

T.C.
ANAKKALE ONSEKİZ MART ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

**THE PROBLEM OF LIBERTY: AN ANARCHIST READING
OF FIGHT CLUB AND THE DISPOSSESSED**

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Hazırlayan
DENİZ KARACA

Tez Danışmanı
PROF. DR. SEVİNÇ ÖZER

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İNGİLİZ DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI

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Yüksek lisans tezi olarak sunduğum **“The Problem of Liberty: An Anarchist Reading of Fight Club and The Dispossessed”** adlı çalışmanın, tarafımdan, bilimsel ahlak ve geleneklere aykırı düşecek bir yardıma başvurmaksızın yazıldığını ve yararlandığım eserlerin kaynakçada gösterilenlerden oluştuğunu, bunlara atıf yapılarak yararlanılmış olduğunu belirtir ve bunu onurumla doğrularım.

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22.11.2013

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SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

Deniz KARACA'ya ait **THE PROBLEM OF LIBERTY: AN ANARCHIST READING OF FIGHT CLUB AND THE DISPOSSESSED** adlı çalışma, jürimiz tarafından İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, **YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ** olarak oybirliği/oyçokluğu ile kabul edilmiştir.

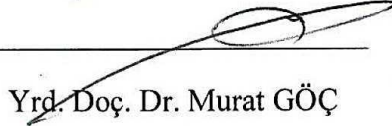


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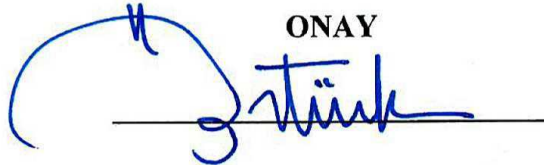


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ABSTRACT

The Problem of Liberty: An Anarchist Reading of *Fight Club* and *The Dispossessed*

Poststructuralist criticism of anarchist approach of freedom will be the core of this study. This thesis claims that anarchist tradition while arguing freedom to be indispensable; it traps itself the trap of enlightenment. Anarchism which can be defined as the philosophy of freedom focuses on a world with an absolute independence of individuals. However, the question that, what freedom is, creates a problem for anarchism itself. This problem is based on discussions on the source of authority and relation between individual and society. Questions that if freedom and individual freedom are possible or not and could an individual be free in society, are the main concerns of this study. The reflections of the liberty problem on literature will be analyzed through Chuck Palahniuk's *Fight Club* and Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*. This thesis is thought to be a rethinking of classical European based anarchism with a poststructuralist approach. In this sense the works of classical anarchist thinkers such as Bakunin, Proudhon, Stirner, Malatesta etc. will be analyzed with poststructuralist ideas.

ÖZET

Özgürlük Sorunsalı: *Fight Club* ve Mülksüzlerin Anarşist bir Okuması

Anarşist geleneğin postyapısalcı bir okuması bu çalışmanın temelini oluşturmaktadır. Bu tez anarşizmin özgürlüğü vazgeçilmez ilan ederken, kendisini aydınlanma tuzağına düşürdüğü iddiasından yola çıkıyor. Özgürlüğün felsefesi olarak tanımlanabilecek anarşizm bireylerin tartışılmaz özgürlüğüne vurgu yapıyor. Ancak özgürlüğün ne olduğu sorusu bu aşamada problem yaratıyor. Özgürlük ya da bireysel özgürlüğün mümkün olup olmadığı, bireyin toplumda özgür olup olamayacağı soruları bu çalışmanın temel kaygılarıdır. Özgürlük probleminin edebiyatı yansımaları *Fight Club* ve *Mülksüzler* üzerinden okunarak, özgürlük sorunun anarşizmin aydınlanmacı paradigmadan temellenmesinden kaynaklandığı ve bunun çözümünün anarşizmin postyapısalcı bir okumayla sonuçlandırılabilceği iddaa ediliyor. Bu tezin klasik Avrupa temelli anarşizmin postyapısalcı bir eleştirisiyle yeniden yorumlanmasıdır. Bu bağlamda Bakunin, Proudhon, Stirner, Malatesta gibi düşünürlerin eserleri postyapısalcı fikirlerle analiz edilecektir.

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INTRODUCTION

Tyranny says Tocqueville is now the system that: “the body is left free, and the soul is enslaved.”(2009: 489) In our world oppression does not work as it does in monarchies. Rather than enslaving the body, authority focusses on the ways of enslaving the existence of human. The forms of oppression have changed and the struggle against the authority and oppression has to keep up with this change. So to do this it is essential to analyze where oppression locates itself and the struggle for freedom needs to find a ground for itself against oppression. Let us start with the definition of Tocqueville about how modern tyranny works:

The sovereign no longer say “You shall think as I do on pain of death;” but he says, “You are free to think differently from me, and to retain your life, your property, and all that you possess; but if such be your determination, you are henceforth an alien among your people. (Tocqueville 2009: 489)

It will not be wrong that authority is not a simple despotism as it used to be, but now it produces ways of controlling human and renews itself constantly. Therefore it is essential for the ones who are struggling for freedom to question what authority is. To give a satisfactory answer to this question we need to principally describe freedom. Freedom in this thesis framed with an anarchist view: freedom is absolute and can not be restricted by any means of oppression but the major claim of this thesis is the problem that anarchism while rejecting the authority as we know, does not it create a new form of authority? Thus criticism on freedom and authority will be the center of this thesis.

At the first stage as it is suggested if freedom movement needs to question and relocate itself against authority, it is necessary to understand the base of anarchism. Anarchism can be described as an outcome of the struggle between authority and freedom from the very beginning of the history rather than an ideology framed by theorists and philosophers. Searching the core of anarchism in the tension between liberty and authority will be more accurate than restraining anarchism in the bars of an ideology.

This thesis aims to generate a criticism on classical anarchist tradition and questioning the ground that anarchism locates itself against oppression rather than redefining anarchism. However to generate an accurate discussion it is necessary to give a brief presentation of classical anarchist tradition. Classical anarchism is the theory which is generated by theorists and philosophers like Bakunin, Proudhon and Kropotkin. In the first chapter their anarchist view will be analyzed. Freedom, equality and solidarity are the three main principles of anarchist tradition for these philosophers and it is not wrong to say that these principles are accepted as the core of anarchist perception. Another primary principle is that the rejecting authority that combines anarchist tradition. Bakunin focusses on authority and call it artificial and defends it is external to human and contaminate its soul. Proudhon focusses on hierarchical organization of authority and suggests mutual cooperation against it. Kropotkin is significant with his theory on anarchist ethic and he claims pure human soul is contaminated by authority and hierarchical organization of society.

In the second part it will be a discussion on individual and social anarchist traditions. There are many divisions on anarchist tradition but it is possible to combine them in two major traditions: individual and social anarchism. Primitivism, ecological anarchism and Christian anarchism can be seen as the parts of individual anarchist tradition while anarcho communism, mutualism and collectivism are branches of social anarchism. There is a need for brief definition of these tendencies in order to understand the major dilemma of anarchist tradition: clash between individual and society. Individual anarchism attaches great importance to individual freedom and they are hostile to communistic views while social anarchism attaches importance to equality and they claim without equality, freedom of individuals is an illusion.

After describing classical anarchist tradition and its branches it is easy to comment on its flaws. Classical anarchist tradition founds its base on a presumption: good human nature. The second chapter will question this presumption and also there will be criticism on creating principles. To do this criticism firstly it is necessary to define liberty, in this thesis Stirner's outlook on freedom will be centered. To him freedom should be questioned: liberty is not escaping from authority of oppressor or society but liberty is to exist in the word. Not emancipating, not escaping, not revolution and founding a new authority but to be on your own. To be free in this perspective needs to focus on inside, internalized authority, rather than focusing outside external authority. He suggests an evolutionist view not a revolutionist one.

Another theory which is used to question classical anarchism is postanarchism. Postanarchism is the combination of anarchist perception with poststructuralist philosophy. Postanarchism can be defined as a theory which focusses on the ground that anarchism stand against authority. Classical anarchism focusses on state authority and eliminates internalized authority. In the modern world state oppression, simple despotism can not be the way of dominating the individual. In capitalistic society consumer habits, culture industry, language that we use is the source of authority so power relations should be analyzed again with this respect for postanarchist approach. Anarchism should renew itself against the new era's domination in postanarchist theory.

While talking about problem of liberty with these perspectives, this thesis generates three points for discussion: questioning pure human nature, analyzing power and the tension between individual and society. As we put anarchist ethic starts with the presumption of pure human nature and my point here is not questioning the accuracy of this argument but to question putting an argument as a primary base of anarchism? Suggesting a priori is a new way of reproducing authority or not is the first discussion of this part. Another point is the way that classical anarchist description of authority. Here criticism arises on reductivism, as a philosophy of freedom anarchism traps itself with a reductivism on state. Source of authority is not only the state but the relations between the individual is the main source of producing authority so there is a new approach on source of authority. The last point is the tension between the individual and society. Is it possible for individuals to live equally free in an anarchist society is the major question of this part. Individual's benefits are always

necessarily to be societies' benefits or not, if it is not working for the sake of social welfare is against individual freedom or not are the questions arises in this point. These three discussions are accepted as the flaws of anarchist tradition and create the problem of freedom.

Last chapter consists of reading *Fight Club* and *The Dispossessed*. There will be two phased reading: in the first phase there will be an anarchist reading of the works and in the next phase there will be criticism on problem of liberty. However it is essential to define anarchist reading firstly: here by saying anarchist reading, I suggest defining the tension between all kinds of authority and freedom. Therefore in *Fight Club* as the source of authority there will be a criticism on hegemonic structure of society, culture industry that creates alienation, capitalistic violence on individuals and consumer habits that enslaves people. Their riot against capitalistic hegemony is considered as an anarchist riot. However in the next phase how this pure riot turns into a new hegemonic order is discussed with the ideas put forward in second chapter.

The Dispossessed will be read in this two phased reading. The totalitarian and capitalist countries of Urras are the sources of anarchist reading, as it shows how authority and capitalism contaminates the human soul. It will be a criticism from the point of view Shevek an anarchist individual. In the second phase the utopic and anarchist world of Anarres with the criticism that is founded on individual and society clash. How public opinion turns into a way of oppression is the base of criticism on anarchist structure of this world.

