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NOTES

Introduction

- 1 President Theodore Roosevelt, “Message to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary Regarding Transmission Through the Mails of Anarchistic Publications” (April 9, 1908).
- 2 State of the Union Address (December 3, 1901).
- 3 D. Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004), p. 2.
- 4 D. Mitrany, *The Functional Theory of Politics* (London: Martin Robertson, 1975), p. 98
- 5 Graeber, p. 2.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 “Descriptive theory” involves concepts such as human nature, autonomy, and rationality. “Normative theory” involves moral concepts such as rights, liberties, and justice. “Political theory” involves concepts such as law, political obligation, and legitimacy. “Economic theory” involves concepts pertaining to the systemized distribution of goods and services within and across societies.

Chapter 1

- 1 See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. M. Ostwald (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1962), p. 4, n. 8. For a general historical and political overview of the Greek *polis*, see *The Greek Polis*, ed. A. Adkins and P. White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); P.J. Rhodes, *The Greek City States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- 2 *Nicomachean Ethics* VI.2.1139a26–8; *Metaphysics* VI.1.1025b24, XI.7.1064a16–19; *Topics* VI.6.145a14–16. Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent references to Aristotle are taken from *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. B. Jowett, rev. J. Barnes, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). Any and all subsequent citations use standard Latin abbreviations.
- 3 *EN* I.2.1094a18–25.
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 *Ibid.*, I.7.1907b. There is a well-known controversy concerning Aristotle’s conception of the highest good. Although the highest good is defined in terms

- of *eudaimonia* in Book I, it seems to be associated with contemplation in Book X. For more on this, see T. Nagel, "Aristotle on *Eudaimonia*," *Phronesis* 17 (1972), pp. 252–9.
- 7 *Ibid.*, I.2.1094a25–1095b10.
 - 8 *Ibid.* X.9.
 - 9 For more on Aristotle's political theory, especially as outlined in the *Politics*, see *A Companion to Aristotle's Politics*, ed. D. Keyt and Fred Miller (London: Blackwell, 1991); see also R. Kraut, *Aristotle's Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); F. Miller, *Nature, Justice and Rights in Aristotle's Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); R.G. Mulgan, *Aristotle's Political Theory: An Introduction for Students of Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); P. Simpson, *A Philosophical Commentary on the Politics of Aristotle* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).
 - 10 *Pol.* IV.1; cf. *EN* VI.8, X.9.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, III.1.1274b32–41.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, II.12.1273b32–3, VII.4.1325b40–1365a5; see also III.1.1274a38–41, VII.14.1325b38–41.
 - 13 Although it does this too, as is made clear by Aristotle's famous sixfold classification of political forms in *Politics* I.7, which is in turn adapted from Plato. See *Statesman* in *Complete Works*, ed. J. Cooper and D.S. Hutchinson (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1997), 303c–303d; cf. *Republic*, Book VIII; cf. Heradotus, *The Histories*, ed. J. Marcincola, trans. A. de Selincourt (New York: Penguin Classics, 1996), III.80–2.
 - 14 *Pol.* I.4–8; I.13.1260a12; III.6.1278b32–7.
 - 15 *Ibid.*, I.12.1259a39–b4; I.13.1260a13–14.
 - 16 *Ibid.*, I.12.1259a39–b4.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, I.2.1252b30–1253a1. Similar ideas are found in the writings of various Pre-Socratics philosophers (e.g., Democritus) and in the Platonic corpus. See, for example, Plato, *Laws*, edited and translated by T. Saunders. New York: Penguin Classics, 2005. III.680; on Democritus, see W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962–1981), vol. 2, p. 473; cf. T. Cole, *Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology* (Cleveland, OH: Press of Western Reserve University, 1967), pp. 80, 83.
 - 18 *Ibid.*, II.1.1261a18, III.1.1275b20.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, III.6.1278b17–24, 9.1280b39; VII.2.1325a7–10.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, I.2.1253a1–18.
 - 21 T. May, *Gilles Deleuze: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 4.
 - 22 *Pol.* I.2.1253a18–29.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, 1253a29–39.
 - 24 *EE* II.1; *EN* I.7; *Pol.* I.2.
 - 25 *Pol.* I.2.1252b27–30; I.2. 1253a31–3; VII.1.1323b40–1324a1; VII.14.1333a29–30.
 - 26 *Ibid.*, IV.1.1288b27.
 - 27 Most importantly the virtue of distributive justice. See *Pol.* III.9.1280a7–22.
 - 28 *Ibid.*, II.9.1280b39–1281a4. Toward the end of *Politics* III Aristotle argues that aristocracy—that is, rule by "the best" (*aristoi*)—is ideally conducive to

