additionally, the continuous interaction between past, present and future that both thinkers recognize, is also reflected in their common dislike for a standard and neutral reading of history. Nietzsche’s polemic in “On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life”⁷⁰ against historians that bow before the facts of history by passively surrendering themselves to every kind of power and authority,⁷¹ inspired Benjamin’s severe critique of the contemporary servile historicism that praised a conception of historical progress which steps on the bodies of those who lie on the ground.⁷² For Nietzsche and Benjamin, history is useful only when it serves life and action⁷³ as the past is always open to re-interpretation. This view highlights one more important feature that Benjamin and Nietzsche have in common: the rejection of the one truth. In his work, Benjamin fights the idea of a monopoly of historical truth and its imposition on others,⁷⁴ similarly to Nietzschean perspectivism,⁷⁵ whilst at the same time he, tragically and in a Nietzschean way, recognizes that the historian is someone who always faces the danger of being untimely.⁷⁶ After all, the rupture of the historicist progress, the derailment of the train of progress, needs acting in an untimely

⁶⁷ Deleuze, pp. xii, 65, 178.

⁶⁸ Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis II, pp. 245-46.

⁶⁹ Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, London 1996, Vol. 4, p. 402.

⁷⁰ Second book of *Untimely Meditations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007.

⁷¹ Nietzsche, *Untimely Meditations*, “On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life”, §8.

⁷² Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis VII, pp. 247-48.

⁷³ Nietzsche, *Untimely Meditations*, “On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life”, Foreword and Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis VII, pp. 251-52.

⁷⁴ Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, Thesis V, pp. 247 and Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 42.

⁷⁵ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 540.

⁷⁶ Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 42.

fashion, therefore against time and even on time, in favour of a future time.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, I must point out some apparent differences between the two thinkers. The words “hatred” and “vengeance” that Benjamin use to fuel the struggle of the oppressed is a tool in Nietzsche’s hand for criticizing the socialist and anarchist practices of his time through the concept of “resentment”. The reason is that, for Nietzsche, hatred and vengeance are acceptable only when used against personal enemies⁷⁸ and not against injustice, generally and abstractly, as Benjamin argues.

Yet, we must keep in mind that one reason that Nietzsche prefers a personal enemy to an abstract idea is the whole theory he has developed about resentment and bad conscience. When the enemy is someone specific then it is easier to express one’s feelings instantly, and thus discharge and save oneself from the venom of resentment. Otherwise, if directed against an abstract idea, over time, resentment finds enough space to flourish and even, gradually, turn into bad conscience. Still, and as shown in the present research when talking about the mistakes Nietzsche made when applying the dipole “responsibility-debt” on the anarchists,⁷⁹ Löwy stresses the fact that for Benjamin the feelings of the oppressed stand far from resentment since they constitute an active revolt. Hatred has to do with the suffering of the past and the present but instead of creating a passive and bad conscience, it favours a revolutionary deed.⁸⁰ Given the above and when Nietzsche’s phobia of the massive revolutionary act is overlooked, there is no reason why we shall not see the analogy between Benjamin’s fighting a system (rather than people) and Nietzsche’s opposing, what he calls, the system of decadent values. Why not interpret Benjamin’s intention not to victimize someone in person as a Nietzschean lightness of a noble and free spirit, the action of the individual able to forget which thus expresses the morality of a true master and not that of a slave? After all, we must never forget Nietzsche’s explanation of his polemic practice in his philosophical autobiography, *Ecce Homo*. Here, he makes plain that he never attacks people but ideas, avoiding every personal quarrel, excluding every bad experience.⁸¹ He attacks Christianity without blaming individual Christians⁸² just as Benjamin attacks fascism and not the Italian citizens of the twentieth century.⁸³

⁷⁷ Deleuze, p. 107.

⁷⁸ Löwy refers to the case of Achilles and Hector that Nietzsche mentions in *On the Genealogy of Morals*, in Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 130, footnote 32.

⁷⁹ See part C.2 of the present research.

⁸⁰ Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, pp. 81-82.

⁸¹ Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, “Why I Am So Wise”, aphorism 7.

⁸² Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, “Why I Am So Wise”, aphorism 7.

⁸³ Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 81.

Another difference that can be also bridged, when radically interpreted, is Benjamin's and Nietzsche's views of culture and its accomplishments. Benjamin links culture to barbarism to say that every significant monument of humanity, like the pyramids of Egypt or the Palais de l'Opera in Paris, has been built by the oppressed, the slaves and the ones defeated. Thus, the monuments of culture are at the same time monuments of barbarism and destruction.

On the contrary, Nietzsche argues that the masterpieces of art and culture take the heavy price of suffering and enslavement for the multitudes.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, even this apparently absolute statement is open to Nietzsche's own distinction between three types of culture: the prehistoric, the historic and the post-historic. Nietzsche attacks the historic type of culture where the forces in charge (the Church and the state) are clearly reactive, aiming at the maintenance of a human type that one is of a slave rather than of a master, guilty rather than innocent, debtor rather than creditor.⁸⁵ Benjamin reaches the same conclusion by following, in thesis VII of his *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, a Nietzschean critique of historicism as a reactive and slavish reading of history. The fact that the two thinkers seem to disagree on the inevitable sacrifice of the multitudes for the sake of great cultural monuments must not overshadow the most important and common feature of their reasoning: The historical time that contains these monuments is a reactive one.

Finally, while the theory of eternal return serves the individual, the hero, the overman, for Benjamin the intermingle of the past and the future is for the sake of all who have been sacrificed in the name of "progress" and constitute the oppressed, who in Benjamin's theological scheme stand for the Messiah.⁸⁶

This differentiation between Nietzschean individualism and anarchist socialism seems to be a constant source of antithesis between the two parts, mainly because of Nietzsche's dislike for what he saw to be "the herd". Yet, the reference to prominent individuals, like Auguste Blanqui, on the part of Benjamin, or the foresaid views of Landauer and Goldman concerning the simultaneous interaction between the revolutionary individual and their environment show that the presence of the overman not only is compatible with the anarchist social project but, moreover, is essential. Additionally, Benjamin puts one of his most basic theological concepts, "redemption"

⁸⁴ Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, pp. 54.

⁸⁵ Nietzsche's relevant thesis in more details is presented in part C.2 of the present research.

⁸⁶ Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History", Thesis II, pp. 245-46 and Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 33.

(Erlösung), primarily in the sphere of the individual: one's personal happiness implies the redemption of one's own past, "the fulfilment of what could have been but was not".⁸⁷ Another expression of Nietzsche's "become who you are", that also includes the transformation and incorporation of the past.

Post-Anarchism

As far as post-anarchism (or post-structuralist anarchism) is concerned, Nietzsche plays a significant role in the process of unfolding, on the part of post-anarchist thinkers, a critique that aims against various fundamental points of the Enlightenment and, consequently, of the political currents that blossomed within its frame as well as of the hegemonic policies of the present social-political scene. This critique not only seeks to revitalize and refresh anarchism but also to offer a new perspective for the present and the future of the social struggles. For example, Eric Heroux and Mohamed Jean Veneuse present post-anarchism as a Nietzschean project "of becoming", with reference to several thinkers (notably Deleuze and Guattari, Agamben, Derrida, Hardt and Negri). Each, they argue, attempt to overcome all "competing alternatives" that fail to oppose the status quo, by introducing the on-coming singularities that go beyond the essential identities of the past and the present.⁸⁸ Their combination of "becoming" with one of post-anarchism's central concerns, namely the anti-essentialist approach to identities, is very well illustrated by Lewis Call. He says:

In the space created by this radical critique of modern subjectivity, Nietzsche unleashes another kind of anarchy, an anarchy of becoming. By teaching us that we must pursue a perpetual project of self-overcoming and self-creation, constantly losing and finding ourselves in the river of becoming, Nietzsche ensures that our subjectivity will be fluid and dispersed, multiple and pluralistic rather than fixed and centered, singular and totalitarian. These twin anarchies, the critical anarchy of the subject and the affirmative anarchy of becoming, form the basis for a postmodern Nietzschean anarchism. Nietzsche's philosophy thus creates not only the idea of postmodern anarchism but also the

⁸⁷ Löwy, *Fire Alarm*, p. 30.

⁸⁸ Eric Heroux, "Post-anarchia Repertoire" and Mohamed Jean Veneuse, "The Body of the Condemned Sally: Paths to Queering anarchy-Islam," *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, vol.1, 2010, pp. 20-21 and 226.

postmodern anarchists themselves.⁸⁹

Saul Newman chooses the same point of departure, meaning Nietzsche, for his attack on the essentialist perception of the subject, morality and rationality. However, for him, the exposure of these weak points of the Enlightenment derives from another major concept of Nietzsche's philosophy, (will to) power.⁹⁰ According to Newman, the Manichean classic anarchist belief of a pure revolutionary identity versus the impure nature of political power reveals a paradox relative to the way the two antagonists are defined: the political power is bad because the revolutionary is good, and vice versa. Yet, that means that the one cannot exist without the other.⁹¹ So, the (classical) anarchist view, which rejects power so fiercely, can be saved from reaching a dead-end only by accepting the need to re-approach power on Nietzschean (and Foucauldian) terms of a creative and not dominant will to power.

In addition, the creativity of this Nietzschean power connects directly to the actual questioning of a universal and objective truth. Andrew Koch highlights the important role that Apollo and Dionysus play in Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* when he speaks of "illusions" and "truth", "interpretations" and "facts". If the life stance of the *overman* is to create the world around himself/herself, it is because he/she - and no a priori truth - gives meaning to it:

The overman is an ideal, but it is a concept devoid of any particular content, of any particular image. The overman comes after the anarchistic nature of the world is understood, after a recognition that the world does not contain a singular truth or a teleologically destined way of life. The overman embodies creativity (...) Nietzsche cannot justify the assertion of any specific character, except the overman's recognition that it must create itself in a world without structure. It is a world in which there is power, but a world in which all knowledge and meaning are recognized as human inventions.⁹²

Post and Classical Anarchism

Before ending this section, I shall attempt to answer the second question raised in

⁸⁹ Lewis Call, *Postmodern Anarchism*, Lexington Books, Maryland 2002, p. 33.

⁹⁰ Saul Newman, *Power and Politics in Poststructuralist Thought*, Routledge, London 2003, p. 41.

⁹¹ Newman, *Power and Politics in Poststructuralist Thought*, p. 38.

⁹² Koch, pp. 60-61.

chapter A.1, which refers to the importance Nietzsche has for anarchism.

Since the appearance of post-anarchism, a lot has been said and written about it and post-anarchism's implication for what is called “classical anarchism”. Undoubtedly, the basic arguments of post-anarchists stem from a post-structuralist point of view that goes directly back to Nietzsche, but at the same time it is Nietzsche again that either directly or indirectly bridges the gap between “classical” and “post” anarchism in a way that will preserve the distinctive anarchist identity and the inner plurality which is one of its basic features.

A quick review of the counter-arguments to the objections expressed by post-anarchists towards “classical” anarchism can illustrate three main categories: the limited and selective reading of “classical” anarchism by post-anarchists, the perception of “classical” concepts as fixed and their problematic redefinition, and the so-called “Archimedean point for change”. All categories include arguments based on Nietzschean methods and principles reflecting the utility of the German philosopher for anarchist identity.

For post-anarchists, “classical” anarchism is limited to a certain group of thinkers by omitting controversial anarchists, like Goldman and Landauer⁹³ or by neglecting important differences of thought, time, geography and culture.⁹⁴ This distorted and insufficient reading creates a prejudice that makes it hard for post-anarchists to accept anything “anti” or “post” modern within “classical” anarchist thought. Hence, they prefer to refer to it as an exception or contradiction.⁹⁵ For example, post-anarchists regard the relationship between human subjects and power presented by Bakunin and Kropotkin (at certain points humans are naturally opposed to power whereas at other points seem to produce power), not as a contradiction of the subject itself (acknowledged as such by Bakunin and Kropotkin) but as a contradiction of their thought!⁹⁶

It is also very interesting that post-anarchist thinkers like Newman or Day seem to refer to Landauer in a very positive way, either by using his Nietzschean view of the

⁹³ Jesse Cohn and Shawn Wilbur, *What's Wrong With Post-anarchism*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/jesse-cohn-and-shawn-wilbur-what-s-wrong-with-post-anarchism> p. 3 (accessed on 2/12/2012).

⁹⁴ Ruth Kinna, “Fields of Vision: Kropotkin and Revolutionary Change”, *Substance*, Vol.36, No2, Issue 113, 2007, p. 81.

⁹⁵ Süreyya Evren, *Notes on Post-Anarchism*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/Süreyya-evren-notes-on-post-anarchism> p. 2 (accessed on 2/12/2012).

⁹⁶ Cohn and Wilbur, p. 5.

state⁹⁷ or through a more extended and precise approach that wants Landauer to have anticipated poststructuralist theory via his contact with the work of Nietzsche.⁹⁸ Moreover, Day uses quite effectively the genealogical method of Nietzsche in order to conclude that the logic of affinity clearly leads from Kropotkin to Landauer,⁹⁹ but what makes it hard for post-anarchists to place thinkers like Landauer (whose views they seem to share) or Goldman (who is totally missing from every post-anarchist text) within the “classical” anarchist field instead of ignoring them or citing them abstractly? Süreyya Evren gives the answer when saying that English-speaking post-anarchists never use Goldman when discussing “classical” anarchism because she has been, somehow, dropped from what he calls “the anarchist canon”, meaning the grouping of specific anarchist thinkers and their identification as “classical anarchists”. Otherwise, her Nietzschean anarchism - together with all the postmodern issues it raises- would mean that a great deal of post-anarchism is not beyond but rather inside “classical” anarchism.¹⁰⁰ As a result, what Evren calls for is not just a partial genealogy project, like that conducted by Day, but a (once again, Nietzschean) genealogy of the anarchist canon.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, the normalization of disputes in anarchist history made by post-anarchists, prevents them from realizing that terms like “science”, “human nature”, or “power” never had a fixed definition but have become the object of several conflicts within anarchist circles.¹⁰² Therefore, they miss a basic thesis of Nietzsche who describes the world of speech as a field of invasions, disguises and struggles.¹⁰³

In addition, Sam Haraway cites the distinction of the term “power” made by Uri Gordon, arguing that in this way post-anarchists manage to overcome the inflexibility of “classical” anarchist thinkers when speaking of the always oppressive nature of power. Particularly, Haraway describes what Gordon defines as “power-with...a cooperative form of power, where individuals influence each other’s behavior in the

⁹⁷Saul Newman, “Voluntary Servitude Reconsidered: Radical Politics and the Problem of Self-Domination”, *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, “Post-Anarchism Today”, 2010, No1, p. 44.

⁹⁸ Day, pp. 16, 124.

⁹⁹ Day, p. 123.

¹⁰⁰“Alpine Anarchist Meets Süreyya Evren”, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/Süreyya-evren-alpine-anarchist-meets-Süreyya-evren> p. 5 (accessed on 2/12/2012).

¹⁰¹ Evren, *Notes on Post-Anarchism*, p. 1.

¹⁰² Cohn and Wilbur, pp. 4, 8.

¹⁰³ Cohn and Wilbur, p. 6.

absence of a conflict of wills or interest”.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, this definition of the term “power” is nothing but a re-introduction of what already existed within the thought of “classical” anarchists: The spirit of cooperation in Kropotkin, the need for organization in Malatesta, the designation of self-obedience and self-discipline in anarchism, as illustrated by Eduardo Colombo.¹⁰⁵ The only difference is that “classical” texts do not name this “productive” force “power”.

Finally, there is one more basic objection raised by post-anarchists, which presents “classical” anarchists as monolithic, as far as their conception of social change is concerned. Although Todd May admits that anarchism (in whole) denies the existence “of a central hinge about which political change could or should revolve,”¹⁰⁶ he argues that the central weakness of “classical” anarchism is that power and oppression are reduced to one single operation - (the state) – whereas they should also apply to fields like the struggle against racism, misogyny, homosexuality etc. Once again post-anarchists miss the action of two prominent anarchists, Emma Goldman and Federica Montseny who, as noted in the beginning of this part, were both influenced by Nietzsche and because of this influence were able to develop their campaign against sexual and gender discrimination.

Moreover, in “Fields of Vision: Kropotkin and Revolutionary Change”, Ruth Kinna repels effectively the post-anarchist “accusations” that “classical” anarchism identifies one single way for change (revolution) against one single opponent (the state). She does this by bringing forth Kropotkin’s critique against syndicalists for their belief in the emancipative sufficiency of the abolition of economic exploitation¹⁰⁷ and by explaining what he meant by the term “revolution”. According to Kropotkin, revolution is not a single event that will take us to the realization of utopia but a complex and dynamic movement, an ongoing project dependent on the initiative and the will of individuals.¹⁰⁸ Additionally, Kropotkin describes the possible parameters within which individuals and groups may act without giving a certain model of an anarchist utopia,¹⁰⁹ similarly to Bakunin and Landauer who avoid giving a final form

¹⁰⁴ Sam Haraway, “Kropotkin, Power and the State”, <http://www.anarchiststudies.org/node/481> (accessed on 29/12/2011).

¹⁰⁵ Eduardo Colombo, “Anarchisme, Obligation Sociale et Devoir d’ obeissance”, *Refractions*, No2, 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Poststructuralist Anarchism: An Interview of Todd May.

¹⁰⁷ Kinna, “Fields of Vision: Kropotkin and Revolutionary Change”, p. 81.

¹⁰⁸ Kinna, “Fields of Vision: Kropotkin and Revolutionary Change”, p. 82.

¹⁰⁹ Kinna, “Fields of Vision: Kropotkin and Revolutionary Change”, p. 70.

of a new anarchist reality.¹¹⁰ Consequently, “classical” anarchism’s anti-statism is not the basic principle that gives birth to the rejection of authority, hierarchy and representation, but is the rejection of all these that leads us to anti-statism.¹¹¹ Hence, it is this dynamical change and immanent diversity in Kropotkin’s thought – that reminds us of the anti-static, Heraclitian, stance of Nietzsche concerning life and the project of becoming – which can bridge the gap between “classical” and “post” anarchism.

So, what is post-anarchism in the end? For Evren, it is an anarchism that goes beyond the limits of a Eurocentric approach and embraces not only political theory and action but art as well.¹¹² For Benjamin Franks, the fact that post-anarchists cannot escape the supremacy to particular types of action or the overlooking of particular types of oppression shows that they represent specific practices of groups that are placed in a limited historical context. For this reason, post-anarchism does not go beyond “classical” anarchism, its principles and arguments do not differ from “classical” anarchism, on the contrary, they are part of it. Post-anarchism is a component of “classical” anarchism in the same way green anarchism is.¹¹³

In summation, what I tried to show in this chapter is that the post-anarchist critique of “classical” anarchism is based on a Nietzschean perspective that, nevertheless, had already been absorbed by thinkers like Goldman and Landauer who both belong to the “classical” anarchist context. We can overcome this contradiction only if we acknowledge the, after all, diachronic influence of Nietzsche on the anarchists – precisely because of the compatibility between their principles – and the utility of the German philosopher as a tool of self-determination and continuous self-criticism on the part of the anarchists of all trends.

¹¹⁰ Day, p. 126.

¹¹¹ Evren, *Notes on Post-Anarchism*, p. 5.

¹¹² “Alpine Anarchist Meets Süreyya Evren”, pp. 3-4.

¹¹³ Benjamin Franks, “Post-anarchisms: a critical assessment”, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol.12, No2, 2007, p. 128.

C.2/ Anarchism in Nietzsche

It is interesting that all three periods of Nietzsche's thought, as implied in chapter B.5.1, reflect basic anarchist ideas and that, regardless of the evolution and development of his thought, "anarchism in Nietzsche" is apparent in all his writings. It is true that although some anarchists found an affinity with Nietzsche's philosophy, his severe critique of anarchism and socialism did not seem to leave enough space for the blossoming of a reverse affinity. Yet although he did not seem to be influenced at all by contemporary anarchists (in the way the anarchists of the previous chapter were influenced by him) the key outcomes and theses of his philosophy can be found in the essays of prominent anarchists and libertarians like Mikhail Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Errico Malatesta and Walter Benjamin. This a posteriori detection corresponds to the first degree of elective affinity, mentioned in section B.1 – the simple affinity – whose potential evolution to an active interaction depends on certain historical and political circumstances that for Nietzsche, who in the face of mass political movements saw the threat of a herd soaked with resentment, did not, nevertheless, seem to be at all sufficient.

The presentation of "anarchism in Nietzsche" will, more or less, follow the structural analysis of chapter B.4. The interconnection of Nietzschean concepts illustrated there, will be the guide for pointing out that Nietzschean basic theses are also an integral part of anarchist thought.

Using genealogy as the starting point here also, I will show its relation with the anarchist genealogical method. Moreover, it is through this method that Nietzsche unveils the origin of resentment, which he attributes to the anarchists. By using Nietzsche's approach and taking into consideration how anarchists view themselves we can understand why he was wrong about this accusation.

I will then move on to perspectivism and its dealing with truth, knowledge and ontology. A presentation of prominent anarchists dealing with these matters will designate the elective affinity and by sorting out concepts like master and slave types I will explain how Nietzsche's and Kropotkin's perspectivism, while seeming to differ drastically, are actually very similar.

Perspectivism is tightly linked to the will to power and the active and reactive forces. Anarchists criticise the dividing role of the reactive forces or praise the unifying aim of the active ones in a rather Nietzschean way. However, perspectivism also opens a window for another critical subject, morality. Here, I will show how both

Nietzsche and the anarchists share the same opinion about the nature of good and evil and the creation of an objective code of ethics.

Finally comes nihilism, and having presented the common positive points Nietzsche and the anarchists find in it, and especially in the death or the inexistence of God, I explain why anarchist nihilism does not stem from the negative nihilism of Western culture, as Nietzsche thought, but is of the same type as the affirmative Dionysian nihilism Nietzsche admires, the one that works as a transvaluator of values.

The method through which Nietzsche approaches history leads him to the several crucial points unfolded here. This practice is “genealogy” and is common between the German philosopher and the anarchists.

Genealogy serves one main goal, to reveal the secret origin of the dogmatic approaches that insist on being taken for granted, as eternal truths. It reveals not only the origin but also the mechanism that tries to hide it. It is an attack on truth, knowledge and ontology. Morality, for example, is such a dogmatic approach.¹ Kropotkin makes use of the same practice in works like *Ethics: Origin and Development*, *Anarchist Morality*, *Law and Authority*, *Organized Vengeance Called “Justice”* and *The State: Its Historic Role*. In *Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles* he gives an idea of this practice:

As to the method followed by the anarchist thinker, it entirely differs from that followed by the utopists. The anarchist thinker does not resort to metaphysical conceptions (like ‘natural rights’, the ‘duties of the State’, and so on)...He studies human society as it is now and was in the past; and without either endowing humanity as a whole, or separate individuals, with superior qualities which they do not possess, he merely considers society as an aggregation of organisms....²

On the Genealogy of Morals is, of course, a representative example of this practice. With this work, Nietzsche attempts to locate and explain the procedure that gave the words “good”, “bad”, “beautiful” and “ugly” the meanings they have in today’s moral context. Moreover, he explains the formation of what he calls bad conscience, which nourishes the feeling of resentment, but in order to accomplish this

¹ Nehamas, pp. 32-33.

² Kropotkin, “Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles” in Baldwin, p. 47.

he deals with all types of culture and basic institutions of Western civilization. More specifically, Nietzsche claims that culture is the training process that will control man's forces by preserving and refreshing the active and by activating the reactive ones. Thus, he distinguishes three types of culture, the prehistoric, the historic and the post-historic one.

In the first type Nietzsche acknowledges those features that make the connections "responsibility-debt" and "creditor-debtor" discharging, pedagogical and emancipating. The act of punishment is independent of any presupposition regarding freedom of the will. Criminals are not punished as being responsible for their deeds but as a way for the ones wronged to express their wrath against the wrongdoer. But even this rage is somehow controlled by the idea that every injury has its equivalent and can be paid back even through the pain of the one that caused it. For Nietzsche, this idea derives from a contractual relationship between a creditor and a debtor.³ The debtor, in order to be trusted for repaying, makes a contract with the creditor declaring that if he fails to pay back he will give something else he possesses as a refund, his body, his wife or even his life. This alternative equivalent consists in the satisfaction the wronged one gets, by freely exercising his power on the wrongdoer, instead of seeking compensation through money or property: offsetting damage with pain.⁴ Moreover, the debtor conceives the punishment as the ransom that will free him from his wrongdoing and his unfaithfulness. This liberation/redemption offered by prehistoric culture leads to its product, the man who is responsible for his reactive forces (responsibility-debt) and goes on activating them, the man who becomes able to promise – meaning to look not into the past but into the future – to transform himself into a legislator and go beyond every morality, to the post-historic culture.⁵

Here, the dipole "responsibility-debt" no longer exists, after playing its pedagogical role by liberating the creditor and the debtor as well – the former because he is part of the right of the masters, and the latter for giving a compensation even if the price is his flesh or his pain.⁶

Nevertheless, in the second cultural type, the historic culture, Nietzsche admits the prevalence of the reactive forces. The new formed societies represent a culture that, through mechanisms like the state and the Church, produces the tame and

³ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, second essay, §4.

⁴ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, second essay, §5.

⁵ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, second essay, §2.

⁶ Deleuze, p. 137.

submissive man, not a legislator but a tributary.⁷ The dipole of “responsibility-debt” turns into “responsibility-guilt”. The creditor is the state or/and the Church, and the debtor is the one that violates their laws. Now, the punishment does not occur as redemption and emancipation but as a means of threat and revenge for those that do not comply with the dominant laws. The objective of such a culture is not to liberate but to maintain obedience through the creation and multiplication of feelings that express guilt and fear.⁸

In the *Organized Vengeance Called “Justice”*, Peter Kropotkin studies the idea of justice and penalty in primitive clans, and societies of the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century. His analysis is not that pervasive as Nietzsche’s but his conclusions are of the same gravity: primitive tribes knew no judge. In the case of an injury, justice would be applied not in terms of vengeance but of a redemptive, discharging pay-back: the pain of the wrongdoer offsets the damage or the insult.⁹

Later on, the idea of compensation is developed replacing the “an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth” principle. Now, the “responsibility-debt” dipole discharges itself through a material equivalent that will still enable the wrongdoer to acknowledge the injury he has caused and to make amends, and the injured one to express his wrath once and for all.¹⁰

But with the institutional emergence of the Church and the state, the idea of compensation to the wronged one and of redemption to the wrongdoer subsides increasingly in favour of the fine. This is how the idea of punishment is born and how the debt is turned into guilt. From now on, “an injury to a priest is no longer an injury to a man, it is an injury to the divinity, and no punishment is severe enough to chastise such a crime”.¹¹ So, for Kropotkin the idea of justice has totally changed through time. Its concept, which once served the restoration of human relationships through compensation and redemption, has shifted towards an apparatus of the Church and the state in order to preserve a negative human type similar to the product of Nietzsche’s historical culture. Moreover, in paragraph 14, part 2, of *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche’s views on the “utility” of penalty and imprisonment coincide with those of

⁷ Deleuze, p. 138.

⁸ Deleuze, p. 141.

⁹ Peter Kropotkin, *Organized Vengeance Called “Justice”*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/petr-kropotkin-organised-vengeance-called-justice>, p. 2 (accessed on 2/12/2012).

¹⁰ Kropotkin, *Organized Vengeance Called “Justice”*, p. 2.

¹¹ Kropotkin, *Organized Vengeance Called “Justice”*, p. 3.

Kropotkin in *Prisons and Their Moral Influence on Prisoners* and of Leo Tolstoy in *Resurrection*: Penalty hardens and isolates. It humiliates and devastates will without awaking feelings of sinfulness.

At this point Nietzsche notes that, contrarily to many socialists, justice does not originate from resentment or vengeance. It is not a punishing reaction.¹² Bad conscience and resentment flourish when the repayable debt to an equal becomes the non-payable debt to divinity, society or the state. It is when

the aim [now] is to preclude pessimistically, once and for all, the prospect of a final discharge;... the aim now is to turn back the concepts ‘guilt’ and ‘duty’ – back against whom? There can be no doubt: against the ‘debtor’ first of all... Finally, however, they are turned back against the ‘creditor’, too.¹³

Is it possible for anarchists to escape the resentment attributed to them by Nietzsche, according to the above description? The answer is affirmative and can be given on two levels, theoretical and practical:

Theoretically speaking, the concise approach of Kropotkin in the *Organized Vengeance Called “Justice”*, together with his more analytical discussion in *Prisons and Their Moral Influence on Prisoners*, shows that (anarchistic) justice has nothing to do with revenge but with compensation and restoration. The classification of the term “justice” is the same Nietzsche makes: we have the justice that redeems and liberates, and the justice that enslaves. Both types follow similar paths in both thinkers, especially the negative one that belongs to institutions like the state and the Church.

Practically speaking, what Nietzsche viewed as socialist/anarchist justice was a “slave morality”, meaning a heterogeneous determination as a result of denying everything the “master morality” expresses. Of course, for Nietzsche this is an excuse. They deny everything they do not have but would love to, they spread their revolutionary ideas aiming at becoming masters in masters’ place, not to abolish human exploitation but to, at last, taste themselves the pleasure that is offered by the abuse of the others.¹⁴ Hence, resentment and bad conscience are two basic anarchist

¹² Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, second essay, §6.

¹³ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, second essay, §21.

¹⁴ Periklis Vallianos, *Συνείδηση, Γλώσσα και Ιστορική Ζωή* [Conscience, Language and Historical Life], Πορεία, Αθήνα 2002, p. 272.

features, according to Nietzsche.¹⁵ Indeed, the German philosopher may have been vindicated in the case of the USSR but libertarian ventures such as the Paris commune (1871) or the beginning of the Spanish revolution (1936) clearly show that Nietzsche rushed to reach his conclusions. For the practices of these ventures aimed at the formation of a master type not as reactive vengeance but as a creative burst of will. Anarchists never sought to replace the bourgeois state with an anarchist one, they did not even dream, like Marxists did, of a proletarian dictatorship, that is, they never longed for tasting the pleasure offered by the oppression of others. Thus, when Nietzsche applied broadly the dipole “responsibility-debt” on the anarchist circles, he made two serious mistakes.

The first mistake is that this application positioned anarchists on the side of the debtors. In a way, anarchists never regarded themselves as debtors but as creditors. It was every dominant social class (the “aristocrats”, the “kings”, the bourgeois) that had always caused the injuries and, for that reason, were the debtors in the eyes of the anarchists. So, it was they that had to make amends by paying a redemptive price.

The second mistake is that this dipole was presented as “responsibility-guilt”. But as said above, apart from the fact that anarchists have never adopted the role of the debtor, they have also never considered this debt to be eternally reproduced and, thus, unpaid. Their cause and the compatible means they choose for it – direct action, voluntarism, anti-deterministic worldview – (again unlike some Marxists), give the chance for the emancipative discharge Nietzsche and Kropotkin discussed in *On the Genealogy of Morals* and *Organized Vengeance Called “Justice”*. Hence, despite the fact that many anarchist discourses partially justify Nietzsche when speaking of revenge, the formation of “bad conscience” and its seed, resentment, cannot fit with the anarchist “master morality” once we recall the vision of the anarchist society and, especially, the compatible means towards it.

As said before, genealogy seeks to undermine the ideas of unity and identity of everything in the world by attacking ontology. It allows plenty of alternative options without discovering or imposing, once and for all, a presupposed reality. That is because it is based on the indeterminate vision of the world, provided by the will to power¹⁶ and its perceptual realization, that is, perspectivism.

¹⁵ Nietzsche, *The Antichrist*, aphorism 57.

¹⁶ Nehamas, p. 104.

Perspectivism should be distinguished from relativism, a position that considers all views to be of the same value. In perspectivism, each individual's view is understood to be the best possible for the individual but it does not imply that it is suitable for anybody else.¹⁷ Nietzschean “free spirits” are well aware of the fact that all interpretations stem from certain values. The trick is to remember that all things currently taken for granted are nothing but the product of earlier subjective interpretations and values;¹⁸ to forget this can easily lead to absolutism. The uniqueness of “free spirits” lies in the fact that although, in a specific space-time, they may treat their views as absolute, they never forget that these interpretations are vital only to themselves. They know that others probably would not bear them and this awareness keeps them from even thinking of imposing their way of life on other people.¹⁹ The realisation of such worldviews is a personal, self-affirmative, matter and rejects any universal value or demand.