CHAPTER ONE

ANARCHISM

1.1. Anarchism: A Definition

Anarchism, which can be simply defined as the ideology of freedom and complete rejection of all forms of authority upon individuals, is theoretically constituted as a philosophy by thinkers like Bakunin, Proudhon and Kropotkin. However, as a belief it has existed since Taoist teachings of 6th century BC, thus anarchism is a “river” as Marshall calls it and takes its roots from the tension between the authority and liberty which always exists in society since the beginning of the history.(Marshall 2010). Anarchism does not have strict, dogmatic rules and its theory renovates itself in accordance with the new ideas, contributions and its tradition which is born in struggle against authoritarian, hierarchical structure of society. Kropotkin as he clearly explains the root of anarchist tradition says: “throughout the history of our civilization, two traditions, two opposing tendencies have confronted each other: the Roman and the Popular; the imperial and the federalist; the authoritarian and the libertarian.” (Marshall 2010). Thus anarchism is a consequence of the struggle for the liberty against the masters and it is defined by Kropotkin as:

The name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government –harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being.

(Graeber 2004: 1)

In this respect anarchism attaches great priority to liberty and draws a picture of society that all individuals live freely without authority and oppression. Meaning of anarchism lies beneath the word itself so at first glance it is useful to analyze the word.

The word “anarchy” is from Greek prefix 'a', meaning “not,” “the absence of” or “the lack of”, plus 'archos', meaning “a ruler,” “director”, “chief,” “person in charge,” “commander.” The Greek words 'anarchos' and 'anarchia' meant “having no government..being without government (Angeles 1992).

As word anarchism means “living without government” or in other words “living without any external authority on the individual”; it will be meaningful to try to understand anarchism with its rejection of authority by analyzing how anarchists see the concept of authority.

Bakunin’s approach to authority begins by dividing the source of the authority as artificial and natural. According to him artificial authority which embodies the state or government is the one that contaminates human soul. However, to him natural authority is the only one that can be accepted because he believes that laws of nature “are not extrinsic in relation to us, they are inherent in us, they constitute our nature, our whole being physically, intellectually and morally.”(Bakunin 1953: 156). While accepting total commitment to those laws he states: “Nothing can free him, from their domination; he is their unconditional slave.”(Bakunin 1953: 156). In other words these laws do not mean a way of oppression, however, artificial authority creates oppression, because “unlike natural authority artificial authority is external to the human nature” (Bakunin 1953: 158). Bakunin sees artificial authority which is the source of oppression as a matter of power that creates man’s oppression on man and it is impossible to escape from domination as long as someone has power to dominate and he asks: “Do you want to make it impossible for anyone to oppress his fellow-man? Then make sure that no one shall possess power.” (Bakunin 1953: 271). It is not a matter of who has power according to Bakunin it is the power itself that contaminates human nature and there will be authority and domination as long as someone has chance to create

domination on others as he pointed out: “take the most radical revolutionaries and place him on the throne of all the Russias or give him dictatorial powers...and before the year is out he will be worse than Czar himself.” (Guerin 1970: 35-36). Thus Bakunin opposes power itself and he claims that state is apparent part of the power. To him “The State”:

is like a vast slaughterhouse and an enormous cemetery, where under the shadow and pretexts of this abstraction (the common good) all the best aspirations, all the living forces of country, are sanctimoniously immolated and interred (Bakunin 1953: 165).

The State, by deriving its ground from the common good of society can be exploited by the one who possesses the power according to Bakunin. Parallel to this source of state which is transferring goods to government for the sake of society since human himself is evil, the church takes its root from original sin and transfers good to God and in this sense they justify their right of domination on society. Bakunin defines church “as holy government” (Bakunin 1953: 165) and explains, how it grounded its power in order to justify domination. He points at this parallelism between government and church:

The State, then, like the Church, starts with this fundamental assumption that all men are essentially bad and that when left to their natural liberty they will tear one another apart and will offer specter of the most frightful anarchy wherein the strongest will kill or exploit the weaker ones. (Bakunin 1953:144)

Bakunin believes in natural liberty and he rejects the idea that human is evil and the best way to live in a society is the rule of government; so he opposes the Marxist theory with its concept of government. According to him the Marxist theory can not escape from the poison of power. He criticizes Marxism with stating that the absolute difference between anarchism and Marxism is freedom: “we are convinced that freedom without Socialism is privilege and injustice, and Socialism without freedom is slavery and brutality” (Bakunin 1953: 269). Consequently Bakunin sees authority as anything that possesses power and just accepts the natural authority so it can be said that his rejection of authority is that of power, and he strongly criticizes the institutions that possess power, he sees them as apparent hands of power.

Kropotkin sees the source of authority not only in the state or government. On the other hand, he sees the source of authority in the hierarchical organization of society. Hierarchical foundation of society creates exploitation according to Kropotkin and he suggests: “the origin of the anarchist inception of society lies in the criticism of the hierarchical organizations and the authoritarian conceptions of society”. (Kropotkin 1970: 158). In a way he also criticizes the artificial authority like Bakunin does and he says: “Nature has thus to be recognized as the first ethical teacher of man. The social instinct innate in men as well as in all the social animals, this is the origin of all ethical conceptions and all the subsequent development of morality.”(Kropotkin 1947: 45). Kropotkin believes in the natural basis of the society and he thinks society does not work against individual. For him society is internal for people and what is wrong is the foundation and hierarchical power relations in society. Kropotkin argues that: “Man did not create society; society existed before Man,” (Kropotkin 1943: 5). Therefore, man, living in society, is not against the will of nature or individual, but it is the way of living a meaningful life as he believes all living creatures live in a community which is not founded in a hierarchical way but in a natural way. Thus, for human, it is also essential to see nature as a teacher: “Nature has thus to be recognized as the first ethical teacher of man. The social instinct innate in men as well as in all the social animals, this is the origin of all ethical conceptions and all the subsequent development of morality.”(Kropotkin 1947: 45). Kropotkin argues what corrupts the natural law and society is the State as it “is based on violence: it is a disruption of, and an imposition upon, a harmoniously functioning, organic society” (Kropotkin 1947: 14). Consequently anarchist belief of authority focuses on the artificial authority not the authority itself that exists in nature but the power and domination of hierarchical, oppressive authority that figured as State oppression for most of anarchists. Bakunin suggests:

society is the natural mode of existence of the human collective, and is independent of any contract. It is governed by customs or traditional usages and newer by laws...There are many laws which govern society...but those laws, inherit in the social body, just as physical laws are inherit in material bodies. (Bakunin 1953: 224)

Anarchism as a political theory intends to create a society in which individual freedom is maximized with social equality and constructed by the voluntary collaboration of people. In this society anarchy rejects social, economical and political hierarchies; unlike socialism, anarchism emphasizes both liberty and equality coequally. Notwithstanding anarchism has many types, the core of the theory is based on opposition to government and capitalism. Thus, the unifying feature according to Susan Brown is “a universal condemnation of hierarchy and domination and a willingness to fight for the freedom of the human individual” (Brown 1993: 108).

Anarchists differ from socialism with their great desire to live in an absolute liberty so “every anarchist is a socialist, but every socialist is not necessarily an anarchist” (Guerin: 12) as Adolph Fisher, an anarchist militant claimed. Anarchist approach to state is an absolute rejection and they regard state the enemy of man. Max Stirner says: “We two, the State and I, are enemies” (Guerin 1970: 15) and for him “Every State is tyranny, be it the tyranny of a single man or a group.”(15). According to Stirner every state is hostile to human and oppressive due to its existence because: “The state has always one purpose: to limit, control, subordinate the individual and subject him to the general purpose” (15), and he goes on by criticizing the oppressive apparatus of state which are used only to dominate free individual: “through its censorship, its supervision, and its police the State tries to obstruct all free activity and sees this repression as its duty, because the instinct of self-preservation demands it.” (Guerin: 15). Proudhon with a similar perspective denounces state as: “The government of man by man is servitude” (15) and he declares his hostility to state authority as: “Whoever lays a hand on me to govern me is a usurper and a tyrant. I declare him to be my enemy.” (15). Proudhon condemns domination of state in a tirade:

“To be ruled is to be kept an eye on, inspected, spied on, regulated, indoctrinated, sermonized, listed and checked-off, estimated, appraised, censured, ordered about, by creatures without knowledge and without virtues. To be ruled is, at every operation, transaction, movement, to be noted, registered, counted, priced, admonished, prevented, reformed, redressed, corrected. It is, on the pretext of public utility and in the name of the common good, to be put under contribution,

exercised, held to ransom, exploited, monopolized, concussed, pressured, mystirobbed; then, at the least resistance and at the first hint of complaint, repressed, fined, vilified, vexed, hunted, exasperated, knocked-down, disarmed, garroted, imprisoned, shot, grape-shot, judged, condemned, deported, sacrificed, sold, tricked; and to finish off with, hoaxed, calumniated, dishonored. Such is government!” (Ward 1996: 9)

Alexander Berkman, a revolutionary anarchist, suggests that “anarchism means a condition or a society where all men and women are free, and where all enjoy equally the benefits of an ordered and sensible life.”(Berkman 2006: 27) and claims that “liberty is the mother of order.”(36), while “Disorder is child of authority and compulsion.” (36). His attitude against government finds justification in his definition of anarchy: “A life without compulsion naturally means liberty; it means freedom from being forced or coerced, a chance to lead the life that suits you best.”(37), so what disables you to lead such a life are government for Berkman since man “cannot live such a life unless you do away with the institutions that curtail your liberty and interfere with your life, the conditions that compel you to act differently from the way you really would like to.” (37). Furthermore, he questions those institutions that corrupt the harmonious way of life and what must be destroyed to live freely: “What must be abolished, then, to secure liberty?”(37), he answers his question doubtlessly as the state: “the thing that invades you most, that handicaps or prevents your free activity; the thing that interferes with your liberty and compels you to live differently from what would be your own choice.”(37) After pointing at the government as the enemy of liberty Berkman questions the need for a government in the daily life of people:

What role does the government play in your existence? Does it help you live? Does it feed, clothe, and shelter you? Do you need it to help you work or play? If you are ill, do you call you the physician or the policeman? Can the government give you greater ability than nature endowed you with? (Berkman 2006: 41)