- the natural end of the city-state, which, again, is the achievement of the good life vis-à-vis the inculcation of virtue among citizens.
- 29 See, for example, *Phys.* II.2.194a28–9, 8.199b15–18.
 - 30 See E.V. Walter, “Power and Violence,” *American Political Science Review* 58:2 (1964), pp. 350–60.
 - 31 2:201a1.
 - 32 J. Sachs, *Aristotle’s Physics: A Guided Study* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), p. 78.
 - 33 1047a30–1; 1050a21–23.
 - 34 Sachs, p. 79.
 - 35 *Ibid.*; cf. G. Blair, “The Meaning of ‘Energeia’ and ‘Entelecheia’ in Aristotle,” *International Philosophical Quarterly* 7:101ff; A. Kosman, “Aristotle’s Definition of Motion,” in *Aristotle: Critical Assessments*, ed. L.P. Gerson, vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 33–52; W.D. Ross, *Aristotle’s Metaphysics*, vol. 2 (London: Oxford University Press 1953), p. 245.
 - 36 *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9.
 - 37 W.D. Ross, *Aristotle* (London: Methuen, 1949), p. 81; cf. Ross, *Aristotle’s Physics* (London: Oxford, 1936), p. 537.
 - 38 Walter, p. 354.
 - 39 See *Phys.* II and III.
 - 40 See *Phys.* II.
 - 41 Walter, p. 254.
 - 42 Walter, p. 354. See *EN* III.1.1110b.
 - 43 *Pol.* III.9.1282a25–32. For more on the various meanings of *demos* see J.A.O. Larsen, “Demokratia,” *Classical Philology* 68:1 (1973), pp. 45–6.
 - 44 *Pol.* III.9.1279b18–19.
 - 45 *Ibid.*, 1294a11; 1317b17–41; 1328b32–3.
 - 46 For more on Aristotle’s views on democracy see J. Barnes, “Aristotle and Political Liberty,” in *Aristoteles’ Politik. Akten des XI. Symposium Aristotelicum. Friedrichshafen/Bodensee 25.8–3.9.1987*, ed. G. Patzig (Göttingen, 1990), pp. 249–63, with comments by R. Sorabji, pp. 264–76; M. Chambers, “Aristotle’s ‘Forms of Democracy,’” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 92 (1961), pp. 20–36; A. Lintott, “Aristotle and Democracy,” *Classical Quarterly* 42 (1992), pp. 114–28; C. I. Papageorgiou, “Four or Five Types of Democracy in Aristotle?,” *History of Political Thought* 11 (1990), pp. 1–8; B.S. Strauss, “On Aristotle’s Critique of Athenian Democracy,” in *Essays on the Foundations of Aristotelian Political Science*, ed. C. Lord and D.K. O’Connor (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 212–33.
 - 47 In addition to the examples noted, we also find a general rejection of “political naturalism” among the Cynics and numerous other schools of Greek and Roman philosophy. For an excellent overview see J.L. Adams, “Law and Nature in Greco-Roman Thought,” *The Journal of Religion* 25:2 (1945), pp. 97–118.
 - 48 Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, trans. J.S. Watson (London: Henry G. Bohrn, 1854), II.1; cf. Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, trans. R.D. Hicks (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980), Book II. For more on Cyrenaic philosophy see J.E. Annas, *The Morality of Happiness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), esp. Part 2, Chap. 7; cf. T. O’Keefe, “The

- Cyrenaics on Pleasure, Happiness, and Future-Concern,” *Phronesis* 47:4 (2002), pp. 395–416.
- 49 *Memorabilia*, II.1.13.
- 50 See for example, Diogenes Laertius, VII: 33, 36, 53, 55. For more on Stoic views on nature and reason, see *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, ed. B. Inwood, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), especially essays 3, 5, 9, 10, 14.
- 51 See D. Dawson, *Cities of the Gods: Communist Utopias in Greek Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), ch. 4; A. Erskine, *The Hellenistic Stoa: Political Thought and Action* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), ch. 1; M. Schofield, *The Stoic Idea of the City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 52 The idea of a utopian “golden age” is pervasive in ancient thought and can be found in the writings of such diverse personages as Hesiod, Virgil, and Ovid. See R. Wilhelm, “The Metamorphosis of Golden Age in Greek and Latin Writers,” *Augustan Age* 10 (1990–1992), pp. 58–74. Among the Stoics, see for example Seneca, *Ad Lucillum Epistulae Morales*, trans. R. Grummere, vol. 3. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), Epistle 90. Cicero attributes this view to Panaetius in his *On Duties*, ed. E.M. Atkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). On Posidonius, Manilius, and others, see G. Rudberg, *Forschungen zu Poseidonios* (Uppsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1918).
- 53 On obedience to rulers see Samuel 1:14–16, Matthew 22:21, Romans 13:1–5, 1 Peter 2:13–15; on private property see Exodus 20:15, Matthew 19:21–4; Luke 18:22; Acts 4:32–5; on slavery see 1 Corinthians 7:20–2, Galatians 3:28, 1 Peter 2:18, Ephesians 6:5, Colossians 3:22, Philemon 12; on warfare and killing more generally see Deuteronomy 20:11 and 16, Deuteronomy 7:2, Deuteronomy 13:16, Exodus 32:25–9, Numbers 31:13–18, 1 Kings 15, 1 Kings 15:32–3, Matthew 5:39–44.
- 54 See for example Augustine, *City of God against the Pagans*, trans. R.W. Dyson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), XIX.17; cf. Gratian, *Decretum*, Dist. 47 c.8, in *Corpus iuris Canonici*, ed. A. Friedberg (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879), vol. 1, col. 171. For an indispensable collection of other relevant sources, see R.W. and A.J. Carlyle’s masterful *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West*, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 1928), esp. vols. 2 and 3. See also W. Ullmann, *Principles of Politics and Government in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1961), pp. 239–43. For more on the influence of Stoicism on early Christian theology, see A. Wallace-Hadrill, “The Golden Age and Sin in Augustan Ideology,” *Past and Present* 95 (1982), pp. 19–36; W. Stürner, *Peccatum un Potestas: Der Stüdenfall und die Entstehung der herrscherlichen Gewalt im mitteralterlichen Staatsdenken* (Sigmaringen, Fhorbecke, 1987).
- 55 P.E. Sigmund, *Natural Law in Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 37–8.
- 56 For a detailed discussion of this process see C.J. Nederman, “Nature, Sin, and the Origins of Society: The Ciceronian Tradition in Medieval Political Thought,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 49:1 (1988), pp. 3–26.
- 57 For more on the natural law tradition, see H. Rommen, *The Natural Law: A Study in Legal and Social History and Philosophy* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1946);