Nonetheless, the belief that everything is nothing but interpretation, an active giving of subjective meaning to the neutral phenomena, does not mean that “free spirits” cannot produce new ideas and values.²⁰ On the contrary, interpretation for Nietzsche is a personal and creative project, an expression of specific interests and values²¹ beyond what it is called “objectivity”. Nietzsche flirts with the idea that our categories of thought do not respond to a real world but enable us to invent and create a world to which we can refer in empirical terms.²²

Nietzschean perspectivism has a lot in common with anarchist perspectivism as expressed by prominent anarchist thinkers throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Mikhail Bakunin and Errico Malatesta attacked metaphysics in an effort to unveil the forgotten origin of dominant theories that were taken for granted and, moreover, to reject its absolute and despotic nature. In particular, Malatesta attributes the popular feeling that government and state have an ontological existence characterized by given properties of logic and justice, to a metaphysical process of abstraction which reaches the conclusion that the State has always been the main representative of the common good.²³

¹⁷ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 606 and Nehamas, pp. 72-73.

¹⁸ Nehamas, pp. 5-6.

¹⁹ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 542 and Nehamas, p. 70.

²⁰ Nehamas, p. 5.

²¹ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 767 and Nehamas, pp. 64-65.

²² Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 514 and Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 44.

²³ Errico Malatesta, *Anarchy*, The Anarchist Library http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/_errico-malatesta-anarchy, p. 6 (accessed on 2/12/2012).

Additionally, Bakunin clearly states that there is no road leading from metaphysics to the truths of life. He opposes positivists and the so-called Hegelians who have created an ideal type of social organization that they try to impose on the rest of society as a sole truth.²⁴ And he goes on to say that for anarchists, social and physical life always come before theory. According to this perspective, anarchists do not intend, or even wish, to impose their plans on others.²⁵

Kropotkin holds the same opinion when saying that every piece of advice is worthy only if it is regarded as such and accepted by the person that receives it. For him, the only thing we can do, concerning ethical matters, is to say “follow it if it seems good to you”.²⁶ However, what he adds is of the same quality with Nietzsche’s anti-relativistic perspectivism: the fact that everyone has the right to act as they wish does not mean that we deny our loving or hating something that seems to be, accordingly, good or bad.²⁷

What one could highlight here is the different objective that Nietzsche’s and Kropotkin’s perspectivism seem to have. For Kropotkin what is good or bad depends on whether it is useful or harmful to society.²⁸ On the contrary, for Nietzsche good or bad has nothing to do with the interest of the majority but with the emergence and prosperity of an aristocracy. This seemingly fundamental difference is due to the, partially understandable but also phobic, stance Nietzsche preserved towards the masses – or what he called “the herd” – for their tendency to equalisation. Nevertheless, this gap can be bridged if we take a thorough look at what Nietzsche means by the term “aristocracy” and the possible application this aristocratic ideal has on a social scale. My point here is that Nietzsche’s and Kropotkin’s perspectivism are of the same kind not only because of the absence of any imposition on others but also for their social targeting.

In part nine of *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche answers the question “what is noble?” In a rather provocative and seemingly incompatible way with the anarchist ideals, he says that the elevation of the “man” type has always been the work of an aristocratic society based on a long scale of hierarchy and on slavery.²⁹ Hence, he adds, the fundamental faith of an aristocracy should be that society must exist not for

²⁴ Mikhail Bakunin, “Critique of the Marxist Theory of the State” in Dolgoff, p. 325.

²⁵ Bakunin, “Critique of the Marxist Theory of the State”, p. 328.

²⁶ Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, p. 103.

²⁷ Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, p. 103.

²⁸ Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, p. 91.

²⁹ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, aphorism 257.

the sake of society but for the sake of a select species.³⁰ What affinity can one find between this statement and the anarchist conception of a free society? Let us follow the unpacking of Nietzsche's thought, through his own way in this part of his book.

Nietzsche starts with a very important clarification. The superiority of the aristocrats has nothing to do with physical strength but is relative to their psychic strength.³¹ Thus, we cannot speak of a violent imposition on others, nor of "exploitation" in the sense this term has in a corrupted, imperfect society. Nietzsche's definition for "exploitation" is the essence of human relationships, the human relationships themselves. For he acknowledges that these interactions always bear mutual injury, mutual exploitation, just because the agents are living creatures and their need consists in controlling their environment.³² But are these the only characteristics of human relationships? Before giving his answer, Nietzsche reminds us of the two basic types of man. The *master* and the *slave*. According to this distinction the masters are the ones who affirm themselves through realizing and welcoming their differences with others, while the slaves are the ones who underestimate themselves, who let others abuse them, who are petty and think only of narrow utility.³³ Therefore, exploitation in a conscious and passive way is rejectable for Nietzsche and has nothing to do with the "exploitation" that comes with a living and active relationship.

Moreover, the greatness of the master type lies in one's feeling of plenitude, the overflow of a wealth that seeks to be given away as a present to others. This greatness means that the noble person will help those in need but, like anarchists, not because of pity, but of an inner need to do so and to avoid "a pain of which only those who have felt it know the intensity"³⁴ since "what harms me is harmful in itself".³⁵ It is the result of the same radical definition of egoism Kropotkin makes in *Anarchist Morality*. This egoism will finally make the noble soul accept and welcome the fact that there are also others equal to it. It will then start living among these free and self-affirmative equals, showing them the same respect it shows itself. This co-existence will mean the conceding of rights through a process of self-limitation. The noble soul is eager, ready and capable of giving and taking. This is why, in the end, Nietzschean

³⁰ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, aphorism 258.

³¹ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, aphorism 257.

³² Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, aphorism 258.

³³ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, aphorism 260.

³⁴ Kropotkin, "Anarchist Morality", p. 87.

³⁵ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, aphorism 260.

and anarchist perspectivism are of the same libertarian quality and potentially of a same social goal. Despite the historical importance of their difference – meaning the gradual development of the socialist and individualist tendencies within anarchism – it should be noted that an anarcho-communist social vision is the vision of master – and not slave – individuals, thus, a commune of aristocrats, in the way Nietzsche uses the term “aristocrat”.

Another meeting point between Nietzschean and anarchist perspectivism is the nature of the outside world. Nietzsche does not deny the existence of the external world but he rejects the concept of a pre-given world, a world in itself. Without interpretation there is no world, because the interpretation process is inescapable.³⁶ He attacks modern science for its metaphysical character, since it turns mere observations and interpretations into natural laws, supposed to be revealing the true essence of the world.³⁷ The universe is not constructed to an end and there are no laws in nature, only necessities. No one commands and no one obeys, so no one transgresses.³⁸ “The antithesis of the apparent world and the true world is reduced to the antithesis ‘world’ and ‘nothing’”.³⁹

Like Nietzsche, Kropotkin questions the opinion that our perception of the world is a true image, rather than an interpretation:

What used to be called ‘natural law’ is nothing but a certain relation among phenomena which we dimly see, and each ‘law’ takes a temporary character of causality... no law placed outside the phenomena: each phenomenon governs that which follows it – not law... Nothing preconceived in what we call harmony in Nature. The chance of collisions and encounters has sufficed to establish it.⁴⁰

This opinion is more clearly stated by Bakunin when arguing that natural laws are expressed as ideal or abstract laws only through the human spirit and are reproduced by our brain after monitoring the phenomena. Before this, these laws existed only as natural processes and, hence, the term “Nature” rejects every mystical and

³⁶ Christoph Cox, *Nietzsche: Naturalism and Interpretation*, University of California Press, 1999, p. 161.

³⁷ Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals*, third essay, §24.

³⁸ Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, book three, aphorism 109.

³⁹ Nietzsche, *The Will To Power*, aphorism 567.

⁴⁰ Peter Kropotkin, “Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal” in Baldwin, p. 120.

metaphysical idea of an Essence or a Final Cause.⁴¹ Nature itself knows no laws.⁴² When obeying these laws what humans are really doing is obeying their own thoughts, but as Nietzschean “free spirits” – whose awareness of the fact that everything is just interpretation does not seem to stop them from creating new ideas and values – Bakunin also acknowledges that after having absorbed these laws with their spirit, humans overcome the pressure of the outside world. While becoming creators themselves, obeying – from now on – their own ideas only, they are, more or less, transforming this outside world according to their progressive needs.⁴³ This way, Nietzschean “free spirits” and anarchists give the world the meaning it lacks.

The campaign against ontology also implies the questioning of truth and of homogeneity of the self. Nietzsche suggests that there is a very close connection between the belief that truth is something to be discovered and the belief that the self is a stable entity. On the contrary, he thinks of truth as something to be created and of the self as something that can become what it is.⁴⁴ This means that the self can become a construction that connects coherently several conflicting tendencies and harmonizes desires and deeds.⁴⁵ Hence, the body has no fixed identity but it is rather the will to power that affects it and changes it.⁴⁶

For anarchists, and especially Kropotkin,

quite recently the psychologist spoke of man as an entire being, one and indivisible...Even with materialists of the eighteenth century, the idea of a soul, of an indivisible entity, was still upheld...The modern psychologist sees in a man a multitude of separate faculties...Taken as a whole, man is nothing but a resultant, always changeable....⁴⁷

Additionally, as far as truth and knowledge are concerned, there is a very interesting parallelism between philosophy and political practices: Nietzsche’s main objection to Kant has to do with the fact that the latter limited his thought to a critique of the methods leading to knowledge and truth without daring to expand this critique

⁴¹ G. P. Maximov (ed.), *Μιχαήλ Μπακούνιν: Φιλοσοφία, Θρησκεία, Ηθική*, Πανοπτικόν, Θεσσαλονίκη 2006, [Mikhail Bakunin: Philosophy, Religion, Ethics], p. 19.

⁴² Maximov, p. 22.

⁴³ Maximov, pp. 73, 74.

⁴⁴ Nehamas, pp. 173-74.

⁴⁵ Nehamas, p. 7.

⁴⁶ Ansell-Pearson, *How to Read Nietzsche*, p. 46.

⁴⁷ Kropotkin, “Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal”, p. 119.

to knowledge and truth themselves. “Thus total critique turns into the politics of compromise”.⁴⁸

Accordingly, anarchists are the “Nietzschean response” to the reformist – Kantian type – critique of the contemporary political system, made by the Left and the Social Democrats. Because, unlike them, anarchists call neither for a political transformation (embellishment of capitalism), nor for a political revolution (participation in elections in order to subvert the political scene). Their goal is a social change from below which constitutes a holistic critique of the political system and of parliamentary democracy itself.

As mentioned above, Nietzsche’s perspectivism – the process of interpretation and giving meaning to a meaningless world – is a product of the “will to power”. According to Nehamas’ reading of the twelfth aphorism in the second essay *On the Genealogy of Morals* “the will to power manifests itself in offering reinterpretations”.⁴⁹ In this way, will to power plays a central role in the project of perspectivism.

Gilles Deleuze, in *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, describes the type of relationship between active and reactive forces (one commanding and the other obeying) as the result of the relationship between the respective wills.⁵⁰ An active force is the one that seeks to appropriate, create and transform. On the other hand, a reactive force tends to disintegrate and split. It denies its capabilities; it is not self-affirmative like the active force.⁵¹ So, for Nietzsche, a force is considered to express a master’s will if it is positive and life-affirmative. Otherwise, if negative and life-denying, the will is regarded as a slave’s will, where “master” and “slave” see the exceptional, aristocratic spirits and the egalitarian herd-masses, respectively.

A similar sketch of forces (strengths) is given to us by Kropotkin when he rejects the security and timidity of a just equality that reactive and negative forces propose, in favour of an active, creative and transforming life:

if you are not conscious of strength within you, if your energies are only just sufficient to maintain a colorless, monotonous life, without strong impressions, without deep joys, but also without deep sorrows, well then, keep to the simple

⁴⁸ Deleuze, p. 89.

⁴⁹ Nehamas, p. 97.

⁵⁰ Deleuze, p. 63.

⁵¹ Deleuze, p. 42.

principles of a just equality...But if you feel within you the strength of youth, if you wish to live, or you wish to enjoy a perfect, full and overflowing life...be strong, be great, be vigorous in all you do...Sow life around you. Take heed that if you deceive, lie, intrigue, cheat, you thereby demean yourself, belittle yourself, confess your own weakness beforehand, play the part of the slave of the harem who feels himself the inferior of his master...Do not blame humanity if of your own accord you thus paralyze your energies.⁵²

In part two of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* and particularly in the section titled “Of Self-Overcoming”, Nietzsche addresses some of the main characteristics of will to power. And although he originally describes it as a flow of energy that seems to compliment life, either by interpreting, creating, commanding or serving, it results in the secret of life that can even overcome it:

I would rather perish than renounce this one thing; and truly, where there is perishing and the falling of leaves, behold, there life sacrifices itself – for the sake of power!...Only where life is, there is also will: not will to life, but – so I teach you – will to power!.⁵³

When Kropotkin speaks of courage and self-negation he surely puts both on the more ethical basis of the “duty”, a term that Nietzsche would rather reject (though he wouldn’t reject its content). However, it is very interesting to see where Kropotkin attributes these feelings to. They stem from this very sense of power, from the overflowing of life. But at the same time

the condition of the maintenance of life is its expansion. ‘The plant cannot prevent itself from flowering. Sometimes to flower means to die. Never mind, the sap mounts the same’. It is the same with the human being when he is full of force and energy. Force accumulates in him. He expands his life. He gives without calculation, otherwise he could not live. If he must die like the flower when it blooms, never mind. The sap rises, if sap there be. Be strong. Overflow with emotional and intellectual energy, and you will spread your intelligence,

⁵² Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, p. 113.

⁵³ Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, “Of Self-Overcoming”.

your love, your energy of action broadcast among others!⁵⁴

Another interesting Nietzschean consideration concerning will to power is his denial of the notion of the free⁵⁵ or unfree will. For him, “it is only a matter of strong and weak wills”,⁵⁶ and as Nehamas stresses, by referring to the usual appropriation – on the part of Nietzsche – of traditional concepts for his own purposes, a strong will, finally, leads to a free will. “Free will” here does not mean the absence of causal determination but the above coordination and harmony between all preferences of a person⁵⁷, the ability “to act according to our preferred judgment”.⁵⁸

This “preferred judgment” is, for Kropotkin, a “conceived ideal” according to which the person is called to act. If we are untrue to this ideal our active energy and our will ends up being paralyzed. Once wavering between our various inner tendencies, we will definitely break the harmony of the organism. We can only become complete, strong and vigorous when our acts are in accordance with our ideal.⁵⁹

Bakunin, also, refers to the process of strengthening one’s will, in the case of a child. The “preferred judgment”, the “conceived ideal”, here it is a dominant goal, whether good or bad, by which all willed movements of the body, every thought and action, will be conquered.⁶⁰

Returning to the concept of “perspectivism,” we have to keep in mind that the argument that everything is interpretation is, above all, an active force giving meaning to phenomena. Thus, perspectivism becomes the presupposition of the link between this meaning and morality, the knowledge of good and evil. Zarathustra makes it plain when saying that only the one who gives the earth its meaning, only the creator, is in a position to tell good from evil.⁶¹

Nietzsche is often misunderstood for his views of morality as he is considered to praise all the practices that we, today, regard as immoral, but what Nietzsche promotes is not a reversal but a transvaluation of all existing values. He denies both morality and immorality but not the fact that many actions called immoral should be resisted or

⁵⁴ Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, p. 109.

⁵⁵ Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, aphorism 110.

⁵⁶ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, aphorism 21 and *The Will to Power*, aphorism 46.

⁵⁷ Nehamas, p. 187.

⁵⁸ Nehamas, p. 186.

⁵⁹ Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, pp. 111-12.

⁶⁰ Maximov, p. 77.

⁶¹ Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, III, “On Old and New Tablets”.

others that called moral must be encouraged. It is the actual argument that moral judgments are based on truths that Nietzsche rejects⁶² and this argument sketches one of the clearest differences between slave and master morality: the former seeks to compromise everyone with a single code of behavior, invoking its divine origin, whereas the latter does not even think about such an option.⁶³

Anarchists have also been misunderstood, mainly by every conservative political tendency, in the same way as Nietzsche. Their uncompromising attack on the foundations of dominant morality was distorted and presented as an ode to chaos and immorality. Yet, what anarchists reject is not morality itself but the prejudice that gives birth to an idea of a perennial, true and absolute morality that seeks to impose its principles on humanity in order to secure the interests of the ruling class.⁶⁴

Both, Nietzsche and the anarchists, express their critique by uttering some basic observations: “My purpose: to demonstrate the absolute homogeneity of all events and the application of moral distinctions as conditioned by perspective”.⁶⁵ For Alexander Nehamas this practically means that Nietzsche denies the capability of demarcating good from evil.⁶⁶ Similarly, Kropotkin states that when we send away both the angel and the devil we will not be able to say whether an action is good or evil, because there is no other way for us to judge it.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, as said above about Nietzsche, the one who answers to their physical need to create, “who gives earth its meaning”, is capable of making this (personal) distinction. Similarly, anarchists have nothing to do but obey their physical need, act without addressing either the devil or the angel, and detest whatever they consider evil.⁶⁸

In aphorism 292 of *The Will to Power*, Nietzsche exposes the procedure of creating an objective code of ethics. The first and critical step is to separate an action from its agent. The second step is to regard this action as an entity and, thus, evaluate it separately from the agent. For Nietzsche, a force and its effect are interdependent. Through slave morality, and the invention of the soul, the force separates from its effect. What, indeed, took place was a reversal: whereas master morality was based on the will (no matter what the effect was), slave morality is codified in accordance with

⁶² Nietzsche, *Daybreak*, aphorism 103.

⁶³ Nehamas, p. 126.

⁶⁴ Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, p. 80.

⁶⁵ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 272.

⁶⁶ Nehamas, p. 211.

⁶⁷ Peter Kropotkin, *La Morale Anarchiste*, <http://kropot.free.fr/morale-anar.htm>, chapter III, §12 (accessed on 23/7/2011).

⁶⁸ Kropotkin, *La Morale Anarchiste*, chapter III, §14.

the effect, hence, blocking the will to power.

This abstractive type of the procedure – also condemned as such by Malatesta⁶⁹ – creates the belief that there are actions good or bad in themselves. But for Nietzsche, an action in itself is of no value, it all depends on the agent, their intentions and the action's impression/effect on others.⁷⁰ The same view is held by Kropotkin in *Anarchist Morality*, mainly when speaking of Sofia Petrovskaya and the assassination of Alexander II of Russia. Regardless of the action's usefulness, says Kropotkin, it was her intention – not to gain power, not to impose a new tyranny but to express her abhorrence for the Czar's power – that made her “conquer the right to kill”. Without this right's conquest, which had to do neither with the action itself nor with its usefulness, her act would be regarded as a crime.⁷¹

This separation of one action from its agent, in combination with Kropotkin's discussion of Petrovskaya, also applies to another aspect of anarchist morality, which is violence. A significant debate has been taking place within anarchist circles – and not only in these – even since the time of Kropotkin and Malatesta. It is very interesting that both hold the same opinion as Nietzsche when they try to distinguish repressive from liberationist violence. For Kropotkin,

mankind has never refused the right to use force on those who have conquered that right...Without this, such an act whether useful or not will remain merely a brutal fact...People will see in it nothing but a displacement of force, simply the substitution of one exploiter for another.⁷²

Malatesta follows the same path in a series of articles,⁷³ trying to clarify this distinction. He says that violence cannot be always considered good when we use it and evil whenever used by our enemies. Its approval, or not, depends on who practices it and for what reason.⁷⁴ Therefore, we can never argue that violence is good or evil per se because there is no objective criterion, but instead a perspectivism that

⁶⁹ See footnote 154 of this part.

⁷⁰ Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, aphorism 292.

⁷¹ Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, p. 101.

⁷² Kropotkin, “Anarchist Morality”, p. 101.

⁷³ See “Anarchy and Violence” (published in “Pensiero e Volonta” on 1/9/1924), “The Terror of Revolution” (published in “Pensiero e Volonta” on 10/10/1924), “Violence and Morality” (published in “Umanita Nova” on 21/10/1922) and the dialogues from Errico Malatesta, *At the Café: Conversations on Anarchism*, Freedom Press, London 2005.

⁷⁴ Malatesta, “Violence and Morality”.

decides on every occasion.

Walter Benjamin does the same thing from a more philosophical, though still libertarian, point of view. In *Critique of Violence*, he separates divine from mythical violence based on the difference of quality between the agents (God and myth, respectively). Like Nietzsche, Benjamin determines the quality of the effect in relation to the quality of the agent:

Just as in all spheres God opposes myth, mythical violence is confronted by the divine. And the latter constitutes its antithesis in all respects. If mythical violence is lawmaking, divine violence is law-destroying; if the former sets boundaries, the latter boundlessly destroys them; if mythical violence brings at once guilt and retribution, divine power only expiates; if the former threatens, the latter strikes; if the former is bloody, the latter is lethal without spilling blood.⁷⁵

The whole debate of violence within anarchist circles has to do with this distinction of the agents but also with the compatibility between the means and the ends. This is a position that not only fits with Nietzsche but also separates anarchists from the non-anarchist communist position that “the end justifies the means”. Malatesta reaches this conclusion by, firstly, describing the anarchist violence. For him, true anarchist violence ceases together with the need for defending freedom. It is not inspired by hatred but by love, and aims not at replacing existent dominion with an anarchist one but at emancipating all.⁷⁶ Hence, anarchists must never forget that they are neither avengers nor vigilantes. Terror, has always served the outrageous plans of tyrants either in France (see the French Revolution) or Russia (October Revolution), by killing thousands and by distorting the true meaning of such revolutionary efforts. For this reason, revolution must develop and defend itself but it must not and cannot be defended by using means contradictory to its ends. If our victory meant the erection of gallows, then I would prefer to loose,⁷⁷ says Malatesta characteristically. The same opinion was held by Emma Goldman who ascertained that the slogan of the Communist Party in Russia “the end justifies the means” had turned revolutionary activity into counter-revolutionary and expressed the need for a social revolution that

⁷⁵ Benjamin, “Critique of Violence”, p. 297.

⁷⁶ Malatesta, “Anarchy and Violence”.

above all would aim at a fundamental transvaluation of values.⁷⁸

These views dovetail with Nietzsche's warning that "he who fights with monsters should look to it that he himself does not become a monster. And when you gaze long into an abyss the abyss also gazes into you",⁷⁹ but, even more, coincide with the Nietzschean view of war. As mentioned in the beginning of part C, for the German philosopher, the means of a war cannot be justified by the cause but it is the quality of the means that give a cause its justification. Hence, compatibility between means and ends is a crucial and distinctive characteristic of anarchist morality, which also underlines its connection to the morality of Nietzsche.

Earlier in this chapter, I gave a first answer to Nietzsche's accusation of anarchists as being resentful. The above approach of the violence affair made by anarchists gives a second answer based on the dipole of Nietzschean master and slave morality. In his article "Anti-violent yes, Non-violent no", Andrea Papi develops his arguments based on relative articles written by Malatesta. Speaking of the conflict between powers, he expresses a true Nietzschean master morality when saying that anarchy is mainly distinguished by the future type of society it desires and not by its confrontation to the present one. In particular, this opposition is a direct consequence of anarchy's alternative stance towards dominion and not the other way round.⁸⁰ This argument suits the master's definition of good and evil based on self-determination: what is evil for masters is the result of their primary definition of what is good. Moreover, he underlines the fact that anarchist revolt has nothing to do with the replacement of existing dominion, contrarily to the resentful plans of Bolsheviks, Islamists or fascists, but with the deconstruction of every dominant power.⁸¹

The last part of this section will deal with one of the most serious "misunderstandings" between Nietzsche and the anarchists, which – however – is one more important feature of anarchism in Nietzsche: that is, nihilism.

Nihilism is a central concept in Nietzschean philosophy that has been presented in several ways in his writings. Its first appearance takes place in *The Birth of Tragedy* where the separation from a primordial unity seems unbearable for humankind. King Midas hears from Silenus' lips that the best thing for humans would be not to have

⁷⁷ Malatesta, "The Terror of Revolution".

⁷⁸ Marshall, pp. 404-05.

⁷⁹ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, aphorism 146.

⁸⁰ Andrea Papi, "Antiviolenza sì, Nonviolenta no", <http://www.anarca-bolo.ch/a-rivista/296/19.htm> (accessed on 31/1/2012).

⁸¹ Papi.

been born. The second best thing: to die soon!⁸²

Nevertheless, this existential nihilism soon took a more historical and cultural turn, concerning the twilight of all values (especially the “Death of God”) in Western societies, and Nietzsche’s coping with this problem seems remarkably joyful and encouraging. Whereas Paul Ree, a very close friend of his, and Arthur Schopenhauer regarded this existential vacuum as a source of despair and pessimism, Nietzsche considered it the source of human liberation:

The greatest recent event – that “God is dead”; that the belief in the Christian God has become unbelievable – is already starting to cast its first shadow over Europe... Indeed, at hearing the news that “the old god is dead”, we philosophers and “free spirits” feel illuminated by a new dawn; our heart overflows with gratitude, amazement, forebodings, expectation...finally our ships may set out again, set out to face any danger; every daring of the lover of knowledge is allowed again; the sea, our sea, lies open again; maybe there has never been such an “open sea”.⁸³

For Nietzsche, the idea of God was, up to now, the most important obstacle for human existence. The world will be free only when it denies this idea. Free spirits are determined to live without any avengers or mentors, without throwing their ideas before an ultimate power, goodness or wisdom. From now on, they will be like the lake that refused to overflow and by forming a dam began rising higher and higher. Man will start rising higher and higher once he stops flowing off into a god.⁸⁴ This is also the reason that Nietzsche rejects the notion of free will. It is because Christian morality has elevated this notion to the level of its fundamental stone. Theologians have invented it in order to make humankind “responsible”, meaning dependent upon God and, thus, subject to every guilty, judgment and punishment.⁸⁵

Bakunin also shares the same view about free will when saying that this notion takes us to the idea of Divine Providence. If people acted spontaneously and in a way that was self-defining, beyond every influence coming from the natural and social order, then chaos would dominate the entire world and unless it was for the despotic

⁸² Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, §3.

⁸³ Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, aphorism 343.

⁸⁴ Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, aphorism 285.

⁸⁵ Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols*, part VI, aphorism 7.

will of the Divine Providence then all these free wills would walk to their doom. That is why all those who support the notion of free will cannot help acknowledging the existence and action of Divine Providence. For Bakunin, this is the basis for all theological and metaphysical teaching.⁸⁶

Moreover, in the second chapter of *God and State*, he, like Nietzsche, relates humans' state of liberty with God's existence:

If God is, man is a slave; now, man can and must be free; then, God does not exist...if God is, he is necessarily the eternal, supreme, absolute master, and, if such a master exists, man is a slave...A jealous lover of human liberty, and deeming it the absolute condition of all that we admire and respect in humanity, I reverse the phrase of Voltaire and say that, if God really existed, it would be necessary to abolish him.⁸⁷

This view of Bakunin conjoins his also nihilistic project of a social revolution, as he considers it inevitably instinctive, chaotic and destructive. The masses are then ready to express a negative pathos for destruction. Bakunin acknowledges that although revolution would be impossible without this pathos, it is insufficient for the heights of the revolutionary goal. Revolution needs an extended and fertile destruction, for this is the only way to give birth to a new world.⁸⁸

The fertile destruction of Bakunin is nothing but the active nihilism of Nietzsche. According to Michael Gillespie, passive nihilism is a kind of self-resignation in a world without God. On the other hand, active nihilism seeks to eliminate everything meaningless in order to purify humanity.⁸⁹

This active nihilism seems more attractive to Nietzsche, and for Gillespie, it coincides with the Russian nihilism but although it lays the ground for a new creation, it is also a way of negation. Hence, both passive and active nihilisms must be distinguished from the Dionysian affirmative stance. The Dionysian human type grows from nihilism but it also overcomes it.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Maximov, pp. 83-84.

⁸⁷ Mikhail Bakunin, *God and the State*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/mikhail-bakunin-god-and-the-state> pp. 17-19 (accessed on 2/12/2012).

⁸⁸ Mikhail Bakunin, "Some Preconditions for a Social Revolution" in Dolgoff, p. 334.

⁸⁹ Michael Allan Gillespie, *Nihilism Before Nietzsche*, University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 179.

⁹⁰ Gillespie, p. 180.

Nevertheless, this assumption on the part of Gillespie sounds rather obscure. As mentioned above, Bakunin is aware of the fact that creating a new world needs something more than just destroying the old one. In addition, what can be found in almost every anarchist essay on revolution, and the day after, is the lack of any feeling related to vengeance, because anarchists never abandoned one of their fundamental principles: “the end does not justify the means”. Anarchists do not seek to replace the state with an anarchist one. They do not long for tasting the fruits produced by the imposition on others, and this is one of the main reasons that all anarchist or anarchistic resurrections have been, more or less, drowned in blood.

Deleuze’s approach seems more appropriate: for Nietzsche, the step from man to overman presupposes a transvaluation of values, meaning a total subversion of all values, a nihilistic practice that will eliminate, rather than maintain, nihilism itself. Transvaluation is the shift of nihilism from a reactive to an active force, leading man to his deliberate doom in favour of the overman.⁹¹

Transvaluation for anarchists is the main factor of their vision. They do not preach reformation. They activate their nihilism in order to reconstruct on a new basis: “The passion for destruction is a creative passion too!”⁹² This sentence summarizes the Nietzschean shift of nihilism from a reactive force – that separates everything and everyone from what they are capable of – to an active one that eliminates nihilism calling for a new principle and a new goal.

The above correlation of Nietzschean and anarchist nihilism can be summarized in the first of Zarathustra’s discourses, “Of the Three Metamorphoses”. The second metamorphosis, where the camel becomes a lion in order to reclaim its freedom, puts “I will” before “Thou shalt”. The lion seeks to fight the great dragon who wants to remain the lion’s master and god. But this struggle needs a sacred “no”. It needs a nihilistic negation. The overcome, mentioned above, will happen as soon as the lion becomes a child. Now, it is the sacred “yes” of this child that will locate and highlight the creative dimension of destructive passion. The child is capable of exploiting the lion’s accomplishments. It is innocent, forgetful, without any sign of vengeance: a true, anarchist creator of values.

⁹¹ Deleuze, “Affirmation and Negation”, in *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, pp. 175-80.

⁹² Mikhail Bakunin, “The Reaction In Germany”, in Dolgoff, p. 57.

Summary

This part has used the different levels of elective affinity in order to establish the connection between Nietzsche and the anarchists in a dual way. Firstly, by exploring the elective affinity through the “presence” of Nietzsche in the thought and politics of anarchist and libertarian thinkers (Goldman, Landauer, Benjamin) and currents (post-anarchism), and secondly by recognizing the anarchist worldview in the Nietzschean philosophy.

The first chapter (Nietzsche in anarchism) has shown how Nietzsche has interacted with or been absorbed by the anarchist way of thinking, whereas chapter two (anarchism in Nietzsche) reveals the affinal worldview of the two parts by extensively using the interpretation context of part B. In addition, the location and analysis of the elective affinity has served the debunking of the Nietzschean concepts used by conservative and right-wing readings in order to appropriate Nietzsche, and of the accusations that the German philosopher had unleashed against anarchists, which reveals his misunderstanding of anarchist politics. It has also offered a view that challenges the boundaries between “classical” and “post” anarchism by promoting Nietzsche as the reference point of their essential connection.

PART D: CASE STUDY

Acronyms of the Groups, Political Parties and Organizations mentioned in this case study

EDES: National Democratic Greek League (Right-wing partisan group during the Nazi occupation)

DSE: Democratic Army of Greece (Communist and Left-wing army during the Greek civil war)

KKE: Greek Communist Party

ND: New Democracy (conservatives)

PASOK: Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (social democrats)

KNE: Greek Communist Youth

KKE int.: Greek Communist Party internal

SYRIZA: Coalition of the Radical Left

17N: November 17 (Leninist urban guerrilla group, formed after the dictatorship of 1967-74 in Greece)

LAOS: People's Orthodox Alarm (Far-right conservatives)

EEK: Labour Revolutionary Party (Trotskyists)

ANTARSYA: Anti-capitalist Left Cooperation for Subversion (Leftists)

GSEE: General Confederation of Workers of Greece

a/a/a: Anarchist/Antiauthoritarian/Autonomist Movement

December 08 – Athens

“And the unfamiliar things of the future, and whatever frightened stray birds, are truly more familiar and more genial than your ‘reality’. For thus you speak: ‘we are complete realists, and without belief or superstition’: thus you thump your chests – alas, even without having chests! But how should you be able to believe, you motley-spotted men! – you who are paintings of all that has ever been believed!...Unworthy of belief: that is what I call you, you realists!...You are unfruitful...You are half-open doors at which grave-diggers wait. And this is your reality...”