Anarchist conception of state is something that does not serve the purpose of people on the contrary it is something that destroys the free will of people as Bakunin sees it as an “immense cemetery all the real aspirations and living forces of a country generously and blissfully allow themselves to be buried in the name of abstraction.” (Guerrin: 16) and Malatesta criticizes state in the same vein: “far from creating energy, government by its

methods wastes, paralyzes, and destroys enormous potential.”(16). According to anarchists a society does not need a state since it kills a living organism that is a harmoniously functioning society with a natural order, the state does not contribute to this organism; and when it gains power as anarchist sees it, it would turn into totalitarianism. Bakunin argues that the state is turning into “an immense, crushing, threatening reality” (17) due to modernism which gives modern state “enormous budgets, permanent armies, and a formidable bureaucracy” (16). So the government either capitalist or socialist can not be reformed, can not be defended because for the anarchist the state is the definite border between freedom and authority, between an anarchist and his enemy. As Proudhon suggests if you defend the state, “you are no revolutionary!” (16) and that:

from the top of the hierarchy to the bottom there is nothing in the State which is not an abuse to be reformed, a form of parasitism to be suppressed or an instrument of tyranny to be destroyed. And you speak to us of preserving the state, and increasing the power of the State! (16)

Anarchists’ approach to democracy is not more moderate than their rejection of an authoritarian state; for them it is a trick that creates false consciousness on the masses. Stirner compares the monarch and bourgeois democracy and he claims “the monarch was a very poor man compared with the new one, the sovereign nation” (Guerin: 17). Proudhon supports this opinion by describing democracy as it “is nothing but a constitutional tyrant.” (17). An anarchist believes democracy masks the tyranny as it draws a picture of people governing themselves; so it is more dangerous because it disables the revolutionary struggle of masses due to this false consciousness as Bakunin suggests it “hides the really despotic power of the State based on the police, the banks, and the army.”(17-18).Anarchism is socialistic in core but not authoritarian as Chomsky sees it: “If one were to seek a single dominant idea, within the anarchist tradition, that might be defined as libertarian socialist.”(Guerin 1970). Liberty is the foundation of anarchist tradition that can not be abandoned for any reason as Bakunin explains in his approach to liberty: “I am a fanatic lover of liberty, considering it as the unique condition under which intelligence, dignity, and human happiness can develop and grow” (Guerin 1970). Bakunin goes on to explain the difference between anarchist understanding of liberty and that of the liberal one which he disapproves:

The purely formal liberty conceded, measured out, and regulated by the State, an external lie which in reality represents nothing more than privilege of some founded on the slavery of the rest; not the individualistic, egoistic, shabby, and fictitious liberty extolled by the school of J-J. Rousseau and the other schools of bourgeois liberalism, which considers the would be rights of all men, represented by State which limits the rights of each- an idea that leads inevitably to the reduction of the rights of each to zero.(Guerin 1970).

Therefore; what makes anarchism against all forms of authority and states is its dedicated love of freedom. Freedom is the crucial concern of anarchism, which distinguishing from other ideologies and this dedication can be the most suitable definition of an anarchist. Liberty is the core of human existence for anarchists as humans think and desire to live independently. Emma Goldman compares this desire to the state of mind when “a person has a consciousness of self, being different from others, creates a desire to act freely. The craving for liberty and self-expression is a very fundamental and dominant trait” in a man. (Goldman 1979: 393). Anarchism defends that liberty is the most essential necessity which bounds individual and society. Humans can accomplish their individual being through an exercise of being. Emma Goldman explains:

Only in freedom can man grow to his full stature. Only in freedom will he learn to think and move, and give the very best of himself. Only in freedom will he realize the true force of social bonds which tie men together, and which are the true foundations of a normal social life. (Goldman 1979: 59)

Thus anarchists deny the social structure in a conventional way and endowed liberty. They defend individual liberty grows in society not against it. Bookchin states this necessity as: “What freedom, independence, and autonomy people have in a given historical period is the product of long social traditions and a collective development which is not to deny that individuals play an important role in that development, indeed are ultimately obliged to do so if they wish to be free.” (Bookchin 1995). So anarchists see the society and individual as a whole while they see this concept with a different perspective, they reject the conventional society as it is constructed by a hierarchical way and man cannot be free in a society in which he is governed. Instead of this hierarchical structure, they propose self management of free

individuals and only in this condition man can live freely in a society. That is why anarchists are against State and the society in capitalism is constructed with a centralized authority which disables “full development of all the material intellectual and moral powers that are latent in each person” according to Bakunin. (Bakunin 1980).

Anarchists reject the conventional perspective of liberty and anarchists defend self liberation. Freedom will not be endowed so it will be gained, according to the anarchist perspective because it is against the very nature of it as Emma Goldman argues: “history tells us that every oppressed class or group or individual gained true liberation from its masters by its own efforts” (Goldman 1979: 142). Anarchists suggest self emancipation as they are against all impositions on human. Max Stirner argues that endowed freedom will be worthless and says: “the man who is set free is nothing but a freed man, a dog dragging a piece of chain with him.” (Stirner 1993: 163). So, the individual should strip himself off from all roles and concepts that are imposed on him and should be self directed. Otherwise, it is just rejecting one form of slavery and taking on another one. This is the vital point of liberty as Malatesta declares:

Anarchists do not want to emancipate the people; we want the people to emancipate themselves, we want the new way of life to emerge from the body of the people and correspond to the state of their development and advance as they advance. (Malatesta 1965: 90).

Anarchism does not seek for an individualistic, egoistic freedom but liberty in the society in which every individual live freely to their will. In this point Emma Goldman asks the fundamental question if the anarchy can create a society in which individuals are free. “The problem that confronts us today... is how to be one's self and yet in oneness with others, to feel deeply with all human beings and still retain one's own characteristic qualities.” (Goldman 1979: 133-134). Hence anarchism aiming at liberty, does not underestimate the society; because anarchists believe that freedom will be meaningful only on the condition when it is gained in a society as Bakunin describes:

I am free only when all human beings surrounding me-men and women alike- are equally free. The freedom of others, far from limiting or negating my liberty, is on the contrary its necessary condition and confirmation. I become free in the true sense only by virtue of the liberty of others, so much so that the greater the number of free people surrounding me the deeper and greater and more extensive their liberty, the deeper and larger becomes my liberty. (Bakunin 1953: 268).

Therefore, equality and liberty are identical and cannot be separable for anarchists because they believe that, without self management that affects and creates social equality, is not possible. On the other hand without equality, it is impossible to live freely in society as in this condition some will have power over others. Anarchist concept of equality is not equality of prosperity but equality of choice and liberty. Solidarity or in Kropotkin's words, "mutual aid", is strongly linked with the anarchist core and ethic. So, firstly anarchist ethic should be analyzed. Anarchist ethic according to Kropotkin must be analyzed in scientific way and should be freed from metaphysical superstitions. (Kropotkin 1947: 14). Kropotkin constitutes an anarchist ethic in relation with Darwinism. He argues that "Mutual aid is the predominant fact of Nature." (Kropotkin 1947: 14). He lays emphasis on sociability in Darwinism and for him this runs with the concept "survival of the fittest", not against it. This instinct lets people live together and construct society and society enables as well as requires mutual aid according to him. He suggests "Nature has thus to be recognized as the first ethical teacher of the man. The social instinct innate in men as well as in all the social animals-this is the origin of all ethical conceptions and all subsequent development of morality."(Kropotkin 1947:45). Mutual aid is the natural instinct of man for anarchists and authority corrupts as it destroys the natural order, as Godwin states the ones who dominate: "lay their hand on the spring in society, and put a stop to its motion."(Godwin 1968 :92).

Solidarity, therefore; is a supplementary principle for anarchist society in accordance with liberty and equality. However, anarchism does not support self sacrifice of individual for the sake of society. Solidarity should not be in opposition with freedom and equality and in this point voluntary unity of free individuals is essential to create a meaningful solidarity. As Malatesta suggests anarchists are egoists but their egoism is for their achievement of all and he

continues that:

we all seek our own satisfaction. But the anarchist finds his greatest satisfaction in struggling for the good of all, for the achievement of a society in which he can be a brother among brothers, and among healthy, intelligent, educated, and happy people. (Malatesta 1965: 23).

Consequently, for anarchists life is a struggle between the men and authority. In this struggle there is no other option as authority will not give chance to live a meaningful life to the individual; it will corrupt the essence of man's soul which is pure in the nature. Human is not corrupted from the beginning; what makes him corrupt and contaminated is the authority and the hierarchical foundation of the society. With this perspective anarchism is an anti authoritarian philosophy that seek for a society which is based on collectivist solidarity of free individuals and this will be the only way of salvation for human whose alternative is slavery as Kropotkin shows:

Either the State will be destroyed and a new life will begin in thousands of centers...or else the State must crush the individual and local life, it must become master of all domains of human activity, must bring with it wars and internal struggles for the possession of power, surface revolutions which only change one tyrant for another, and inevitably, at the end of this evolution-death." (Kropotkin 1943:44).

1.2.Individual or Social Anarchism

Anarchism makes sense as a philosophy of an equal collaboration of the ideas: liberty, equality and anti authoritarianism by its theoreticians, it is necessary to analyze the two important tendencies of anarchism: individual and social anarchism because the tension

between these two crates a conflict in anarchist tradition on liberty so it will be necessary to understand these ideas and talk about the problem of liberty. Anarchism has divided into two major tendencies from the beginning: individual anarchism and social anarchism. Other types of anarchism can be categorized in these two main headings according to one's choice of giving priority to absolute freedom of the individual or collectivism that is the mutual aid. Anarchism differs in the ways of the creation of the anarchy with respect to the fundamental principles of anarchy but anarchists can be classified and unified with their oppositions to the state, capitalism and hierarchical construction of the society. Anarchists have no invariable clash between these two tendencies and it is likely to unify and mutualize in struggle for what they are against as Tucker suggests for there is a common source of radical politics of anarchist tradition: "In common with founders of Socialism, Anarchists demand the abolition of all economic monopolies and the common ownership of the soil and all other means of production, the use of which must be available to all without distinction" (Tucker 1988: 200). In addition to this definition of common source, Tucker draws the anarchist viewpoint which can be a common roof for anarchists and differs from the socialists as:

the Anarchists represent the viewpoint that the war against capitalism must be at the same time a war against all institutions of political power, for in history economic exploitation has always gone hand in hand with political and social oppression. The exploitation of man by man and the domination of man over man are inseparable, and each is the condition of the other. (Tucker 1988: 200)

Individual anarchism takes its roots from the ancient times and also from Stirner who is an important figure of the individual anarchist philosophy with his writings. In the very beginning it is necessary to make a definition of individual anarchism or at least to draw a framework of it in order to comprehend the main differences from the social anarchism and then types of individual anarchism will be analyzed which is also important to understand the contributions of them to individual anarchism as well as the philosophical background of lifestyle anarchism.