- Y. Simon, *The Tradition of Natural Law: A Philosopher's Reflections* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1965);
- 58 Aquinas went a step further by arguing that civil law exists even in heaven. See P. Buc, *L'ambiguïté du Livre: Prince, pouvoir, et peuple dans les commentaires de la Bible*, *Théologie Historique* 95 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1994).
- 59 In the Middle Ages, however, many of the social relations that Aristotle regarded as "political"—e.g., marriage, family, property, and so forth—were contained within moral-theological rather than political discourse. Medieval political thought tended to focus more explicitly on the state as a legal and juridical institution.
- 60 The most famous work in this genre is arguably Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*. For an excellent study of this text see C. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum": Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c.1275–c.1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- 61 N. Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. Q. Skinner and R. Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 47. For more on Machiavelli see M. Fischer, *Well-Ordered License: On the Unity of Machiavelli's Thought* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2000); A. Parel, *The Machiavellian Cosmos* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); M.E. Vatter, *Between Form and Event: Machiavelli's Theory of Political Freedom* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2000); M. Viroli, *Machiavelli* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
- 62 Machiavelli, p. 62.
- 63 *Ibid.*, p. 66.
- 64 For more on the history of sociology see R. Nisbet, *The Sociological Tradition* (London: Heinemann, 1967).
- 65 *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, ed. D. Miller (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), p. 391
- 66 A. Leftwich, *What is Politics?* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), p. 112.
- 67 Cf. R. Dahl, *Modern Political Analysis* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984), pp. 9–10.
- 68 F. Nietzsche, *The Twilight of the Idols*, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (New York: Penguin, 1990), p. 45.
- 69 Heraclitus was known in antiquity as "the obscure one" (*ho skoteinos*) not only because so little is known about his life, but because of the puzzling, paradoxical nature of his ideas. See Diogenes Laertius, *The Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, 9.6.
- 70 See for example G.E.M. Anscombe's famous discussion in *Intention* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959); cf. D. Davidson, "Actions, Reasons, and Causes," *The Journal of Philosophy* 60:23 (1963), pp. 685–700.
- 71 Although politics (social physics) can and often does involve physical power, this does not imply that human behavior is governed by immutable physical laws, which, if discovered, would allow human behavior to be predicted with scientific accuracy. On my view, the errors of strict determinism are a direct result of reducing all power to species of physical power in this way.
- 72 Miller, pp. 390–1.
- 73 Unless otherwise noted, "moral philosophy" here refers to "normative ethics" (i.e., the study of right and wrong conduct) rather than to "axiology" (i.e., the study of value and the good life).

- 74 Hegel, for example, discusses the family at length in Section 3 of *The Philosophy of Right*. Hegel's extension of politicophilosophical analysis to nongovernmental social relations had a great impact on nineteenth-century political philosophy generally, most notably in the works of Karl Marx.
- 75 Todd May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), p. 1.
- 76 *Ibid.* See Immanuel Kant, *The Metaphysical Elements of Justice*, trans. John Ladd (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- 78 *Ibid.*
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 Leftwich, pp. 64–5.
- 81 May, p. 4.
- 82 *Ibid.*
- 83 Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- 84 May, p. 4.
- 85 New York: Basic Books, 1974.
- 86 May, p. 5.
- 87 Nozick, p. 198.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 155.
- 89 Nozick, pp. 151–2, 178.
- 90 May, p. 5.
- 91 *Ibid.*
- 92 I will discuss Marxism at greater length in Chapter 4.
- 93 May, p. 6.
- 94 Trans. R. Livingstone (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971).
- 95 May, p. 6; see Lukács, pp. 161–2.
- 96 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 97 *Ibid.*
- 98 Indeed, sometimes it is ignored altogether. Machiavelli, for example, formulates political strategy by consulting both Roman history as well as his own sociopolitical context (that of sixteenth-century Italy). As we have seen, however, Machiavelli's theory is not based on any normative presuppositions or analyses.
- 99 May, p. 7.
- 100 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 101 *Ibid.*
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- 103 *Ibid.*
- 104 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 105 May, p. 8.
- 106 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 107 See for example J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, ed. E. Rapaport (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1978). See also Rousseau's *Discourses* in *The Basic Political Writings*, trans. D. Cress (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987).
- 108 See G. Dart, *Rousseau, Robespierre, and English Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

- 109 For an example of Mill's strategic philosophy see "Considerations on Representative Government" in *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. J.M. Robinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963ff), vol. 29, pp. 371–577. See also S. Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Great Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- 110 See *Reading Capital Politically* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979).

Chapter 2

- 1 Most notably Elizabeth. Anscombe (see Chapter 1, note 70 above).
- 2 Davidson, "Agency," in *Essays in Actions and Events*, p. 46.
- 3 Davidson, "Actions, Reasons, and Causes," p. 685.
- 4 However, it is worth remind ourselves here, following J. Cooper, that "[Aristotle] never attempts to discuss moral reasoning as such, but always instead focuses on practical reasoning in general, treating moral reasoning as a species of this wider genus . . ." [*Reason and Human Good in Aristotle* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1986), p. 1].
- 5 *EN* II.6.1106a15.
- 6 See *EN* III:6–9. I include the *ceteris paribus* here because virtuous character is understood holistically by Aristotle. In other words, although courage is a virtue, it is tempered by other virtues such as prudence. It is precisely the "proper" interplay of the virtues that makes a particular action "courageous" rather than simply reckless. See D. Pears, "Courage as a Mean," in *Essays on Aristotle's Ethics*, ed. A.O. Rorty (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 171–80.
- 7 *Ibid.*, II:4.
- 8 See, for example, 1 Corinthians 13:13.
- 9 The idea that morality is determined by the will of the gods predates Christianity. It is discussed at length, for example, in Plato's *Euthyphro*.
- 10 See, for example, William of Ockham, *Opera philosophica et theologica*, ed. G. Gál et al. (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 1967–1968), vol. 5.
- 11 Notably R.M. Adams. See for example *Finite and Infinite Goods: A Framework for Ethics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- 12 See, for example, Raymund of Pennafort, *Summa de Poenitentia et Matrimonia* (c. 1235); Bartholomew of San Concordio, *Summa Pisana* (c. 1317); Sylvester Prierias (d. 1523), *Summa Summarum*; St. Antoninus of Florence (d. 1459), *Summa Confessionalis* and *Summa Confessorum*. For more on the history of medieval casuistry see A. J. Celano, *From Priam to the Good Thief: The Significance of a Single Event in Greek Ethics and Medieval Moral Teaching*, The Etienne Gilson Series 23, Studies in Medieval Moral Teaching 3 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies Press, 2000).
- 13 P. Foot, "The Problem of Abortion and the Doctrine of Double Effect," in *Virtues and Vices* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 19–32.