Thus Spoke Zarathustra,
“Of the Land of Culture”

D.1/ Nietzsche and December 08

The Elective Affinity Framework

This chapter will present the context for the events of the December 08 revolt in Greece, and especially in Athens, in correlation with the explored and established Nietzschean/Anarchist affinity from the previous chapter. The location and establishment of such an affinity took place in the context of a detailed comparison between the anarchist and Nietzschean worldview, and the choice of specific aspects of this procedure can also offer the framework for the present case study and thus reinforce its anarchistic character. Hence, what I am planning to do is to present the anarchist perception of the events and show that certain key points of the elective affinity procedure were also central to the anarchist theory and practice during December. These key points are the transvaluation of values that the insurrectionists felt the need to set out explicitly through their discourse and practices, genealogy, perspectivism and anti-ontology, that served as weapons against the fixed identities imposed by the state, and finally will and nihilism – in particular its Bakuninist version – that determined the character of the revolt as a decisive and creative destruction. Then, after already having identified these key points in the passage “Of the Three Metamorphoses” I will utilize another critical outcome of part C, that is the use of Nietzsche as a methodological tool by Goldman and Landauer. Likewise, I will use this Nietzschean passage from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* as a tool in order to

theorize the anarchist reading of December, make it more cohesive and complete, and underline its alternative character, compared to the mainstream/reactionary reading made by the political parties and the media.

The case of December is quite special since it coincided with the dawn of the new world financial crisis and at the same time was the main factor for the reinforcement of the anarchist “space” [χώρος] and movement in Greece. Anarchists played the most significant¹ and crucial² role in the events of December, not only because of the massive participation of anarchist/antiauthoritarian/autonomist individuals and groups or because of the fact that all insurgents used practices that were, undoubtedly, anarchist. The spatial component of the revolt also formed decisively its insurrectional character. As Kotronaki and Seferiadis, two Greek scholars who studied December, explain, the spatial, insurrectional culture of Exarchia (where Grigoropoulos was assassinated) – product of autonomist, antiauthoritarian and radical activities – acted as a catalyst for the type and the size of the revolt’s breakout.³ Hence, although it might be inaccurate to say that this revolt was purely anarchist, we might regard it, at least, as anarchistic. Therefore, the present case study is interested in the way the events of December 08 were perceived and co-defined by subjects who, either individually or in groups, acted within the broad circle called anarchist/antiauthoritarian/autonomist space.⁴

December posed four central issues stemming from the radical subject: First, the individual right for a life with meaning, something that, so far, lay in the hands of public opinion. Second, the right to deviate from the rules, dominant or not, something that up to now lay in the hands of the social majority. Third, the claim to an irregular, erratic, indefinite violence beyond the law and fourth, the challenge to the opinion that moral principles and values are something fixed and not relevant, to what is good/bad, revolutionary/counter-revolutionary, the challenge to every normative couple.⁵ These four issues took shape through, and recapitulate, the

¹ Pepe Egger, “Remnants of A Greek Past, Image From the Future”, <http://www.zcommunications.org/remnants-of-a-greek-past-image-from-the-future-by-pepe-egger> (accessed on 10/5/2013).

² Anarchists for Social Liberation [Αναρχικοί για την Κοινωνική Απελευθέρωση], “Το Ζήτημα της Οργάνωσης” [The Issue of Organization], <http://aka.espiv.net/index.php?id=46> (accessed on 10/5/2013).

³ Loukia Kotronaki and Seraphim Seferiades, “Athens December 2008: The Spatial Prerequisites of an Uprising”, <http://www.re-public.gr/en/?p=2744> (accessed on 10/5/2013).

⁴ Regarding the meaning that the terms “anarchist”, “antiauthoritarian” and “autonomist” bear in Greek radical political life, and how they all intermingle, see part D.2 of the present case study.

⁵ Epaminondas Skyftoulis, “Το Μεγάλο Συμβάν” [The Great Event], *Babylonia*, No 51, p. 3.

insurgents' desires and activity. As it will be shown further on in this part, Decembrians questioned the existing mode of their daily life with all its rules, social and moral conventions. Practising a violence that could not be "justified", "explained" or controlled, they broke the bonds of the normative identities that were imposed on them by the state and the capitalist society, as workers, immigrants, students, unemployed etc. This liberation allowed them to proceed with giving their own meaning to their lives and realizing its theoretical content through the construction of new bonds of solidarity and the practice of cooperative ventures like occupations, assemblies and cultural activities. Hence, December for agents self-defined as anarchists was neither a two week revolt for an emotional and physical discharge nor a new way to sneak into the country's political life. It was the result of a social/political/financial situation walking towards a dead-end and an "image of the future", recreated and revaluated. Interpreting the anarchists' reading of December through "Of the Three Metamorphoses", a part from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, allows us to highlight this conjunction between past, present and future. Whereas in Zarathustra's discourse it is clear and dominant – as a relation between the Camel, the Lion and the Child – for anarchists it is rather obscure; the intenseness of the events together with the unexpected and broad acceptance of the anarchist methods did not give the necessary time or clarity to consciously create a substratum for the theoretical co-existence of these three stages, meaning the time periods before, during and after the revolt. Therefore, I claim that what anarchists' reading of December lacks is a theoretical apparatus, a narrative tool that will gather the fragments of this reading – present in the practices, brochures, and slogans of the insurrectionists – unify it and thus provide a concrete alternative reading of what December was and stood for.

The Nietzschean Three Metamorphoses of the Spirit

After a first, unsuccessful effort to share his vision of the overman with the common people, Zarathustra visits the city of The Pied Cow in order to carry out his discourses. In the first discourse, he describes the procedure of a successive transformation. A spirit that is used for burdens, to carry foreign values and words of extraordinary weight, becomes a Camel that kneels down in order to bear more and more of this foreign burden that turns life into a desert.⁶ But after a while the spirit

⁶ Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, "Of the Spirit of Gravity". An other discourse that, according to Deleuze (Deleuze, p. 181) must be read together with "Of the Three Metamorphoses".

wants to gain its freedom, wishes to become master of its desert, that is, master of its life and so it turns into a Lion which destroys all conventions and “debts”. Nevertheless, the spirit wants to embrace its own values, to live by its own rules and words, something that, however, takes the creation of new values, requires a transvaluation of values. The Lion, the destroyer of duty, is strong enough for creating freedom for new creations but insufficiently creative for new values. This must be the work of the third metamorphosis of the spirit, of the innocent Child that can turn the wheel of life again and make a new, fresh start.

“The Three Metamorphoses” is a very critical passage for Nietzsche’s philosophy because it consolidates the essential key-concepts of negation/affirmation, nihilism, transvaluation of values and the overman. Following Deleuze’s analysis, every one of the three metamorphoses reveals its relationship with what is “real” and what means to affirm, deny or create “reality”.

Zarathustra considers the Camel to be a courageous spirit, asking for the heaviest burdens: acceptance of pain, patience towards the chastiser and, above all, love of the real, even if this reality is nothing but a desert.⁷ However, this “courageous” affirmation of the Camel to “reality” has nothing to do with the joyful affirmation of Dionysus to life. It is a passive and slavish “yes” to all the burdens of the desert, because the camel does not know how to say “no”. Saying “yes” means to comply with a given reality and take on all of its burdens without being able to see into their origin. As analyzed in chapter C.2, cutting off a force from its effect, and treating it as something separate and independent, is a sign of a slave morality. In this case, the Camel passively accepts all the burdens of its desert, ignoring that they come from the spirit of gravity which is the carrier of negation, reactive forces and nihilism. Therefore, by cutting off the effect (burdens) from its force (nihilism), the painful desert of a given reality can be regarded as positive,⁸ a bunch of imposed values that make a life full of pain and misery seem good and desirable.

A reality given and imposed, causing misery and pain, is a transformation of nihilism, a way to deny life by loading it with the heaviest burdens.⁹ A Camel with a falsely “affirmative” will (falsely, since it says “yes” just because it is incapable of saying “no”), is the opposite of the Lion who turns its negation, its “sacred No”, into an affirmation. Being truly affirmative, even by denying, means to evaluate things

⁷ Deleuze, pp. 180-81.

⁸ Deleuze, p. 181.

from the angle of a will that enjoys its difference in life instead of suffering the pain caused by opposing this life. Being affirmative means to create new values compatible with a life that is light and active, not to load life with the burden of higher values that seek to crush it.¹⁰

Nevertheless, the maximum the Lion can do is to be indirectly affirmative by denying the negative and the reactive, to regain its freedom in order to create, but to create new values, to transvaluate the old ones, means to affirm affirmation, to be directly affirmative. This is something that only the third metamorphosis of the spirit, the Child, can do. The Child takes the Lion's "evaluation" – the weapon that allowed the Lion to see into the reactive forces and deny them – and upgrades it through art,¹¹ making it a weapon of creation. The artist uses his will in order to create a new reality. The transvaluation of values is an artistic creation that liberates the will from the element of the negative and attributes it to that of the positive.

Having established the need for a unifying reading of the December events, I will deal with the case study in two ways, as an interpretative tool and as an event reinforcing the elective affinity.

First Use of the Case Study: The Three Metamorphoses as an Interpretative Tool

Firstly, I will use the "Three Metamorphoses", as an interpretative tool that will filter the three basic stages (just before, during and just after) of the revolt. As it has already been said, this discourse of Zarathustra speaks of three types of spirit: the Camel, the Lion and the Child.

The Camel represents the spirit that suffers by continuously taking burdens on its back, by abiding the Dragon's commands – a creature which is more powerful than the Camel and dominates it through the axiom of "Thou Shalt", a complex of disciplinary and moral rules. This spirit can help us understand the psychological and social/political situation of people in Greece before the 6th of December. This was a period when the vast majority of the population felt that it had to comply with the government's rules in order to "avoid" the oncoming avalanche of the financial crisis that would deteriorate the already existing poverty, repression and unemployment.¹²

⁹ Deleuze, p. 184.

¹⁰ Deleuze, p. 185.

¹¹ See Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, book four, IV, "The Will to Power as Art".

¹² There is a lot of evidence for the significant gradual deterioration of the social and financial state in Greece and for the formation of a climate of fear and insecurity. According to the National Centre of Social Research (EKKE), in 2008 the "S80/S20 Inequality Index" reached the value of 5.9 (meaning

The Lion is the second metamorphosis of the spirit that utters a “sacred No” to the rules of the Dragon. It desires to put an end to the Dragon’s despotism and make itself its own master by regaining its lost freedom, that is, by taking back its autonomy, strengthening its will and denying the given and fixed values of the Dragon. The Lion realizes that it is not capable of creating new values but its presence and actions are vital for ensuring the freedom needed for this recreation. Thus, the Lion stands for the revolting action of the insurgents, of those who decided to openly and practically challenge and negate the terms of every day life imposed as such by the state and the capitalistic financial system, and set the conditions for building a new type of relations.

The Child is the last and maybe the most important figure of the Three Metamorphoses since it fulfills and justifies the choices and fight of the other two. It is a new beginning, a fruitful “Yes” after a “sacred No”, a creation after destruction. Once lost in an alien world, the spirit earns its own world. Likewise, the Decembrian insurrectionists do not limit their action to the destruction of the alien world surrounding them. They move on by creating new values, promoting fresh styles of living, putting their will in action and thus earning a brand new world created by them and based on totally different foundations.

Second Use of the Case Study: Reinforcing the Elective Affinity

Secondly, I will use this case study in order to reinforce the establishment of the Nietzschean/Anarchist elective affinity, mainly based on the Bakuninist character of the revolt. I will do this in combination with the “fertile destruction” (Bakunin) – “active nihilism” (Nietzsche) dipole of chapter C.2, and by decomposing the

that the share of income of the richest 20% of the population was almost 6 times larger than the share of income of the poorest 20% of the population) and Greece was included in the list of the European countries with the highest rates of poverty at the time [EKKE, «Κοινωνικό Πορτραίτο» [Social Portrait], http://www2.ekke.gr/images/PDF/EKKE_Koinoniko%20Portaito_2010.pdf, pp. 11, 18 – accessed on 10/5/2013]. Moreover, young people, between 18 and 24 years old, in Greece were the main victims of the financial crisis that broke out in 2008 [Anon., «ΕΕ: Η Οικονομική Κρίση Χτυπά τους Νέους με Ανεργία και Φτώχεια» [Economic Crisis hits Young People Causing Unemployment and Poverty], <http://www.tovima.gr/society/article/?aid=492025> – accessed on 10/5/2013] and Jean-Claude Juncker, former president of Eurogroup, confessed that Europe had begun to warn Greece about the bad state of the country’s economy since 2008 [<http://www.tovima.gr/politics/article/?aid=361183> – accessed on 10/5/2013]. Finally, a poll held by Public Issue in Greece just before the outbreak of the revolt (2-6/12/2008) showed that the pessimism of the consumers remained at the same level as it used to be within the last year, together with their increased fear of unemployment [Public Issue, «Οικονομικό Βαρόμετρο, Δεκέμβριος 2008 – Δείκτης Καταναλωτικού Κλίματος (CCI)» [Economic Barometer, December 2008 - Consumer Confidence Index], <http://www.publicissue.gr/1034/ci-2008-dec/> - accessed on 10/5/2013].

detestation of Nietzsche towards anarchist “resentment” on a practical level as well, after having done so theoretically in the same chapter. Five additional Nietzschean concepts used here are the “Dionysian and Apollonian forces”, “negation and affirmation”, “master/slave morality”, “transvaluation of values” and the “overman”, all extensively introduced in chapter B.4, together with “direct action”, mainly used in chapter B.2 as an original anarchist feature, and in C.1, in order to underline the non resentful character of anarchists. “Direct action” is re-introduced here through the work of Daniel Colson, in an article where he exposes the compatibility of Nietzsche and the anarchists based, among other things, on the concept of direct action.¹³ Colson takes the primary concern of anarcho-syndicalists for direct action without representatives, avant-gardes, or given guiding personalities from any social field (politics, science, religion, etc.) and compares it to Nietzsche’s detestation of anything that gets between a man and its will, that opposes life by substituting action with mere formulas of a third party’s point of view. More than once, in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, we come across Nietzsche’s attack on these reactionary intermediaries and especially in his discourses “Of the Afterworldsmen”, “Of the New Idol”, “Of the Flies of the Market-Place” in part one, and “Of the Priests”, “Of the Famous Philosophers”, “Of the Land of Culture”, “Of Scholars”, and “Of Poets” in part two.

¹³ Daniel Colson, “Nietzsche and the Libertarian Workers’ Movement”, in Moore, pp. 12-28.

D.2/ December's Historical Background

Recent Political and Movement History in Greece

To understand the political antitheses and the basic political identities formed in Greek society, it is imperative to read recent Greek history from the end of the Civil War (1946-1949). The brief account given here passes through the seven years of the military dictatorship (1967-1974), the first occupation movement of the 80s and the rise of social democracy, before entering into the 90s with a view of neoliberal political/financial practices and the second wave of the occupation movement. This forms the backdrop to the decade from 1999 to 2008, where the global alterations of the antagonist movement's "map", also influenced the identity and the repertoire of the domestic radical movement.

Civil War (1946-1949)

The end of the Second World War in Greece found the population divided roughly into two hostile camps. The right wing – which included the WWII partisans of National Democratic Greek League (EDES), the existing governmental forces, and lots of ultra-right paramilitaries,¹ many of which had cooperated with the Nazis during the German occupation of Greece,² and the left wing – consisting of the partisans of Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) and the people who were mostly self-defined as communists or left.³ The basic differential characteristic of these two camps was their perception of the recent occupation by the German troops (the Right did not reject it as fiercely as the Left did, since the conservatives would see in this a bulwark against the Bolshevik threat from the East, just like the Western capitalist countries dealt with Hitler's rise) and the perspective of a future either consistent with the worldview of the West or compatible with the socialist model of the Eastern Europe. Thus, the Right was also supported by the British, and later on by the Americans, investing on the traditional values of nation, religion, and hierarchy, whereas the Left, mainly adjacent to the Greek Communist Party (KKE), was helped by the socialist states of the Balkans, promoting the values of an international

¹ Giorgos Margaritis, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Εμφυλίου Πολέμου, 1946-1949* [History of the Greek Civil War], Vol. 1, Vivliorama, Athens 2001, pp. 226-30.

² Margaritis, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Εμφυλίου Πολέμου, 1946-1949* [History of the Greek Civil War], pp. 216-17, 220, 222-23.

³ Giorgos Margaritis, "Από το Λιτόχωρο στο Γράμμο" [From Litochoro to Grammos], *E Istorika*, No 292, pp. 6-7.

patriotism and social equality/sovereignty/justice.⁴

This three-year war – first act of the cold war globally – full of passion and atrocities from both sides, not only brought forward every existing ideological differentiation but also intensified it through divisions and clashes within the same villages and, even, within the same families.⁵ In 1949, the governmental army, with the help of the American napalm bombs, put an end to this war⁶ and formed the dipole that would determine for, at least, three decades the social/ political life in Greece: the winning Right versus the defeated Left.

The Post War State and the Dictatorship (1949-1974)

The consequence of this conflict was the even greater polarization of the two sides. The post-war state, bearing an anti-communist and police character, had clearly adopted an oppressive and hostile attitude towards left citizens that included tortures, exiles and exclusion from the public sector.⁷ The continuous social and political disorder, due to the ceaseless (post) civil-war atmosphere,⁸ led to the coup d' etat of the military junta in 1967. For seven years the Greek dictatorship founded its domination on the escalation of the political differences and acted as a true and conscious successor of the civil war Right.⁹ Nevertheless, during these years we also had the radicalization of a youth that had not experienced an actual civil war but was the heir of a communist culture since their fathers and grandfathers had participated in both, world and civil, wars. This radicalization, occasionally expressed through sabotages and other, minor-scale, propaganda deeds, reached its zenith with the occupation of the Polytechnic University by young workers and students, in November 1973. Although bearing a left mentality, they were acting as an autonomous movement, challenging the standards and the dogmatism of the two communist parties.¹⁰ Despite the fact that the junta violently evacuated the occupation within three days, and the regime lost power no sooner than eight months later, the

⁴ Margaritis, “Από το Λιτόχωρο στο Γράμμο” [From Litochoro to Grammos], pp. 13-14 and Giorgos Margaritis, “Ο Απολογισμός του Εμφυλίου” [The Account of the Civil War], *E Istorika*, No 292, p. 45.

⁵ Margaritis, “Ο Απολογισμός του Εμφυλίου” [The Account of the Civil War], pp. 44-45.

⁶ Sotiris Rizas, “Οι Αμερικάνοι και το Τέλος του Εμφυλίου” [The Americans and the End of the Civil War], *E Istorika*, No 292, pp. 40-43.

⁷ Margaritis, “Ο Απολογισμός του Εμφυλίου” [The Account of the Civil War], p. 47.

⁸ Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997, pp. 155-62.

⁹ Clogg, pp. 164-65.

¹⁰ Olympios Dafermos, “Αντιστασιακές Οργανώσεις και Φοιτητικό Κίνημα” [Groups of Resistance and the Students’ Movement], *E Istorika*, No 246, p. 23.

events of the Polytechnic occupation have become a legendary point of reference for the Left in Greece and have inspired, since then, most of the massive people's struggles, therefore forming a respective identity of a communist, anti-authoritarian and even anarchist political agent.

The Post-Dictatorship Era of "Metapolitefsi" (1974-1980)

The following six years power was in the hands of the conservative right-wing party of New Democracy (ND) with its historical leader Konstantinos Karamanlis being the namesake and uncle of the Greek prime minister during the December '08 revolt. Karamanlis came from Paris as a national saviour who would bring the country back to the safe road of democracy.¹¹ He gave amnesty to all political prisoners, including the dictators (the junta trial took place later on and only because the people's will for justice could not be avoided by Karamanlis) and legalized the Communist Party.¹² Nevertheless, he maintained the authoritarian character of the state since he did not abolish censorship immediately and stripped the statist organizations and security forces only from the prominent members of the dictatorship.¹³

The first blow of a massive occupation student movement, with Marxist-Leninist as well as autonomist and antiauthoritarian features, took place in 1980, challenging the consensus that the post-dictatorship democracy was based on, by fighting against a legal act intending to reform the existing status of the educational system.¹⁴ The movement achieved the cancellation of the government's plans and, although modified, kept on with a radical presence to the country's social/political scene even during the period that the social-democrats were in authority.

The "Socialist" Years (1981-1989)

When Andreas Papandreou's Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) came in power in 1981, it included some of the most prominent members of the Polytechnic Generation, that is the youngsters who had taken part in the events of the Polytechnic University occupation in 1973. From the very beginning, they supported a policy of a national reconciliation that would move beyond the resentment and hatred that had

¹¹ Clogg, p. 169.

¹² Clogg, p. 170.

¹³ Clogg, pp. 173-74.

¹⁴ Christos Giovanopoulos and Dimitris Dalakoglou, "From Ruptures to Eruption: A Genealogy of the December 2008 Revolt in Greece", in Antonis Vradis and Dimitris Dalakoglou (ed.), *Revolt and Crisis in Greece*, AK Press, London 2011, pp. 93-94.

divided the Greek society from the end of the German occupation. This populist tactic had a profound effect on the radical movement since its most important Marxist-Leninist components were charmed by the unprecedented (in Greek political life) victory of a “socialist” party that seemed able to bring “the people in power”.¹⁵ Nevertheless, a new breed of activists, with anti-authoritarian characteristics, refused to be absorbed by the “socialist” wave, unlike the trade unions and the vast majority of the Left, and openly challenged the supposed social/political change that was the subject of PASOK's preaching.

In 1985, the murder of the fifteen-year-old Michalis Kaltezas by a riot policeman on the anniversary of the Polytechnic revolt, in Exarchia – an event with context similar to Grigoropoulos’ assassination – sparked the occupation of the Chemistry and the Polytechnic Schools and fierce clashes with the “socialist” police,¹⁶ thus revealing PASOK’s authoritarian face. The promising years of “socialist” government ended in 1989 within an atmosphere full of scandals and political intrigues. After two elections without either of the two parties (PASOK and ND) gaining the majority, a coalition government was formed composed by SYNASPISMOS – the temporal unification of the two Communist Parties¹⁷ – and ND. The cooperation of SYNASPISMOS with the conservatives is representative of the explosive political atmosphere of the time. ND aimed at neutralizing PASOK by putting Papandreou and other first-class members on trial with the accusation of corruption and defalcation, whereas SYNASPISMOS, and especially KKE, hoped that through this procedure PASOK would become weak and marginalized, thus opening the road for KKE to monopolize the votes of the left spectrum. Nevertheless, it was KKE itself that suffered a huge crisis – with the vast majority of the Greek Communist Youth (KNE, KKE’s youth) being expelled from the party when they strongly disapproved the unholy cooperation with the Right. Eventually, PASOK made an effective come-back, formed a new coalition government with both ND and SYNASPISMOS, and set off the antagonism of the two traditional big parties for the

¹⁵ One of the central pre-electoral slogans of PASOK in 1981 was the “PASOK – People in power!”

¹⁶ Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou, pp. 95-96.

¹⁷ The two communist parties were KKE, which is the same with the current and only communist party in Greece, bearing Stalinist characteristics, and KKE int., which gradually adopted a euro-communist orientation. The subtitle “int.”, meaning “internal”, aimed to highlight the independence from outside patronizing (USSR), an implication towards the relationship of the traditional KKE to the USSR. After the split of SYNASPISMOS in 1991, KKE int. kept the name SYNASPISMOS (or SYN) and is the main component of today’s Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA).

social and financial restructuring of Greece on a clear neoliberal basis.¹⁸

The Neoliberal Era and the Escalation of Social Antagonism (1990-1998)

In 1990, the victory of the conservative Konstantinos Mitsotakis symbolized the return of New Democracy together with the second wave of the occupation movement in which anarchists also played a significant role. The concurrent blossoming of the anarchist squats throughout Athens and the do-it-yourself (DIY) organizing profile of the squatters transformed the hitherto rather negative and aggressive character of Greek anarchism, enriched its practices and helped it to address its activities to a broader social spectrum. As a result, the occupation of schools and universities gained important and massive support that lasted for up to three months.¹⁹ Anarchists' participation in other significant events of movement history in the following two decades was also very important. This included the public bus drivers' strike in 1992 – where anarchists actively supported burning barricades and the occupation practices of the strikers; fierce clashes with the riot police around the occupied Polytechnic School in 1995, to commemorate the 1973 action, which led to the midnight arrest of more than five hundred youngsters; and the third wave of school occupation movement in 1998 against the educational bill of Gerasimos Arsenis (PASOK minister of education) – where anarchist and leftist students functioned as an adversarial current to the reformist hegemony of KNE, are some representative examples.²⁰

International and Domestic Alterations in the Antagonist Movement (1999-2007)

One year later, the character of the global radical movement changed from the inside when the black bloc re-appeared in Seattle (firstly encountered in Germany's Autonomen in the 80s) to create a new organizational model with a flexible and anti-hegemonic structure.²¹ The Greek antagonist movement welcomed this new type of activism, already exercised by anarchists to some extent, and put it into practice during the anti-globalization protests of Prague (2000), Genoa (2001) and of course in Thessaloniki (the second biggest Greek city) in 2003. This period of demonstration gave an additional boost to the Greek anarchist and antiauthoritarian movement,

¹⁸ Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou, pp. 98-99.

¹⁹ Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou, pp. 99-100.

²⁰ Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou, pp. 105-07.

²¹ See chapter B.2.3 of the present thesis about the New and Contemporary Anarchistic Social

particularly because of the use of technology (i.e. Athens Indymedia) and the diffusion of anarchist ideas to a broader social scale. This momentum reached its peak just one year before the December revolt, in the demonstrations of the student movement against the alteration of the Constitutional Article 16.²²

From the Neoliberal Policies of the 90's to their Social/Economic/Political Effects: Economic and Monetary Union (2001), Olympic Games (2004)

As said above, the 90s was the decade when “Socialists” and Conservatives in Greece based their policies on a neoliberal plan of growth and modernization that although seemed to, statistically, justify the relevant reformations, it gradually drove Greek society from the euphoria of an artificial development to the naked truth of decline, austerity and even poverty. These economic plans and the political reaction to the new economic policies did not leave any aspect of the political life in Greece unaffected, in other words, the impact was felt both on the side of the government and on the side of the governed. Controversial statistics that showed unemployment to have reduced from 12% to 8% in the period of 1998-2007 “forgot” to talk about the new definition they were giving to the term “employed”. During this period, 30,000 to 80,000 people were working under internship status (stagiaires) without insurance and a salary of maximum €600.²³ Through this working status, a significant number of people together with all university students and youths doing their military service were excluded from the unemployment lists, thus providing a duplicitous way to drastically reduce the unemployment rates.²⁴ Moreover, the fact that even before the eruption of the financial crisis, Greece had the second lowest average wages in the European Union, 25% of full-time workers earned less than €1000 per month and 21% of the Greek population lived in conditions of poverty,²⁵ challenges the initial, generalized euphoria for Greece adopting the Euro currency in 2001. In 2004, three years after

Movements.

²² Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou, pp. 108-10.

²³ Yiannis Kaplanis, “An Economy that Excludes the Many and an ‘Accidental’ Revolt”, in Vradis and Dimitris Dalakoglou, p. 219.

²⁴ For OAED (Manpower Employment Organization), according to Regulation (EC) No 1897/2000 (Article 1, Annex 1, and Article 2) and Law No. 1545/1985 (Article 2, §1), “‘unemployed’ people are individuals aged 15-74 years who i) have no job, ii) are available to the labour market, and iii) are actively seeking employment. http://www.oaed.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=908&Itemid=821&lang=en#A0 (accessed on 25/2/2013). Hence, those who are doing their military service are considered to be “employed”, although their monthly salary – excluding the supposed but not realistic coverage of their basic needs by the army – is no more than €9, whereas university students, in most cases, are regarded as “not actively seeking employment”. Therefore, both categories conveniently serve the decline of unemployment rates.

Greece entered the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), the country hosted the 28th Olympic Games. As much as these seventeen days “nourished” the pride and vanity of Greek society, the whole period before and after the event exposed the artificiality of Greece's financial growth and the extent of the state's wasteful expenditure: credit expansion and targeted construction of public works were the main factors in a development that served only the 2004 Olympic Games. The exploitation of the low-waged immigrants for the “express” completion of the Games’ infrastructure – as well as their general employment in other activities such as agriculture, services and construction since the early 90s – usually working without insurance and in unsafe conditions, gave an additional boost to economy by keeping the wages low and strengthening consumer demand. The cost of the Games was extremely high, with security measures being one of its most important components. One billion Euros were spent on security systems (such as C4I which was actually never used) and “human resources”,²⁶ meaning the hordes of policemen and agents that flooded the streets, giving the image of a city occupied by an army. Nonetheless, in the long-term, meaning the period of the 2008 revolt, these security measures proved to have been a major investment for the state in order to monitor and control public spaces.

The Anarchist Space in Greece / The Anarchist Agents of the Revolt

December’s ground zero was Exarchia, a neighborhood directly linked to historical moments of the antagonist movement and especially of the anarchist one. Nevertheless, the blow was not limited to this space but expanded to an area that covered a large radius of Athens. Most events took place in the central and southern parts of the city with the streets, the squares and what we generally call public space acting as the space of revolt. In addition, the virtual space of the Internet and the radio, were important “revolutionary means” where insurgents “met” each other in order to organize and comment on activities, news and events.²⁷

A flashback in the history of the Greek anarchist space will help us locate its emergence in the political scene, its development and alterations through time and, thus, understand the framework in which anarchists took action during the revolt.

²⁵ Kaplanis, p. 221.

²⁶ Kaplanis, p. 222.

²⁷ Vaso Makrygianni and Haris Tsavdaroglou, “Urban Planning and Revolt: A spatial analysis of the December 2008 uprising in Athens, in Vradis and Dalakoglou, p. 50.

Strangely, there has not been a systematic and overall recording of the history and deeds of the anarchists in Greece, apart from fragmental contributions, most details of which will be presented further, below. A presentation of the internal, genealogic history of the anarchist space is absent, with the exception of limited recorded views and documents. Maybe this is due to an immanent fear that there can never be an “objective” presentation of the relative experiences and ventures – thus, “nothing” is better, compared to a subjective view – or because of a characteristic preference of Greek society, in general, to an oral, versus a written, tradition.²⁸ Nevertheless, I will try to give an elementary historical sketch of the anarchist space in Greece, based on the writings, interviews and essays of prominent anarchists and researchers, present in the Greek anarchist circles.

The first appearance of anarchism in Greece took place in the mid nineteenth and early twentieth century through events like the revolt against king Otto, in Athens (1862)²⁹ or activities that included the publication of libertarian newspapers and the foundation of Democratic Clubs with a socialist/anarchist orientation.³⁰ The Bulletin of the Jura Federation, published in 26 August 1877, included a letter by Dionysios Ampelikopoulos informing readers about the creation of anarchist associations in Messini, Kefalonia, Filiatra and Aigio and preparations to form a federation together with the already existing, anarcho-syndicalist, groups of Syros and Athens.³¹

The main influences upon the Greek anarchists of that time stemmed primarily from prominent figures of the European anarchist movement, like Mikhail Bakunin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Peter Kropotkin and the ideas of federation and social anarchism³² – not to mention the excessive contacts with the European revolutionary circles, for example the anarchists of Bern where the International Workers’ Federation was based.³³ Nonetheless, the Greek movement also experienced isolated terrorist and illegalist actions, in accordance with the relevant activities of anarchists

²⁸ Panagiotis Kalamaras, *Πατησίων και Στουρνάρη Γωνία* [Corner of Patisson & Stournari], Ελευθεριακή Κουλτούρα, Αθήνα 2013, p. 5.

²⁹ Δ. Τ., *Για μια Ιστορία του Αναρχικού Κινήματος του Ελλαδικού Χώρου* [For a History of the Anarchist Movement in Greece], Melbourne 2008, p. 27, <http://ngnm.vrahokipos.net/> (accessed on 20/5/2013).

³⁰ Δ. Τ., *Για μια Ιστορία του Αναρχικού Κινήματος του Ελλαδικού Χώρου* [For a History of the Anarchist Movement in Greece], pp. 32, 37, 98, 123.

³¹ Δ. Τ., *Για μια Ιστορία του Αναρχικού Κινήματος του Ελλαδικού Χώρου* [For a History of the Anarchist Movement in Greece], p. 229.

³² Δ. Τ., *Για μια Ιστορία του Αναρχικού Κινήματος του Ελλαδικού Χώρου* [For a History of the Anarchist Movement in Greece], pp. 28, 32, 85, 193, 303.