Individual anarchism is a combination of the tendencies in the anarchist tradition that emphasizes the individual freedom and rejects everything which is external to individual such as society, traditions, states, organizations. It is possible to make a clear definition of the principle of individual anarchism in the words of Tucker: "If the individual has right to govern

himself, all external government is tyranny.”(Tucker 1926: 16). Individual anarchists see every power external to the individual hostile to the individual and reject it.

There are many types of individual anarchism that construct the common roof for individualist anarchist philosophy. The main types are Christian anarchism, agorism and primitivism. Christian anarchism is the philosophy that combines the Christian thought with the anarchism, there has been religious tendencies in anarchist tradition that combine anarchist ideas with Pagan and spiritual ideas but the most influential one is the Christian anarchism among them.

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman? (Marshall 1993: 65)

Christian anarchist believe that there is not authority except God so they reject the state authority and they see that as a riot against the God and his authority and according to them every individual has the right of self government in order to find the true salvation. The life of the Jesus is also influential in this philosophy as he sees corruption in wealth and he voluntarily chooses poverty and Christian claim that the world is created for human to live together is the starting point for the Christian anarchist as a denial of private property and capitalism. They see the early church as an uprising against Rome of slaves and a device of salvation rather than the church of Middle Ages. The anarchist view of Christianity shows its effects on the writings of William Blake and other 18th century Romantic Poetry also especially Blake with his lyrics:

I must Create a System or be enslave'd by
Another Man's.
I will not Reason or Compare: my business
Is to Create (Marshall 1993: 72)

William Blake supports that the authority is the major cause of the corruption. He seizes that human should live freely without any natural authority. Because there is a harmony in nature and the order of God is internalized in human. He rejects artificial authority and

accept the authority of God. In addition, he says all the laws are the reasons of the crime, he strongly suggests that Jesus lived with his moral values as all human should do. The laws and rules that are external to the human soul should be vanished. Senses and values in human soul is a part of the God and this is the authority that can be acceptable. The most well known Christian anarchist is Tolstoy. Tolstoy argues that a true Christian must be against the state authority according to the Christian belief and he notes:

ruling means using force, and using force means doing to him whom force is used, what he does not like and what he who uses force would certainly not like done to himself. Consequently ruling means doing to others what we would not they should do unto us, that is, doing wrong. (Tolstoy 1984: 242).

Therefore a Christian has no right to govern others as it is the denial of God's authority and in a way it means taking the role of the God and with this reading of Bible he positions Christianity to a anti-statist way of life and he continues with the self organization idea from the below as an anarchist principle of organization. "Why think that non-official people could not arrange their life for themselves, as well as Government people can arrange it nor for themselves but for others?" (Woodcock 1987: 306). Unlike social anarchists Tolstoy suggests non-violent action against the state in a way he supports the same idea of civil disobedience of Henry David Thoreau, American individual anarchist.

Tolstoy believes that good is inside the human and he calls it as a love and it is internal in all human as a subject and part of the God with the idea of pantheism that see the nature and everything as a part of the God. Max Nettlau comments on Tolstoy's concept of love as:

Great truth stressed by Tolstoy is that the recognition of the power of the good, of goodness, of solidarity and of all that is called love lies within ourselves, and that it can and must be awakened, developed and exercised in our own behavior. (Nettlau 1996: 251)

The starting point of anarchism, which is also the thesis of this research, is that anarchism is based on the goodness of human soul and this dedication differs anarchist approach from the other political approaches. Tolstoy combines this idea with the core of the Christian belief in addition this Tolstoy also against the private property and capitalism and argues that: "were it not for the defense of landed property, and its consequent rise in price, people would not be crowded into such narrow spaces, but would scatter over the free land of which there is still so much in the world." In fact "in this struggle it is not those who work in

the land, but always those who take part in government violence, who have the advantage.” (Nettlau 1996: 307). Hence Tolstoy notices that property requires state violence rather than the public opinion and adds that:

Tens of thousands of acres of forest land belonging to one proprietor while thousands of people close by have no fuel need protection by violence. So, too, do factories and works where several generations of workmen have been defrauded and are still being defrauded. Yet more do the hundreds of thousand bushels of grain, belonging to one owner, who has held them back to sell at triple price in time of famine. (Tolstoy 1984: 335)

Tolstoy thinks Capitalism devastates individual both ethically and physically and capitalists are the slave masters. In addition to that, they ruin the government of God in the world by creating an artificial authority. Thus, Tolstoy sees every organization of the state as destructive of individual rights, except for cooperatives and shares much with Proudhon and says: “only social activity which a moral, self-respecting person who does not want to be a party of violence can take part in.” (Marshall 1993: 378). He defends opposition to capitalism but he offers a pacifistic way, with his formula: “resistance through disobedience, the passive force.” (Nettlau 1996: 251). This offer affects Gandhi and Henry David Thoreau and is shared by the most of the individual anarchist as a form of resistance against the oppression which is another difference between the social and individual anarchists and leads the social anarchists blame individual anarchists with pacifisms and social anarchists finds pacifism extreme and dogmatic and they claim that to fail the evil revolution is needed.

Another influential branch of individual anarchism is ecological concerned anarchism. However, it is necessary to make a distinction in green anarchism also as green anarchism divided into two: social ecology and primitivism and it is possible to deem social ecology as a part of social anarchism while primitivism is barely an individualist anarchist perspective. Murray Bookchin is the anarchist writer that is the symbol of social ecology and he created an ecologist view in the center of anarchy with his writings for more than 50 years. On the other hand primitivism is an US based and Zerzan is an apparent figure of the primitivism. Primitivism defines the capitalism as an anti-ecological and takes a position against it as well as rejecting the civilization and technology. Thus it is primary to comprehend the difference between these two approaches to the ecological concerns in anarchy and later focus on the primitivism and its positioning in individual anarchist tradition.

Primitivism strongly against the civilization and technology that is why they draw a strong border with the ecological anarchist tradition and they blame ecologists missing the root of the ecological crisis or industrial society because ecologists suggests the minimal usage of technology and according to the primitivism this also will cause civilization and civilization is the evil that destroy the planet and human.

Unlike primitivism social ecology sees the root of the problem in hierarchical construction of society and human nature. Domination is the major cause of it both man on man and man on nature so they are not against the civilization but against the way of civilization. They offer the use of technology is needed in order to live free because according to them without technology people need to work that means it will cause the hierarchical society. In addition to this approach deep ecology also can be classified in this branch but they put the world to the center not the human. However, deep ecology stated to share the same root when they began to reject the hierarchy not the human race is problem because some believe that though destroying the planet is a matter of human race it is just the human race that can change this situation and not merely the human is the cause of this problem but the capitalism and hierarchy causes to this destruction.

Consequently these leading ideas though having much opposition to each other together they create a root for the individualist approach of anarchism. Individual anarchism is a combination of them and in core individual anarchism sees the freedom in the different way from the social anarchists. Individual anarchy as in religious anarchy and Stirner shows an evolutionist view rather than a revolutionist view and locate the individual to the center.

Social anarchism unlike individualist perspective seizes a revolutionist way and if individualist anarchism is the freedom based side of the ideology, social anarchism is the solidarity and organization based of anarchism. Social anarchism is a combination of four main approaches and it is useful to make a comparative analysis of these approaches in order to comprehend the social anarchism. Mutualism, collectivism, communism and syndicalism are the major branches off the social anarchism and they share the idea of the revolution

against the oppression of state and capitalistic structure of the society in common and the differences are not aim based but strategy based within social anarchist trends.

Mutualism has its basis from the ideas of Proudhon and differs from the other trends of social anarchism. Mutualism is a system that foreshadows exchanging the products of labor with a community bank system. This bank is described as “formed by whole community, not for the especial advantage of any individual or class, but for the benefit of all with no interest exacted on loans, except enough the risks and expenses.” (Dana 1984: 44-45). This kind of bank will end capitalist oppression and this would led a new aspect to the labor and make it democratic according to mutualists.

Unlike mutualistic view other social anarchist tendencies do not support this system and they believe that communalizing production and labor is the best way to settle freedom in society and co-operation will maximize the liberty of individual. Social anarchist supports the common ownership and means of production. Anarcho-communists differ from collectivists about the matter of money. Anarcho-communists offer the abolition of money and anarcho-collectivists instead of this idea offer the abolition of private ownership is essential. However, they share the common belief that money will end when the free community is constructed.

Syndicalism is another form of social anarchism and wants to create an industrial union based on anarchist ideas in this way they are reformist until the revolution that can be managed with the strong unions and until that they struggle for the reforms under capitalism with direct action with a decentralized union. Anarcho-syndicalists see these unions as a school that anarchist ideas would flourish in this era of capitalistic domination. Anarcho-syndicalists are defined by the founder and key figure of the movement Tucker as they:

are convinced that a Socialist economic order can not be created by the decrees and statutes of a government, but only by the solidaric collaboration of the workers with hand and brain in each special branch of production; that is, through the taking over of the management of all plants by the producers themselves under such form that the separate groups, plants, and branches of industry are independent members of the general economic organism and systematically carry on production and the distribution of the products in the interest of the community on the basis of free mutual agreements. (Rocker 1988: 55)

Collectivist and anarcho-communists believe that creating the revolt is far more important than creating the unions and in addition to this dissent these two do not give priority

to the struggle in workplaces and they seek struggle where domination and hierarchy alive. Both collectivists and communists believe the importance of organizations and spreading the ideas of anarchy among the society in order to create the necessary conditions for a revolution and unlike them syndicalist industrial unions are more essential rather than the organizations.

To sum up the differences between the branches of social anarchist are not apparent as in individual anarchist because the differences is based on the strategies not in philosophical based as in individual anarchist tradition. Social anarchism has common ideal of communism with the Marxist ideology and it locates itself in a ground that between the Marxist and individual anarchist philosophy. They seek for a revolution and their strategy is direct action and they are the mainstream perspective in anarchist tradition and Spanish Revolution is an important example of anarchy in action in the anarchist tradition.