- 14 For more on Aquinas' theory of natural law, see R.A. Armstrong, *Primary and Secondary Precepts in Thomistic Natural Law Teaching* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1966); J. Finnis, *Aquinas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); G. Grisez, "The First Principle of Practical Reason: A Commentary on the *Summa Theologiae* 1–2, Question 94, Article 2," *Natural Law Forum* 10 (1965), pp. 168–96; A. Lisska, *Aquinas's Theory of Natural Law: An Analytic Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); D.J. O'Connor, *Aquinas and Natural Law* (London: Clarendon Press, 1967); J. Reilly, *Saint Thomas on Law* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990).
- 15 *Summa Theologiae*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 5 vols. (New York: Christian Classics, 1981), 1:2, q.91, a.2.
- 16 ST I, q. 80, a. 2 ad 2; II–II, q. 24 a.1; cf. 1:2, q.94, a. 2.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 1:2, q. 94, a. 2.
- 18 cf. Aristotle, *EN* I.1:1094a3; *Rhet* I, 6:1362a23; *Tops* III.1:116a–19–20; cf. Aquinas, *S.T.* I, q. 5, a1c and ad 1.
- 19 ST II–II, q. 64, a. 7.
- 20 *Ibid.*; cf. R. Duska, "Aquinas' Definition of Good: Ethical-Theoretical Notes on *De Veritate*, Q.21," *The Monist* 58 (1974), pp. 152–8.
- 21 P. Abelard, "Ethics," in *Ethical Writings*, trans. P.V. Spade (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1995), pp. 1–57. For more on Abelard's *Ethics* see P. King, "Abelard's Intentionalist Ethics," *The Modern Schoolman* 72 (1995), pp. 213–31; W. Mann, "Abelard on Ethics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Abelard*, ed. J. Brower and K. Guilfooy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 279–304.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 10–16.
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 For more on Kant's moral theory see H. Allison, *Kant's Theory of Freedom* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); B. Aune, *Kant's Theory of Morals* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979); L. White Beck, *A Commentary on Kant's "Critique of Practical Reason"* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960); P. Guyer, *Kant on Freedom, Law, and Happiness* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); W.D. Ross, *Kant's Ethical Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954); R. Sullivan, *Immanuel Kant's Moral Theory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
- 25 *Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. J.W. Ellington (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1981), section 452.
- 26 *Grounding*, section 412.
- 27 *Ibid.*, section 453.
- 28 *The Critique of Practical Reason*, trans. L. White Beck (New York: Macmillan, 1993), section 20.
- 29 *Grounding*, section 415.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 *Ibid.*, section 447.
- 32 *Ibid.*, section 427.
- 33 *Ibid.*, section 428.
- 34 For other examples of nonconsequentialist theories see R. Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977);

- C. Koorsgard, *Sources of Normativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); A.I. Melden, *Rights and Persons* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); T. Nagel, *The View from Nowhere* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); T. Scanlon, *What We Owe to Each Other* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- 35 For more on utilitarianism see especially J.J.C. Smart and B. Williams, *Utilitarianism For and Against* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).
- 36 Ed. G. Sher (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1979), p. 34
- 37 *Ibid.*
- 38 For more on utilitarianism and hedonism see F. Berger, *Happiness, Justice and Freedom: The Moral and Political Philosophy of John Stuart Mill* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); R.M. Blake, "Why Not Hedonism?: A Protest," *Ethics* 37 (1926), pp. 1–18; J.L. Cowan, *Pleasure and Pain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968); K. Duncker, "Pleasure, Emotion, and Striving," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 1 (1940), pp. 391–430; R. Edwards, *Pleasures and Pains* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); J.C.B. Gosling, *Pleasure and Desire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); J.D. Wallace, "Pleasure as an End of Action," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 3 (1966), pp. 312–16; M. Zimmerman, "On the Intrinsic Value of States of Pleasure," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 41 (1980–81), pp. 26–45.
- 39 Mill, *Utilitarianism*, pp. 36–8.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
- 44 *Ibid.*; cf. pp. 11–12.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 46 The term "deontojuridical" is meant to capture the emphasis on duties (Gr. *deones*) and rights (Lat. *iures*)
- 47 *Catechism of the Revolutionist* (Violette Nozieres Press, 1989), pp. 4–5.
- 48 May, p. 10.
- 49 *The State and Revolution* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1976), p. 74.
- 50 Qtd. in M. Bakunin, *Marxism, Freedom, and the State*, trans. M. Kenafick (London: Freedom Press, 1984), p. 7.
- 51 *Rebel Alliances* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006), p. 112.
- 52 A. Giddens and C. Pearson, *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making Sense of Modernity* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 94.
- 53 *Ibid.*
- 54 L. Cahoone, *From Modernism to Postmodernism* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), p. 11.
- 55 *Ibid.*
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 57 I. Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" in *Perpetual Peace and Other Essays*, trans. T. Humphrey (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1983), p. 41.
- 58 C. Taylor, *Hegel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 4.
- 59 P. Pettit, "The Contribution of Analytical Philosophy," in *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, ed. R. Goodin and P. Pettit (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 7