³³ Δ. Τ., *Για μια Ιστορία του Αναρχικού Κινήματος του Ελλαδικού Χώρου* [For a History of the Anarchist Movement in Greece], pp. 184-85.

in Europe at the time.³⁴ There were also significant currents of anarchosocialists/anarchochristians on an individual or group basis.³⁵

The first circle of activity for the anarchists in Greece ended with the civil war (1946-1949) after having suffered severe strikes during the Metaxas' dictatorship (1936-1941) and the German occupation (1941-1944).³⁶ In the meantime, the gradual rise of the component of the workers' movement affiliated to the Bolsheviks,³⁷ the prevalence of the Communist Party³⁸ and the crushing of the Spanish revolution resulted in anarchist decline. This meant that the anarchists became detached from current political realities. A long time passed before the passage from the dipole Bakunin – Marx to that of antiauthoritarian – authoritarian communism signified the beginning of a new, revitalized, era of anarchism in Greece, inspired by events like that of Hungary in 1956 and May 1968.³⁹

There is general consensus that the second wave of anarchism in Greece had no bonds with the anarchist legacy of the nineteenth and twentieth century but was instead deeply influenced by the youth movements in the U.S.A. and the new social movements in Europe during the 60s and the 70s.⁴⁰

The organizational model of the second wave of Greek anarchists is “affinity groups”, not the party or the syndicate. This is because anarchy in Greece was reborn under post-Fordist conditions that discouraged huge assemblies and their consequent organizing models. Moreover, the strong influence of the Situationist May, the Italian Autonomia and the German Autonomen on Greek anarchist space was felt in the

³⁴ Δ. Τ., *Για μια Ιστορία του Αναρχικού Κινήματος του Ελλαδικού Χώρου* [For a History of the Anarchist Movement in Greece], pp. 459, 475-76.

³⁵ Δ. Τ., *Για μια Ιστορία του Αναρχικού Κινήματος του Ελλαδικού Χώρου* [For a History of the Anarchist Movement in Greece], pp. 92, 259, 287-88, 523, 661.

³⁶ Egger.

³⁷ Kyrillos Papastaurou, “Σύντομη Αναφορά στο Αναρχικό Ρεύμα στην Ελλάδα” [Short Reference to the Anarchist Current in Greece], <http://www1.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=2801152&publDate> (accessed on 20/5/2013) and Δίκτυο Π.Δ., “Ο Αναρχικός Χώρος” [The Anarchist Space], http://www.anarkismo.net/article/14864&comment_limit=0&condense_comments=false (accessed on 20/5/2013).

³⁸ Δ. Τ., “Η Αναρχική Οργάνωση στην Ελλάδα 1970-1990” [The Anarchist Organization in Greece], <http://ngnm.vrahokipos.net/index.php/history/41-arthra/75-1970-1990> (accessed on 20/5/2013).

³⁹ Δ. Τ., “Η Κίνηση για τη Συγκρότηση Αναρχικής Ομοσπονδίας” [The Move to Set up an Anarchist Federation], <http://ngnm.vrahokipos.net/index.php/history/41-arthra/76-omospondia> (accessed on 20/5/2013).

⁴⁰ Terminal 119, “Μια Συνέντευξη με τον Φίλιππα Κυρίτση” [An Interview with Filippos Kyritsis], <http://terminal119archive.wordpress.com/2008/03/15/%CE%BC%CE%B9%CE%B1-%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BD%CE%AD%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%85%CE%BE%CE%B7-%CE%BC%CE%B5-%CF%84%CE%BF%CE%BD-%CF%86%CE%AF%CE%BB%CE%B9%CF%80%CF%80%CE%B1-%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%81%CE%AF%CF%84%CF%83%CE%B7/> (accessed on 20/5/2013), Δίκτυο Π.Δ., “Ο Αναρχικός Χώρος” [The Anarchist Space], and Δ. Τ., “Η Αναρχική Οργάνωση στην

adoption of a new model for activism. This rejected the hegemony of the Left – the claim to know everything concerning social progression and to occupy the vanguard role – and which aimed at intensifying social struggle by challenging the state's monopoly of violence and insisting on the right to resist. Anarchist political subjects provoke social rupture and once it becomes manifest they dissolve in it.⁴¹ This is also the reason why anarchists in Greece do not generally follow the traditional anarchist currents, like anarcho-communism or anarcho-syndicalism, but side with the current of antiauthority, regarded elsewhere in Europe and North America as a refreshment of anarchy. They are also called “antiauthoritarians”, in an effort to exceed classical anarchism.⁴² A possible explanation for this conjunction of anarchism, autonomy and antiauthoritarianism is that, firstly, the majority of the anarchists of the post-dictatorship era were members of left groups or had a left political history,⁴³ and secondly, many of those who fled abroad during the dictatorship, became familiar with the autonomist movements of central Europe and upon their return brought with them information about their practices and political stance.⁴⁴

During the revolt of the Polytechnic School, in 1973, there was a small number of anarchists propagandising against the state, authority and the army, who after the fall of the dictatorship (1974) began to increase but never managed to exceed, in Athens, one hundred people. This is when the first bookshops were opened, mainly around Exarchia, and the first magazines, proclamations and texts started to circulate.⁴⁵ In 1976 anarchists expressed their solidarity to the arrested members of the Red Army Faction (RAF) guerrilla group in Germany, pointing out the central role that solidarity had in their political and social “agenda”,⁴⁶ regardless if the ones in need were anarchists or not.⁴⁷

1980-81 are “the years of change”, when PASOK came to power. There were many anarchists and autonomists who were seduced by the “socialistic” rhetoric of

Ελλάδα 1970-1990” [The Anarchist Organization in Greece].

⁴¹ Panagiotis Kalamaras, “Κύριοι, Αγαπάτε Μας και Αξύριστους, Ξυρισμένους Μας Αγαπάνε Όλοι” [Gentlemen, Love Us Even If We Are Unshaved. Otherwise, Everyone Loves Us], *Panopticon*, No 12, pp. 18-19.

⁴² Giorgos Thalassis (Panagiotis Kalamaras), “Πριν Είκοσι Έτη” [Twenty Years Ago] in Kalamaras, *Πατησίων και Στουρνάρη Γωνία* [Corner of Patisсион & Stournari], pp. 22-23.

⁴³ Terminal 119, and Anon., *30 Χρόνια Πίσω* [30 Years Back], no time, no place, no edition, p. 34.

⁴⁴ Δίκτυο Π.Δ., “Ο Αναρχικός Χώρος” [The Anarchist Space].

⁴⁵ Δ. Τ., “Η Αναρχική Οργάνωση στην Ελλάδα 1970-1990” [The Anarchist Organization in Greece].

⁴⁶ Δ. Τ., “Η Αναρχική Οργάνωση στην Ελλάδα 1970-1990” [The Anarchist Organization in Greece].

⁴⁷ Anon., *30 Χρόνια Πίσω* [30 Years Back], p. 34.

Andreas Papandreou and did not hesitate to support PASOK in its campaign.⁴⁸ Quite soon after PASOK's great electoral victory, antiauthoritarians and others around them started occupying empty houses in order to create their eutopia here and now, satisfy their needs for a new world and begin with changing their own selves,⁴⁹ still believing that despite the negative reaction of the most conservative parts of society the ("socialist") police would not evacuate their squats.⁵⁰ They were dramatically disillusioned when Papandreou chose to give a violent answer to the oncoming squatting avalanche.⁵¹ Those were also the years that the state tried to confront this restless and out of control youth by allowing drug dealers to enter Exarchia and promote heroin.⁵² This situation was also intensified six or seven years later when the anarchists in Exarchia attacked the nearby drug dealers and the riot police intervened in order to pull down a banner saying "It is the cops who sell heroin".⁵³

In 1985, there was seen the first sign of a more Situationist way of thinking since anarchists decided to form an autonomous demonstration for celebrating the 1st of May, instead of following the march of the Left, which was the usual norm. The objective was for anarchists themselves to create the "situations" and not wait for a possible deviation.⁵⁴ Of course, this switch towards the core of influences coming from May 68 posed two basic issues, which are still "hot" for the anarchist space in Greece, those of organization and violence. The nature of anarchists' organization is the one thing that differentiates them from the left and leftists. That is its anti-hierarchical character, the absence of a party and their mobilization through horizontal affinity groups. The other thing, is a use of violence in coordination with the desirable goals, meaning an active violence only when it is really necessary, taking place massively and thus rejecting both the militarist version of the (left, mainly) guerrilla groups and the spectacular violence that feeds public opinion as well as the vanity of the agents involved.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the relationship of anarchists with violence has

⁴⁸ Manolo, *Οι Κοινωνικοί Αγώνες στην Ελλάδα των Αντιεξουσιαστικών Ομάδων κατά την δετία του ΠΑΣΟΚ (1981-1989)* [The Social Struggles of the Antiauthoritarian Groups During the 8 Years of PASOK (1981-1989) in Greece], no edition, Athens 1989, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Manolo, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁰ Manolo, p. 22.

⁵¹ Autonomous Citizens' Initiative, *Αυτοί οι Αγώνες Συνεχίζονται* [These Struggles Go on], no edition, Athens 1996, p. 203.

⁵² Terminal 119.

⁵³ Manolo, pp. 104-05.

⁵⁴ Thalassis (Panagiotis Kalamaras), "Πριν Είκοσι Έτη" [Twenty Years Ago], p. 34.

⁵⁵ Thalassis (Panagiotis Kalamaras), "Πριν Είκοσι Έτη" [Twenty Years Ago], pp. 36-37.

not always been clear. After the arrest of many November 17 (17N)⁵⁶ members in 2002, a significant part of the anarchist space supported the “dignity” and “ethics” of 17N and practically defended every form of violence, thus provoking a great confusion within the anarchist circles.⁵⁷ In addition, there has been a usual internal debate about the practices of the anarchists in the streets (violence or non violence, timing, quality and quantity of violent repertoire etc.), a debate intensified every time riots broke out during manifestations or other gatherings.

There are three additional years in the recent history of the Greek anarchist space that bear a special significance. In May 1985 Greece was in a pre-election period with PASOK aiming at four more years of governance. On the 9th of May large numbers of people started gathering in Exarchia in order to demonstrate against the parody of the elections. A squad of riot police approached the protesters and made clear that they were not allowed to march. Everyone should remain at their place; otherwise they would be “demolished”.⁵⁸ Right away, a group of – more or less – seventy people decided to occupy the Chemistry School in Exarchia and, thus, show that they were not willing to tolerate such threats. For five days the occupants were surrounded by police forces that did not hesitate to beat everyone who approached the place in order to offer food or water to those inside and to threaten the anarchists that they would end the occupation violently. A massive current of solidarity developed that led a huge march of almost six hundred people to the footsteps of the Chemistry School where the emotionally intense scene of the “liberation” of the occupants showed the government that “a bunch of anarchists ridiculed the state and its repression”.⁵⁹

In November of the same year, on the anniversary of the events at the Polytechnic School (1973), many protesters were ready to clash with the police forces since for the first time in the history of this demonstration the riot police made its provocative appearance at the outset. Indeed, within a short period of time the police attacked and “broke” the crowd, and many people rushed towards Exarchia in order to avoid the police brutality. However, police forces were there too and fierce

⁵⁶ Leninist guerrilla group that was formed just after the fall of the dictatorship in 1974.

⁵⁷ The Children of the Galley, “Οι Ιστορικές Περιπέτειες των Εννοιών του Πολιτικού Εγκλήματος και της Τρομοκρατίας” [The Historical Adventures of the Meaning of Political Crime and Terrorism], p. 53, http://www.tapaidiatisgalarias.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/historical_terrorism.pdf, (accessed on 20/5/2013).

⁵⁸ Manolo, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁹ Manolo, pp. 68-69.

confrontations took place that led to the cold blood execution of a 15 year old boy by a policeman.⁶⁰ The murder of Michalis Kaltezas was an event that marked the anarchist space deeply and further intensified its rage against the state and the, so called, socialist government of PASOK. This event helps us understand how the murder of Alexis Grigoropoulos also served as a reminder of state criminality for many anarchists who had either participated in the manifestation of 1985 or had read about it in relative brochures and proclamations.

Ten years later, again on the same anniversary, anarchists, antiauthoritarians and autonomists occupied the Polytechnic School reacting to the repression against the prisoners of Korydallos Jail, and in solidarity with the students' fight against the “modernization” governmental plans in education. After fierce fighting around the Polytechnic School the police invaded the School, for the first time after 1973, and arrested 504 people. Although this invasion was a harsh blow to the Greek anarchist movement, since it allowed the police to complete an effective “mapping” of the anarchist space within a night, it also destroyed certain myths and prejudices concerning the anarchists and their practices: firstly, the usual accusation of a maximum of 50-60 provocateurs that initiate and maintain such irregularities could not stand anymore. Five hundred people were arrested, proving that the dynamic of the insurrectionist youth was beyond the distortions of journalists and the state. Secondly, the propaganda for the “destructive nature” of anarchists whenever they occupy a civil space also collapsed, since the report from the evacuated Polytechnic School showed that no destruction had taken place, despite the fact that this was the official excuse of the police in order to invade.⁶¹

Finally, the European Union Summit of Thessaloniki in 2003 was a critical point in the history of the anarchist space. The significant rally of the movement together with the formation and promotion of new groups and ventures – that posed a fresh problematic on issues concerning tactics, aims and ideological matters – were the two main reasons for this.⁶²

It is not by accident that when they first appeared massively in the Greek

⁶⁰ Manolo, pp. 74-75.

⁶¹ Anarchist Rally, “Ημέρες Μνήμης και Εξέγερσης, Δύο Κορυφαίες Στιγμές: Πολυτεχνείο 1985 – Πολυτεχνείο 1995” [Days of Remembrance and Revolt, Two Highlights: Polytechnic 1985 – Polytechnic 1995], *Diadromi Eleftherias*, No 44, p. 8.

⁶² Α. Δ., “Για την Οργάνωση του Ελληνικού Αναρχικού Κινήματος” [For the Organization of the Greek Anarchist Movement], <http://ngnm.vrahokipos.net/index.php/theory/443-2012-04-22-12-00-37> (accessed on 20/5/2013).

political scene, during the first occupation wave of the 80s, anarchists were called by the media “anarcho-autonomists” [αναρχοαυτόνομοι]. If someone checks the practices of the Italian Autonomia, or the German Autonomen (how to escalate a demonstration, how to act horizontally through direct-democratic assemblies within the movement, and not as a sect that bears the one and only “truth”, etc.), they will see that the Greek anarchist/ antiauthoritarian/ autonomist/ libertarian/ antagonist movement certainly adopted these tactics and views, since – before the mid 80s – anarchists in Greece were closer to currents like May 68 and Internationale Situationniste rather than the classical federations of anarchism. In this context they also adopted the symbol of “A” in a circle, which refers to the rebirth of anarchism after the events of May 68, a symbol they, however, preserved even when they began to approach classical anarchism, through the current of insurrectionary anarchism.⁶³

The main tendencies within the contemporary anarchist/ autonomist/ antiauthoritarian space in Greece are monothematic groups that deal with specific social issues (environmental, neighbourhood issues etc.) without offering an overall social vision, anarcho-syndicalist groups that focus on trade unions and class struggle, collectives that participate in specific fronts (against statist repression, solidarity to prisoners etc.) together with left groups, and groups of autonomists who are generally cut off from the rest of the anarchist space, and work systematically on matters like nationalism, migration etc.⁶⁴ However, since the occupation of the Polytechnic University in 1990, there have been two major anarchist categories in Greece. The “insurrectionists”, who believe that clashes in the streets offer the only way to escape mainstream politics, and the “desiring” anarchists who also clash with the police or the fascists but, moreover, insist on connecting with the time-space of the metropolis, primarily through squats and haunts [στέκια],⁶⁵ thus giving an additional cultural dimension to the battle against authority.⁶⁶ The former “family” seems to constitute the majority of the anarchist space, whose basic references go back to May 68 and who consider everything that includes a clash with the police as insurrectionist. They reject structures and organization and do not have any plans for a future stateless society. The latter family mainly focuses on the revolution of everyday life through

⁶³ Panagiotis Kalamaras, “Γιατί μας Αρέσει ο Τόνι Νέγκρι” [Why We Like Toni Negri] in Kalamaras, *Πατησίων και Στουρνάρη Γωνία* [Corner of Patission & Stournari], pp. 77-78.

⁶⁴ Δίκτυο Π.Δ., “Ο Αναρχικός Χώρος” [The Anarchist Space].

⁶⁵ Στέκι (Steki-stekia in plural) is a place, rented or occupied by small groups, used for talks, assemblies and other fermentations related to the objectives and causes of the antagonist movement.

⁶⁶ Kalamaras, “Γιατί μας Αρέσει ο Τόνι Νέγκρι” [Why We Like Toni Negri], p. 79.

changing itself, it rejects structures and invests in autonomous, free zones within the land of the authoritative metropolis.⁶⁷

As a result, and because of the above practice models which the anarchists of December fused, they managed to open a channel of communication between squats, university places and haunts – reference points of counter-information and assemblies – and the rest of society. Therefore, the agents I refer to in this chapter are mainly groups self-defined as anarchist/ antiauthoritarian/ autonomist/ libertarian that developed activity in the streets, within the radius of the primary events, and also articulated radicalized utterances through brochures, graffiti and other means of communication. As far as their discourse is concerned, in many instances Nietzsche's utterances seem to fit perfectly at a level of form and aesthetics, i.e. the sarcastic and Situationist style of the Decembrians resembles the irony, aphorism and voluntarism of Nietzsche. Whether the content of the insurrectionists' words was also consistent with Nietzsche's meanings is not something to be said in advance since, except for the times that anarchists cited him (and even then we can not be certain that they used his thoughts "properly"), there was no sign of a conscious interaction with him. Hence, and although on many occasions it seems that I take their words at face value, what I am trying to do is designate their connection with Nietzsche, not just through plain words that sound the same, but via elaborated utterances situated in affinal philosophical contexts – that is, the perception of December from the anarchists and the "Three Metamorphoses" passage from Nietzsche. I consider this connection to stand for the third and fourth type of elective affinity (presented as such in chapter B.1), "partial fusion" and the "creation of a new figure". The former, as two parts that intermingle at a level of ideas and practices and the latter, as Nietzsche's seal on the ongoing project of creating one's (anarchist) self within the circles of Greek anarchist space.

⁶⁷ Δίκτυο Π.Δ., "Ο Αναρχικός Χώρος" [The Anarchist Space].

D.3/ Mainstream Perceptions of the December '08 Revolt and their Inadequacies / The Anarchist Reading

The choice of the “Zarathustra” apparatus for my reading of December '08 aims at approaching the events in a very different way to the mainstream readings made by the media and the political parties. These readings sometimes presented December as an atrocious and pointless riot that could not be justified, either by the murder of Alexandros Grigoropoulos or by the already existing social and political tensions, and at other times tried to embody the Decembrian events and activities into the present political system. In the latter case, the attempt was to present the whole revolt as a political conflict where the “protesters” were just seeking to satisfy certain political demands. Of course, there were cases and stances that combined the above dimensions, which are nothing but a continuation of the usual response of the media and the established political parties to ruptures of such intensity. As seen in the review of the past decades' events, political parties in power and their affiliated media always tried to distort the nature of the opposition (party or movemental). The case of the post-civil war state where communists were regarded as national traitors and miasma is an example. Alternatively, they tried to discharge social uprisings by embodying them in their political agenda. This was the case with PASOK which in order to come to power did not hesitate to adopt the counter European and NATO propaganda of the Left and even the antiauthoritarian/anti-repressive rhetoric of the radical movement. Hence, the mainstream accounts of the December revolt and the alternative reading made by the agents themselves (and especially by those self-defined as anarchists/antiauthoritarians/autonomists), exposes the great gap between radical and mainstream politics that goes back almost seven decades.

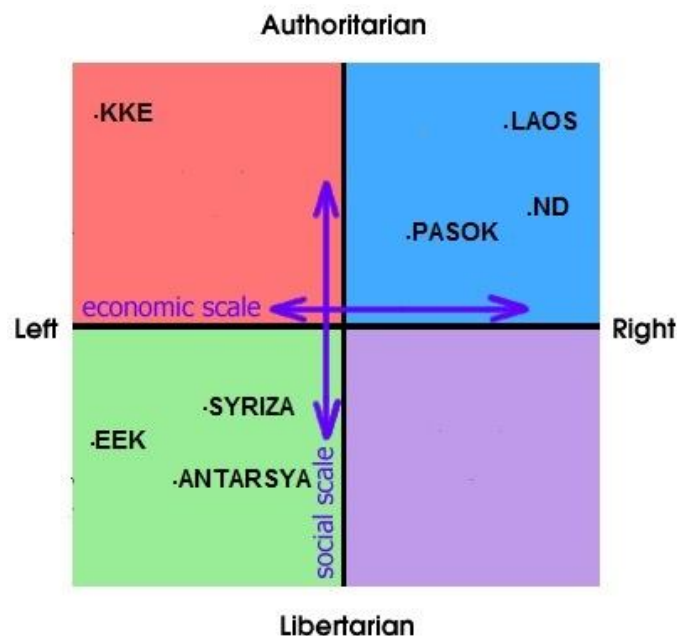
The analysis that follows will also appear fragmentarily in the main body of this chapter, which is the Nietzschean interpretation of the revolt through “The Three Metamorphoses”, in order to explain the reactionary nature of the negative forces (the stance of the left political parties and the role of the media, among others) related to the revolt.

The Political Parties

The political parties presented here constitute the main political forces of the Greek political scene during the December revolt. Five of them (ND, PASOK, KKE, LAOS, SYRIZA) were in the parliament, whereas the other two (EEK and ANTARSYA)

belong to the extra-parliamentary Left. ND is the traditional party of Greek Right, PASOK began as a social democratic party that gradually adopted neo-liberal policies, KKE is a traditional orthodox communist party, SYRIZA has a rather euro-communist orientation with various components that adopt policies of the far Left, and LAOS is a populist party of the far Right that invests on the values of Orthodox Christianity and patriotism. As far as the extra-parliamentary parties are concerned, EEK is a Trotskyist party with a rather radical repertoire (at least in comparison with other parties of the extra-parliamentary Left), whereas ANTARSYA has a more leftist but still mainstream and moderate character.

The relationship of the above parties on a political spectrum could be depicted as follows:



The above figure consists of two axes, offering an economic and a social dimension. I chose to put the parties in a way that would emphasise their actual political activity rather than their political philosophical background, and in terms of relative quality and not quantity. Hence, for example, PASOK is put on the upper right square, although it is supposed to be a social democratic party, but still on the left and below ND, without us being interested in its absolute position on the spectrum. Likewise, EEK is indeed more libertarian than SYRIZA, no matter if the former is a Trotskyist and the latter a euro-communist/radical left party.

Keeping these political relationships in mind, let us examine the stance these parties bore during the events of December.

New Democracy (ND)

New Democracy, the party in power in December 2008, definitely was in a position of defence, so it chose to gradually escalate its statements, having a double purpose: On the one hand, it tried to present the murder of Grigoropoulos as an isolated incident, an accident, rather than a generalized police tactic, expressing – at the same time – feelings of rage against the murderer and of sympathy towards the parents of Grigoropoulos, when, on the other hand, it indirectly equated the loss of a human life with the damages caused by rioters to shops, statist buildings etc: The statement of Prokopis Pavlopoulos,¹ just after the murder, underlined the government’s sorrow for the loss of Alexandros, the decisiveness to punish the guilty and the need for new measures that would prevent such incidents from happening again. However, quite soon, the government’s communicative centre of gravity shifted towards a “materialistic” perception of the situation. Lefteris Zagoritis asked everyone to stay calm so that threats against life or property would be avoided,² whereas the Minister of Finance rushed to inform about the refunds given to all those whose properties suffered damages.³ The next step was the continuous denouncement of violence⁴ and an effort to criminalize those acting violently, by depoliticizing their acts whilst characterizing them as “enemies of Democracy”,⁵ in order to reach out to the youth and absorb its rage into the existing political system: On December 16 2008 Kostas Karamanlis tried to disconnect the revolt from the agonies and the fights of the new generation and join the latter with ameliorative policies for education and the labour market.⁶

In the end, ND’s stance was defined by a controversy with the parties of opposition, and especially with PASOK (its main competitor and the other, traditional party of power) and SYRIZA, whose obscure stance towards the revolt allowed the government to find a scapegoat that would disorientate the public opinion. On December 23rd Giannis Tragkakis criticized Giorgos Papandreou for choosing to defame the image of the country,⁷ while the president of PASOK was abroad, and the

¹ Statement of Prokopis Pavlopoulos, Minister of Internal Affairs, on 6/12/2008.

² Statement of Lefteris Zagoritis, Secretary of ND’s Central Committee, on 7/12/2008.

³ Statement of Giorgos Alogoskoufis, on 10/12/2008.

⁴ Press Conference of the Government’s Spokesman, Evaggelos Antonaros, to the foreign journalists, on 8/12/2008.

⁵ Statement of Kostas Karamanlis on 9/12/2008.

⁶ Speech of Kostas Karamanlis to the MPs of his party, on 16/12/2008.

⁷ Interview of Giannis Tragkakis, General Secretary of ND’s parliamentary group, to the Radio Station “Channel 1”, on 23/12/2008.

Prime Minister himself clearly implied that SYRIZA did not disapprove of the vandalisms,⁸ a stance that since then has stirred ideas about a possible involvement of SYRIZA with the hooded rioters. It is worth mentioning that, in the same interview, Giannis Tragkakis praised the responsible stance of Aleka Papariga, leader of the Communist Party, who condemned, with no hesitation, the activities of the violent rioters.⁹

Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)

PASOK hold a slightly different stance by criticizing governmental incompetence but also talking about a social explosion related to the already existing financial and social dead-ends.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the “socialist” party chose to diverge from the demonstrations organized by the Left on 6th, 7th and 8th of December in order to give its own clear mark, calling for peaceful protests against violence, under the title “a candle for Alexandros”.¹¹ Its relevant rhetoric also included the condemnation of violence, “no matter where it comes from”,¹² and the distinction between the uncountable peaceful protesters and a violent, marginalized minority of a “supposed” anarchist character¹³: Giannis Ragkousis, secretary of PASOK’s national council, spoke of a “minor social hooliganism”¹⁴, whereas Maria Damanaki, MP who as a university student happened to be one of the most prominent members of the Polytechnic occupation against the junta in 1973, recognized the signs of a social revolt but with blind expressions of rage.¹⁵ Additionally, the party’s youth made a statement against the vandalisms of minor groups, and criticized the statist inability to protect private property.¹⁶

Another important practice of PASOK, related to the students’ and youngsters’ mobilizations, was its effort to incorporate them, divest them of their violent and subversive characteristics and embody them in the party’s political agenda: Many members of PASOK will participate in the mobilizations, criticizing

⁸ Press Conference of the Greek Prime Minister Kostas Karamanlis in Brussels, on 12/12/2008.

⁹ Interview of Giannis Tragkakis, General Secretary of ND’s parliamentary group, to the Radio Station “Channel 1”, on 23/12/2008.

¹⁰ Interview of Giorgos Papakonstantinou to the Radio Station “Athens 9,84”, on 8/12/2008.

¹¹ Giannis Ragkousis’ newsletter to the members of PASOK for a protest against violence under the name “A candle for Alexandros”, on 8/12/2008.

¹² Statement of Giorgos Papandreou, on 9/12/2008, after visiting the prime minister.

¹³ Interview of Giorgos Ragkousis to the TV broadcast “Proskinio” of NET channel, on 8/12/2008.

¹⁴ Interview to the TV broadcast “Proskinio” of NET channel, on 8/12/2008.

¹⁵ Interview to the Radio Station “NET 105,8”, on 9/12/2008.

¹⁶ Statement of PASOK’s Youth on 9/12/2008, regarding the riots in Athens.

the police violence,¹⁷ whereas the same party's youth that had expressed its agony about private properties called for the preservation of the mobilizations in order to "turn rage into hope".¹⁸

However, the effort to express both indignation and legality resulted in a contradiction. PASOK's leader, Giorgos Papandreou, referred approvingly to all the 15-year-old students that crowded in the streets without any guidance¹⁹ but conveniently "ignored" the fact that, from Monday 8th of December, most students opted to pursue a strategy of violent confrontation with the police, by organizing huge demonstrations and attacking police stations with rocks, paints and garbage.²⁰

Greek Communist Party (KKE)

The stance of KKE was much clearer and, the party was absolutely hostile towards the revolt. For the communist party, the rioters were mainly bourgeois and petite-bourgeois, expressing violently the dead-end of their petit-bourgeois life.²¹ The murder of Grigoropoulos, although recognized as a murder which was neither isolated nor accidental but a result of the statist violence and repression,²² according to the party's leadership should be also attributed to the continuous confrontation between the anarchists and the police.²³ Three days after the assassination, Aleka Papanigou intensified her attack on the anarchists by saying that their hardcore has sprung from the circles of statist power, serving the statist repression and fighting the people's movement,²⁴ whereas the party's MP Liana Kanelli claimed that KKE can prove that the centre of Athens was burnt by pimps and drug dealers.²⁵

KKE's detestation for any views regarding the events as a revolt during these days can also be viewed through its leader's perception of the term "revolt": "What is a people's revolt? The real people's revolt will have workers, employees and the youth as a starting point. The real people's revolt will not smash even a single

¹⁷ Statement of Sofia Sakorafa, on 9/12/2008.

¹⁸ Statement of PASOK's Youth, on 18/12/2008.

¹⁹ Statement of Giorgos Papandreou, on 9/12/2008, after visiting the prime minister.

²⁰ T. Lampropoulos, "Έφοδος Μαθητών σε 25 Α.Τ." [Students Raid to 25 Police Stations], *Elftherotipia*, 12/12/2008, p. 4.

²¹ Dimitris Gontikas, "Περί Εξέγερσης" [Of Revolt], *Rizospastis*, 16/12/2008, p. 7.

²² Speech of Aleka Papanigou, General Secretary of the Communist Party, to groups of the party and the party's youth, on 8/12/2008.

²³ Statement of Aleka Papanigou, on 7/12/2008.

²⁴ Statement of Aleka Papanigou after meeting the Prime Minister, on 9/12/2008.

²⁵ Liana Kanneli at Mega Channel's main newscast, on 9/12/2008.

pane”.²⁶ This “pacifist” definition of revolt and the general practices stemming from such a view not only alienated the communist party from the ongoing events but also targeted and demonized the conflictual practices of the insurrectionists so intensely that it provoked the congratulations of the most conservative political parties, that is, ND²⁷ and LAOS.²⁸ This tactic also confirmed the established position of KKE to act within the political system and only through the means this system offers, for fights that will extend to the whole spectrum of the political life, from the bout of statist repression to the financial and social demands of the working class, against the attack on people’s rights.²⁹

People’s Orthodox Alarm (LAOS)

There were some points in the perception of the revolt from the xenophobic and ultra-right populist LAOS that designate interesting resemblances with the stance of the Communist Party. From the very beginning, LAOS related the murder of Grigoropoulos to the permanent clash between anarchists and the police³⁰ – in particular, a statement of the party’s youth will consider the “out of control violent regime of Exarchia” to be the cause of the boy’s death³¹ – and characterized anarchist’s response as “ruthless violence”.³² These resemblances are of great interest because KKE and LAOS are actually the heirs of the two hostile camps of the Greek civil war. The fact that their views at such a critical time point seem similar, reveals the deep gap between KKE’s past radicalism and today’s incorporation into bourgeois politics, as well as the superficial interpretation of the revolt by a large part of the Left in Greece that feels aligned with the Stalinists.

Within a few days, LAOS’ stance obtained characteristics closer to a defense of the police, based on class features – Karatzaferis linked Exarchia with the offspring of high-class families³³ – and versus the monopoly of the “700 Euros Generation” and “violence victims” terms by the Left: The MP Adonis Georgiadis appropriated these

²⁶ Speech of Aleka Papariga at the Parliament, on 23/12/2008.

²⁷ See the aforementioned Interview of Giannis Tragkakis for the Radio Station “Channel 1”, on 23/12/2008.

²⁸ See the Press conference of Giorgos karatzaferis, LAOS’ leader, on 11/12/2008.

²⁹ Central Committee of KKE, “Για τις Τελευταίες Εξελίξεις με Αφορμή τις Κινητοποιήσεις για τη Δολοφονία του Δεκαπεντάχρονου” [About the Latest Developments in the Wake of Protests for the Murder of the 15-year-old], *Rizospastis*, 10/12/2008, p. 7.

³⁰ Statement of the party “for the death of the 16-year-old youth”, on 7/12/2008.

³¹ “Όχι στη Βία και το Χάος του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ και των Αναρχικών” [No to the Violence and Chaos of SYRIZA and Anarchists], statement of LAOS’ youth, on 10/12/2008.