Social anarchists is the representative of anarchist ethic and solidarity and in this condition they suppose that freedom is possible so it is the revolution primary for a free society that can individual lead a free life and this society should be constructed on anarchist principles not like pyramids. In order to achieve this society it is necessary to create solidarity between anarchist and federations, organizations are the weapons of anarchy to build a revolution against the oppression of capitalist state and the hierarchical basis of capitalistic society.

CHAPTER TWO

PROBLEM OF LIBERTY

2.1. Liberty

Before stating the argument on problems of authority I should briefly explain the view of liberty that is accepted in this thesis. Here I accept the freedom as living without any limitations of any institutions as Stirner does, not escaping, not dominated but living with your own will. Firstly we need to understand the perspective of Stirner. Stirner with his books that attack all values and institutions can be deemed a nihilist more than an anarchist in the conception of mainstream social anarchist tradition; however, it is possible to say that he is a true anarchist when analyzed with an individual anarchist conception. Stirner rejects that the state exists without the consent of the individual and he suggests a war against the state but not a single state but all the states and associations that exist. According to the Stirner man born into a state and educated to obey the rules of system, is just prepared to become a useful member of society not an individual. He puts individuality a step further than freedom he suggests ownness by saying: "I have no objection to freedom, but I wish more than freedom for you: you should not merely be rid of what you do not want; you should only be a "freeman," you should be an "owner" too."(Stirner 1993: 156) and he explains his claim as:

free from what? Oh! What is there can not be shaken off? The yoke of serfdom, of sovereignty, of aristocracy and princes, the dominion of the desires and passions; yes, even the dominion of one's own will, of self will, for the completest self-denial is nothing but freedom- freedom, to wit from self determination, from one's own self. And the craving for freedom as for something absolute, worthy if every praise, deprived us of ownness: it created self denial. However, the freer I become, the more compulsion piles up before my eyes; and the more impotent I feel myself. (Stirner: 156)

Stirner determines a division between them and says you cannot be free from everything and freedom is just a form of getting rid of something and this does not mean that you are free from everything but he suggests that ownness is being and the condition of existence and what he adds the anarchy is this point and it is the main philosophical clash between social anarchism he supports to be owner of myself his existence not to give his being to the control of others. In other words Stirner assumes and rejects the freedom as a Christian belief, he implies that even in the control of a master you can be your own he can not possess your being and in this point he adds: “under the domination of a cruel master my body is not “free” from torments and lashes; but it is my bones that moan under the torture, my fibres that quiver under the blows, and I moan because my body moans. That I sigh and shiver proves that I have not yet lost myself, that I am still my own.” (Stirner 1993: 158). Therefore individual anarchist differs from the rest as they seize existential approach to the freedom on the lights of Stirner’s philosophy, they seize evolution not the revolution.

2.2. Problems of Liberty

I have tried to show that classical anarchism can be defined as a rejection of authority because it focusses on creating a society without oppression. However, anarchism generates a problematic at this point because of three reasons: firstly anarchism draws on the presumption that human nature is good and by doing that anarchists underestimate human desire for power. Secondly anarchism while rejecting authority does not focus on the source of authority and does not undertake an effort for analyzing it; instead anarchism institutes a reductivism on state. Lastly the tension between individual and society in a way can be read as a problem between two major principles of anarchism equality or freedom; since the question that “Can anarchism find a satisfactory answer to create a society found on equality of free individual?” is the major problem between individual and social anarchism.

In this chapter these three problems will be questioned. Rather than focusing on freedom, the problems threaten the liberty of the individual will be searched. It will be meaningful to

concentrate on the sources that contaminate the core of the anarchism. So as not to fail on assumptions that classical anarchism did, there will be a criticism of enlightenment philosophy and Marxist reductivism.

In order to question these issues poststructuralist approach especially ideas of Foucault on power will help us understand the problem. Post anarchist theory will also be helpful to combine post structuralism and classical anarchism. So in the first step it is essential to make a definition of post anarchism briefly. Post anarchism is a developing idea in anarchist tradition which tries to combine poststructuralist ideas with anarchist tradition as they see a parallelism between them. The significant theoreticians of this idea are Saul Newman, Todd May and Lewis Call with their studies on post anarchism they see a parallelism between anarchism and poststructuralist ideas. Newman sees post structuralism as a remedy for anarchism and he claims that there is a parallelism between them in ethical sense. Post structuralism can cure the flaws of anarchism. Todd May focuses on the humanist assumption and he declares: "If poststructuralist political thought could be summed up in a single prescription, it would be that radical political theory, if it is to achieve anything, must abandon humanism in all its forms"(May 1994:75). Therefore anarchism should question its base with a poststructuralist criticism as May sees it. Post anarchism in short can be summarized with two items as Thomas Nail suggests:

(1) the critique of all forms of authoritarianism and representation(statism, capitalism, vanguardism, essentialism, identity politics, etc.) and (2) more positively, the affirmation of difference. Unlike classical anarchism, Newman and May claim, post-anarchism does not rely on naturalism or humanist essentialism, but rather affirms difference as the radical horizon of politics as such.(Nail 2010: 76)

Post anarchism will be a key theory here to understand the criticism of anarchist approach to authority and also will be helpful to rearrange the core of anarchist theory. Post anarchism argues that subjectivity is ignored by classical anarchism which creates a flaw for freedom. So how classical anarchism sees freedom is explained in the first chapter but how anarchism sees a society created by free individuals' works is ambiguous as they misread subjectivity. Anarchists were trapped by reductivism, which can be defined as focusing on a single point, that social hierarchy and state contaminate individual. They founded their

ideology on a social order which is ambiguous while rejecting the hierarchical order. Emma Goldman explains anarchist society as:

Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the domination of religion; the liberation of the human body from the domination of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth, an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations. (62)

By defining anarchism as a social welfare, anarchists accept the good human nature unlike Hobbesian paradigm which can be summarized as accepting human are hostile to each other. So how do the anarchists see human nature? Anarchists like Bakunin believe that in core, human nature is good but is subject to contamination through the exercise of authority: “the idea of justice and good, like all other human things, must have their root in man’s very animality.”(Bakunin 1953: 121). There is a dignity in human and the state authority contaminated this human dignity as Godwin says: “They lay their hand on the spring there is in society, and put a stop to its motion” (Godwin 1968: 92). Kropotkin claims that there is an order in natural society and the solidarity is internalized by all human beings. He claims that there would not be a disorder or competition among people if state did not exist and he suggests: “the need of mutual aid and support are such inherent parts of human nature that at no time of history can we discover men living in small isolated families, fighting each other for the means of subsistence” (Kropotkin 1902: 118). Murray Bookchin in the same vein states that anarchist project finds its base for resistance against the state in this notion of inherent sufficiency to live together in a society as he says:

“the revolutionary project must take its point of departure from a fundamental libertarian precept: every normal human being is competent to manage affairs of society and, more specifically, the community in which he or she is a member” (Bookchin 1989:174).

The assumption that to live freely in a society is inevitable for anarchist philosophy to resist against the state oppression that contaminates the human nature. Anarchist project does

not put forward anything to replace the state but just desire to collapse governmental system. Anarchist philosophy is a presupposition in this respect so just destroying the state will be enough to found the natural order which is inherent in human in Kropotkin's words: "we are persuaded that the great majority of mankind, in proportion to their degree of enlightenment and the completeness with which they free themselves from existing fetters will behave and act always in a direction useful to society" (Kropotkin 1902: 102). This presupposition and seeing power oppressive are called as anarchist "piori" by Todd May and he explains this "piori" as:

At the core of much of the anarchist project is the assumption, first, that human beings have a nature or essence; and, that that essence is good or benign, in the sense that it possesses the characteristics that enable one to live justly with others in society. Whether the good making characteristics go by the name of "sociability," "cooperation," or "competence," the thought remains the same: people naturally tend to their affairs in ways that are helpful to themselves and to others and that are not, harmful or destructive. (May 1994:63).

Here arise two problems for anarchism: first, is human nature pure as anarchists suggest and second, rooting in human nature, which means creating a fundamental principle that can not be argued, is against the nature of anarchism or not? The answer of former is arguable even for anarchists that put forward good human nature as the core of anarchist philosophy, for example, Bakunin defines a desire for power inherent in human as: "Every man carries within himself the germs of the lust for power, and every germ, as we know, because of a basic law of life, necessarily must develop and grow." (Bakunin 1953: 248), for him it is an animal instinct while as it is stated before he claimed it was the state that contaminated human nature now he suggests: "the instinct to command others, in its primitive essence, is a carnivorous, altogether bestial and savage instinct—it is this principle alone that has produced all the misfortunes, all the crimes, and the most shameful facts of history." (248); so even Bakunin has doubts about the power problem. Kropotkin also claims, in parallel to him, there is a fancy for power in human that enables state to survive and internalizing oppression of the state is caused by this fancy according to him: "Man allowed himself to be enslaved far more by his desire to 'punish according to law' than by direct military conquest." (Kropotkin 1943: 17). So if there was a desire for power, it would destroy the

resistance against the state since the pure human nature is the resistance point for anarchist project. Human nature essentialism if it is not pure as stated in these views will justify the existence of state so it will be meaningless to oppose state authority. Another problem caused by this assumption occurs by accepting desire for power anarchist philosophy denies oppressive state authority although they strongly oppose it as it is oppressive.

Second problem, which is caused by pure human nature assumption, creates a principle, which can not be arguable, a priori. When anarchist philosophy generates a priori, in a way they justify the rule of a law it can be written or not, when they accept a priori for their being, it means they accept a rule. While rejecting Hobbesian paradigm that is based on evil human nature, anarchists created a new paradigm, a certain priori for their project. Why anarchists betray their ideology is the question that arises here. Is not “the power in all forms, if they be perfect enough to protect them, is the same” (Hobbes 1947:120)? According to Newman the cause of this problem is the foundation of anarchism with Enlightenment paradigm:

Anarchism is a mirror image of Hobbesianism in the sense that they both posit a commonality that derives from their indebtedness to the Enlightenment. They both emphasize the need for a fullness or sociality, some legitimate place of authority around which society can be organized. Anarchists see this place in the natural law which informs society and human subjectivity, and which is impeded by the state. Hobbes, on the other hand, sees this place as an absence, an empty place that must be filled by the state. In other words, the authority which anarchists see as naturally occurring does not exist for Hobbes, and must therefore be artificially created.(Newman 2001: 46).