- 60 Cahoon, pp. 11–12.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 62 See, for example, M. Cranston, “Liberalism,” in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. P. Edwards (New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1967), pp. 458–61; G. Gaus, *The Modern Liberal Theory of Man* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983); T.H. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation and Other Essays*, ed. P. Harris and J. Morrow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- 63 See, for example, I. Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 122–34; W. Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community & Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); L. Siedentop, “Two Liberal Traditions,” in *The Idea of Freedom*, ed. A. Ryan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 153–74; Q. Skinner, *Liberty Before Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 64 See, for example, R. Dworkin, “Liberalism,” in *A Matter of Principle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 181–204. J. Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- 65 See, for example, G. Lichtheim, *A Short History of Socialism* (New York: Praeger, 1970); A. Wright, *Socialisms: Theories and Practices* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- 66 G. Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1987), pp. 337–43. See also A. Ryan, “Liberalism,” in Goodin and Pettit, pp. 297–303.

Chapter 3

- 1 Pettit, p. 23.
- 2 C. Taylor, *Philosophy and the Human Sciences: Philosophical Papers*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 191.
- 3 See I. Berlin, *Vico and Herder* (London: Hogarth Press, 1976).
- 4 Pettit, p. 23.
- 5 Pettit, pp. 23, 26, 28. Cf. J. Bentham, *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. 1. (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1843), p. 321: “Individual interests are the only real interests. Take care of individuals; never injure them, or suffer them to be injured, and you will have done well enough for the public.” See also J. Broome, “Irreducibly Social Goods,” in *Rationality, Individualism and Public Policy*, ed. G. Brennan and C. Walsh (Canberra: Anutech, 1990); A. Hamlin and P. Pettit, “The normative analysis of the state,” in *The Good Polity*, ed. A. Hamlin and P. Pettit (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); J. Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 4; J. Raz, *The Morality of Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). Pettit suggests that these theses continue to be “received . . . assumptions” in contemporary analytical philosophy (“The contribution of analytical philosophy,” p. 23).
- 6 For a detailed overview, see J.E. Annas, *Hellenistic Philosophy of Mind* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992); see also S. Everson, ed., *Companions to Ancient Thought 2: Psychology* (New York: Cambridge

- University Press, 1991); C.D. Green and P.R. Groff, *Early Psychological Thought: Ancient Accounts of Mind and Soul* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).
- 7 See M. Durant, ed., *Aristotle's De Anima in Focus* (London: Routledge, 1993); M.C. Nussbaum and A.O. Rorty, eds., *Essays on Aristotle's "De Anima"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
 - 8 See R. Dewitt, *Worldviews: An Introduction to the History and Philosophy of Science* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), esp. Chapters 18–20. See also L. Brockliss, "The Moment of No Return: The University of Paris and the Death of Aristotelianism," *Science and Education* 15:2–4 (2006), pp. 259–78.
 - 9 *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, trans. J. Cottingham et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), I: 120. For more on Descartes see, for example, J. Cottingham, *Descartes* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); A. Kenny, *Descartes: A Study of His Philosophy* (New York: Random House, 1968); B. Williams, *Descartes: The Project of Pure Inquiry* (London: Penguin, 1978).
 - 10 *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, I: 122.
 - 11 *Meditations on First Philosophy*, ed. J. Cottingham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), First Meditation, pp. 12–15. It should be noted that skepticism was not invented by Descartes so much as appropriated for heuristic purposes. Philosophical skepticism as such has a long pedigree dating back to classical antiquity. See, for example, Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, trans. R.G. Bury (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1990).
 - 12 Descartes, First Meditation, pp. 13–14.
 - 13 The "cogito" is a shorthand for Descartes's famous argument, first articulated in the *Discourse on Method*, in which he states "*Je pense donc je suis*" (*Philosophical Writings* I:127). In the later Latin edition the argument was rendered as "*cogito ergo sum*." Contrary to popular belief, the "cogito" does not appear in the more famous *Meditations on First Philosophy*. The closest parallel is found in the Second Meditation: "... I must conclude that this proposition, *I am, I exist*, is necessarily true whenever it is put forward by me or conceived in my mind" (p. 17).
 - 14 Second Meditation, p. 18.
 - 15 From Lat. *subiacere*.
 - 16 Descartes, Second Meditation, pp. 17–18.
 - 17 For more on the historical development of subjectivity as a concept, see Donald Hall's excellent discussion in *Subjectivity* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
 - 18 See A. Kenny, *Rationalism, Empiricism, and Idealism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); L. Loeb, *From Descartes to Hume: Continental Metaphysics and the Development of Modern Philosophy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981).
 - 19 D. Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. D.F. and M.J. Norton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), I:1.1
 - 20 *Ibid.*
 - 21 *Ibid.*
 - 22 *Ibid.*, I:1.4.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, I:1.5.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, I:3.2.
 - 25 *Ibid.*, I:3.4.