³² Statement of the party “for the death of the 16-year-old youth”, on 7/12/2008.

terms in favour of the riot policemen in contradiction to the violent and privileged rioters.³⁴

Nonetheless, there were also parts of the Greek Left that had a more positive, even participating stance towards the uprising. This stance concerns SYRIZA and the most important components (based on their recent electoral results and their general presence in the streets) of the extra-parliamentary Left, like ANTARSYA³⁵ and EEK.

Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)

As far as SYRIZA is concerned, although the majority of the party's³⁶ members and its youth took part in the demonstrations from the very beginning, the overall stance of the party seemed to oscillate between the preservation of law and order and the praise of the uprising. This obscure stance provoked the criticism not only of the other parliamentary parties but of the anarchists as well, who saw the opportunistic intentions of a potential electoral rise in the double face of such a tactic. The main slogan of SYNASPISMOS' youth was, the quite anarchistic, "The State Murders",³⁷ while Alekos Alavanos, president of SYRIZA's parliamentary group, asked the government to abolish the riot police and quit.³⁸ The party did not, officially, side with the violent practices of the insurgents but acknowledged the fact that this violent repertoire was chosen by a great amount of the protesters, giving characteristics of a generalized explosion of rage.³⁹

On the other hand, members of SYNASPISMOS, like Giannis Balafas, Fotis Kouvelis and Dimitris Papadimoulis condemned violence and vandalisms without

³³ Press Conference of Giorgos Karatzaferis, on 11/12/2008.

³⁴ Interview for "Channel 10", on 10/12/2008.

³⁵ ANTARSYA is a coalition of ten left and ultra-left groups and several individuals, with origins from the anti-capitalist, revolutionary and communist left, and radical ecology. It was formed on 22/3/2009 as a result of assemblies and fermentations which can be traced back to the December events. Although this coalition did not exist during the revolt, the fact is that it works as an umbrella for all of the groups, with December '08 being their main unification point. It constitutes a rather loose formation, depicts the groups' common perception of the revolt and, therefore, instead of referring to all these components individually I chose to deal with them as a sole schema, even a posteriori.

³⁶ The term "party" is not accurate for describing the political nature of SYRIZA, which until the second round of the 2012 elections had been a coalition of left and leftist components, closer to the model of ANTARSYA. Nevertheless, I will adopt this term when referring to SYRIZA, as since its formation there has been one party, SYNASPISMOS, that plays the central role.

³⁷ "Το Κράτος Δολοφονεί. Πρέπει να τους Σταματήσουμε" [The State Murders. We have to Stop Them]. Statement of SYNASPISMOS' Youth, on 7/12/2008.

³⁸ Statement of Alekos Alavanos, on 7/12/2008.

³⁹ Interview of Andreas Karitzis, Spokesman of the party, for the radio station "Athina 9,84", on 8/12/2008.

reservation⁴⁰ and attributed the fires and damages to a minority of hooded protesters whose anti-social activity sided with the plans of the statist repression.⁴¹ Contrarily to his MPs, the president of SYRIZA, Alexis Tsipras, spoke clearly of a revolt and although he did not adopt the violent practices, he did not seem to condemn them either.⁴² Alekos Alavanos also tried to maintain a stance somewhere in the middle when he denounced hooded rioters and blind violence but, at the same time, he sided with the protesters.⁴³ Moreover, a text published in the party's newspaper, signed by a lot of SYRIZA members and other sympathizers, articulated positions that anarchists would to some extent share: December is a revolt with a social and political substratum; we defend it without a second thought; we do not focus on damage, thus neglecting the essence of the revolt; we are done with the fearful descent of the Left since the end of the civil war; we are not looking in the direction of elections but towards the future. However, it could not avoid bringing reformist demands through the "back door" when speaking of the need to get rid of this government, hence limiting the fight to a governmental change,⁴⁴ a political and not a social subversion anarchists would call for.

Labour Revolutionary Party (EEK) and Anti-capitalist Left Cooperation for Subversion (ANTARSYA)

EEK and the leftist groups that would form ANTARSYA later on, had by far the most positive stance towards the revolt and on many occasions they stood side by side with the anarchists in the streets or released declarations and proclamations of full support.⁴⁵ This stance might have saved some of the (extra-parliamentary) Left's prestige but a core problem was still present. That was the inability to understand the anarchist meaning for a "here and now" transvaluation of values instead of a fight overshadowed by the hegemonic presence of a party avant-garde. This inability is marked by the consistent participation of these groups in the electoral procedure, that is, their dedication to the political struggle through elections, the most disorientating

⁴⁰ Interview of Fotis Kouvelis for "NET Channel", on 9/12/2008.

⁴¹ Interview of Dimitris Papadimoulis for "NET" radio station, on 9/12/2008.

⁴² Statement of Alexis Tsipras, on 8/12/2008.

⁴³ Statement of Alekos Alavanos after meeting the Prime Minister, on 9/12/2008.

⁴⁴ «Όταν η Νεολαία Δολοφονείται η Αριστερά δεν Απολογείται [When Youth is Murdered, Left does not Apologize], *Avgi*, 14/12/2008, and ΣΥΡΙΖΑ ΒΥΡΩΝΑ, «Προς Όλους τους Συντρόφους και Συντρόφισσες του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ» [To All Comrades of SYRIZA], <http://syrizavyronea.pblogs.gr/2008/12/378245.html> (accessed on 21/2/2013).

⁴⁵ Anon., http://www.sek-ist.gr/EA/home.php?article_ID=1184 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

apparatus of the bourgeois state, according to the anarchists. In addition to this come the unavoidable articulation of demands towards authorities that create an atmosphere of negotiation, thus, incorporation to the system⁴⁶ and the endless hunt for new party members.⁴⁷

The Media

The role of the vast majority of the media during December was rather reactive, following the tactic of presenting the events as a spectacle. In order to highlight this stance I will refer to six traditional newspapers that are high in the relative circulation list. Without belonging to the hardcore of any political party, their “sympathies” cover the main political/social spectrum of the time, meaning the Right (Kathimerini, Eleftheros Tipos), the social-democratic Left (Ta Nea, To Vima, Ethnos) and the space between the parliamentary and the extra-parliamentary Left (Eleftherotipia). The seventh newspaper (Avriani) was chosen because in the past it has expressed its sympathy and support towards almost every political party (PASOK, ND, KKE, SYRIZA), a fact that does not of course credit it with objectivity but reveals a higher populist profile that has a small but significant impact to a part of the public opinion in Greece. Moreover, I will not refer to TV media, except for one distinctive case, for the reason that almost every broadcast concerning the revolt was nothing more than a “greedy” spectacular reproduction of the fighting in the streets, the barricades and whatever would maximize the viewing figures. All references focus on the coverage of the actual events as well as on the distortion and concealment of truth by the vast majority of the media.

The first two weeks of the revolt (6-20/12) were full of activism in the streets, and the relevant coverage, apart from referring to the murder as an abhorrent deed, focused on the insurrectionists in quite a monolithic way that did not leave enough room for any different or deeper approach. What monopolized the newspapers’ covers was the destruction and the rage of the anarchists. These were some of the most characteristic headlines: “Athens has surrendered to the law of the jungle. The city centre is a battlefield. Buildings are burnt, shops are destroyed. The rage of the

⁴⁶Anon., «Κάτω η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΛΟΦΟΝΩΝ: Γενική Πολιτική Απεργία Διάρκειας» [Enough with the GOVERNEMENT OF MURDERERS: General, Political Strike], http://www.eek.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=133:2011-11-17-18-55-05&catid=53:december2008&Itemid=62 and Anon., http://www.sek-ist.gr/EA/home.php?article_ID=1174 (accessed on 21/12/2013).

⁴⁷Anon., http://www.sek-ist.gr/EA/home.php?article_ID=1188 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

anarchists was such that they were bringing down billboards...they were even breaking the paving stones”.⁴⁸ “Burst of rage and violence for the murder of the 15-year-old”.⁴⁹ “Ungovernable State. Athens and Thessaloniki on fire, destructions in Iraklio, Chania, Larissa and other cities”.⁵⁰ “Uncontrolled violence, burnt shops, the police is nowhere to be seen”.⁵¹ “Chaos, destructions and a plan of inaction”.⁵² “Nightmare disaster in the centre”.⁵³ “Immeasurable destructions”.⁵⁴ “One hundred million Euros: the cost of destructions and looting”.⁵⁵ “The Molotov bombs are burning the economy”.⁵⁶ “Brutalities in the streets”.⁵⁷ “No tolerance towards the gangs of the hooded”.⁵⁸

The common place of most of the above articles was the blind character of the revolt, an attack against the safety and property of innocent citizens that lacked aims and objectives. Anarchy in the streets was described as an undesirable situation emerging not as a new proposal but as a decadent side effect of the absence of a trustworthy political world.⁵⁹ Another aspect the media chose to focus on was the direct clash between the anarchists and the police, through time, in Exarchia,⁶⁰

⁴⁸ Anon., “Εγκλημα, Τρόμος και Βία” [Crime, Terror and Violence], *Eleftheros Tipos*, 8/12/2008, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁹ Takis Terzis, “Εκτέλεσαν την Ομαλότητα” [They Executed Normality], *Ethnos*, 8/12/2008, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁰ Cover page of *Eleftherotipia*, 9/12/2008.

⁵¹ Anon., «Ανεξέλεγκτη Βία, Καμένα Μαγαζιά, Άφαντη η Αστυνομία» [Rampant Violence, Burnt Shops, The Police has Disappeared], <http://www.tanea.gr/news/greece/article/4491162/?iid=2> (accessed on 21/2/2003).

⁵² Τάκης Καμπύλης, «Χάος, Καταστροφές και Σχέδιο Απραξίας» [Chaos, Destruction and Plan of Inaction], http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/w_articles_politics_2_09/12/2008_295295 (accessed on 21/2/2003).

⁵³ Γιάννης Σουλιώτης, «Εφιαλτικές Καταστροφές στο Κέντρο» [Nightmarish Destruction in the City Center], http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/w_articles_politics_2_09/12/2008_295293 (accessed on 21/2/2003).

⁵⁴ Anon., «Απροσμέτρητες Καταστροφές» [Countless Destructions], http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/w_articles_ell_2_09/12/2008_295316 (accessed on 21/2/2003).

⁵⁵ Anon., «ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ: 100 Εκατ. Ευρώ Καταστροφές και Ληλασίες» [REPORT: 100 million Euros damage because of destruction and looting], <http://www.tovima.gr/relatedarticles/article/?aid=246563&wordsinarticle=%CE%BA%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%86%CE%AD%CF%82> (accessed on 21/2/2003).

⁵⁶ Ζώης Τσώλης, «Οι Μολότοφ Καίνε την Οικονομία» [Molotov Bombs Set Economy on Fire], <http://www.tovima.gr/politics/article/?aid=246570&wordsinarticle> (accessed on 21/2/2003).

⁵⁷ Λία Νεσφυγέ, Πάνος Θεοδωρακόπουλος, Γιώργος Κυρούσης, «Αγριότητες στους Δρόμους» [Atrocities in the Streets], <http://www.tanea.gr/news/greece/article/4492840/?iid=2> (accessed on 21/2/2003).

⁵⁸ Cover page of *Avriani*, 12/12/2008.

⁵⁹ Stavros Psycharis, “Ανεμμάτιστου...” [Changeable...], <http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=246564&wordsinarticle> (accessed on 21/2/2013).

⁶⁰ Anon., “Το Γνωστό-Άγνωστο ‘Κράτος’. Στα Εξάρχεια ο Πόλεμος Μεταξύ Αντιεξουσιαστών και Αστυνομίας διαρκεί σχεδόν τρεις δεκαετίες”, [The Known-Unknown ‘state’. In Exarchia the war between antiauthoritarians and the police lasts almost three decades] *Eleftheros Tipos*, 8/12/2012, pp. 8-9.

something that – as in the case of KKE mentioned above – implied a vendetta war that, occasionally, led to the loss of human lives.

The presentation of the events by the media was challenged as unilateral and misleading not only by anarchists. *Eleftherotipia*, a traditionally left newspaper of high circulation but still within the mainstream current of the Greek media, impeached the partial way that the Greek TV chose to refer to the revolt, as well as the plots for creating a false truth.

The news about the murder of Alexis was first reported, extremely accurately, by Athens Indymedia with a lot of witnesses describing what they had seen and heard. However, when the mainstream media also decided to inform the public, they chose to uncritically reproduce the information they were given by the police, meaning the supposed assault with Molotov bombs on the police car and the police firing in self-defense.⁶¹ When information coming from police headquarters was revealed to be misleading, the next level of defense for the state was to attribute this foul deed exclusively to the policeman. Giannis Pretenteris, a well-known journalist, together with the director of *Eleftheros Tipos*, adopted this reasoning and even reinforced it by insisting that the murder of a child proves we cannot talk about state violence but of violence of the common criminal law.⁶² Nevertheless, the “prestigious” journalist seemed to “ignore” the spatial coordinates of the murder - was the centre of Exarchia, a region traditionally hostile towards police forces because of its left, antiauthoritarian and anarchist culture for over three decades. As far as the aftermath of the murder is concerned, with violent protests taking place, the journalists were continuously trying to divide the demonstrations into two basic categories. Those happening in the mornings, led by peaceful students, and the atrocious night-time vandalism, made by anarchists and immigrants. But, again, the TV news and broadcasts “forgot” to mention that the marches of the students, especially their first one on the 8th of December, had a quite severe and violent character against the police departments in every neighbourhood, where the students attacked the policemen with everything they had, including rocks and eggs.⁶³

The concealment of truth and the formation of a new one by the media seemed to happen with every possible way during this period. The case of the photojournalist

⁶¹The Sunday Virus, “Πώς να Κρυφτείς απ’ τα Παιδιά” [How You Can Trick Children], *Eleftherotipia*, 14/12/2008, p. 41.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid.

Kostas Tsironis was representative enough: Almost twenty-four hours after Grigoropoulos' assassination, and during a huge demonstration to the police headquarters, a riot policeman pulled out his gun, pointing it to the protesters, whilst his colleague pretended to do the same "using" his hand as a weapon.⁶⁴ Tsironis took the snapshot with his camera and with no delay returned to the headquarters of *Eleftheros Tipos* in order to inform the newspaper's director, Serafeim Kotrotsos. We must take into account the importance of this snapshot, since its publication would definitely show that Alexis' murder was not the isolated incident the state wanted everyone to believe, but the outcome of an attitude deeply rooted in the police mentality. Nevertheless, Kotrotsos seemed to be reluctant to publish the photo, justifying his unwillingness with the need for certifying the originality of the weapon, as if being a replica would make it lose any of its symbolic significance. However, even when specialists confirmed the weapon was real and although the director agreed to include the photo in Wednesday's cover page, the decision was suddenly reversed and the same evening Kotrotsos made his appearance on the TV broadcast of the aforesaid Giannis Pretenteris, declaring that the assassination is not an incident of statist violence! Eventually, the photo was published on Tuesday, in the inside of the newspaper, with no comments and without a cover page reference, the main headline of which was "In the Mercy of Anarchy". During the same day, Tsironis was fired with the excuse of leaking the photo to the Internet.⁶⁵

Inadequacies of the Revolt's Mainstream Perceptions, the Anarchist Reading and its Zarathustrian Theorization

For anarchists, the truth lies in between the two false perceptions of December, perceptions that, being contradictory, give us the right to challenge and question their validity. For anarchists, December was not a protest (not even a very intense one) but a clash in order to destroy and re-create: "Yes, indeed, ladies and gentlemen, we ask for nothing because we want everything (...) It is pointless to look for requests because we do not have any, but we aim for things we do not beg for but try to make true ourselves (...) We know very well that in order to make this world absolutely true we firstly have to demolish, once and for all, the slaughterhouse you call State,

⁶⁴ Anon., «Καταγγελία! Μπάτσοι Γουρούνια Δολοφόνοι» [Denouncement!Cops, Pigs, Murderers], https://athens.indymedia.org/front.php3?lang=el&article_id=936420 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

⁶⁵ The Saturday Virus, "Η Κυριότητα της Αλήθειας" [The Ownership of Truth], *Eleftherotipia*, 20/12/2008, p. 52.

Democracy and Free Market”.⁶⁶ Hence, it may not have articulated any demands but at the same time the violence of the revolt was neither blind nor unfruitful. The persistence on both violence per se and the supposed political character of the revolt, does nothing but blur the context of December and ignores, if not willingly conceals, the seeds of December, meaning the creative work of the insurgents that started taking place within the time limits of the revolt. The first, conservative, perception of December focuses on violence, and for this reason denies any trace of (mainstream) political action in order to penalize the revolt and, thus, easily condemn it. It is like focusing on the Lion without paying attention to the groans or the protest of the Camel. The second, leftist, aspect focuses on the protests and the supposed (institutionalized) political character of the uprising and for this reason denies any violent action that exceeds the context of the political debate between the government and the governed. It is like focusing on the Camel, highlighting its victimization, without taking into consideration the role of the Lion. In any case, and apart from the above deficiencies, what these two basic approaches lack is the creative role of December, the affirmation to certain values that, among other things, denied the common shared ideals of nation, parliamentary democracy, state-authority, hierarchy etc. Therefore, we have an alternative reading of the events that comes from the anarchist movement itself through certain practices, brochures, assemblies and other initiatives. It is a reading that embodies all stages of the revolt, the repression, corruption and gradual impoverishment before the 6th of December, the days and nights of endless attacks on statist and capitalist targets and the formation of open autonomous zones where the values of solidarity, equality, participation, creation, dignity, freedom and fraternity blossomed. Examining the anarchist material that was circulated during the days of the revolt, and up to two years later, we can see how the anarchist agents of the December revolt perceived the events and differentiated themselves from mainstream views.

Grigoropoulos’ assassination was the peak of a general situation that included an escalation of unemployment, harsh working conditions for those who still had a job, a severe migration policy, police violence and control⁶⁷ and a routine that turned

⁶⁶ Anarchists from the Desert of the Real, “Με το Αίμα Ακόμα στα Μάτια...Με την Οργή Ακόμα στα Χέρια...Πληρώσανε Ακριβά αλλά Χρωστάνε Πολλά Ακόμα!” [With the Blood Still in the Eyes... With the Rage Still in Hand...They Dearly Paid but they Still Owe a Lot!], proclamation in Athens 2008, p. 2.

⁶⁷ Transgressio Legis, *Όταν Απαρνείται Κανείς τον Πόλεμο, Απαρνείται και τη Μεγάλη Ζωή* [When One Denies War, One Also Denies a Great Life], no ed., no place, no time, p. 6.

life into misery and captivity: “The regularity of work and “free time”, of family and consumption, kills all passions of freedom; and these passions become resentment, because they are imprisoned and undermined by a normality as frozen as the most frozen beast”.⁶⁸ Therefore, the revolt was the expression of detestation towards the whole social system⁶⁹ that led people to a revaluation and reclamation of their lives⁷⁰ through a severe and holistic critique,⁷¹ seeking to give a new meaning to the alienated social relationships⁷² and to overcome the present reality in favour of a new desirable world⁷³ that was no more utopian.⁷⁴ This critique shook the foundations of, up to then, given “truths”, like the identities and social roles attributed to people by the state: “This determination to ‘destroy everything’ stated in the same way, for all the participants, the rupture with the social role they are to take during periods of social peace: the hooded student setting off to attack the police stations is no longer a young disciplined student(...)In a broader sense, every social role tends to be challenged”.⁷⁵ Hence, people in the streets were not just a gathering of students, workers, unemployed etc, but the activation of insurrected subjects.⁷⁶ According to anarchists, the days and nights of the revolt had certain characteristics that made it extremely “difficult” for politicians and mainstream media to understand: The revolt broke out spontaneously without having an upper or “secret” guidance.⁷⁷ Contrary to the practices of mainstream politics, the insurrectionists chose to act directly and without representatives,⁷⁸ practicing a nihilism whose target was the “reality” as well as the metaphysics of their society and world.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, this nihilism was not only destructive but gave room to a new creation of values⁸⁰ that due to the Decembrians’ anti-deterministic will started changing reality by the first week of the

⁶⁸ Anon., “Ο Θάνατος Αναίρειται Ζώντας” [Death is Negated Through Living], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 15.

⁶⁹ Anon., *Ιχνηλατώντας το Δεκέμβρη* [Tracing December], no ed., no place, no time, p. 24.

⁷⁰ Proletarians from the Occupied ASOEE, “Καταστρέφουμε το Παρόν Γιατί Ερχόμαστε από το Μέλλον” [We Destroy the Present Because We Come From the Future], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 16.

⁷¹ Anon., “Δεκέμβρης 2008: Μια Προσπάθεια να Ανιχνεύσουμε τη Δύναμη και τα Όρια του Αγώνα μας” [December 2008: An Effort to Detect the Power and the Limits of our Struggle], *Blaumachen*, No 3, p. 5.

⁷² Open Committee of the Athenian Enraged 2008, “Rez’ Publica”, *Revolt*, No 3, p. 12.

⁷³ Anon., “Κάλεσμα για μια Νέα Διεθνή” [Call for a New International], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 8.

⁷⁴ *Transgressio Legis*, p. 30.

⁷⁵ *Les Habitants de la Lune*, p. 26.

⁷⁶ The Children of the Galley, “The Rebellious Passage of a Proletarian Minority Through a Brief Period of Time”, in Vradis and Dalakoglou, p. 118.

⁷⁷ Editorial, “Ο Δεκέμβρης και το Μετά” [December and Its Aftermath], *Eutopia*, No 17, p. 12.

⁷⁸ *Les Habitants de la Lune*, pp. 11-12.

⁷⁹ Anon., “Κάλεσμα για μια Νέα Διεθνή” [Call for a New International], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 8.

⁸⁰ Anon., *Ιχνηλατώντας το Δεκέμβρη* [Tracing December], p. 50 and *Transgressio Legis*, p. 31.

revolt.⁸¹ Theory and practice were not separated any more, leading to ventures that blossomed within solidarity and massive participation.⁸² Occupations, artistic and cultural creations, assemblies and other activities⁸³ were designed by people determined to take their lives back.⁸⁴

Finally, the insurgents recognized media and political parties as one of the two main reasons for the fade out of the revolt, because of their ceaseless distortive propaganda and their efforts to incorporate the agents' revolutionary spirit.⁸⁵ The other reason concerned the internal weakness of the movement which did not allow it to fully overcome the contradictions that derived from the insurrectionists' activities in the streets (i.e. the ambiguous stance opposite looting),⁸⁶ and to supersede the identities imposed by capitalism, even the ones – like “workers” – that bear a “revolutionary” dynamic.⁸⁷

Zarathustra's “Three Metamorphoses” is a most suitable apparatus for the unfolding of this alternative reading. The three metamorphoses of the spirit fit the three stages of the December revolt and, moreover, can help us understand the vital, complementary and unbreakable, for the anarchists, connection of these three stages (a bond “refused” or ignored by both the conservative and leftist reading, as said above). In the same way Friedrich Nietzsche underlines the necessity that every previous metamorphosis bears for its next one, and the justification the last metamorphosis offers to the previous two.

⁸¹ Anon., “Κάλεσμα για μια Νέα Διεθνή” [Call for a New International], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 8 and Editorial, “Ο Δεκέμβρης και το Μετά” [December and Its Aftermath], *Eutopia*, No 17, pp. 20-21.

⁸² Anon., *Taratsa*, No 5, p. 11.

⁸³ Transgressio Legis, pp. 9, 23 and National Opera House squatters “Απελευθερωμένη Λυρική Σκηνή” [Liberated Opera House], proclamation in Athens 2008.

⁸⁴ Anon., “Τρομοκρατία είναι η Κανονικότητα” [Normality is Terrorism], *Brigada*, No 1, p. 6.

⁸⁵ Anarchist Collectivity “Circle of Fire”, “Αυτές οι Μέρες Είναι Μέρες Εξέγερσης Όλων των Καταπιεσμένων” [These Days are the Days of Revolt for all the Oppressed], proclamation in Athens, 8/12/2009, pp. 1-2,

Anon., “Η Εξέγερση δεν είναι Ουτοπία, είναι Ζωντανή σε Κάθε Κοινωνία” [Revolt is not Utopian, it is Alive in Every Society], *Diadromi Eleftherias*, No 79, pp. 5,

Anon., *Ιγνηλατώντας το Δεκέμβρη*, pp. 29-30 and Transgressio Legis, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁶ Les Habitants de la Lune, p. 18.

⁸⁷ Anon., “Δεκέμβρης 2008: Μια Προσπάθεια να Ανιχνεύσουμε τη Δύναμη και τα Όρια του Αγώνα μας” [December 2008: An Effort to Detect the Power and the Limits of our Struggle], *Blaumachen*, No 3, pp. 16-17.

D.4/ December as a Bakuninist Revolt

December was, undoubtedly, a revolt. Firstly, the “fire” spread in time and space. The clashes lasted for many days with an unprecedented intensity and occurred all over Greece. Their blast reverberated worldwide. Nicolas Sarkozy withdrew the French educational bill for fear that it would provoke a reaction, similar to Greece;¹ Subcomandante Marcos sent a message of solidarity from the Zapatistas² and the international media sent their correspondents to Greece. Secondly, this revolt had obviously social characteristics. It included individuals from every social class, transcending artificial divisions of social identities and forging a common “aim”: a desire for conflict, to attack the perceived agents of repression. December was a revolt because even those who did not take part expressed their approval for the actions of the participants.³ Additionally, what makes it exceptional, what gives us the opportunity to speak of a critical rupture and an important originality, compared to the context and repertoire of past revolts, is not only the rich practices of the insurgents but also the fact that this fight clearly disdained state politics and scandalously did not articulate any demands.⁴ In particular, although there were voices, slogans, articles and banners, denouncing “social peace”, “national unity”, repression, social control, police arbitrariness, consumerism and the political system in whole, this activity never played the role of a proposal towards the governmental status quo concerning a specific political change, a claim or the withdrawal of a certain bill.⁵ It was an open articulation of desires without a particular receiver. Thus, we cannot talk about political negotiations nor about demands.

Shortly after Alexandros Grigoropoulos’ assassination by a policeman on 6th December 2008, Athens was full of furious protesters whose targets included banks, car trade companies, big stores, ministries, police stations, even the huge Christmas tree in Syntagma square: each was significant to anti-capitalist, anti-state and anti-

¹ Celestine Bohlen, “French Politicians Fear Youth Violence Along Greek Pattern”, *The New York Times*, 19/12/2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/19/world/europe/19iht-letter.1.18819672.html?_r=0 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

² Subcomandante Marcos of EZLN, “Message to revolted Greece”, <http://ainfos.ca/09/jan/ainfos00174.html> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GIYBUcrV534> (accessed on 21/2/2013).

³ Anon., *Ιχνηλατώντας το Δεκέμβρη*, pp. 5-6 and Fotis Terzakis, “Ανοιχτή Επιστολή στον Κώστα Δεσποινιάδη για την Ελληνική Κρίση του Δεκεμβρίου” [Open Letter to Kostas Despoiniadis for the Greek Crisis Of December], *Panopticon*, No 12, pp. 10-11.

⁴ Anon., “Ξύπνα Κεμάλ, Αυτός ο Κόσμος Πήρε Φωτιά!” [Wake Up Kemal, This World is Set on Fire!], *Blaumachen*, No 3, p. 3.

⁵ Irini Gaitanou, “Fuck December ’08 – Fight Now!”, http://ilesxi.wordpress.com/2011/12/14/fuck-december-08-fight-now/#_ftn21 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

commercial protest. Those who participated in the assaults were not only university students, workers or immigrants. They were also school pupils, middle-aged bourgeois, people with or without a political background and consciousness whose escalation of practices can be understood as a Nietzschean “metamorphoses of spirit” passed from the Camel, that had learnt to bear every burden of repression, to the Lion that “captured freedom and wanted to be lord in its own desert”.

The Lion uttered a “sacred No” to all the above disintegration. Decembrians ceased to tolerate apathetically the commands of authority and began to resist on every possible level: Among other actions, participants occupied state buildings throughout Greece, calling the residents of every neighborhood to form self-organizing assemblies that would cancel central authority in practice. And this way,

Anarchy *de facto* found itself at the leadership of an ample and hugely varied sector of society, set to create situations that often challenged the social institution. While most of the practices employed by the uprising – its organizational forms, its demands, its discourse, etc. – have all been practiced by Anarchy for decades, they suddenly become the property of wide parts of the population and viewed with aspiration, awe, and/or empathy even by people not involved in the uprising.⁶

It is possible to describe the character of this revolt as Bakuninist, insofar as the joy of creation was hidden within the destructive urge. This was the third metamorphosis of the spirit, the Child who uttered a “sacred Yes” to life and to a new beginning. The Child was in the occupations of several theatres and the national opera trying to renovate art and make it art by everyone for everyone. It reclaimed central streets and avenues in order to turn them into fields of games and joy. It appropriated urban “graveyards”, places that were abandoned by the state, and transformed them into self-managing parks, play yards and city meeting points. Creativity through artistic practices answers the Nietzschean perception of the individual as an artist and an artistic creation simultaneously.⁷ This creativity was not exhausted just for producing new art in order to communicate it to the rest of society, as the “regular” artists usually do. Hence, the point here is not that the insurrectionists were just

⁶ Christos Boukalas, “No One is Revolutionary Until the Revolution!”, in Vradis and Dalakoglou, p. 283.

creative but that their own selves were an integral ingredient of this creation: The open plays and improvisations at the National Opera, the transformative procedure of turning a land of concrete into a living green park, the playful wander in the streets of the metropolis. All these were not *for* the people but *with* the people as an interactive game of creation between the artist and his handcraft, where the one changes the other in real time.

The Decembrian agents gave their own answer to the dilemma that keep appearing “since the time authority appeared: submissive or rebel, peaceful citizen or human”.⁸ The main core of their answer was the Nietzschean anti-determinist spirit of the will which not only smashed the storefronts of capitalism but also the certainties of the status quo about social peace, and those of the established Left concerning a political correct revolution and the effort to explain the reasons for December’s uprising:

For insurrection, by its very nature, refuses to be situated or interpreted: it is the unforeseen inception of the new that can never be translated back into the terms which preceded it. The event itself is a splitting off from, a fracture, a total break with causality. The shocks of its rupture multiply into a crescendo of lawless swerves counteracting any preconceived forms of determinism, circumventing placement in mechanistic models. Its effects are wholly irreducible to the previous conditions...⁹

Moreover, the agents of December tried to approach this period in its aftermath by using an active and creative method of inquiry, a method that not only would interpret reality but also, and mainly, modify it. Past, for the insurgents, is a permanent war, never interrupted, a war whose winner is still undecided,¹⁰ so, past incidents can never be regarded as lost or past agents as defeated. Chapter C showed how the Nietzschean project of “becoming who you are” ties in with Benjamin’s “redemption of the past”. Both perspectives are founded on the openness of history and its perception not as a dull, historicist narration but as an active interpretation able to transform the past, thus redeem it and incorporate it into the present/future. Hence,

⁷ Nehamas, p. 174.

⁸ Anarchists from the Desert of the Real, p. 1.

⁹ Kirilov, “Paper Rifles”, in Vradis and Dalakoglou, p. 188.

¹⁰ Kirilov, p. 189.

by recalling all the oppressed and “defeated” of the past in their present actions, the agents of December unified past, present and future, as Nietzsche and Benjamin did. Through their present affirmative activity they welcomed the future of their transvalued values and, at the same time, sought to redeem the oppressed of the past: “Those are the days of Alexis, Kassimis,¹¹ Tsironis,¹² Koumis,¹³ Kanellopoulou,¹⁴ kaltezas,¹⁵ Tsoutsouvis,¹⁶ Prekas,¹⁷ Temponeras,¹⁸ Marinos,¹⁹ Giuliani,²⁰ Koulouri²¹ ...of us all!”²²

On Saturday 13th of December, one week after Alexandros Grigoropoulos’ assassination, a group of people decided actively to express their will and sentiments, in the heart of the metropolis. “We desired to pour out in the streets, invade places-centers of amusement, setting our own terms. To invade places where life goes on indifferently, passively, whilst something is changing in the city... We poured out in the streets of Athens until 3:00 in the morning setting our terms of self-organization and expressing all our rage and spontaneity”.²³ For some of the Athenian anarchists the mistake of the established Left and of all those who sought to find a new, post-revolt, model in the ruins of the old, authoritative ones, is clear and repeated. It is the underestimation of the human factor. The demotion of social will to escape authority and clash with it.²⁴

¹¹ Christos Kassimis: The first Greek urban guerrilla fighter falling dead by policemen in 1977.

¹² Vassilis Tsironis: Anti-statist and antifascist fighter with, partially, “situationist” practices that was murdered in 1978 by the police special forces when they invaded his apartment in order to arrest him.