Thus, by creating its ethic, anarchism betrays itself, because this will cause replacing society instead of individual freedom and state authority to become common sense of society. It does not matter how they construct but constructing itself is the cause of the problem. The idea of state roots itself in the Hobbesian paradigm but creating something against this paradigm means creating a power. Defining authority as natural authority and accepting it as it is inherited in all human beings do not change the fact that it is still the authority. Anarchism falls into the trap that Marxism did. As Marxism puts state communism against capitalist economy, anarchists put human nature against authority namely they created a law

against the law. Stirner opposes this assumption by denying the need for a truth: “As long as you believe in the truth, you do not believe in yourself, and you are a—servant, a—religious man.”(Stirner 1993: 353). Anarchism if it could not save itself from the reductivism of humanism; it would not serve as the philosophy of freedom as it would be an obstacle serving to the priori all the time.

Anarchists believe that authority is oppressive and they reject oppression, but while doing this they underestimate the question what authority is. According to the classical anarchism authority, as it is mentioned in the first chapter, is state and other institutions that create domination and oppression. However, this is the second assumption that generates a new problem: is authority created by state or by people, what is the source of authority? Here, the criticism to concept of authority conducted by post anarchist Todd May and Saul Newman in the lights of poststructuralist philosophers Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari will be helpful to answer the questions about authority. Newman makes use of Foucault’s ideas on power to question the classical anarchist concept of authority. For Newman, Foucault suggests: “power can no longer be confined within the institution of the state, or indeed in any institution.”(Newman 2001:78), and quotes Foucault: “power is everywhere because it comes from everywhere” (78) as it is according to Newman:

a polyvalent force that runs through multiple sites throughout the social network. It is dispersed, decentered power, diffused throughout society: it may run through the prison or the mental asylum, or through various knowledges and discourses such as psychiatry or sexuality (Newman 2001: 78)

So there is a conflict between how anarchists and Foucault see the authority: while anarchism sees state as the source of authority Foucault sees state as a result of power. Foucault sees power as “thoroughly dispersed throughout the social fabric, moving in a multitude of directions from a multitude of sites” (79) for anarchists it is “centralized within the state and radiating downwards to the rest of society” (79). This concept of power is a threat for anarchist philosophy because it centers state against freedom. But when it is everywhere, anarchism loses his place to resist against the power. This problem is caused by anarchist definition of itself: they define their being against the state so if there were no states anarchism can lost the ground it located itself. Another point is that if the power is not

centered in state as Foucault suggests “relations of power are not in a position of exteriority with respect to other types of relationships [economic processes, knowledge relationships, sexual relations] but are immanent in the latter.”(Foucault 1978: 94) it also destroys the humanism anarchist philosophy rooted itself. Newman with this view questions the idea of revolution:

Revolutionary theory has generally avoided the problem of the social, because if it acknowledged that power has permeated the social itself, then the very notion of revolution—as the overthrow by society of power—would become redundant. Foucault’s notion of dispersed power therefore renders the idea of revolution as the final, dialectical overturning of power an anachronism. (Newman 2001: 78)

In that case power is not an oppression of state; it is immanent in human and according to Foucault power “is the name that one attributes to a complex strategic situation in a particular society” (Foucault 1978: 93) so Newman argues that there should be strategic ways to resist power but it is not the way anarchists suggest as “Power is not stagnant oppression but rather an ongoing struggle of forces pervading all aspects of life.”(Newman 2001: 80). Thus, the definition of authority by classical anarchist approach is problematical because the power is not centered and the strategy to resist against it stands baseless. If power is not centered, how government operates is another question that needs to be answered. The state according to Deleuze and Guattari: “is an abstract form or model rather than a concrete institution, which essentially rules through more minute institutions and practices of domination.”(Newman 2001: 98). And they define state as an “abstract machine” (Newman: 78) so “what is important about this abstract machine is not the form in which it appears, but rather its function.”(Newman 2001:78). Deleuze and Guattari see “the state as an apparatus or machine, a model of thought and organization that overcodes economic flows, flows of production, organizing them into a mode.”(79). So state is something abstract and founds domination upon individuals by organizing relations. For Deleuze and Guattari the state “where it once operated through a massive repressive apparatus, now no longer needs this...it functions through the self-domination of the subject.”(100). In brief according to their theory, modern state is no longer oppressive apparatus in a sense that anarchists foreshadow but it

functions with the rule of individual by itself namely according to them: “a new form of slavery has been invented, that of being a slave to oneself.”(Deleuze and Guattari 1988: 162).

Newman with his reading of Foucault defines power creative rather than oppressive. This productive definition of power reflects another flaw of classical anarchism: “Foucault argues, in contrast to this, that power is not repressive—rather it is productive—and that to see power entirely in terms of repression is to fundamentally misunderstand it.”(Newman 2001: 81). By defining power repressive, classical anarchism misses how power works. Knowledge is produced by power and this means subject is produced by power itself. So resisting power should be inherent rather than a revolutionist view as classical anarchism sees. Morality is also not free from this criticism. The resistance should be against the concepts not against their practices:

What must be resisted, for Foucault, is not only the practices of domination which make up the prison, but also the morality which justifies and rationalizes these practices. (82)

Last flaw of classical anarchism arises from the tension between individual and society. Anarchism, while creating a society paradigm that is set by free individuals, sets some principles which cause free will of the individuals. In a society according to classical anarchism what contaminates and creates domination is the hierarchical order of the society. In an anarchist society there will not be a hierarchical order and domination of power, which contaminates human soul, will be destroyed. While doing this, anarchists suppose that there will not be any problems as they found their society modal on the presumption of humanism. So they replace common sense with power which makes the common sense is the new authority upon individuals. Accepting a fundamental truth destroys individuality. Sacrificing their truth for community even it is not oppressive is something that destroys freedom in society as Stirner opposes “the idea that truth is beyond the realm of individual perspective and struggle. There is not one Truth, but many truths, as many as there are individual perspectives. Truth is a weapon in a power game.” (82).

Consequently, despite the fact that classical anarchism breaks the prison, it still creates a new prison which is common sense of humanism. They trap themselves to humanism, an enlightenment paradigm. Classical anarchism founds a ground to struggle against the authority

but by founding a ground which is in the authoritative philosophy, it loses its ground. So what it is to be done is to free anarchism from priorities and finding new strategies against power by doing a new reading of anarchism as Le Guin suggests:

You can not take what you have not given, you must give yourself. You can not buy the Revolution. You can not make the Revolution. You can only be the Revolution. It is in your spirit, or it is nowhere. (Le Guin 2003: 301)

CHAPTER THREE

Reading *Fight Club* and *The Dispossessed*

3.1. *Fight Club* and Resistance against Power

Here there will be a dual reading, to talk about liberty problem an anarchist reading should be done firstly. The question *Fight Club* has an anarchist perspective or not will be our first issue. To read *Fight Club* with an anarchist perspective the anarchist principles discussed in first chapter should be used so *Fight Club* will be analyzed on oppositions. Criticism of consumerism and capitalism constitutes the anarchist perspective of *Fight Club*. Anarchism opposes capitalism as well as it opposes state, in late twentieth century absolute state authority was replaced with authority of international corporations so capitalism is the ultimate source of authority and states are the apparatus of their oppression. Therefore, criticism of capitalism is primary for an anarchist criticism. The narrator's life is a simple example of the consumer habits surrounds individuals' life in a capitalist society. Narrator work for a company that determines a car is safe or not and decide to recall the car or not. Narrator explains his job as a "simple arithmetic" and continuous:

If a new car built by my company leaves Chicago traveling west at 60 miles per hour, and the rear differential locks up, and the car crashes and burns with everyone trapped inside, does my company initiate a recall?

You take the population of vehicles in the field (A) and multiply it by the probable rate of failure (B), then multiply the result by the average cost of an out-of-court settlement (C).

A times B times C equals X. This is what it will cost if we don't initiate a recall.

If X is greater than the cost of a recall, we recall the cars and no one gets hurt.

If X is less than the cost of a recall, then we don't recall. (Palahniuk 2006: 30)

So he is in a position that he has to make a decision on human lives according to profit rates. He has to face dead bodies everyday and has to go long flights, he hates his job: "Everywhere I go, there's the burned-up wadded-up shell of a car waiting for me. I know where all the skeletons are." (31), his life is determined with the consumer habits he lives in an apartment that is designed for people in his position:

Home was a condominium on the fifteenth floor of a high-rise, a sort of filing cabinet for widows and young professionals. The marketing brochure promised a foot of concrete floor, ceiling, and wall between me and any adjacent stereo or turned-up television. A foot of concrete and air conditioning, you couldn't open the windows so even with maple flooring and dimmer switches, all seventeen hundred airtight feet would smell like the last meal you cooked or your last trip to the bathroom. (41)

Narrator's all life is surrounded by the hegemony of consumer culture he works in a job he hates, he lives in a house he does not like and he wastes his life to buy furniture he does not need, he is not alone "I wasn't the only slave to my nesting instinct. The people I know who used to sit in the bathroom with pornography, now they sit in the bathroom with their IKEA furniture catalogue" (43). All his life passed to buy this furniture, all his life has passed to own something that is determined by advertisements to reach a perfect life he does not choose but he has to in order to fulfill himself like all society; they "all have the same Rislampa/Har paper lamps made from wire and environmentally friendly unbleached paper" (44). They all have IKEA furniture as they think they need to but to build a home but it is not real like narrator defines his refrigerator: "I'd collected shelves full of different mustards, some stone-ground, some English pub style. There were fourteen different flavors of fat-free salad dressing, and seven kinds of capers." (45). His refrigerator is full of sauces but there is nothing to eat like his house, like his life: "a house full of condiments and no real food." (45). Consumer cultures traps the society, they build homes, buy furniture to create a nest for themselves, they consume as they are waited to consume:

You buy furniture. You tell yourself, this is the last sofa I will ever need in my life. Buy the sofa, then for a couple years you're satisfied that no matter what goes wrong, at least you've got your sofa issue handled. Then the right set of dishes. Then the perfect bed. The drapes. The rug. (44)

However the more you consume, the more you need to consume and you become the slave of the consumer culture, you alienate: “then you're trapped in your lovely nest and the things you used to own, now they own you” (44). Narrator feels empty and he continues to consume to satisfy himself but he asks: “May I never be complete. May I never be content. May I never be perfect” (46). Narrator has a mechanized life as he is prisoned by cultural hegemony of capitalist ideology. The world he lives is dominated by international companies, the hegemony of states turns into the hegemony of international companies, colonization of imperial countries developed colonization of companies: “when deep-space exploitation ramps up, it will probably be the megatonic corporations that discover all the new planets and map them”

The IBM Stellar Sphere.