- 26 *Ibid.*, I:3.4–5.
- 27 *Ibid.*, I:3.7.
- 28 *Ibid.*, I:3.8.
- 29 I. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, ed. P. Guyer and A. Wood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 11.A20–21.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 1.2.A37–44.
- 31 *Ibid.*, “Introduction,” pp. 61–2.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 2.3.A81–83.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 2.3.A77–A80.
- 34 Todd May, *Gilles Deleuze: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 74.
- 35 Ryan, “Liberalism,” p. 293.
- 36 *Ibid.*; see J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, ed. Elizabeth Rapaport (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1978), pp. 120–2.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 295.
- 38 C.B. MacPherson refers to this theory as “possessive individualism.” See his *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism from Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- 39 See S. Lukes, *Individualism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), esp. pp. 144–5.
- 40 See A. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 9–63; S. Holmes, *On the Theory of Liberal Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 53–7.
- 41 *Leviathan*, ed. C.B. MacPherson (New York: Penguin Classics, 1982), I:6
- 42 *Ibid.*, I:1. Note that these “concepts” are purely material for Hobbes who is both an anti-Cartesian materialist and a nominalist. We need not concern ourselves here with their exact ontological status within his system.
- 43 *Ibid.*, I:6.1–2.
- 44 *Ibid.*, I:6.2.
- 45 *Ibid.*, I:6.49–53.
- 46 *Ibid.*, I:6.7.
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 *Ibid.*, I:6.58.
- 49 *Ibid.*, I:10.1.
- 50 *Ibid.*, I:11.2.
- 51 *Ibid.*
- 52 *Ibid.*, I:13.1, 3.
- 53 *Ibid.*, I:13.3–7.
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 *Ibid.*, I:13.14.
- 56 *Ibid.*, I:13.13.
- 57 *Ibid.*, I:14.1.
- 58 *Ibid.*, I:3–9.
- 59 *Ibid.*, I:14.31.
- 60 *Ibid.*, I:15.3.
- 61 *Ibid.*, II.17.13–15.
- 62 *Ibid.*, II:19.
- 63 I. Kant, *Grounding for the Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. J.W. Ellington (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1981), p. 447.

- 64 J. Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, ed. C.B. Macpherson (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1980), p. 8.
- 65 J. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (New York: Oxford, 1975), Bk. II, Ch. XXI.
- 66 Locke, *Second Treatise*, p. 9.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 287.
- 68 A.J. Simmons, *On the Edge of Anarchy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 13.
- 69 Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty," p. 122.
- 70 See, for example, S. Benn, *A Theory of Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); G. Dworkin, *The Theory and Practice of Autonomy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); J. Raz, *The Morality of Freedom*.
- 71 Sartori, p. 343.
- 72 B. Li, "Equality and Democracy," *Perspectives* 1:4 (February 29, 2000).
- 73 J.S. Mill, *On Liberty and Other Essays*, ed. J. Gray (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 472.
- 74 *Ibid.*
- 75 A.J. Simmons, "Philosophical Anarchism," in *For and Against the State*, ed. J. Sanders and J. Narveson (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996), p. 36.
- 76 See Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, p. 302.
- 77 Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, p. 54.
- 78 *Ibid.*
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 *Ibid.* For an in-depth discussion of the primary social goods, see p. 15.
- 81 J. Braithwaite and P. Pettit, *Not Just Deserts: A Republican Theory of Political Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- 82 See A.P. d'Entreves, *Natural Law*, revised edition (London, 1970); J.M. Finnis, *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); R. Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).
- 83 P. Pettit, "Consequentialism," in *A Companion to Ethics*, ed. P. Singer (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).
- 84 Ryan, "Liberalism," p. 304. See Mill, pp. 121–2; Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" pp. 53–4; J. Dewey, *Individualism Old and New* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984).
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 Cahoon, p. 11.
- 87 Ryan, "Liberalism," pp. 293–7; cf. F.A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960); R. Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (New York: Basic Books, 1974).
- 88 F. Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992). The book is based on an earlier article ["The End of History?" *The National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989)] published just months before the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989.
- 89 Ironically, the idea that the triumph of a particular political ideology and its accompanying institutions represents the culmination of world-historical progress often finds its fullest expressions in decidedly nonliberal theories, ranging from Hegel's relatively innocuous *Philosophy of Right* to Hitler's nefarious *Mein Kampf*.

- 90 See also R. Rorty's *Achieving Our Country* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).
- 91 For example, Nozick's *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, while very clearly a right-wing work in many respects, can nonetheless be described as "soteriological" insofar as it criticizes, rather than apologizes for, the liberal status quo of its time.
- 92 May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), p. 4.
- 93 *Ibid.*
- 94 May, *Gilles Deleuze: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 118.
- 95 Simmons, "Philosophical Anarchism," p. 21. cf. *Moral Principles and Political Obligations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 15. That this view is widely accepted is, I take it, beyond question. For two prominent defenses, see Joel Feinberg, "Duties, Rights, and Claims," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 3 (1966); H.L.A. Hart, "Are There Any Natural Rights?" *Philosophical Review* 64 (1955). For a more detailed discussion of obligation in general, see Simmons, *Moral Principles*, pp. 7–28.
- 96 "Philosophical Anarchism," p. 22.
- 97 Simmons, *On the Edge of Anarchy*, p. 36.
- 98 See *Leviathan*, especially Chaps. 14 and 21; J.J. Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, trans. G. Cole (New York: Dutton, 1950), I.vi. For a detailed discussion of Locke's theory, see Simmons, *On the Edge of Anarchy*, Chaps. 1 and 3. Rawls also defends a voluntarist account of political obligation, which relies on the so-called principle of fair play. See Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, p. 112; Rawls, "Justice as Fairness," *Philosophical Review* 67: 2 (1958), pp. 164–94; and Rawls, "Legal Obligation and the Duty of Fair Play" in *Law and Philosophy*, ed. S. Hook (New York: New York University Press, 1964).
- 99 Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, pp. 114, 334–7; Rawls, "The Justification of Civil Disobedience," in *Civil Disobedience: Theory and Practice*, ed. H. Bedau (New York: Pegasus, 1969).
- 100 See, for example, J. Bentham, "A Fragment on Government," in *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, ed. J. Bowering (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1843), Chap.. I, secs. 36–48.
- 101 Simmons, *On the Edge of Anarchy*, p. 13.
- 102 *Ibid.*, p. 260, n. 93.
- 103 May, *Deleuze*, p. 119.
- 104 *Ibid.*, pp. 52–3.
- 105 Rousseau, "On the Social Contract," I:6, p. 148.
- 106 Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, p. 11.
- 107 *Ibid.*, p.24.
- 108 *Ibid.*
- 109 *Ibid.*, pp. 11,. 118–19.
- 110 *Ibid.*, pp. 123–5.
- 111 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 112 *Ibid.*, p. 13; Rawls presents a much more detailed analysis of utilitarian principles in pp. 26–8.
- 113 *Ibid.*, p. 53.
- 114 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