¹³ Iakovos Koumis: Cypriot university student murdered by the police in 1980 during the annual march for the events of the Polytechnic University in 1973.

¹⁴ Stamatina kanellopoulou: Worker, murdered by the police in the same march as Koumis.

¹⁵ Michalis Kaltezas: Student murdered by a policeman in 1985 during the anniversary of the Polytechnic University revolt in 1973. His case was similar to Grigoropoulos’ since they were both fifteen years old and murdered by a policeman in the region of Exarchia.

¹⁶ Christos Tsoutsouvis: Legendary urban guerrilla fighter, murdered by the police in 1985.

¹⁷ Michalis Prekas: Anarchist murdered by policemen in 1987 during a battle with them.

¹⁸ Nikos Temponeras: Mathematics teacher – politically belonging to the Left - murdered in 1991 by an exceptional member of the youth branch of the Greek Conservative Party (New Democracy).

¹⁹ Christoforos Marinos: Anarchist murdered by the police special forces in 1996 on a boat from Serifos to Piraeus.

²⁰ Carlo Giuliani: Anarchist activist, murdered by the police in 2001 during the anti-globalism protests in Genova.

²¹ Maria Koulouri: Mother of two minors, murdered by the riot police in 2008 during a protest of Corfu citizens against the construction of a rubbish dump in their area.

²² Small flyer by the squatters of the Polytechnic University.

²³ Proclamation by the Anarchist Group Λ.O. in Athens 2008, pp. 1-2.

²⁴ Anarchist Rally, “Μέρες Εξέγερσης, Μέρες Ελπίδας...” [Days of Revolt, Days of Hope...], *Diadromi Eleftherias*, No 79, p. 3.

D.5/ The Three Metamorphoses and/of the Decembrian Revolt

After giving a brief account of December '08, this section aims at reviewing the uprising through a Nietzschean lens based on the pre-mentioned “Three Metamorphoses” of the spirit, from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*.

The three metamorphoses are not independent from one another but are a whole reflected in the three types. The affirmation of the Camel, bounded by negation, makes the spirit to become a Lion, where the affirmation is released through denying the negative. But if the Lion is the condition of a free will, the Child is the unconditional principle of an affirmative, and not only free, will that completes the picture, unifies the spirit and justifies the sorrow of the Camel and the fight of the Lion.

Likewise, December '08 was a play of three acts clearly related to one another. The burdens of political corruption and the financial scandals, increasing unemployment, the demolition of the educational system, extended poverty, the dogmas of political intolerance towards radical groups - values like national unity and social peace and the intensification of the dipole “exploiters/exploited”– all these made most people’s lives a desert, and turned them into the Camels that were required to walk through it. Suddenly, with Alexandros’ assassination being the triggering event, a significant part of society turns into a Lion in order to reclaim the life that has been stolen from it. A destructive (and at the same time creative) critique that was anti-capitalist and not reformative since it expressed the need for the overcoming of the capitalist relationships,¹ the destruction of all these that stood, as an obstacle, between “this world and the world we desire”,² just like the foreign burdens stand between the Camel and the Child.

Hence, the destructive actions of Decembrian insurrectionists were a combination of the second and third metamorphoses, a way of creation and re-appropriation. Driven by the desire for a different world they were determined to destroy everything in order to reclaim their lives. This destructive violence implied, for all the participants, the rupture with the social roles they play in times of social peace: the hooded student that attacks the police stations ceases to be the disciplined worker of tomorrow, the unemployed who throw Molotov cocktails to the banks are

¹ Anon., “Δεκέμβρης 2008: Μια Προσπάθεια να Ανιχνεύσουμε τη Δύναμη και τα Όρια του Αγώνα μας” [December 2008: An Effort to Detect the Power and the Limits of our Struggle], *Blaumachen*, No 3, p. 5.

² Anon., “Κάλεσμα για μια Νέα Διεθνή” [Call for a New International], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 8.

no more hostage of a survival allowance, the immigrant that celebrates the expropriation of a DVD player is no longer the peaceful stranger that waits to be integrated to the Greek nation. Every social role is being challenged.³ These “Lion” practices allowed the insurgents to regain the dignity, the humanity and the sincerity of their actions whilst at the same time offered them a childish innocence which opened the way to liberating actions, such as the creation of Temporary Autonomous Zones through the occupation of Universities, Cultural Centers and old buildings in order to serve the needs of the revolt (assemblies, accommodation needs, counter-media information, solidarity to those arrested, etc).⁴

Additionally, this open highway of freed space triggered the imaginative possibilities of the insurrectionists, promoting humorous and sarcastic tactics⁵ and leading to a Nietzschean conception of art and its application to life itself, to life’s turning into a work of art! Like Nietzsche, the Decembrians acknowledged the need for the destruction of the self, its decline in order for a new self (the overman for Nietzsche) to rise. “If I don’t burn, if you don’t burn, how do you expect the darkness to shine?” and “let’s create wonderful lives”.⁶ Equally important is the perception of the self as a post-Enlightenment subject, meaning a self that is not a static and uniformed phenomenon, full of different possibilities, a Nietzschean perception of the self, anti-dogmatic and open to self-creation:

... Every “I” is not at all a unit but a multi-level world, a starry sky, a chaos of forms, situations and stages of capabilities and possibilities. It seems that regarding this chaos as a unity and talking about our “I” like it was a one-dimensional, wholly separated and established phenomenon, has become, for all of us, a need as imperative as nutrition and breathing. Even the best out of us share this illusion...⁷

³ Les Habitants de la Lune, p. 26.

⁴ Transgressio Legis, pp. 9, 23.

⁵ Taking into consideration that the defense of Alexandros’ murderer argued that the boy died by a bullet that had first glanced off the road, the police officers’ excuses that the murder was an isolated incident and that bankers and other state officers expressed their repulsion for the massive destructions of banks and statist buildings, a group of anarchists went on posting the following statement: “We Are Sorry. The Association of anarchists, anti-authoritarians and the rest of the hooded ones, sharing the sorrow of the domestic oligarchy, after the destructive conflagration that strikes numerous banks and other charitable institutes, have to say that this is nothing but isolated incidents of Molotov cocktails having first been glanced off”.

⁶ Graffiti on an Athenian city wall.

In this artistic frame, we must not forget the occupation of the National Opera House where during “nine days and nights of autonomy, freedom, creation and self-organization in deed”⁸ the squatters attacked the spectacular art the same way Nietzsche attacked Socrates, through Euripides, when the latter turned ancient tragedy from a field of participation and inspiration for the audience, into a procedure of detachment and rational critique: “We don’t want an ‘art-spectacle’ that is being consumed by passive spectators. We are opposed to a civilization that destroys parks and public places in the name of profit. We aim at an art immediate, open to everyone, where everyone can be able to create”.⁹

The discourse “of the three metamorphoses” will then be the apparatus for reviewing the December revolt from a Nietzschean point of view. It is true that the incidents of December rather depict a fade out of the first metamorphosis and a fade in of the third one, with its main body and hardcore belonging to the second metamorphosis of the spirit. Hence, the following analysis will mostly focus on the fighting Lion but will also try to designate the connections with the passive Camel and the creative Child.

⁷ Graffiti on an Athenian city wall.

⁸ National Opera House squatters “Απελευθερωμένη Λυρική Σκηνή” [Liberated Opera House], proclamation in Athens 2008.

⁹ National Opera House squatters, “Εξεγερμένη Λυρική Σκηνή” [Revolted Opera House], proclamation in Athens 2008.

The Camel – First Metamorphosis of the Spirit

“...What is heavy? Thus asks the weight-bearing spirit, thus it kneels down like the camel and wants to be well laden...The weight-bearing spirit takes upon itself all these heaviest things: like a camel hurrying laden into the desert, thus it hurries into its desert”

Thus Spoke Zarathustra,
“Of the Three Metamorphoses”

December was, among other things, the battlefield for a war between different interpretations of the same event, a ceaseless propaganda concerning what “rational”, “brutal” and “natural” really are. Hara Kouki, researcher and one of the December attendants, describes how the rage of so many people was labeled as extreme and social conflict was regarded as irrational, whereas police repression and brutality, the failing educational system, the increase of unemployment, injustice and corruption, social insecurity, the economic crisis were all legitimated, taken for granted. Therefore, for the State, the blissful terrain of Democracy became a battlefield of collective action versus lawful peacefulness, nihilism versus democracy, evil versus good.¹⁰ And Kouki goes on by quoting Nietzsche, when the latter exposed the cunning way that the hetero-defined and incompetent ones chose in order to corrupt the brave, free spirits:

And he is good who does not outrage, who harms nobody, who does not attack, who does not requite, who leaves revenge to God, who keeps himself hidden as we do, who avoids evil and desires little from life, like us, the patient, humble, and just...¹¹

This tactic of turning lively and active people into domesticated animals is a tool used by the state par excellence. Investing on fear, social control, racism and the myth of social peace and national unity, the Greek state has made an effort – after the end of the civil war in 1949 and mainly after the restoration of democracy in 1974 –

¹⁰ Hara Kouki, “Short Voyage to the Land of Ourselves”, in Vradis and Dalakoglou, pp. 167-68.

¹¹ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, first essay, §13.

to defuse the tensioned political situation¹² and convert the general political/social antagonism between exploiters and exploited to a diffused and blurred daily reality. We can more clearly see the peak of this tactic just before, during and after the Olympic Games in Athens and the success of the Greek national football team in the Euro tournament (2004).

The delirium for the returning of the Games back to their cradle allowed the massive exploitation of hordes of “illegal” immigrants (sans-papiers), the uncontrolled increase of working accidents, the apotheosis of the safety dogma which filled the streets and public spaces with armed policemen and surveillance cameras,¹³ the multiplication of taxes, for the state to deal with the unreasonable cost of the games,¹⁴ and the intoxication of people with the drug of national pride and the need for actual “sacrifices”. Additionally, the Euro success caused a general national paroxysm that also reinforced the nationalist imaginary, bred extensive incidents of racist/nationalist violence¹⁵ and disorientated the public opinion from the scandals of this period and the forthcoming financial decline.

Of course, the aftermath of the Olympics left Greece with a significant debt, whilst the frenzy of consumerism¹⁶ – encouraged by the global financial bubble – worked as a “smooth” transition to a reality less phantasmagoric and even harsher. When the bubble seemed ready to burst we were already at the beginning of 2008. The global crisis was making its distinct appearance not only in the U.S. but also in Europe, and Greece emerged as the most suitable experimental field for the application of a “shock doctrine”¹⁷ - new austerity measures, cuts in social security

¹² The “check mate” of Konstantinos Karamanlis in 1974, after the fall of junta in Greece, is an ideal example of such a tactic. Karamanlis, who in his first tenure as a prime minister (1955-1963) had been the harshest persecutor of communism, as soon as he was re-elected, eleven years later, legalized the Communist Party, thus succeeding in embodying it for good into the bourgeois parliamentary democracy.

¹³ Kaplanis, pp. 221-22.

¹⁴ Anon., «Οι Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες του 2004 Κόστισαν 8,5 Δισεκατομμύρια Ευρώ» [Olympic Games 2004 cost 8.5 billion euros], <http://www.tanea.gr/news/greece/article/4768950/?iid=2> (accessed on 21/12/2012).

¹⁵ See the reports for the pogrom against many Albanians in Greece, in September 2004, after the defeat of the Greek football team by the Albanian one: Anon., «Το Πογκρόμ των Αλβανών στις 4 Σεπτέμβρη» [Pogrom Against Albanians on September 4], <http://www.antinazi.gr/articles/pogromalb.htm> and Anon., «Επικίνδυνος Εθνικιστικός-Ρατσιστικός Παροξυσμός [Hazardous Nationalist-Racist Exacerbation], <http://anasintaxi.awardspace.com/189.htm> (accessed on 21/12/2012).

¹⁶ According to a global report of Nielsen Company in 2008, Greeks seemed to be “The world’s biggest luxury shoppers” by using their “well-worn” credit cards and spending cash on expensive clothes brands, <http://nl.nielsen.com/site/documents/GlobalNielsenLuxuryBrandsMay08.pdf> (accessed on 21/12/2012).

¹⁷ See the work of Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine*, Picador, New York 2008, where the author

and the shrinking of the public sector in favour of private investment. These actions would dramatically change the working conditions. Michael Hudson, a former Wall Street financial analyst and a distinguished research professor of economics, openly argued that the Greek crisis proved to be a neo-liberal experiment for the European bankers to determine how low wages can fall, how much social care can decrease and privatization prevail, before there is any significant reaction.¹⁸ In the meantime, the university students' conflict with the government, in an effort to avert the grading of education and its sell-out to private investors, had already taken place in 2006.

Alexandros' murder united various types of people – students, immigrants, unemployed – that were already connected through their abhorrence for all the suffering in the present, that is, the financial pressure on the unemployed, the economic and psychological blackmail at workplaces, the deportations and tortures of immigrants, the statist repression and control via the policemen, the anxious life of the students concerning their performance during their final exams.¹⁹

This climate of depression gradually escalated, covering every aspect of the everyday life like a spider's web:

The normality of work, “free time”, family and consumption kills every freedom's passion. And these passions turn into resentment, because they are imprisoned and undermined by a normativity, frozen like the most frozen monster. Because the will to life, before vanishing under the burden of roles and obligations, transforms to its opposite. Trapped in daily obligations, life finds itself in a situation of self-denial, again and again, reappearing in the image of a slave...Isn't the massive distribution of psychotropic drugs, this generous offer by the – yet, gasping – welfare state, proof of the unbearable mode of modern lifestyle? Domination deals with captivity in every aspect, justifying what it has itself produced: misery. Revolt is not yet done with any of them.²⁰

The burden on the back of the Camel obliges the animal to kneel down,

explains the application of free market policies in countries suffering other upheavals.

¹⁸Interview of Michael Hudson by Paul Jay, http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=7948#.UTXP5FeGf-s (accessed on 21/12/2012).

¹⁹ Transgressio Legis, p. 6.

²⁰ Anon., “Ο Θάνατος Αναίρείται Ζώντας” [Death is Negated Through Living], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 15.

deserting its life, leaving no way out. “The rebellion was a clear expression of proletarian anger against a life that is getting more and more devalued, surveilled, and alienated”,²¹ a repulsion towards the whole political, social and financial system.²² It was a matter of time for this realization to bring about a rupture with “reality”, the metamorphosis of the Camel into a Lion.

²¹ The Children of the Galley, “The Rebellious Passage of a Proletarian Minority Through a Brief Period of Time”, in Vradis and Dalakoglou, p. 116.

²² Anon., *Ιχνηλατόντας το Δεκέμβρη* [Tracing December], p. 24.

The Lion – Second Metamorphosis of the Spirit

“But in the loneliest desert the second metamorphosis occurs: the spirit here becomes a lion; it wants to capture freedom and be lord in its own desert. It seeks here its ultimate lord: it will be an enemy to him and to its ultimate God, it will struggle for victory with the great dragon. What is the great dragon which the spirit no longer wants to call lord and God? The great dragon is called ‘Thou shalt’. But the spirit of the lion says ‘I will!’... ‘All values have already been created, and all created values are in me. Truly, there shall be no more ‘I will!’ Thus speaks the dragon...To create freedom for itself and a sacred No even to duty: the lion is needed for that, my brothers. To seize the right to new values – that is the most terrible proceeding for a weight-bearing and reverential spirit”

Thus Spoke Zarathustra,
“Of the Three Metamorphoses”

The second metamorphosis of the spirit concerns, as it has already been mentioned, the biggest part of the December events. However, “the struggle of the Lion in the desert that the Camel was led” had many different aspects and levels during the December revolt and can be divided into two main categories. The first one is the will of the Lion, its desires, the (destructive) characteristics of its iconoclastic fight against all the values of the dragon. The second one includes the counter-revolutionary war declared by the reactive forces of the dragon in order to “separate the active forces from what they can do” and thus decompose them.

“There shall be no more ‘I will’”, says the dragon and this is when the revolt began, when the possibility of contemporary revolts ceased to be just utopian, through the creatively destructive will that turned against all those that deprived it of its desire: “The December revolt was the practical shattering of the utopia talking about the impossibility of such events in contemporary societies. A utopia that only direct action and the will of a creative destruction could demonstrate the fallibility of its arguments”.²³ The insurrectionists realize the burden on their back, a burden that suppresses their instincts and desires and is a mixture of guilt, false ideologies and rotten values. They also realize that the time has come for the “twilight of the idols”

like consumerism, apotheosis and fetishism of commodities, empty social relationships.²⁴ One of these idols is their own self. The image of a Camel loaded with every kind of “thou shalt”, the image of a slave and not that of a master. They are willing to attack this image of their self, destroy it and reconstruct it, turn it into a Lion that will reclaim the control of its desert – proletarians that will reclaim the control of their lives.²⁵ The type of this destructive attack was purely Dionysian. It was a spontaneous outbreak without a certain plan or guidance,²⁶ targeting the normality and the structures of the dragon that block the emancipative action against the – reactive version of – Apollonian illusions that make up structures, served as truths:

Within these first hours the normality of the city was disrupted. What is important in this respect is the ultimate attack on authoritative discourses, power relations, systems of discipline and punishment, and imposed schemes of perceptions. The state, authorities, the prevalent system of law and order were immediately identified with the normality in the city. Therefore, the disruption of normality had the qualities of challenging all the above altogether. In addition, the targeted attack against police is strongly connected with ideas of emancipation and liberation in the course of action.²⁷

The nature of this Dionysian attack is also revealed by the war against the Apollonian individuality that leads to isolation, egotism and alienation, through a comeback to a social, “primordial” unity. It is a war without pleas because it is full of projects.²⁸ One basic characteristic of a struggle without pleas is the absence of intermediaries and the practice of direct action. The insurrectionists acted *here* and *now* opposing the usual social-democratic tactic of postponing the clash by proposing the representation of the insurgents by some committee of professional politicians that will gradually look into the situation. Instead of “fighting” from the corridors of the parliament and through voting every four years, the agents of December chose to

²³ Transgressio Legis, p. 30.

²⁴ Open Committee of the Athenian Enraged 2008, “Rez’ Publica”, *Revolt*, No 3, p. 12.

²⁵ Proletarians from the Occupied ASOEE, “Καταστρέφουμε το Παρόν Γιατί Ερχόμαστε από το Μέλλον” [We Destroy the Present Because We Come From the Future], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 16.

²⁶ Editorial, “Ο Δεκέμβρης και το Μετά” [December and Its Aftermath], *Eutopia*, No 17, p. 12.

²⁷ Yannis Kallianos, “December as an Event in Greek Radical Politics”, in Vradis and Dalakoglou, p. 155.

²⁸ Anarchists from the Desert of the Real, p. 2.

attack police stations and stand against repression by being in the streets.²⁹

However, another aspect of such direct action was the immediate alteration – even in a micro scale – of social relations. The insurgents, consciously superseded the identities and roles imposed on them by the state. Meeting in the streets did not concern a gathering of students, immigrants and workers but that of subversive subjects, ready and willing to take over their lives.³⁰ This identity supersession inevitably affected the relations between different social groups. Hence, in the eyes of the one who stood beside you, you were no more facing the “other”, the stranger, the competitor but someone who would, unconditionally, share the same creative and subversive will as yourself. In accordance with Nietzsche, who believed the state to be a complex and certain qualitative type of human relationships, rather than a faceless structure, December insurgents changed the social relations in which they were forced to live and thus managed to weaken the state itself: “The proletarian subversive activity (...) weakened the security-surveillance state for a month and proved that we *can* change power relations. This became possible since the rebels targeted the social relations in which they are forced to live...”³¹

“To create freedom for itself and a sacred No even to duty: the lion is needed for that, my brothers”, says Zarathustra, and the “sacred No” of December composes the nature of this negation, its targets and the kind of nihilism it produced:

If each of us gathers the power of all the activities he/she is capable of fulfilling, no boss can take the ability of negation away from us. What we wish to be starts with a no. It gives birth to the only reason for waking up in the morning. It gives birth to the choice of forearming and attacking the order that chokes us back: the possible outset of an excessive practice of freedom.³²

The complete negation of politics and political parties, the destruction of banks, supermarkets and police stations is the actual negation of this world as imposed by the dragon. It is the underestimation of this world’s ideals and

²⁹ Les Habitants de la Lune, pp. 11-12.

³⁰ The Children of the Galley, “The Rebellious Passage of a Proletarian Minority Through a Brief Period of Time”, in Vradis and Dalakoglou, p. 118.

³¹ The Children of the Galley, “The Rebellious Passage of a Proletarian Minority Through a Brief Period of Time”, p. 122.

³² Anon., “Ο Θάνατος Αναίρεείται Ζώντας” [Death is Negated Through Living], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 15.

metaphysics.³³ This negation is Nietzschean for one more reason. It is anti-dialectic. While the dialectic of the Left codifies social war with the synthesis of the opposites, thus constructing a peaceful condition that everything finds its place, the uprising's negation is the explosion of thousands of negations that, nevertheless, does not contain any trace of self-negation: "At the same time, the dialectics of the Left try to codify the clash, the battle, the war through the logic of the synthesis of the opposites (...) But the destiny of the clash is not a synthesis; and the destiny of war is not peace. Social revolt is the concentration and explosion of thousand negations, but it does not contain neither in one molecule nor in one moment its own negation, its own end".³⁴ For Nietzsche, the dialectic ignores the nature of the forces that appropriate phenomena as well as the real element from which forces, together with their qualities and relations, stem. This ignorance has a certain origin, the ignorance of the question "which one?"³⁵ As a result, thesis and antithesis give a new synthesis but the negative element survives this procedure. On the contrary, Nietzsche introduces the concept of "difference" that rather suits a master, than a slave, morality:

In Nietzsche, the essential relation of one force to another is never conceived as a negative element in the essence. In its relation with the other, the force which makes itself obeyed does not deny the other or that which it is not, it affirms its own difference and enjoys this difference. The negative is not present in the essence as that from which force draws its activity: on the contrary, it is a result of activity, of the existence of an active force and the affirmation of its difference. The negative is a product of existence itself: the aggression necessarily linked to an active existence, the aggression of an affirmation...For the speculative element of negation, opposition or contradiction, Nietzsche substitutes the practical element of *difference*, the object of affirmation and enjoyment...What a will wants is to affirm its difference...What does this will which wills the dialectic want? It is an exhausted force which does not have the strength to affirm its difference, a force which no longer acts but rather reacts to the forces which dominate it – only such a force brings to the foreground the negative element in its relation

³³ Anon., "Κάλεσμα για μια Νέα Διεθνή" [Call for a New International], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 8.

³⁴ Flesh Machine/Ego te Provoco, "Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers! We've come for what's ours...", proclamation in Athens, 14/12/08.

³⁵ Deleuze, p. 158.

to the other. Such a force denies all that it is not and makes this negation its own essence and the principle of its existence.³⁶

Likewise, Decembrians' negation, the Lion's sacred No, is not a presupposition or principle of the difference between the world the dragon imposes and the world the Lion wills (through the creativity of the child) but the outcome of this qualitative difference. The insurrectionists deny the Dragon's world because it is not the world they wish (master morality of self-determination) – they do not wish another reality just because it is different from the (Dragon's) reality they deny (slave morality of hetero-determination). The desire of an ideal world, an affirmative choice, comes first, and then the rejection of the actual world, a negation as the outcome of an affirmation follows - not the other way round.

Moreover, this negation “creates freedom for new values”. Against all stereotypes that want social revolution to be a procedure that is activated gradually, depending on the maturity of the objective conditions and only concerning “professional revolutionaries”, December agents understand revolution process as the subjective activation of these conditions.³⁷ December's revolt is the sacred No that has offered the foundation for the annihilation of current values and the passage to a different world;³⁸ it is the Lion that “has seized the right to new values”.

As far as the nihilism of the insurgents is concerned, their position can once more be seen through a Nietzschean point of view:

Because nihilists are not prisoners of this world but its sworn enemies. Because the nihilism that appears as one more public and personal illness is winsome and provides hiding places for the weakness to resort to in complete rest. Passive nihilism is a false construction of the cowards' horror to deal with the unbearable dilemmas...Because nihilism is the absolute energetic motion that likes to turn things upside down; it is the adventure of the war in its most noble form...³⁹

³⁶ Deleuze, pp. 8-9.

³⁷ Anon., *Ιχνηλατώντας το Δεκέμβρη* [Tracing December], p. 50.

³⁸ *Transgressio Legis*, p. 31.

³⁹ Σύγχρονο Πειραματικό Ινστιτούτο Ανωμαλίας και Το Απόλυτο του Μηδενός [Contemporary Experimental Institute of Irregularity and the Absolute Zero], “Multum in Parvo”, proclamation in Athens 2008.

This perspective reminds us of the Nietzschean division between positive and imperfect nihilism. Positive nihilism means a nihilism that overcomes itself, that negates negation and activates reactive forces, whilst imperfect nihilism is passive and limits itself to the element of negative. After all, Zarathustra has already warned his audience for the misunderstanding that may arise by those who will not be able to understand the quality of his nihilism. The creator, he says, is looking for companions in order to create new values with them, those who know how to whet their sickles, but they will be called destroyers by those who have no idea what harvesting (creating by destroying) means.⁴⁰

Another critical stage in December's uprising was the reactive arsenal inside and outside the insurrectionists' camp that tried to decompose the positive forces of the revolt. As far as the "outside" reaction is concerned, the state mobilized all its machinery in order to suppress the insurgents. Through media, it tried to divide protesters into "good students" and "bad looters", policemen unleashed a chemical war together with numerous arrests and beatings of protesters – with the help of mayors and local officers – whilst the judges detained more than 60 protesters in an effort to terrorize all the rest in the streets.⁴¹ All political parties hastened to condemn the violence, asking people to express their rage through voting, and labour syndicates drew back, preferring to secure social peace rather than to reinforce the perspective of a general strike. Additionally, political youth inside universities tried to take advantage of the events but only in order to focus on corporate interests overlooking all that was happening in the streets.⁴²

In this context, it is very interesting to look, again, at the role of the political parties, and especially that of the Greek Communist Party (KKE), during the revolt. The decomposing procedures that all parties (left or right) applied under these revolutionary conditions aimed at increasing their influence as much as possible and at gaining political benefits⁴³ either by appearing as the original supporters of the uprising or as custodians of law and order. Nevertheless, the case of left parties like SYRIZA, that originally "supported" the uprising, and KKE, that showed its most hideous and reactionary face and it can therefore be regarded as the main

⁴⁰ Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, part I, §9.

⁴¹ Anarchist Collectivity "Circle of Fire", pp. 1-2.

⁴² Antiauthoritarian Haunt of Panteion University, "Από το Θέαμα της Δολοφονίας στη Δολοφονία του Θεάματος" [From the Spectacle of Murder to the Murder of Spectacle].

⁴³ Anon., "Η Εξέγερση δεν είναι Ουτοπία, είναι Ζωντανή σε Κάθε Κοινωνία" [Revolt is not Utopian, it is Alive in Every Society], *Diadromi Eleftherias*, No 79, p. 5.

decomposing and negative force in the service of the state, are undoubtedly of the greatest interest.

From the very beginning, members of KKE were making deprecating statements about the insurgents calling them “secret statist agents”, “provocateurs” and “instruments of foreign and dark circles that instigate the riots”. Being aware of the fact that the December revolt challenged not only the government but all the statist and political structure, the authoritarian communists of KKE did their best to remain faithful to bourgeois legality acting as a negative and reactionary force, in Nietzschean terms. Falling back on their usual practice of slandering anything they cannot control and manipulate, members of KKE wanted to reinforce their political role by decomposing the insurgents’ struggle, separating them from what they could do. The well-organized party’s propaganda aimed at the weakening and the division of the rebels in an effort to achieve a social consensus and, above all, maintain its internal coherence through the directive that the participation in the events in non-party terms would constitute clear violation of the sacred party’s discipline.⁴⁴

On the other hand, SYRIZA, and the extra-parliamentary parties of the Left, after taking part in the events of the first days, very soon chose to play the role of the pressure valve, thus intending to gain political benefits. Talking superficially about grandiose movements did not stop them from trying to suspend the violent clashes by acting consensually. Insurrectionists, in their view, were like orphan sheep needing their political corral and they were eager to offer it them.⁴⁵ This stance of the left parties was, according to Nietzsche, reactionary and decadent because – even if it was not for their sole benefit – it stood on a dialectical logic. All the values that the rioters rejected as the hardcore and the idols of the old world of the dragon, SYRIZA and the extra-parliamentary Left welcomed as the necessary ingredient of their dialectical recipe to create a reformist world, which seemed new but was actually decadent.

The other front of the war “from the outside” has to do with one of the dragon’s most powerful weapons: the mass media. The organized misinformation of public opinion and the distortion of the facts, varied in scale and intensity. Banks, ministries, ATMs, super markets, luxurious shops – that had become the rioters’ main target – “turned into” small and low budget shops burned by the hordes of the

⁴⁴ Anon., *Ιχνηλατώντας το Δεκέμβρη* [Tracing December], pp. 29-30.

⁴⁵ Anon., *Ιχνηλατώντας το Δεκέμβρη* [Tracing December], p. 33.

uncivilized.⁴⁶ Even though at the start of the events the media were referring to the rights of youth and “mourning” Alexandros’ innocence, as soon as they became aware of the revolt’s magnitude they changed their stance. They started to categorize protesters as peaceful or violent, started to question the presence of Alexis in such a “nasty” neighborhood (implying that whoever hangs out in Exarchia is a potential outlaw) and openly oppose the massive presence of people in the streets by reducing drastically the number of protesters reported as well as by terrorizing their audience.⁴⁷ The “show” continued when, after admitting that the information they had from police headquarters – about the supposed violence Grigoropoulos used to provoke the two policemen – were false, they kept on defending the state by considering the assassination not to be the result of a “supposed” state repression but an isolated incident. The distortion of truth went on with their persistence to attribute the assassination and all that followed to the “ghetto” of Exarchia, “where police cannot enter and criminality is high”, “ignoring” that Exarchia is one of the safest regions of Athens and that the riots were not an “exclusive privilege” of Greece’s capital. Almost every provincial city was participating in the general unrest, but journalists seemed to “ignore” this fact. The same thing happened with the range of destructions. TV reporters kept informing their audience about the unprecedented attacks on buildings of the Athenian historical center (National Library, Law School) only to find out, after a while, that the targets were strictly capitalist and not blind.⁴⁸

This media practice, to distort truth and construct an illusory reality, can be compared with the reading of Apollonian illusions, made by Andrew Koch. In his article, Koch interprets Apollo as the creator of structures presented as eternal truths. Apollo’s trick is to make everyone forget the subjectivity of his creation and present it as an objective, given truth. Then we have Dionysus who destroys these structures unveiling their dogmatist and deceiving character.⁴⁹ The role media played during December revolt was, without a doubt, that of a reactionary Apollo, trying to manipulate the public and monopolize the fields of information, knowledge and truth. The answer on the part of the insurrectionists was purely Dionysian, since they resisted misinformation by exposing its illusory nature and chose to circulate their

⁴⁶ Anon., *Ιχνηλατώντας το Δεκέμβρη* [Tracing December], p. 11.

⁴⁷ *Transgressio Legis*, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁸ The Sunday Virus, “Πώς να Κρυφτείς απ’ τα Παιδιά” [How You Can Trick Children], *Eleftherotipia*, 14/12/2008, p. 42.

⁴⁹ Andrew M. Koch, “Dionysian Politics: The Anarchistic Implications of Friedrich Nietzsche’s Critique of Western Epistemology”, in Moore.

views and experience of the events through open and non-dominant channels of counter-information. Moreover, their response to the media's lies was also imaginative. Ten days after the assassination of Alexandros, and with the media's shameless propaganda continuing apace, a group of ten-fifteen people managed to sneak into the studio of the public TV channel (NET) and raise a banner with the slogan "Stop watching and go out to the streets – Immediate release of those arrested", interrupting the newscast for one and a half minutes. In their later proclamation, the "invaders" underlined the reactionary stance of mass media by promoting the idea of self-organization and urging everyone to switch off the TV and take their lives in their own hands.⁵⁰

The statist monopoly of violence and the counter-violence of the protesters was another important issue the media dealt with, an issue that also concerned all political parties. Without exception, journalists and politicians made it clear that they condemned violence, no matter where it came from, a statement that clearly equated the violence of the state with the counter-violence of the protesters no matter who the agent is. On the other hand, Decembrians had a pure Nietzschean view on the matter: It is pointless to speak of an action without taking into consideration who the agent is, what are their intentions and what impression this act has on others. Hence, to them, their right to answer the monopoly of statist violence was a result of their master morality, based on the will (intention) of the actor and not to the cut-off effect of the action.