The Philip Morris Galaxy.

Planet Denny's.

Every planet will take on the corporate identity of whoever rapes it first.

Budweiser World (171)

Narrator feels helpless and he has insomnia: “three weeks and I hadn't slept. Three weeks without sleep and everything becomes an out-of-body experience” (19), he wants to sleep and he sees his doctor, he just wants pills “little blue Amytal Sodium capsules, 200milligram-sized. I wanted red-and-blue Tuinal bullet capsules, lipstick-red Seconals”(19) but his doctor just advises him exercise and chewing valerian root and if he wants to see the pain, he “should swing by First Eucharist on a Tuesday night. See the brain parasites. See the degenerative bone diseases. The organic brain dysfunctions” (19), so he starts support groups. However, he meets Marla Singer another liar, another fake just like him and he can not sleep

again, he feels that she shows his lie to everyone, “she isn't dying” (37) and he is not dying, he wants to see the pain or something real in his mechanized, alienated life. When his home, carefully designed, nearly completed blown up, he called Tyler Durden as he thinks he will rescue him from his prison: “deliver me, Tyler, from being perfect and complete” (46) so he meets with Tyler in a bar and Tyler says: “I want you to hit me as hard as you can” (46). This is how Fight Clubs starts.

Tyler “was a movie projectionist with the union, and he was a banquet waiter at a hotel, downtown” (33). Tyler is the other identity of narrator, he is unlike narrator a true rebel and anarchist, and narrator starts *Fight Club* with Tyler, “the first rule about fight club is you don't talk about fight club” says Tyler. Fight Club is something real for the men who fights there, they are happy with bloody faces, Fight Club “is not football on television. You aren't watching a bunch of men you don't know halfway around the world beating on each other live by satellite with a two-minute delay, commercials pitching beer every ten minutes, and a pause now for station identification” (50) but Fight Club “is your reason for going to the gym and keeping your hair cut short and cutting your nails” (50).

They are fighting because they want to feel they are alive. It is not “about winning or losing fights” (51), it is about “self destruction” (52) against self improvement or being complete, they want to have scars they want to feel pain, the more they fight, the more they become self confident. They are angry because “culture has made us all the same. No one is truly white or black or rich, anymore. We all want the same. Individually, we are nothing” (134), because they want to exist and they are angry because they “are the middle children of history, raised by television to believe that someday we'll be millionaires and movie stars and rock stars, but we won't. And we're just learning this fact” (166). Narrator with other men in Fight Club runs to bottom out since “this was freedom. Losing all hope was freedom” (22). he gives up his job but he continuous to be paid by blackmailing his boss, by beating himself, he moves to Tyler's house, he leaves his possessions but they are not enough for Tyler because “sticking feathers up your butt” Tyler says “does not make you a chicken” (69), “it's only after you've lost everything, that you're free to do anything” (70). With the kiss of Tyler narrator becomes free because he feel the real pain and he faces it, he loses everything and becomes

free, now he has a scar. Fight Club turns into Project Mayhem, a chaos project, after this awakening of narrator. It is based on committees responsible for creating chaos and every committee meets on different days:

Arson meets on Monday.

Assault on Tuesday.

Mischief meets on Wednesday.

And Misinformation meets on Thursday.

Organized Chaos. The Bureaucracy of Anarchy. (119)

Every committee has mission sabotage, arson, assault and so on. Fight club is a riot but Project Mayhem is a revolution against the system because they focus on the corporations. Project Mayhem aims to control the world unlike Fight Clubs try to riot against domination. "the goal was to teach each man in the project that he had the power to control history: We, each of us, can take control of the world" (122). Project Mayhem is about destroying all beauties of the world, it is about changing history. History is the product of cultural hegemony, real history is the struggle between oppressors and oppressed and they have no place in history: "we are God's middle children, according to Tyler Durden, with no special place in history and no special attention" (141). Now Tyler gives identity to those who have no place in history, who want to get God's attention, Tyler's words become their words:

The mechanic yells into the wind, "You're not your name."

A space monkey in the back seat picks it up: "You're not your problems."

The mechanic yells, "You're not your problems."

A space monkey shouts, "You're not your age." (143)

Project Mayhem is founded by Tyler but it turns into what they riot, they are against the history but now "the first rule of the Project Mayhem is you don't ask questions about Project Mayhem" (123). You have to trust Tyler, no excuses, no lies but obedience to Tyler and his

orders; his words become the words of others. They become soldiers of Tyler Durden to be known by God, to be known by history but are not that they riot against, to be a soldier, to be a space monkey? How it turns into a being soldier of Tyler? It is about the first rule repeated by Palahniuk many times. It is about the need of a father.

“If you're male and you're Christian and living in America, your father is your model for God. And if you never know your father, if your father bails out or dies or-is never at home, what do you believe about God?” (141)

The need for being known turns into complete obedience to Tyler Durden. The struggle for freedom is now becomes being Tyler Durden. They are not free because as it is discussed in second chapter a rule turns into authority that kills freedom. It is because the revolutionist idea, it is because the hierarchical organization of Project Mayhem. They start their riot to be individual but they become monkeys of a project. The rules make them slaves of the project “the first rule about fight club is you don't talk about fight club, and the last rule about Project Mayhem is you don't ask questions.” (143).

In *Fight Club* Tyler Durden's struggle is against the “history” and his act Project Mayhem, “is a rebellion for autonomy, and not an easy one; Durden keeps referring to his colleagues in Project Mayhem as “space monkeys” revealing them to still be slaves, like the first monkeys shot into space like test subjects”(Rocha 2005: 110). His project is to devastate the civilization for the sake of liberty; nevertheless, by calling his comrades as “space monkeys” he becomes the new father so this is not an absolute emancipation but it is just changing the source of the hegemony. Tyler by giving them a reason to change their life, to escape from the hegemony of consumer culture of capitalism, handles the power on himself. Therefore, this here he does not destroy the history, he just writes his history and others are just like the space monkeys sacrificing their life for liberty but not for their liberty because of their certain commitment to Tyler Durden's ideas.

Tyler takes license to impose his own master narrative on his followers and subsequently on an entire civilization. His megalomania reaches its apex as he seeks not only to dismantle history but to replace it with a new order where his actions places him squarely in the role of the God/Father. (Kennett 2005: 56)

Anarchist acts of the narrator and Tyler Durden are awakening from a nightmare, from the hegemonic oppression of the consumer society. On the other hand it is not a complete liberation as it turned out to be a fascist project with emerge of the Project Mayhem. Self beating of the narrator is a complete awakening for him as he proves himself that the power of the master is illusionary. Zizek claims that this act is to say: “who needs you for terrorizing me? I can do it myself!” (Zizek 2003: 119) because for him:

the only true awareness of our subjection is the awareness of the obscene excessive pleasure (surplus enjoyment) we get from it. This is why the first gesture of liberation is not to get rid of this excessive pleasure, but to assume it actively—exactly what the hero of *Fight Club* does. (Zizek 2003: 119)

However Tyler Durden could not escape from the attraction of the power and sacrificed the hope of revolution for the sake of gaining the power, he could not get rid of the oedipal complex and he wanted to be the new father because with the Project Mayhem a paradox arises to be the new father Tyler needs to have his own children because the only way he defeat his father or in a way the control over him. A man can not actualize himself unless he “is not the master of himself until he has children, especially sons, of his own to control. Even then he merely repeats the actions of his own father” (Kennett 2005: 56). So it can be said that the power is not a structure that are external to human, it is inherent in human and the hierarchical structure of the society is not the only reason of the authority, it has many source as it is seen here oedipal structure and subconscious and patriarchal desire contaminates their pure revolution against the authority.

Thus it is essential to return their pure riot against the system as it is not contaminated by the desire of power. Project Mayhem is a project that aims to change the system but their

starting point is not to change the system but to be completely free from the system, a true liberation. To be completely free their motto is to loose everything that ties them to the system. If it is commented with the point of this thesis here what contaminates anarchist riot of *Fight Club* is to liberate individually not to change the system. So the problem of anarchy is to become an ideology, when it becomes of a revolutionary project it is impossible to escape from the power that contaminates the source of the riot. In *Fight Club* in the end Narrator shoots himself and according to Zizek, by doing that he:

liberates himself from the dual mirror-relationship of beating: in this culmination of self aggression, its logic cancels itself; Jack will no longer have to beat himself—now he will be able to beat the true enemy (the system)”
(Zizek 2003: 117)

Briefly the only way of anarchy to become a successful is the self liberation at first. Anarchism should not be just an opposition directly to the authority but at first individual should liberate itself. Liberation for the projection of this thesis is not changing the system you live but completely get rid of the ties that inherently exists in individual. Free from something is not being free; being free is to be a revolution by yourself, to be yourself. Here loosing all is the way that *Fight Club* shows us to be absolutely free.