- 115 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 116 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 117 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- 119 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 120 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 121 *Ibid.*
- 122 Ryan, "Liberalism," p. 298.
- 123 Locke, *Second Treatise*, pp. 342–8.
- 124 Hobbes, *Leviathan*, pp. 124–5.
- 125 Locke, *Second Treatise*, pp. 128, 132–3.
- 126 Mill, *On Liberty*, pp. 119ff.
- 127 Ryan, "Liberalism," p. 302.
- 128 *Ibid.*, p. 307.
- 129 Ryan, "Liberalism," p. 293. See J. Madison et al., *The Federalist* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), X, pp. 122–5. For more on "the tyranny of the majority" see Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 7.
- 130 For more on Rousseau's legacy, see C. Bertram, *Rousseau and the Social Contract* (London: Routledge, 2003) and L. Cooper, *Rousseau, Nature and the Problem of the Good Life* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).
- 131 J.J. Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origin of Inequality," in *The Basic Political Writings*, trans. D. Cress (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), p. 44
- 132 *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 60.
- 133 Rousseau, *Inequality*, p.53; n. 15, p. 106.
- 134 *Ibid.*, pp. 53–5.
- 135 *Ibid.*, p. 53; n. 15, p. 106; cf. Lichtheim, p. 22.
- 136 *Ibid.*, pp. 60–4; cf. A. MacIntyre, *A Short History of Ethics* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), pp. 183–4.
- 137 *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70.
- 138 Lichtheim, p. 20.
- 139 Ryan, "Liberalism," p. 307. See Mill, *On Liberty*, pp. 62ff; A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 296ff.
- 140 R. Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously*, pp. 193ff.
- 141 Lichtheim, p. 6.
- 142 J.A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 97–115. For more on medieval economic thought and its ancient precursors, see D. Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- 143 Locke, *Second Treatise*, p. 19.
- 144 *Ibid.*, p. 20.
- 145 Lichtheim, p. 7.
- 146 *Ibid.*
- 147 *Ibid.* See also J. Dunn, *The Political Thought of John Locke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 211.
- 148 Locke, *Second Treatise*, p. 25.
- 149 A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 401.

- 150 Lichtheim, p. 8. Ryan adds that “Many of the rights to dispose of property just as one wished, to work for anyone willing to employ one, and to contract with anyone for any purpose not obviously damaging to the security and good morals of the commonwealth, had been established by successive decisions made by judges appealing to the English common law rather than by legislation of a self-consciously liberal sort” (“Liberalism,” p. 302).
- 151 K. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), p. 39
- 152 Ryan, “Liberalism,” p. 302.
- 153 See J. Addams, *The Jane Addams Reader*, ed. J.B. Elshtain (New York: Basic Books, 2001); B. Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State and Related Essays*, ed. G. Gaus and W. Sweet (South Bend, IN: St. Augustine’s Press, 2000); H.D. Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989); J. Dewey, *Individualism Old and New*; T.H. Green, “Liberal Legislation and Freedom of Contract” (1874), in *Collected Works* (London: Macmillan, 1892), pp. 366–70, 380–5); L.T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 22–4, 82–4; J.A. Hobson, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism* (London: Walter Scott, 1917); J.M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (London: Prometheus Books, 1997); J.S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 766–9.
- 154 See F. Bolkestein, *Modern Liberalism* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1982); R. Eccleshall, ed., *British Liberalism: Liberal Thought from the 1640s to the 1980s* (London: Longman, 1986); D. Ericson, *The Liberal Tradition in American Politics* (London: Routledge, 1999); H. Laski, *The Rise of European Liberalism* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 2000).

Chapter 4

- 1 For a comprehensive study, see F. Landauer, *European Socialism: A History of Ideas and Movements*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959). See also A. Gray, *The Socialist Tradition* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968).
- 2 P. Self, “Socialism,” in Goodin and Pettit, p. 333.
- 3 For further studies of this subject, see S. Cognetti de Martiis, *Socialismo antico* (Turin: Bocca, 1889); W. Drumann, *Die Arbeiter und Communisten in Griechenland und Rom* (Amsterdam: Liberac, 1968); K. Kautsky, *Die Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: J.M.W. Dietz, 1895); R. Pöhlmann, *Geschichte des antiken Kommunismus und Sozialismus*, 2 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1893–1901); A. Polet, *Le Communisme dans la pensée grecque* (Cairo: Editions de la Revue du Caire, 1947).
- 4 See, for example, K. Kautsky, *The Foundations of Christianity* (London: IMG Publications, 2007).
- 5 For a history, see M. Perrot and A. Kriegel, *Le Socialisme français et le pouvoir* (Paris: Etudes et Documentation Internationale, 1966).
- 6 Lichtheim, p. 28. See also A. Kriegel, *Les Communistes français* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1968), esp. Chap. 1; I. Birchall, *The Spectre of Babeuf* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997).