However, above all, the December insurgents came up with a momentous ascertainment: media are not something discoverable; they are a relationship that needs two. They need ears that are ready to listen to them, they rely on individualism and egotism. Nevertheless, those days proved the media relationship to be fruitless – as long as loneliness was falling apart and the streets were filled with people acting and communicating, it was incapable of imposing "the truth" on the numerous personal truths: "Those days proved that the more loneliness declined, streets were full with crowds and people were active (...) the more the media became a useless relationship, a relationship that was unable to impose the 'truth' on the truths of every one of us".⁵¹

The other aspect of this war is the internal contradictions of the

⁵⁰ So. Ma., "Εισβολή στη NET" [NET Invasion], *Eleftherotipia*, 17/12/2008, p. 17.

⁵¹ Anon., *Taratsa*, No 5, p. 6.

insurrectionists that prevented them from the ultimate unification of their revolutionary self and did not allow the Decembrian revolutionary subject to affirm itself, incorporate all actions into a harmonic and unified plan, hierarchize between higher and lower forces and, therefore “become what it is”. These internal contradictions had two main expressions.

The first one concerned the controversy raised by the looting practices during street battles, which formed two poles inside the movement. There were the ones arguing that looters were driven by greedy and bourgeois selfishness, did not contribute to the maintenance of the battles, due to which they were able to expropriate stuff, and their overall stance was apolitically picaresque. On the other side stood those who considered looting to be part of an attack on private property, an expropriation of the commodities that the oppressed have been producing but never enjoy. They reminded those who talked about political purity that class war is unification against all divisions produced by the social relation of commodity, the division between a product and its producer included, and a re-appropriation of the social products. Moreover, the separation between those who clash with the police and those who loot had already been a useful tactic to the service of statist propaganda and fails to recognize the different possible practices through which the oppressed rise up.⁵² In any case, these mutually excluded aspects inside the circles of the rioters weakened the positive forces of the revolt and, at the same time, strengthened the reactionary arsenal of the dragon.

The second case of internal contradictions related to the building occupation of the General Confederation of Workers of Greece (GSEE). This occupation, which lasted for five days, expressed the need for the expansion of the revolt to the workplaces but included two different types of agents. Base union syndicalists, who had the idea in the first place, defended the labor identity of the occupation and the idea of autonomous syndicalism, trying to underestimate the unemployed squatters that were involved. The other tendency consisted of radical proletarians who, via this occupation, aimed at attacking the production process and turn syndicalist appeals into active projects. The venture of GSEE occupation clearly showed the impossibility of the revolt’s expansion when the roles imposed by the capitalist state, like that of a worker – even the revolutionary one – are not to be superseded and destroyed in

⁵² Les Habitants de la Lune, p. 18.

favour of the rising of a new, liberated, radical subject.⁵³ The Nietzschean image of the higher man – prominent among the common herd but not an overman yet – perfectly describes the case. Attracted by the sermon of Zarathustra, two kings, a priest, a wise man, a sorcerer, a voluntary beggar and Zarathustra’s own shadow⁵⁴ seem to be the only ones capable of understanding the teaching about the overman. Nevertheless, and although they are aware of “God’s death”, these higher men still act as if God is alive, trapped in their petty habits and superstitions and having substituted God with an ass always saying “yes” to everything. Yet, Zarathustra clarifies that the passive, fatalistic “yes” of the ass has nothing to do with the creative “yes” of the overman. Likewise, base union syndicalists, though revolutionary, seemed to be trapped into the labour identity that the capitalist system invented, concentrating on labor demands, unable to utter the Lion’s “sacred No” even against their own selves, unable to destroy an identity (worker) inseparable from the Dragon’s world (capitalism) they reject.

Conscious and sharp, the December Lion fought for its freedom, uttering the “sacred No” to the dragon and preparing the way for the final stage of the Nietzschean/anarchist vision: the transvaluation of values through the third metamorphosis of the spirit.

⁵³ Anon., “Δεκέμβρης 2008: Μια Προσπάθεια να Ανιχνεύσουμε τη Δύναμη και τα Όρια του Αγώνα μας” [December 2008: An Effort to Detect the Power and the Limits of our Struggle], *Blaumachen*, No 3, pp. 16-17.

⁵⁴ See Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, part IV, “Conversation with the Kings”, “The Leech”, “The Sorcerer”, “Retired from Service”, “The Voluntary Beggar”, “The Shadow”.

The Child – Third Metamorphosis of the Spirit

“But tell me, my brothers, what can the child do that even the lion cannot? Why must the preying lion still become a child? The child is innocence and forgetfulness, a new beginning, a sport, a self-propelling wheel, a first motion, a sacred Yes. Yes, a sacred yes is needed, my brothers, for the sport of creation: the spirit now wills *its own* will, the spirit sundered from the world now wins *its own* world”

Thus Spoke Zarathustra,
“Of the Three Metamorphoses”

In December '08, the spirit of the Camel struck back not only through the street battles of the Lion but also by a territorial re-appropriation, the realization of Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ). There we saw the flourishing values of the Child determining the character of these ventures, which were utterly counter-hegemonic, anti-dogmatic and creative.

For the media, the events of December were nothing more than a nihilist outbreak without being able, or eager, to understand that during the destruction of the dragon-reality, the insurgents were part of a higher quality community and of a cheerful creativity. Additionally to the pure destruction, the revolt transformed every inch of occupied territory into a space consistent with the new world⁵⁵ the Child envisioned. Overcoming the materialist and narrowly economic causes, the uprising promoted a multiform creativity through a new type of social individuals – inspired by the values of freedom, self-dignity, solidarity, autonomy, self-organization and voluntarism – that constituted a collective individuality.⁵⁶ Hence, one part of the Child's “sacred Yes” is related to the TAZs and the activities developed there.

Until the 10th of December the reference points of the revolt were the three occupied universities of the centre of Athens: the Polytechnic School, the Financial School (ASOEE) and the Law School. All three squats included anarchists and antiauthoritarians and, spatially, they constituted a triangle within which the main December events were taking place. On the 11th of December an “occupy domino” began and spread to every neighborhood by squatting local town halls, culture centers

⁵⁵ Anon., “Κάλεσμα για μια Νέα Διεθνή” [Call for a New International], *Revolt*, No 3, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Alexandros Sxismenos, “Το Τέλος της Ασημαντότητας;” [The End of Insignificance?], *Babylonia*, No 51, p. 36.

and municipal buildings away from the centre of Athens. The reason was that the insurrectionists felt the time had come for their more direct communication with society and the decentralization of the revolt. The idea of occupying public spaces, not symbolically but bodily, and the practice of transforming them into places of self-organization and direct democracy, began to spread all over Greece.⁵⁷ These local squats and open assemblies were the Child's next step after the battle given by the Lion in order for it to become a "lord in its own desert". New structures arose from these practices with horizontal procedures and nonhierarchical features that questioned political parties and statist decision makers. All who participated were determined to self-define their lives, take their lives in their own hands: "At the same time, new structures are set up, within these assemblies, that function horizontally and with anti-hierarchical and self-organizing characteristics. They challenge and oppose political parties and statist "decision making" centers, taking their lives in their hands".⁵⁸

Two such ventures that are still in effect after December are the parks of Kyprou & Patision and of Navarinou. In the first case, the municipality of Athens tried to turn the park into a private parking lot, by cutting many old trees and thus deprive the residents of the neighborhood from an "oasis" in the middle of one of the most central Athens avenues. This provocative action of the mayor caused a fierce street battle and the constitution of an open assembly for the protection and maintenance of the existing park. In the second case, hundreds of Exarchian and other citizens, occupied an open space used as a parking lot and from a place full of concrete, created a lively park with a children's playground and a meeting point for several cultural events.⁵⁹

The hallmark of December's transvalued values was solidarity, and the most typical case was that of Konstantina Kouneva from Bulgaria. Working as a cleaner, Kouneva had also developed a significant syndicalist action within her union. On 23 December she was attacked and seriously injured with vitriol by sidekicks of her boss. This resulted in a huge wave of solidarity, which was expressed and organized through the formation of a relevant assembly that promoted her case, highlighting her migration and class status. Moreover, this element of solidarity was also received by the Decembrian insurgents from all over the world: Germany, UK, Italy, Turkey,

⁵⁷ Editorial, "Ο Δεκέμβρης και το Μετά" [December and Its Aftermath], *Eutopia*, No 17, pp. 20-21.

⁵⁸ Anon., "Τρομοκρατία είναι η Κανονικότητα" [Normality is Terrorism], *Brigada*, No 1, p. 6.

France, Ireland, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, USA, Poland, Bulgaria, Republic of Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Rumania, Slovenia, Cyprus, Egypt, South Korea, Portugal, Russia, Finland, Sweden, Brazil, Argentina, Ukraine, Belarus, New Zealand, Austria, Mexico and many more. This solidarity was not only verbal but was also followed by activist deeds – like occupations, battles with the police, even bombings against statist targets – and made it plain that the oppressed all over the world are capable of a new morality against the old world of capitalism: “As opposed to the globalized violence and terrorism of the capital, rebels throughout the world showed that they can put forward a new type of ethics, through words and deeds”.⁶⁰

The compatibility between means and ends is another important feature of December, directly related to squats and solidarity. The insurgents not only occupied public spaces in order to create the foundation of a new world, but the way these ventures were working was in accordance with this desired world, a foretaste of the new world in solidarity. All those who despised politics until then were now participating actively by taking initiatives, forming workshops, turning to self-organization, and contributing selflessly to these new structures. The existing solidarity which coordinated the means within squats, revealed a different reality without the dominant relations of the past, without the split of theory and action, leaders and disciples, canvassers and voters. All were involved in making and in implementing decisions.⁶¹ This compatibility of means and ends is essential for Nietzsche. It is so essential that, as said in the introduction of part C, he reaches the point of declaring that the end does not justify the means. On the contrary, it is the good means/war, a war that transvaluates values, that justifies a cause.⁶²

However, the above practices of squats and open local assemblies promoted one more basic Nietzschean characteristic. The project of unifying different aspects of one’s self in order to become who one is. Gradually, these new communities started dealing with general and more specific issues, overall, without distinguishing the resistance to the state from the resistance to the existing working status or the general living status. There were no separated or isolated fields of action anymore. All aspects of rioter’s lives were now seen under the perspective of a unified activism⁶³ that would also, exemplary, link the several individualities with collective action for the

⁵⁹ Editorial, “Ο Δεκέμβρης και το Μετά” [December and Its Aftermath], *Eutopia*, No 17, p. 24.

⁶⁰ Editorial, “Ο Δεκέμβρης και το Μετά” [December and Its Aftermath], *Eutopia*, No 17, pp. 10-11.

⁶¹ Anon., *Taratsa*, No 5, p. 11.

⁶² Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, part I, “Of War and Warriors”.

realization of “being”,⁶⁴ or else, for the becoming of who one really is.

In the previous metamorphosis of the spirit (the Lion) we saw how the revolutionary syndicalists of GSEE occupation could not supersede the identity of the proletariat and thus give the opportunity to the rising of a new radical subject. Nevertheless, this practice and view, concerning identities, was not the only one during the December events. There were also voices calling for the definite rapture with the capitalist world and the production procedures, something that included the destruction of the working class as such. Because only when the daily activity coincides with revolutionary activity, labour, value and all social classes can be destroyed and the former proletariat will be able to live in communist conditions.⁶⁵ After this partial destruction of identities in certain occasions (street battles, squats open assemblies),

no one was representative of any group, but everyone was represented...our need for belonging somewhere that had made us part of a whole dissolved in a few seconds and we immediately stopped feeling dispersed and alone...we were transformed from invisible solitary figures rambling around in our urban misery into political subjects who managed to challenge, not the solutions that had to be applied to a situation, but the situation itself.⁶⁶

A Dionysian resolve whatsoever, a primordial unit that did not just reform reality, did not only change it utterly in an effective way but through the transvaluation of values that occurred during those days it created wholly new spaces, followed by the recreation of the rioters themselves: “Our coming together violently spoiled the facades of all those urban places that actually cancel out our possibility of interaction and chain us to the role of a non-citizen; it gave birth instantly, instead, to (...) a multiplicity of small new personal relations of trust, commitment, and direct action (...) During the days of December, we did not transform the spaces given to us, but we created new ones where we could also let ourselves be created”.⁶⁷ This

⁶³ Editorial, “Ο Δεκέμβρης και το Μετά” [December and Its Aftermath], *Eutopia*, No 17, p. 23.

⁶⁴ Anon., “Η Εξέγερση δεν είναι Ουτοπία, είναι Ζωντανή σε Κάθε Κοινωνία” [Revolt is not Utopian, it is Alive in Every Society], *Diadromi Eleftherias*, No 79, p. 5.

⁶⁵ Anon., “Δεκέμβρης 2008: Μια Προσπάθεια να Ανιχνεύσουμε τη Δύναμη και τα Όρια του Αγώνα μας” [December 2008: An Effort to Detect the Power and the Limits of our Struggle], *Blaumachen*, No 3, p. 7.

⁶⁶ Kouki, p. 169.

⁶⁷ Kouki, pp. 170-71.

transformed situation was, undeniably, an image of the creative Child from the future, a foretaste of a new world. This stance of the rioters, their frequent self-definition as “an image from the future”, states a revolutionary potential, the possible and probable destruction of the capital in the future, in the future of anarchy.

D.6/ A Nietzschean Critical Synopsis of December '08

Shortly after the December riots, a very ambiguous slogan decorated a wall in Exarchia: “December was not the answer but the question”. Journalists, political analysts, ministers, all expressed their enthusiasm for December’s “political heritage”. Of course, their intention was to read this slogan outside its original frame, to convince public opinion that the gist of December was a question concerning the function of democracy, to convert a fight for absolute freedom to an appeal for reforming the political system.

According to Nikolakis the fact that this slogan only appeared in a specific street of Exarchia rather meant that it was addressed to all those related to the antiauthoritarian circles, meaning that – among other things, and especially for the anarchist “space” – it was a question concerning the anarchist/antiauthoritarian/autonomist (a/a/a) movement, its repertoire and self-criticism. For all the rest – social institutions, media and capitalism – December was an answer.¹ Therefore, a critical retrospect of certain points of December could be very useful for the a/a/a movement and even more interesting from a Nietzschean point of view.

There are two main categories that are worth being viewed through such a lens. The causes of the revolt’s failure to develop, escalate and prevail, and Nietzsche’s classic accusations against anarchists.

As far as the first category is concerned, at first sight what rioters missed was the organizing potentiality and experience.² But a more thorough look reveals the deeper causes: the critical point of the revolt was that “apart from school and university students, and a significant part of young workers the revolt did not manage to infiltrate the workplace”³ and thus “set off a bomb” in the heart of the capitalist beast. One serious reason for that – except for fear and insecurity, since financial crisis had already made its presence obvious – was the inability to destroy the fundamentally capitalist identities, like that of the worker. The GSEE squat was a good example of this weakness that consequently led the revolt to a lack of self-affirmation. And what Nietzsche teaches us is that when an active force is not affirming itself then it is either hetero-defined or static. In any case, it loses its positive quality and turns into a decadent, negative force. In addition, and similarly to

¹ Nikolakis, “Βασικά ο Δεκέμβρης ήταν Απάντηση” [Actually, December was an Answer], *Antidoto*, No 3, pp. 20-23.

² *Transgressio Legis*, p. 32.

³ Editorial, “Ο Δεκέμβρης και το Μετά” [December and Its Aftermath], *Eutopia*, No 17, p. 9.

the Higher Man of *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Decembrians did not even manage to destroy their “higher” type of identity, that of “insurrectionists”. The adoption of a particular kind of image and practices seemed to prevent rioters from changing social relationships utterly, because

...identity politics creates imaginary collectivities that are easily manipulated by capitalism as a way to divide and conquer potential revolutionaries...At the limit of any insurrection, the identity of the insurrectionaries must be destroyed or become an obstacle to insurrection itself.⁴

Thus, like the Higher Man, anarchist rioters were aware of “God’s death” – in their case they were aware of the need for destroying every kind of identity – but they were still bound to the same habits and identity processes, “the ideology of the ‘insurrectionary’ as separate from the general population”.⁵ In order to confront capitalism, the “sacred No” is the first decisive step, “but to go beyond capitalism requires new metaphysical foundations for social relationships”,⁶ a “Child’s” transvaluation of values. This is something anarchists could have generalized if they indeed dissolved the boundaries of their identity by intermingling with the population, sharing their experience and “technical know-how”, so that the population has, equivalently, the base to resist authority.⁷ Nonetheless, there were few cases that anarchists – especially during popular assemblies – showed an ideological rigidity, expressed by their indifference, if not hostility some times, towards those who were to discuss issues that anarchists consider to be self evident. One other obstacle for this supersession of the insurrectionary identity was anarchist’s excessive faith in the principle of unanimity during assemblies,⁸ a tactic that often discouraged people from participating in a decision-making procedure until the end.

The last part of this short review belongs to Nietzsche’s accusations to anarchists of being resentful, petty and power lustful. It would be very interesting to reflect what Nietzsche would think about December, if he was alive. Given his prior stance towards massive revolts (see his rejection of the Paris Commune) and his

⁴ Alex Trocchi, “For the Insurrection to Succeed, we must First Destroy Ourselves”, in Vradis and Dalakoglou, p. 316.

⁵ Trocchi, p. 317.

⁶ Trocchi, p. 315.

⁷ Trocchi, pp. 322-23.

⁸ Editorial, “Ο Δεκέμβρης και το Μετά” [December and Its Aftermath], *Eutopia*, No 17, p. 19.

difficulty in thinking on a social, rather than an individual, scale, we must assume that he would once again be hostile. After all, the deepest reason for Nietzsche not being an anarchist was that he could not turn his personal insurrectionism into a collective one, and this is exactly where Nietzsche and Decembrians part. Hence, it is true that in many occasions rioters' proclamations were full of hateful comments against the state and its sidekicks,⁹ presenting a totally hetero-defined logic, like that of Nietzschean slavish morality. In fact, what was taking place was an ongoing and dynamic war inside the movement, between the active and reactive forces, a war that at most – not all – levels had given victory to the former. The intensity of this contradiction can be seen in many parts of rioter's written speech. A typical example is the reference to human will and a life-affirmative stance as the ticket to revolution and a new reality, together with hate and a desire to provoke pain to the enemy.¹⁰

On the other hand, we have a straight answer to Nietzsche's accusations, through a Nietzschean reasoning, when Decembrians make it clear that if they fought power only because they would like to seize it, then they would have sided with the Left.¹¹ And this is where Nietzsche's anarchist aspects of philosophy apply to the 08 revolt: December never wished to purify or control the dragon's system, only to deny it, destroy it and create a new world on the relics of the old one.

Summary

This chapter consists of the case study of my research which is the December 08 revolt in Greece and, mainly, in the city of Athens. The aim of this case study was to review the revolt through the Nietzschean passage "Of the Three Metamorphoses", from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, in order to provide an interpretation of the events which is different than the mainstream one, and reinforce the previously established affinity between anarchists and Nietzsche.

In order to do this, I firstly presented a historical background of the recent Greek political and movement history, as well as a short genealogy of the anarchist space, thus offering a context of the revolt. I, then, talked about the mainstream perceptions of the events by the main political parties and the media, I located the contradictions and inadequacies of these perceptions and gave the anarchists'

⁹ Transgressio Legis, p. 7.

¹⁰ Transgressio Legis, p. 32.

¹¹ antifa LAB, *Καλύτερα στη Φωτιά της Ιστορίας παρά στον Πάγο του Θεάματος* [Better Being in the Fire of History than in the Ice of Spectacle], brochure in Athens 2008, pp. 4-5.

alternative view.

Secondly, and based on this alternative view, I highlighted the Bakuninist character of the uprising and continued with an analytical interpretation through the apparatus of the “Three Metamorphoses”. I examined all three metamorphoses of the spirit separately, arguing that each one of them corresponds to a different level of the revolt, and tried to analyze the events from this Nietzschean angle.

Finally, I developed a short critical approach of the revolt, focusing on the reasons for which it failed to escalate, and the all time classic accusations of Nietzsche against anarchism. The causes of the uprising’s long-term failure were reviewed and explained through the German philosopher’s theories of negation/affirmation and active/reactive forces, whereas his objections to anarchists, although true at some extent, were challenged via his own philosophy, meaning the gist of the analysis produced by the Nietzschean interpretation of the revolt.

PART E: CONCLUSIONS

The present research has set specific central goals and secondary aims from the very beginning. My main hypothesis has been the existence of an elective bond between anarchist and Nietzschean philosophy. My secondary aims emerge from this point and focus on the importance of reading Nietzsche as a radical political thinker – closer to anarchism than to fascism – and Nietzsche’s utility for the anarchist movement.

The first goal – the establishment of an elective affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchists – is the backbone of my thesis. After exposing the qualitative levels of the elective affinity, I continued with the review of the influence Nietzsche had on prominent anarchist figures and currents. The analysis in the cases of Goldman, Landauer and post-anarchism showed that Nietzsche’s presence was a catalyst for the construction of the respective theories and thus played a critical role in the synthesis of anarchist thought.

Emma Goldman acknowledged the elective bond between Nietzsche and the anarchists and used his philosophy as a methodological tool for almost every aspect (morality, human relationships, feminism etc.) of her social/political worldview. This “arsenal” also helped her respond to the Marxists, in correlation with the nature of revolution and the road towards it. Through Nietzschean will and individualism, Goldman defended an anti-essential type of subject living within an anti-deterministic environment. By rejecting the Marxist linear progress of history, she highlighted the voluntaristic factor in historical events and ended up identifying social revolution as a transvaluation of values, a concept she also borrowed from the German philosopher. Therefore, she was in a position to explain why the revolution took place in Russia, instead of Western Europe, but also gave a simple but crucial reason for the long-term failure of the Bolshevik revolution, which was again based on a Nietzschean point of view. Bolsheviks sacrificed human will in favour of a historical determinism and believed that even the end of a revolutionary society justifies every possible means.

Gustav Landauer also focused on the Nietzschean will, in order to describe his views and practices as well as differentiate anarchy from Marxism. His preference of “becoming” versus “being” designated the Nietzschean aspect for the fluidity of human existence and the ceaseless struggle between higher and lower forces. Moreover, the adoption of a revolutionary human type able to recreate themselves and their environment, was his Nietzschean answer to the endless Marxist projection of the revolutionary utopia in some unspecified future.

The quality of the perception of Nietzsche from Goldman and Landauer responds to the “cultural symbiosis” and “partial fusion” levels of elective affinity, respectively. In the first case, the two parts of the affinity are organically connected but remain distinct – Goldman uses the German philosopher as a methodological tool – whereas in the second case Landauer has set Nietzschean philosophy as a foundation stone of his own.

Post-anarchism is a current of anarchism that deliberately used the Nietzschean philosophy in order to criticize central axioms of modernity, like essentialism, morality and rationality, and weak points of classical anarchism, like power, that post-anarchists regarded as immanent. The fact that the whole post-anarchist project is so deeply based on Nietzsche, brings forward the fourth level of the elective affinity which is the “creation of a new figure”, meaning the decisive role Nietzsche played in the formation of post-anarchist thinking.

The comparison of Nietzsche’s worldview with that of other prominent anarchists, like Kropotkin, Bakunin and Malatesta, reinforced the hypothesis of the affinity since basic views of anarchism coincide with fundamental principles of Nietzschean philosophy. This comparison took place on the grounds of the first level of elective affinity – that is, “simple affinity” which gives the potentiality of an effective mingling and interaction of the two parts – and through concepts like genealogy, perspectivism, ontology, active and reactive forces, will to power and nihilism. The fact that these concepts enfold the whole thought of the German philosopher, as shown in chapter B.4, is of significant gravity for the establishment of the affinity.

The other field of the elective affinity process was the December case study. The anarchist perception of the events by the Decembrians, together with their practices, relied on certain Nietzschean concepts like transvaluation of values, perspectivism and anti-ontology. Therefore, I examined the affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchist agents of the revolt by theorizing the whole perception of the uprising on the part of the anarchists through a Nietzschean schema, the Three Metamorphoses of the spirit, a passage from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. The review of the events via this passage not only designated the importance of all three periods of the revolt (before, during and after the uprising) for the anarchists but also gave a possible overall account for their stance, practices and interpretation of those days.

Definite as it may seem, this theorization of mine does not indicate the

production of a Nietzschean anarchist theoretical model able to read anarchist actions in every occasion. This theorizing was founded on (and tried to enrich) the elective affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchists and my suggestion is that every theoretical model attempting to offer a holistic explanation clashes with the flexible and open nature of elective affinity, providing a rigid schema that drives us back to ideology. On the contrary, this “three metamorphoses” theorization of the revolt did not give the only and true explanation of the Decembrian deeds, neither did it offer the only possible Nietzschean reading of the events. It actually acted as a tool that tried to unify the fragments of narration offered by mainstream sources (media, political parties) and then read this narration critically in favour of one possible Nietzschean perspective for the approach of December. The richness of Nietzschean literature cannot, of course, be limited to this passage from *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, hence, the outcome is that the concepts constituting Nietzschean philosophy are present here and affirm the elective affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchists but the “three metamorphoses” reading is only one possible Nietzschean reading of the December revolt.

In this case study, the levels of the elective affinity seemed to gradually escalate. The location of basic Nietzschean concepts in the anarchist’s perception of the revolt – transvaluation of values, genealogy, anti-ontology, nihilism and will to power – set the ground for a “simple affinity” between the two parts. However, this dynamic relationship became the framework within which the discourses of Nietzsche and the anarchist Decembrians superseded a superficial similarity and reached, once again, the third degree of the elective affinity, mainly because of the Bakuninist character of the uprising. The adoption of a Bakuninist nihilism on the part of the insurgents and the affinity of this nihilism with Nietzsche’s active nihilism, as shown in chapter C.2, leads to an indirect “partial fusion” of the two parts.

The importance of reading Nietzsche as a political thinker is summarized in the effects that his thought may have when shifted to the field of politics. Nietzsche’s release from the bonds of Nazism is not something new of course, nor is the hint of connecting his philosophy with the left or even anarchist political thought. Nevertheless, a more extensive application of the “essential” philosophical concepts of the German thinker to a political family similarly radical and subversive, like that of anarchists, can more effectively monitor the actual results and changes in everyday life that arise from putting into effect principles like anti-normativity, anti-universality

or transvaluation of values. Hence, the location of the several degrees of the elective affinity between Nietzsche and the anarchists served both goals. On the one hand it offered an anarchist interpretation of Nietzsche that updated his philosophy within the context of political action and contemporary political issues, and on the other hand it indirectly contributed to the debunking of the way that fascist, conservative and right-wing readings tried to appropriate Nietzsche.

Nietzsche's utility for the anarchist movement is, again, an outcome of the procedure for establishing the elective affinity between the two parts, and is divided into three categories. The first has to do with those features of anarchism that constitute its special character, a qualitative distinction from the Left and the Marxist communists, together with a Nietzschean account of December '08.

What we saw is that a basic point of Nietzsche, the means in use define the quality of the desirable goals, is also shared by anarchists, summarized in "the end does not justify the means". This principle not only helped anarchists of all times to resist the bait of "effective" politics that communists always launched, or give sufficient arguments for proving the inadequacy of policies that lack a transformative content for both the agents and their environment (see the October Revolution), but can also serve as a criterion for issues that prey upon anarchist thought through time, like that of violence and the ethics of its usage from an anarchist point of view. In addition, the case of December made clear that meeting in the streets and fighting the same enemy will never be enough for anarchy and the Left to bridge the gap between their worldviews. Anarchists' Nietzschean preference to direct action and tactics based on a "here and now" transvaluation of values, leaves no room for negotiated politics, electoral procedures and hegemonic/party activities that sooner or later will lead to the incorporation to the existing political system.

However, the importance of Nietzsche for the contemporary anarchist movement can also be seen in "his" critique of the reasons for which the December revolt faded out, as a future guide for similar historical challenges. The lack of a decisive self-affirmation on the part of the insurrectionists, which was mainly expressed through their inability to completely supersede the status identities – even that of the insurgent/anarchist agent, gradually led to the decomposition of the revolutionary forces by the reactive inner forces (hesitation, lack of self-affirmation, hetero-definition) of the uprising. As presented in chapter B.4, Nietzsche's theory of active and reactive forces best describes the way that a force which does not confirm

itself by avoiding being static, degenerates into a hetero-defined, and therefore slavish, one.

The second category is of great importance for the internal reconstruction of the anarchist movement since through the affinal project we saw how the dichotomy between classical and post-anarchism is superseded and how political trends like anarchism and libertarian Marxism are organically connected.

The post-anarchism's critique of the absolute concepts of the Enlightenment is summarized in an anti-essential perception of the subject, a preference to today's revolt versus tomorrow's revolution and the reduction of structures to human relationships. Nevertheless, these elements also survive in classical anarchism if we read the latter through a more Nietzschean lens. It is clear that the post-anarchist critique of modernity, and therefore of classical anarchism, stems from a post-structuralism that goes directly back to Nietzsche. But at the same time Goldman and Landauer are two prominent anarchists that lived and got active within the time limits of anarchism's "classical" era and bore a significant affinity with Nietzsche on the same concepts upon which the post-anarchist critique is based. Hence, the important views of Kropotkin, Bakunin and Malatesta about ontology, essentialism, truth and objectivity that, as presented in chapter C.2, coincide with Nietzsche's, and, mainly, the presence of Goldman and Landauer in the portrait of classical anarchism, show why post-anarchism offers a fresh and vital self-criticism of anarchism, not beyond but inside "classical" anarchism, thus promoting a unification of the anarchist "self" through the prototype of the Nietzschean harmonization of one's self's inner tendencies in order to achieve the "becoming of who one is". Thus, Nietzschean philosophy became the decisive factor for which post-anarchism seems to remain within the limits of "classical" anarchism, since – on the one hand – it is the foundation stone of post-anarchist critique and – on the other hand – develops an elective affinity with anarchism's "classical" thought.

On a second level, Walter Benjamin, a libertarian thinker who reads Marx anarchically, also served to challenge the boundaries between libertarian Marxism and anarchism. Nietzsche's role in this case was critical in order to bring Benjamin even closer to the anarchist field, through the formation of an interactive triangle between Nietzsche, Benjamin and anarchy, founded on the approach of elective affinity.

Finally, the Nietzschean critique to anarchists and the analysis based on the elective affinity of the two parts made clear that the accusations of the German

philosopher are withdrawn through his own philosophy, and this offers an additional analytical tool for anarchy's self-determination and self-knowledge.

Nietzsche's prejudice against anarchism – mainly because of his fear of the “herd” – was expressed by his accusations about the petty and resentful nature of anarchists. Apart from the fact that the acknowledgement of these attitudes in occasional anarchist practices can be very helpful for the conduct of a productive anarchist self-criticism, the analysis of chapter C.2 based on the genealogical method of Nietzsche, the concept of nihilism and the dipole of debtor-creditor, reveals that the anarchist worldview is neither resentful nor destructive, like the slavish forces. Bakunin's nihilism, Kropotkin's genealogy, Andrea Papi's presentation of Malatesta on power, all signify a master anarchist morality, creative and familiar with the project of the transvaluation of values. The reading of Nietzsche's anarchist contemporaries – as well as their posterity – through the established elective affinity rather than Nietzsche's prejudice, constrains resentment and bad conscience to a minor part of anarchist practices, and definitely expels them from anarchist theory.

However, both secondary aims of this research and their outcomes were based on the nature of the elective affinity and the way it approaches anarchist thought, not as a rigid and closed ideological schema but as a dynamic and fluid spectrum of principles, inseparable from practices. That is, the prevalence of anarchy over anarchism.

Following the dominant model for categorizing anarchist tradition, in the context of political ideologies, there were two points that questioned the ideological perception of anarchism. The first was the anarchist canon and its problematic foundations, and the second highlighted the diversity concerning the perception of the same concepts by different currents of anarchism. Nonetheless, such points shake the usual ideological perception and construction of anarchism, favouring a more anti-dogmatic and dynamic profile, in accordance with a correlation of the various anarchist trends, based on their elective affinity. The “anarchy” of elective affinity allows a more penetrative reading than the “anarchism” of political ideologies, since the former promotes the unique features of anarchy (anti-homogeneity, fluidity, inseparability between theory and practice) that differentiate it from every other political current.

Additionally, the “anarchy” perception made anarchist thought and practice much more reachable for the seemingly hostile philosophy of Nietzsche, precisely due

to the the qualitative affinity of the two parts, an affinity that could not have been accomplished between Nietzsche and “anarchism”.