3.2. *The Dispossessed* and Being a Revolution

The Dispossessed is the story of Shevek who travels Urras which represents the world from an utopian planet Annares an anarchist planet. He is physicist and he wants to find a way to combine these two planet, he is invented to Urras to study on his theory and he is the first one who travels Urras from Annares. Le Guin by creating two planets creates a dialectic criticism. She uses Urras to criticize the capitalistic system and totalitarian socialism but she also criticizes Annares not the system but she does not draws an idealistic system in Annares. So it is necessary to read Urras for understanding criticism of capitalist, totalitarian and hierarchical orders of system from Shevek's, an anarchist's, point of view. Shevek's first discussion is with his colleagues of Urras, here their claim is based on human nature,

Chifoflisk comments about Shevek's relation with Sabul senior colleague of him from Annares: "no need to pretend that an you Odonian brothers are full of brotherly love" and he continuous "human nature is human nature" (Le Guin 2003: 69). So the system in Urras is based on human nature paradigm of Hobbes. Shevek tries to tell the system of Annares to Oiie

Everybody on Anarres is a revolutionary, Oiie...The network of administration and management is called PDC, Production and Distribution Coordination. They are a coordinating system for all syndicates, federatives, and individuals who do productive work. They do not govern persons; they administer production. They have no authority either to support me or to prevent me. They can only tell us the public opinion of us — where we stand in the social conscience. (76)

Shevek tries to explain that his will is the only authority he acknowledges all the time. They give him a servant but it is strange for Shevek, he wants his servant to see him equal: "can you not recognize me as an equal?" (81). It is impossible for him because he is brought up in a hierarchical society, his response is "you are, you know, a very important man"(81). After his first days his opinions about the university, about this new community is about friendly but he understands the differences:

With its dormitories, refectories, theaters, meeting rooms, and so on, it was not very different from an Odonian community, except that it was very old, was exclusively male, was incredibly luxurious, and was not organized federatively but hierarchically, from the top down. All the same, Shevek thought, it felt like a community. (81)

He is not prejudiced about the culture of Urras but he tries to understand the differences but he feels prisoned in university, he feels he does not see the real world. Chifoflisk suggests him to take him his country a socialist country but Shevek rejects this offer because he sees his country Thu is totalitarian more than A-Io: "you are archists. The State of Thu is even more centralized than the State of A-Io. One power structure controls all, the government, administration, police, army, education, laws..." (136). Shevek stays in A-Io to tell his culture to the ones there, he faces with difficulties on human nature conception all the time, Oiie asks

“what keeps people in order? Why don’t they rob and murder each other?” (148). Shevek replies:

“Nobody owns anything to rob. If you want things you take them from the depository. As for violence, well, I don’t know, Oie; would you murder me, ordinarily? And if you felt like it, would a law against it stop you? Coercion is the least efficient means of obtaining order (149)

Shevek wants to see the real Urras but “it was difficult for him to distrust the people he was with. He had been brought up in a culture that relied deliberately and constantly on human solidarity, mutual aid” (204). It is difficult for him to be understood in Urras because they are alienated and brought up with the paradigm that based on distrust. It is a society “where men did not trust one another, where the basic moral assumption was not mutual aid, but mutual aggression” (208). He leaves university and he goes to the poor neighborhoods because he is a hope for them, there he sees people who are ready to listen him. To find him all army goes after him a riot starts there. In Urras he finds out that what contaminates human soul is the preassumption on human nature, hierarchical organization of the society, authority and oppression.

Annareis is an planet based on Odonian principles, they do not have any possessions, they do not have government or state, they live on the principle of mutual aid. There is a network but it was not “to be run from top down” (95), it is not hierarchical, is not for controlling individuals. “There was to be no controlling center, no capital, no establishment” (95). However it is not perfect, the first problem is seen when Shevek meets Sabul. When he wants to publish his work the problem of hierarchy becomes apparent, Sabul wants to publish it as if it is a collaboration and Shevek has to accept because Sabul is an old rival and has a powerful position at university and it is Shevek’s first disappointment for the society:

So they had bargained, he and Sabul, bargained like profiteers. It had not been a battle, but a sale. You give me this and I'll give you that. Refuse me and I'll refuse you. Sold? Sold! Shevek's career, like the existence of his society, depended on the continuance of a fundamental, unadmitted profit contract. Not a relationship of mutual aid and solidarity, but an exploitative relationship; not organic, but mechanical. (117)

It is not power structure what makes Sabul dominant but public opinion. He gets his power "not from vested authority, there isn't any. Not from intellectual excellence, he hasn't any" (165) but he has a power on Shevek and it is caused by "innate cowardice of the average human mind" (165). In Annares there is no authority in regular sense but public opinion is the source of authority, people internalize the principle of solidarity but it turns into a oppression if you do not want to join mutual aid you are alienated from the society:

Solidarity, yes! Even on Urras, where food falls out of the trees, even there Odo said that human solidarity is our one hope. But we've betrayed that hope. We've let cooperation become obedience. On Urras they have government by the minority. Here we have government by the majority. But it is government! The social conscience isn't a living thing any more, but a machine, a power machine, controlled by bureaucrats! (167)

Odonian principles turn into rules in Annares, "kids learn to parrot Odo's words as if they are laws" (168). Society is against the free will because you are not obliged to do what society want but if you do not you are marginalized by society "the social conscience completely dominates the individual conscience, instead of striking a balance with it. We don't cooperate -we obey" because they "fear being outcast, being called lazy, dysfunctional, egoizing. We fear our neighbor's opinion more than we respect our own freedom of choice" (330).

The problem on freedom in Annares is because social pressure. Individual has to join the solidarity, they are not governed but they feel obedience to the social order as they fear to be alienated from the society. The principles of Odo become the laws for the society. Here Le Guin offers change and struggle for liberation as a cure to Annares and Urras people. To be free you have to struggle for freedom, you have to internalize freedom because "the

Revolution is in the individual spirit, or it is nowhere” (359). The revolution is individual himself according to Le Guin:

“I am here because you see in me the promise, the promise that we made two hundred years ago in this city — the promise kept. We have kept it, on Anarres. We have nothing but our freedom. We have nothing to give you but your own freedom. We have no law but the single principle of mutual aid between individuals. We have no government but the single principle of free association. We have no states, no nations, no presidents, no premiers, no chiefs, no generals, no bosses, no bankers, no landlords, no wages, no charity, no police, no soldiers, no wars. Nor do we have much else. We are sharers, not owners. We are not prosperous. None of us is rich. None of us is powerful. If it is Anarres you want, if it is the future you seek, then I tell you that you must come to it with empty hands. You must come to it alone, and naked, as the child comes into the world, into his future, without any past, without any property, wholly dependent on other people for his life. You cannot take what you have not given, and you must give yourself. You cannot buy the Revolution. You cannot make the Revolution. You can only be the Revolution. It is in your spirit, or it is nowhere (301).

Again here in parallel to the ideas stated in this thesis anarchism is not a revolutionary action that needs to change to world and founding a new system but a complete liberation of the individuals that constitutes the society. Here what makes *The Dispossessed* an ambiguous utopia is that Anarres’s problems on authority. In an anarchist society people need to struggle for their freedom and individuals suffer from the hierarchical oppression although it is not technically exists in the society. The problem in *The Dispossessed* arises from the two sources that is mentioned in the second chapter, the rule of the principles and the tension between individual and society because when the anarchist revolution is achieved as Daniel Wieck suggests:

if one regards collective ownership as but one proposed means for the abolition of classes and of kinds of property, governmentally legitimated and protected, that make possible the exploitation of person by person. (Wieck 1977: 23)

So what will disable this is the unanswered question of classical anarchist tradition. Anarchists suggests that exploitation of human by the authority is the thing that contaminate the soul of human and when they are emancipated human soul is pure and this claim of anarchist thinking will be useless to answer but in this point they miss a point subjectivity. Subjectivity can be the idea that differs anarchism from socialism because they respect the individual differences and project a society all these differences live together but what if the anarchist principles of the society is ignored even by a single member of the society, of course anarchists do not try to oppress in the way state does but expecting that all members of society to internalize the same principles is a kind of hidden oppression and what happens in *The Dispossessed* is this oppression. The members of the society are thought to attend solidarity is a covered rule and the ones who opposes this is not punished but they face the oppression of common sense. Individuals in this way internalize a rule which is against complete liberation and creates the problematic in this respect. Society gains the priority in this way as Wieck states:

There is however plainly a tension between thinking of a society of free individuals and thinking of a society of free individuals, particularly if in the first case 'society' might better be placed in quotation marks; and to opt for one or the other is to invite practical and psychological consequences, perhaps just because one's choice reflects one's sense of what is more painfully lacking in one's world (Wieck 1977: 23)

So the order of society repeats itself in the anarchist society and being a subject of anarchist or hierarchical society does not change that you are oppressed and you are not free. Here Le Guin offers the idea of being a revolution rather than making a revolution in a similar way Palahniuk does. As it is stated in this thesis anarchist revolution is a paradox that contaminates its pure soul, the core of the idea; liberty. Anarchist idea is in the basis is to give

priority to the freedom more than other principles. However classical anarchist projection with the effect of enlightenment paradigm traps itself with the idea of humanism. Individual subjectivity should be the base of the anarchist project if there will be a difference from the socialist idea. Again and again it should not be missed that the liberty is not free from the system but to live freely in every condition, actualize yourself and emancipate yourself; anarchism is not a project that emancipate the society with certain principles because when it attempts to this it turns into oppression itself. Anarchism is not a revolutionary movement but it is an individual riot against all the sources that oppress its free will.

CONCLUSION

Rethinking Anarchy

In this research I have tried to generate a criticism on anarchism. However this criticism is not against the starting point of anarchism. I believe that anarchism should not construct an ideology which means a self denial for anarchist thought. This criticism is an effort to question some of the flaws that contaminate pure core of the anarchist thought. Anarchism can simply be read as a resistance to exploitation of human by authority and should center its ground for this struggle outside the ideology trap. That means anarchism is a resistance and should stay as it, when it tries to constitute principles that are non issuable, anarchism traps itself.

Anarchism should locate itself somewhere outside the political thought to save itself to be the source of authority. Accepting pure human nature as the fundamental true of the thought is nothing but to reproduce authority. In this thesis I do not focus on the validity of human nature but I try to focus on stating human nature as the priori of the theory.

The other criticism is on the concept of authority. If we define anarchism as a rejection of it, we should focus on the authority. Anarchism here traps itself with a reductivism; focusing on state as the only source of authority. However, state is not the only form of authority so it is more accurate to search the source of authority between the human relations. Power relationships, language, hierarchical order, hegemonic use of culture can be seen as some of the sources of authority and anarchism should analyze authority in the lights of modern hegemonic forms of ruling.

The last problem that arises in this criticism is that the tension between the individual and society. Anarchism draws an idealistic picture of a society which is founded on solidarity

of free individuals. However drawing a picture like this creates another problem: imposing a task on individuals for the sake of community. Replacing the source of authority does not change the reality that it is the authority. State or common sense does not matter. This model of society is not a free society unless the individual freedom is maximized.

In the works *The Dispossessed* and *Fight Club*, I have tried to find the source of authority. No matter anarchist or Capitalistic society models produce the authority. In *Fight Club* the struggle for freedom turns into reinventing a new form of authority. This is caused by the revolutionary idea of anarchist thought. Replacing the oppressor does not mean being free. *The Dispossessed* also shows the same problem. In the utopic world of Anares individual freedom is sacrificed for the behalf of common sense.

Consequently, in this thesis I have tried to show that anarchism is in a vicious cycle and should break the cycle. Anarchism with the help of poststructuralist thought can renew and found a new ground for the resistance. Otherwise as it is in *The Dispossessed* and *Fight Club* reproduces authority. Freedom should be indispensable in anarchist project and it should locate itself against any source of authority.

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