Likewise, my reading of Nietzsche also followed a tactic compatible with his philosophy and worldview. It constituted an active and “perspectival” reading between the lines that would not limit itself to the superficial paradoxes of his writing, but would be able to look behind his filigree style. This way, the hostility of Nietzsche to anarchy was not softened or beautified but subverted through the perspectival interpretation of his discourse.

Nietzsche cannot be regarded as an anarchist. The distance he consciously kept from the anarchism of his time, together with his obsessive individualism, drew a clear line between himself and the anarchists. Nevertheless, the quality and openness of his philosophy sealed the connection with anarchist thought, offering a dynamic that reaches even the highest degree of this affinity.

Is there a representative picture within Nietzsche’s worldview that can give us an anarchist taste of his mentality? Strange as it may seem, this picture can be found where one would least expect. In the ordinary life of a god, of Nietzsche’s champion god, Dionysus. In the libertarian synthesis of his disciples, his rage against anything that opposed harmony, joy and fraternity, his approval of everything that promoted life, creativity and freedom. In his simplicity and generosity, his empathy and love. In Dionysus, the “anarchist” god of Nietzsche!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General

- Ackermann, Robert John, *Nietzsche: A Frenzied Look*, University of Massachusetts Press, n.p., 1993.
- Alexander, Robert, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War*, Janus Publishing, London 2007, Vol. 1.
- Ansell-Pearson, Keith, *An Introduction to Nietzsche as Political Thinker: The Perfect Nihilist*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994.
- , *How to Read Nietzsche*, Granta Books, London 2005.
- Aristotle, *The Politics*, Penguin Books, London 1992.
- Bakunin, Mikhail, *Statism and Anarchy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990.
- Bamyeh, Mohammed A., *Anarchy as Order: the History and Future of Civic Humanity*, Rowman & Littlefield, Maryland 2009.
- Bergmann, Peter, *Nietzsche, "The Last Antipolitical German"*, Indiana University Press, Indiana 1987.
- Bey, Hakim, *The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*, Forgotten Books, n.p., 2008.
- Call, Lewis, *Nietzsche as Critic and Captive of Enlightenment*, <http://www.scrye.com/~station/dissertation.html> (accessed on 8/11/2010).
- Cameron, Frank and Dombowsky, Don (ed.), *Political Writings of Friedrich Nietzsche*, Palgrave, New York 2008.
- Chapman, A. H. and Chapman-Santana, M., "The Influence of Nietzsche on Freud's Ideas", *British Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 166 (February 1995).
- Conway, Daniel W., *Nietzsche and the Political*, Routledge, London 1997.
- Critchley, Simon, *Infinitely Demanding Anarchism: An Interview*, http://www.ucd.ie/philosophy/perspectives/resources/Simon_critchley_interview.pdf (accessed on 14/4/2012).
- Deleuze, Gilles, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, Continuum, New York 2005.
- Detweiler, Bruce, *Nietzsche and the Politics of Aristocratic Radicalism*, Chicago University Press, Chicago 1990.
- Diethel, Carol, *Historical Dictionary of Nietzscheanism*, Scarecrow Press, Maryland 2007.

- Dombowsky, Don, *Nietzsche's Machiavellian Politics*, Palgrave, New York 2004.
- Duval, Elga Liverman , *Teodor de Wyzewa: Critic Without a Country*, Librairie Droz, Geneve 1961.
- Ellwood, Charles Abram, *The Social Problem: A Constructive Analysis*, Forgotten Books, n.p., 2012.
- Emden, Christian, *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of History*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008.
- Evren, Süreyya and Rousselle, Duane (ed.), *Post-Anarchism, a Reader*, Pluto Press, New York 2011.
- Faucette, Judith, "Women's Rights Activist & Anarchist Emma Goldman", <http://judith-faucette.suite101.com/womens-rights-activist-anarchist-emma-goldman-a65719> (accessed on 1/12/2011).
- Freeden, Michael, *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach*, Oxford University Press, New York 2006.
- , *Ideology, a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2003.
- Frisby, David, *Georg Simmel: Critical Assessments*, Routledge, London 1994.
- Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, New York 1973.
- Goldman, Emma *Red Emma Speaks*, Wildwood House, London 1979.
- , "The Individual, Society and the State", <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/goldman/works/1940/individual.htm> (accessed on 25/3/2009).
- Golomb, Jacob and Wistrich, Robert S., *Nietzsche, Godfather of Fascism?: on the Uses and Abuses of a Philosophy*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 2002.
- Gramsci, Antonio, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence & Wishart, London 1998.
- Guay, Robert, "Nietzsche, Contingency, and the Vacuity of Politics" in Jeffrey Metzger (ed.), *Nietzsche, Nihilism and the Philosophy of the Future*, Continuum, London 2009.
- Hatab, Lawrence J., *A Nietzschean Defence of Democracy: An Experiment in Postmodern Politics*, Open Court Publishing, Illinois 1995.
- Heber-Suffrin, Pierre, *Introduction in Friedrich Nietzsche, La Naissance de la Tragedie*, C. Bourgeois, Paris 1991.
- Hinton Thomas, Richard, *Nietzsche in German Politics and Society, 1890-1918*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1983.

- Ibañez, Tomás, “Από τον Αναρχισμό στον Μεταναρχισμό” [From Anarchism to Postanarchism, *Παρέγκλιση*, No 1.
- Joll, James , *The Anarchists*, Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Jun, Nathan, “Deleuze, Derrida, and Anarchism”, *Anarchist Studies*, Vol.15, No 2, (2007).
- Kazantzakis, Nikos, *Friedrich Nietzsche on the Philosophy of Right and the State*, Sunny Press, New York 2006.
- Kinna, Ruth, *Anarchism: Beginner’s Guide*, Oneworld Publications, Oxford 2005.
- Knoll, Stefanie and Eloff Aragorn, “2010 Anarchist Survey Report”, <http://pimpmygarden.org/anarchistsurvey.com/results/> (accessed on 14/10/2010).
- Koch, Andrew M., “Dionysian Politics: The Anarchistic Implications of Friedrich Nietzsche’s Critique of Western Epistemology”, in John Moore (ed.), *I am not a Man, I am Dynamite, Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist Tradition*, Autonomedia, New York 2004.
- Kropotkin, Peter, *The State: Its Historic Role*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/petr-kropotkin-the-state-its-historic-role> (accessed on 2/12/2012).
- , *Ethics: Origin and Development*, Kessinger Publishing, New York 2007.
- Kuenzli, Rudolf E., “The Nazi Appropriation of Nietzsche”, *Nietzsche Studien*, No 12 (1983).
- Leiter, Brian, "Nietzsche's Moral and Political Philosophy", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Summer 2011 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2011/entries/nietzsche-moral-political/> (accessed on 2/12/2012).
- Mencken, Henry Louis and Flathman, Richard E., *Friedrich Nietzsche*, Transaction Publishers, New Jersey 1993.
- Miller, David, *Political Philosophy, a Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2003.
- Milstein, Cindy, “Reclaim the Cities: From Protest to Popular Power”, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/cindy-milstein-reclaim-the-cities-from-protest-to-popular-power> (accessed on 12/9/2013).
- Nehamas, Alexander, *Nietzsche, Life as Literature*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2002.
- Newman, Saul, *From Bakunin to Lacan: Anti-Authoritarianism and the Dislocation of Power*, Lexington Books, Lanham 2001.

- , *War on the State: Stirner and Deleuze's Anarchism*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/saul-newman-war-on-the-state-stirner-and-deleuze-s-anarchism> (accessed on 2/12/2012).
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, Vintage Books, New York 1989.
- , *Beyond Good and Evil*, Penguin Books, London 2003.
- , *Daybreak*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997.
- , *Ecce Homo*, Penguin Books, London 1979.
- , *Human, All Too Human*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1996.
- , *The Birth of Tragedy and other writings*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007.
- , *The Gay Science*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008.
- , *The Will to Power*, Vintage Books, New York 1968.
- , *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Penguin Books, London 2003.
- , *Twilight of the Idols and the Anti-Christ*, Penguin Books, London 2003.
- , *Untimely Meditations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007.
- , *Τελευταίες Επιστολές* [Last Letters], 1887-1889, Άγρας, Αθήνα 2003.
- Nussbaum, Martha, “Is Nietzsche a Political Thinker?”, *International Journal of Philosophical Studies*, Vol. 5, Issue 1 (1997).
- Okonta, Ike, *Nietzsche: the Politics of Power*, P. Lang, n.p., 1992.
- Osborn, Ronald E., “Nihilism’s Conscience: Nietzsche’s Politics of Aristocratic Radicalism”, *Modern Age*, Vol. 52, No 4 (Fall 2010).
- Patton, Paul (ed.), *Nietzsche, Feminism and Political Theory*, Routledge, London 1993.
- Poewe, Karla O., *New Religions and the Nazis*, Routledge, Abingdon 2006.
- Purkis, Jonathan and Bowen, James, *Changing Anarchism: Anarchist Theory and Practice in a Global Age*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 2004.
- Raynaud, Philippe, “Nietzsche” in Ζήσης Σαρίκας (ed.) *Ο Νίτσε και η Πολιτική* [Nietzsche and Politics], Νησίδες, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004.
- Reclus, Elisee, Clark, John P. and Martin, Camille, *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: the Radical Social Thought of Elisee Reclus*, Lexington Books, Maryland 2004.
- Sagriotis, Giorgos, “Benjamin and Anarchism”, <http://lboro.ac.uk/departments/eu/>

research/ResearchGroups/AnarchismRG/Docs/Sagriotis%20Paper%20-%20Benjamin%20and%20Anarchism.pdf (accessed on 31/1/2012).

Seferiades, Seraphim and Johnston, Hank (ed.), *Violent Protest, Contentious Politics and the Neoliberal State*, Ashgate, Farnham 2012.

Simon, Robert L., “*Social and Political Philosophy - Sorting Out the Issues*”, in Robert L. Simon (ed.), *Social and Political Philosophy*, Blackwell Publishers, Massachusetts 2002.

Stackelberg, Roderick, “Nietzsche and the Nazis: The Volkisch Reaction to Nietzschean Thought”, *Research Studies*, 51(1) (March 1983).

Strong, Tracy B., *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of Transfiguration*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago 2000.

Taguieff, Pierre-Andre, “The Traditional Paradigm – Horror of Modernity and Antiliberalism: Nietzsche in Reactionary Rhetoric”, in Luc Ferry and Alain Renaut (ed.), *Why We Are Not Nietzscheans*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1997.

Talmon, Jakob Leib, *The Myth of the Nation and the Vision of Revolution*, University of California Press, California 1981.

Taylor, Seth, *Left-wing Nietzscheans: the Politics of German Expressionism, 1910-1920*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 1990.

Thiele, Leslie Paul, *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Politics of the Soul: A Study of Heroic Individualism*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1990.

Veneuse, Mohamed Jean, “The Body of the Condemned Sally: Paths to Queering anarcho-Islam”, *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, Vol. 1 (2010).

Weir, David, *Anarchy & Culture: the Aesthetic Politics of Modernism*, University of Massachusetts Press, n.p., 1997.

Woodruff, Jerry, “The Use and Abuse of Friedrich Nietzsche – Review of Curtis Cate’s Friedrich Nietzsche”, *The Occidental Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No 2 (Summer 2006).

Young, Julian, *Nietzsche's Philosophy of Religion*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006.

Zenker, E. V., *Anarchism*, Read Books, n.p., 2008.

Elective Affinity

Primary

Bakunin, Mikhail, *God and the State*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/mikhail-bakunin-god-and-the-state> (accessed on 2/12/2012).

- Baldwin, Roger (ed.), *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, Dover Publications, New York 1970.
- Benjamin, Walter, *Illuminations*, Pimlico, London 1999.
- , *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms Autobiographical Writings*, Schocken Books, New York 1978.
- , *Selected Writings*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, London 1996, Vol. 4.
- Call, Lewis, *Postmodern Anarchism*, Lexington Books, Maryland 2002.
- Cohn, Jesse and Wilbur, Shawn, “What’s Wrong With Post-anarchism”, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/jesse-cohn-and-shawn-wilbur-what-s-wrong-with-post-anarchism> (accessed on 2/12/2012).
- Evren, Süreyya, “Notes on Post-Anarchism”, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/Süreyya-evren-notes-on-post-anarchism> (accessed on 2/12/2012).
- Franks, Benjamin, “Post-anarchisms: a critical assessment”, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol. 12, No 2 (2007).
- Goldman, Emma, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, Filiquarian Publishing LLC, Minneapolis 2005.
- , *Living My Life*, Penguin, New York 2006.
- , *My Disillusionment in Russia*, Dover Publications, New York 2003.
- Heroux, Eric, “Post-anarchia Repertoire”, *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, Vol. 1, (2010).
- Kropotkin, Peter, La Morale Anarchiste, <http://kropot.free.fr/morale-anar.htm> (accessed on 23/7/2012).
- , *Organized Vengeance Called “Justice”*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/petr-kropotkin-organised-vengeance-called-justice> (accessed on 2/12/2012).
- , *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, Kessinger Publishing, Whitefish 2005.
- Landauer, Gustav, *For Socialism*, Telos Press, New York 1986.
- , *Το Μήνυμα του Τιτανικού* [Titanic's Message], Τροπή, Αθήνα 2000.
- Malatesta, Errico, *Anarchy*, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/errico-malatesta-anarchy> (accessed on 2/12/2012).

- , “Anarchy and Violence”, *Pensiero e Volonta*, 1/9/1924.
- , *At the Café: Conversations on Anarchism*, Freedom Press, London 2005.
- , “The Terror of Revolution”, *Pensiero e Volonta*, 10/10/1924.
- , “Violence and Morality”, *Umanita Nova*, 21/10/1922.
- May, Todd, “Poststructuralist Anarchism: An Interview of Todd May to Rebecca DeWitt”, <http://www.oocities.org/ringfingers/mayint.html> (accessed on 3/10/2010).
- Newman, Saul, An Interview with Süreyya Evren, Kursad Kiziltug, Erden Kosova about poststructuralist anarchism, <http://community.livejournal.com/siyahi/2019.html> (accessed on 3/9/2010).
- , *Power and Politics in Poststructuralist Thought*, Routledge, London 2003.
- Papi, Andrea, “Antiviolenza sì, Nonviolenta no”, <http://www.anarca-bolo.ch/ rivista/296/19.htm> (accessed on 31/1/2012).

Secondary

- “Alpine Anarchist Meets Süreyya Evren”, The Anarchist Library, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/Süreyya-evren-alpine-anarchist-meets-Süreyya-evren> (accessed on 2/12/2012).
- Aschheim, Steven E., *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany, 1890-1990*, University of California Press, California 1994.
- Bookchin, Murray, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm*, AK Press, San Francisco 1995.
- , “The Ghost of Anarcho-Syndicalism”, http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bookchin/ghost2.html (accessed on 14/10/2010).
- Bridgwater, Patrick, *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony: a Study of Nietzsche's Impact on English and American Literature*, Leicester University Press, Leicester 1972.
- Buber, Martin, *Paths in Utopia*, Beacon Press, Boston 1958.
- Colombo, Eduardo, “Anarchisme, Obligation Sociale et Devoir d’ obeissance”, *Refractions*, No 2 (1998).
- Cox, Christoph, *Nietzsche: Naturalism and Interpretation*, University of California Press, n.p., 1999.
- Day, Richard, *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements*, Pluto Press, London 2005.
- Deppermann, Maria, “Nietzsche in the Soviet Union, Let us dig out the buried Nietzsche” in

Ζήσης Σαρίκας (επιμ.), *Ο Νίτσε και η Πολιτική* [Nietzsche and Politics], Νησίδες, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004.

Dolgoff, Sam (ed.), *Bakunin on Anarchy*, Vintage Books, New York 1972.

Ferraro, D., “Anarchism in Greek Philosophy”, *Anarchy*, No 45 (November 1964).

Friedman, Maurice, *Martin Buber's Life and Work*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit 1988.

Gadamer, H.G., Adorno, T.W. and Horkheimer, M., *Για τον Νίτσε* [On Nietzsche and Us], Ίνδικτος, Αθήνα 2003.

Gillespie, Michael Allan, *Nihilism Before Nietzsche*, University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Haraway, Sam, “Kropotkin, Power and the State”, [http:// www.anarchiststudies.org/node/481](http://www.anarchiststudies.org/node/481) (accessed on 29/12/2011).

Holub, Robert C., “Nietzsche: Socialist, Anarchist, Feminist”, [http:// infoshop.org/library/pdfs/American_Nietzsche.pdf](http://infoshop.org/library/pdfs/American_Nietzsche.pdf) (accessed on 4/1/2012).

Kinna, Ruth, “Fields of Vision: Kropotkin and Revolutionary Change”, *Substance*, Vol. 36, No 2, Issue 113.

Kuhn, Gabriel (ed.), *Gustav Landauer, Revolution and Other Writings*, PM Press, Oakland 2010.

–, Interview of Gabriel Kuhn, <http://post-anarchism.blogspot.com/2010/07/state-as-social-relationship-gustav.html> (accessed on 27/12/2011).

Löwy, Michael, *Redemption and Utopia: Jewish Libertarian Thought in Central Europe. A Study in Elective Affinity*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 1992.

–, *Fire Alarm: Reading Walter Benjamin's On the Concept of History*, Verso, London 2005.

Marshall, Peter, *Demanding the Impossible, A History of Anarchism*, Harper Perennial, London 2008.

Maximov, G. P., *Μιχαήλ Μπακούνιν: Φιλοσοφία, Θρησκεία, Ηθική* [Mikhail Bakunin: Philosophy, Religion, Ethics], Πανοπτικόν, Θεσσαλονίκη 2006.

Moore, John (ed.), *I am not a Man, I am Dynamite, Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist Tradition*, Autonomedia, New York 2004.

Morgan, Kevin, “Herald of the Future? Emma Goldman, Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist as Superman”, *Anarchist Studies*, Vol.17, No 2 (2009).

Nettlau, Max, *A Short History of Anarchism*, Freedom Press, London 1996.

Newman, Saul, “Voluntary Servitude Reconsidered: Radical Politics and the Problem of Self-Domination”, *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, “Post-Anarchism Today”, No.1 (2010).

Price, Wayne, “Libertarian Marxism’s Relation to Anarchism”, <http://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/wayne-price-libertarian-marxism-s-relation-to-anarchism> (accessed on 06/04/2013).

Spyropoulou, Angeliki (ed.), *Βάλτερ Μπένγιαμιν, Εικόνες και Μύθοι της Νεωτερικότητας* [Walter Benjamin, Images and Myths of Modernity], Αλεξάνδρεια, Αθήνα 2007.

Stack, George J., *Nietzsche and Emerson, An Elective Affinity*, Ohio University Press, Ohio 1993.

Sunshine, Spencer, “Nietzsche and the Anarchists”, <http://radicalarchives.org/2010/05/18/nietzsche-and-the-anarchists/> (accessed on 28/10/2010).

Tanner, Michael, *Nietzsche, A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994.

Vallianos Periklis, *Συνείδηση, Γλώσσα και Ιστορική Ζωή* [Conscience, Language and Historical Life], Πορεία, Αθήνα 2002.

Weiss, Penny and Kensinger, Loretta (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Emma Goldman*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania 2007.

Case Study

Brochures and Proclamations

Anarchist Collectivity “Circle of Fire”, “Αυτές οι Μέρες Είναι Μέρες Εξέγερσης Όλων των Καταπιεσμένων” [These Days are the Days of Revolt for all the Oppressed], Athens, 8/12/2009.

Anarchists from the Desert of the Real, “Με το Αίμα Ακόμα στα Μάτια...Με την Οργή Ακόμα στα Χέρια...Πληρώσανε Ακριβά αλλά Χρωστάνε Πολλά Ακόμα!” [With the Blood Still in the Eyes...With the Rage Still in Hand...They Dearly Paid but they Still Owe a Lot!], Athens 2008.

Antiauthoritarian Haunt of Panteion University, “Από το Θέαμα της Δολοφονίας στη Δολοφονία του Θεάματος” [From the Spectacle of Murder to the Murder of Spectacle], Athens 2008.

antifa LAB, *Καλύτερα στη Φωτιά της Ιστορίας παρά στον Πάγο του Θεάματος* [Better Being in the Fire of History than in the Ice of Spectacle], Athens 2008.

Contemporary Experimental Institute of Irregularity and the Absolute Zero, “Multum in Parvo”, Athens 2008.

Flesh Machine/Ego te Provoco, “Up Against the Wall Motherfuckers! We’ve come for what’s ours...”, Athens, 14/12/08.

National Opera House squatters “Απελευθερωμένη Λυρική Σκηνή” [Liberated Opera

House], Athens 2008.

National Opera House squatters, “Εξεγερμένη Λυρική Σκηνή” [Revolted Opera House], Athens 2008.

Magazines and Newspapers

Antidoto, No 3

Avgi, 14/12/2008

Avriani, 12/12/2008

Babylonia, No 51

Blaumachen, No 3

Brigada, No 1

Diadromi Eleftherias, No 44 and No 79

E Istorika, No 246 and 292

Eleftheros Tipos, 8/12/2008

Elftherotipia, 9/12/2008, 12/12/2008, 14/12/2008, 17/12/2008 and 20/12/2008

Eutopia, No 17

Panopticon, No 12,

Revolt, No 3

Rizospastis, 10/12/2008 and 16/12/2008

Taratsa, No 5

Internet

Anarchists for Social Liberation, “Το Ζήτημα της Οργάνωσης” [The Issue of Organization], <http://aka.espiv.net/index.php?id=46> (accessed on 10/5/2013).

Anon., «Ανεξέλεγκτη Βία, Καμένα Μαγαζιά, Άφαντη η Αστυνομία» [Rampant Violence, Burnt Shops, The Police has Disappeared], <http://www.tanea.gr/news/greece/article/4491162/?iid=2> (accessed on 21/2/2003).

Anon., «Απροσμέτρητες Καταστροφές» [Countless Destructions], http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_ell_2_09/12/2008_295316 (accessed on 21/2/2003).

Anon., «ΕΕ: Η Οικονομική Κρίση Χτυπά τους Νέους με Ανεργία και Φτώχεια» [Economic Crisis hits Young People Causing Unemployment and Poverty], <http://www.tovima.gr/society/article/?aid=492025> (accessed on 10/5/2013).

Anon., «Επικίνδυνος Εθνικιστικός-Ρατσιστικός Παροξυσμός» [Hazardous Nationalist-Racist Exacerbation], <http://anasintaxi.awardspace.com/189.htm> (accessed on 21/12/2012).

Anon., «Καταγγελία! Μπάτσοι Γουρούνια Δολοφόνοι» [Denouncement! Cops, Pigs, Murderers], https://athens.indymedia.org/front.php3?lang=el&article_id=936420 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

Anon., «ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ: 100 Εκατ. Ευρώ Καταστροφές και Ληλασίες» [REPORT: 100 million Euros damage because of destruction and looting], <http://www.tovima.gr/relatedarticles/article/?aid=246563&wordsinarticle=%CE%BA>

[%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%84%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%86%CE%AD%CF%82](#) (accessed on 21/2/2003).

Anon., «Κάτω η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΟΛΟΦΟΝΩΝ: Γενική Πολιτική Απεργία Διαρκείας» [Enough with the GOVERNEMENT OF MURDERERS: General, Political Strike], http://www.eek.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=133:2011-11-17-18-55-05&catid=53:december2008&Itemid=62 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

Anon., «Οι Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες του 2004 Κόστισαν 8,5 Δισεκατομμύρια Ευρώ» [Olympic Games 2004 cost 8.5 billion euros], <http://www.tanea.gr/news/greece/article/4768950/?iid=2> (accessed on 21/12/2012).

Anon., «Το Πογκρόμ των Αλβανών στις 4 Σεπτέμβρη» [Pogrom Against Albanians on September 4], <http://www.antinazi.gr/articles/pogromalb.htm> (accessed on 21/12/2012).

Anon., http://www.sek-ist.gr/EA/home.php?article_ID=1184 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

Anon., http://www.sek-ist.gr/EA/home.php?article_ID=1174 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

Anon., http://www.sek-ist.gr/EA/home.php?article_ID=1188 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

Bohlen Celestine, “French Politicians Fear Youth Violence Along Greek Pattern”, *The New York Times*, 19/12/2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/19/world/europe/19iht-letter.1.18819672.html?_r=0 (accessed on 21/2/2013).

Egger, Pepe, “Remnants of A Greek Past, Image From the Future”, <http://www.zcommunications.org/remnants-of-a-greek-past-image-from-the-future-by-pepe-egger> (accessed on 10/5/2013).

Gaitanou, Irini, “Fuck December ’08 – Fight Now!”, <http://ilesxi.wordpress.com/2011/12/14/fuck-december-08-fight-now/#ftn21> (accessed on 21/2/2013).

Global Nielsen Report, “April 2008, Consumers and Designer Brands”, <http://nl.nielsen.com/site/documents/GlobalNielsenLuxuryBrandsMay08.pdf> (accessed on 21/12/2012).

Interview of Jean-Claude Juncker to Dimitra Kroustalli, <http://www.tovima.gr/politics/article/?aid=361183> (accessed on 10/5/2013).

Interview of Michael Hudson to Paul Jay, http://therealnews.com/t2/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=74&jumival=7948#.UTXP5FeGf-s (accessed on 21/12/2012).

Kotronaki, Loukia and Seferiades, Seraphim, “Athens December 2008: The Spatial Prerequisites of an Uprising”, <http://www.re-public.gr/en/?p=2744> (accessed on 10/5/2013).

OAED, “Questions About Registering with OAED” http://www.oaed.gr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=908&Itemid=821&lang=en#A0 (accessed on 25/2/2013).

- Papastaurou, Kyriillos, “Σύντομη Αναφορά στο Αναρχικό Ρεύμα στην Ελλάδα” [Short Reference to the Anarchist Current in Greece], <http://www1.rizospastis.gr/story.do?id=2801152&publDate> (accessed on 20/5/2013).
- Public Issue, «Οικονομικό Βαρόμετρο, Δεκέμβριος 2008 – Δείκτης Καταναλωτικού Κλίματος (CCI) [Economic Barometer, December 2008 - Consumer Confidence Index], <http://www.publicissue.gr/1034/cci-2008-dec/> (accessed on 10/5/2013).
- Stavrides, Stavros, “The December 2008 Youth Uprising in Athens: Spatial Justice in an Emergent ‘City of Thresholds’”, http://www.jssj.org/archives/02/media/public_space_vo2.pdf (accessed on 20/5/2013).
- Subcomandante Marcos of EZLN, “Message to revolted Greece”, <http://ainfos.ca/09/jan/ainfos00174.html> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GIYBUCrV534> (accessed on 21/2/2013).
- Terminal 119, “Μια Συνέντευξη με τον Φίλιππα Κυρίτση” [An Interview with Filippos Kyritsis], <http://terminal119archive.wordpress.com/2008/03/15/%CE%BC%CE%B9%CE%B1%CF%83%CF%85%CE%BD%CE%AD%CE%BD%CF%84%CE%B5%CF%85%CE%BE%CE%B7-%CE%BC%CE%B5-%CF%84%CE%BF%CE%BD%CF%86%CE%AF%CE%BB%CE%B9%CF%80%CF%80%CE%B1%CE%BA%CF%85%CF%81%CE%AF%CF%84%CF%83%CE%B7/> (accessed on 20/5/2013).
- The Children of the Galley, “Οι Ιστορικές Περιπέτειες των Εννοιών του Πολιτικού Εγκλήματος και της Τρομοκρατίας” [The Historical Adventures of the Meaning of Political Crime and Terrorism], p. 53, http://www.tapaidiatisgalarias.org/wpcontent/uploads/2009/11/historical_terrorism.pdf (accessed on 20/5/2013).
- A. Δ., “Για την Οργάνωση του Ελληνικού Αναρχικού Κινήματος” [For the Organization of the Greek Anarchist Movement], <http://ngnm.vrahokipos.net/index.php/theory/443-2012-04-22-12-00-37> (accessed on 20/5/2013).
- Δ. Τ., “Η Αναρχική Οργάνωση στην Ελλάδα 1970-1990” [The Anarchist Organization in Greece], <http://ngnm.vrahokipos.net/index.php/history/41-arthra/75-1970-1990> (accessed on 20/5/2013).
- , “Για μια Ιστορία του Αναρχικού Κινήματος του Ελλαδικού Χώρου” [For a History of the Anarchist Movement in Greece], Melbourne 2008, <http://ngnm.vrahokipos.net/> (accessed on 20/5/2013).
- , “Η Κίνηση για τη Συγκρότηση Αναρχικής Ομοσπονδίας” [The Move to Set up an Anarchist Federation], <http://ngnm.vrahokipos.net/index.php/history/41-arthra/76-omospondia> (accessed on 20/5/2013).
- Δίκτυο Π.Δ., “Ο Αναρχικός Χώρος” [The Anarchist Space], http://www.anarkismo.net/article/14864&comment_limit=0&condense_comments=false (accessed on 20/5/2013).

- ΕΚΚΕ, «Κοινωνικό Πορτραίτο 2010» [Social Portrait], http://www2.ekke.gr/images/PDF/EKKE_Koinoniko%20Portaito_2010.pdf (accessed on 10/5/2013).
- Καμπύλης, Τάκης, «Χάος, Καταστροφές και Σχέδιο Απραξίας» [Chaos, Destruction and Plan of Inaction], http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_politics_2_09/12/2008_295295 (accessed on 21/2/2003).
- Νεσφυγέ Λία, Θεοδωρακόπουλος Πάνος, Κυρούσης Γιώργος, «Αγριότητες στους Δρόμους» [Atrocities in the Streets], <http://www.tanea.gr/news/greece/article/4492840/?iid=2> (accessed on 21/2/2003).
- Σουλιώτης Γιάννης, «Εφιαλτικές Καταστροφές στο Κέντρο» [Nightmarish Destruction in the City Center], http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_politics_2_09/12/2008_295293 (accessed on 21/2/2003).
- ΣΥΡΙΖΑ ΒΥΡΩΝΑ, «Προς Όλους τους Συντρόφους και Συντρόφισσες του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ» [To all Comrades of SYRIZA], <http://syriza-vyrona.pblogs.gr/2008/12/378245.html> (accessed on 21/2/2013).
- Τσώλης, Ζώης, «Οι Μολότοφ Καίνε την Οικονομία» [Molotov Bombs Set Economy on Fire], <http://www.tovima.gr/politics/article/?aid=246570&wordsinarticle> (accessed on 21/2/2003).
- Ψυχάρης Σταύρος, «Ανεμμάτιστοι» [Changeable], <http://www.tovima.gr/opinions/article/?aid=246564&wordsinarticle> (accessed on 21/2/2013).

Books

- Anon., *30 Χρόνια Πίσω* [30 Years Back], no time, no place, no edition.
- Anon., *Ιχνηλατώντας το Δεκέμβρη* [Tracing December], no ed., no place, no time.
- Autonomous Citizens' Initiative, *Αυτοί οι Αγώνες Συνεχίζονται* [These Struggles Go on], no edition, Athens 1996.
- Clogg, Richard, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1997.
- Kalamaras, Panagiotis, *Πατησίων και Στουρνάρη Γωνία* [Corner of Patission & Stournari], Ελευθεριακή Κουλτούρα, Αθήνα 2013.
- Manolo, *Οι Κοινωνικοί Αγώνες στην Ελλάδα των Αντιεξουσιαστικών Ομάδων κατά την δετία του ΠΑΣΟΚ (1981-1989)* [The Social Struggles of the Antiauthoritarian Groups During the 8 Years of PASOK (1981-1989) in Greece], no edition, Αθήνα 1989.
- Margaritis, Giorgos, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Εμφυλίου Πολέμου 1946-1949* [History of the Greek Civil War], Vol.1, Βιβλιόραμα, Αθήνα 2001.

Transgressio Legis, *Όταν Απαρνείται Κανείς τον Πόλεμο, Απαρνείται και τη Μεγάλη Ζωή* [When One Denies War, One Also Denies a Great Life], no ed., no place, no time.

Vradis, Antonis and Dalakoglou, Dimitris (ed.), *Revolt and Crisis in Greece*, AK Press, London 2011.

Articles

Astrinaki, Rania, ““(Un)hooding’ a Rebellion: The December 2008 Events in Athens”, *Social Text*, No 101 (2009).

Iakovidou, Josephine, Kanellopoulos, Kostas and Kotronaki, Loukia , “The Greek Uprising of December 2008”, *Situations*, Vol. 3, No 2 (2010).

Iliopoulos, Christos, “We Wish you a Merry Crisis and a Happy New Fear. A postscript from the December riots in Athens”, *Anarchist Studies*, Vol. 17, No 1 (2009).