- 7 P. Buonarroti, *The History of Babeuf's Conspiracy of Equality* (London: Hetherington, 1836), pp. 8, 10–11.
- 8 S. Maréchal, "Manifesto of the Equals," in *Revolution from 1789 to 1906*, ed. R.W. Postgate (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), pp. 53–4.
- 9 Lichtheim, p. 28. See also C.H. Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974); A.B. Spitzer, *The Revolutionary Theories of Louis Auguste Blanqui* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957).
- 10 Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A.V. Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), §349 (hereafter 'PS').
- 11 *Ibid.*, §350
- 12 *Ibid.*, §177
- 13 *Ibid.*, §350
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 *Ibid.*, §351.
- 16 Franco, p. 102.
- 17 PS, §265, §326.
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 *Ibid.*, §450.
- 20 *Ibid.*, §456.
- 21 PS, §508.
- 22 *Ibid.*, §§294–5, 297–9, 359–60, 363–5.
- 23 For a discussion of the interim period, which corresponds roughly to the so-called "Middle Ages," see PS, §§300–80.
- 24 Franco, p. 107.
- 25 PS, §381.
- 26 *Ibid.*, §§313–19, 381–9; 294–5, 297–9, 359–60, 363–5.
- 27 See M. Westphal, *History and Truth in Hegel's Phenomenology*, 3rd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), p. 160.
- 28 PS, §527.
- 29 *Ibid.*, §§530–7.
- 30 PS, §§527–8.
- 31 *Ibid.*, §529.
- 32 *Ibid.*, §541.
- 33 *Ibid.*, §559.
- 34 *Ibid.*, §§340–3, 353–5, 413–16, 428–31.
- 35 PS, §§355–7, 431–2.
- 36 *Ibid.*, §357, 432–3. As Franco points out (p. 111), Hegel definitely has Rousseau in mind here: "While one might object that his interpretation of the general will is one-sidedly individualistic, it does capture certain elements of Rousseau's complex (not to say inconsistent) teaching: his contention that in joining civil society and submitting to the general will each nevertheless obeys himself and remains as free as before; his insistence that the general will cannot be represented and demands some sort of directly democratic arrangement; and so forth."
- 37 *Ibid.*, §357.
- 38 *Ibid.*, §§358–9.

- 39 P. Franco, *Hegel's Philosophy of Freedom* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 113; cf. PS, §§358–9, 434–6.
- 40 PS, §§364–5, 441–2.
- 41 *Ibid.*, §§365–81, 442–62.
- 42 *Ibid.*, §390.
- 43 Franco, p. 117.
- 44 PS §§388, 469–70.
- 45 *Ibid.*, §§399–409, 483–94.
- 46 S. Avineri, *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. vii.
- 47 *Ibid.* For a comprehensive history of the reception of Hegel's political philosophy over time, see H. Ottman, *Individuum Und Gemeinschaft Bei Hegel: Hegel Im Spiegel Der Interpretationen*, Quellen Und Studien Zur Philosophie, v. 1 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977).
- 48 For an in-depth study of the “Left” and “Right” schools of Hegelianism, see L.S. Stepelevich, ed., *The Young Hegelians: An Anthology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); D. McLellan, *The Young Hegelians and Karl Marx* (London: Macmillan, 1980).
- 49 Of course, the crucial difference here is that most modern commentators, unlike their Right Hegelian forebears, generally intend to criticize or condemn Hegel by interpreting him thusly. See Sidney Hook, *From Hegel to Marx* (New York: Humanities Press, 1950); K. Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950); B. Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1945), p. 742; E.F. Carr, “Hegel and Prussianism,” *Philosophy* (April 1940), pp. 190–6; (July 1940), pp. 315–17.
- 50 In *The Trumpet of the Last Judgment* (1841), Bauer refers to Hegel as “a covert atheist and revolutionary.” A sizeable portion of the Left Hegelians interpreted Hegel in this way, with a few notable exceptions (e.g., Marx); see Stepelevich, p. 13. For modern/contemporary interpretations of this sort, see Avineri, Chap. 1; W. Kaufmann, ed., *Hegel's Political Philosophy* (New York, 1970); D. MacGregor, *The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); H. Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory* (New York, 1954), p. 211; Z.A. Pelczynski, *Hegel's Political Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1971).
- 51 “Aids, education and the year 2000,” Interview with D. Keay, *Woman's Own* (October 31, 1987).
- 52 Self, “Socialism,” p. 338.
- 53 For more on this subject see N. Geras, *Marx and Human Nature* (London: Verso, 1985); I. Mészáros, *Marx's Theory of Alienation* (London: Merlin Press, 2006); J. Plamenatz, *Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); A. Wood, *Karl Marx* (London: Routledge, 1981), esp. Part 1.
- 54 K. Marx, “Theses on Feuerbach,” in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. R. Tucker (New York: Norton, 1978), p. 145.
- 55 Marx, “Capital,” in Tucker, p. 419.
- 56 Marx, “The German Ideology,” in Tucker, p. 150.

- 57 K. Marx, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in Tucker, p. 487.
- 58 Marx, "Grundrisse," in Tucker, p. 244; cf. "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," *op. cit.*, pp. 115–16.
- 59 Marx, "The German Ideology," Chap. 3; cf. "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," *op. cit.*, pp. 72–4.
- 60 Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," in Tucker, pp. 70–9; cf. "Capital," *op. cit.*, pp. 344–5.
- 61 Marx, "The German Ideology," Chap. 1, Section D.
- 62 Kriegel, *Les Communistes*, Chap. 1.
- 63 For further discussion of Marxism and ethics, see E. Kamenka, *The Ethical Foundations of Marxism* (New York: Praeger, 1962).
- 64 See Z.A. Jordan, *The Evolution of Dialectical Materialism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), Chaps. 1–2.
- 65 K. Marx, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in Tucker, p. 482.
- 66 Marx, "Capital," Chap. X, Section 7.
- 67 See, for example, V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1976), p. 74.
- 68 See G.A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- 69 For an especially thorough and intensive analysis of this relationship, see T. Burns and I. Fraser, *The Hegel Marx Connection* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000). As the authors note, "There is an ambivalence about Marx's attitude to Hegel which is present throughout Marx's life and which can be clearly discerned in even his early writings" (pp. 1–2).
- 70 K. Marx, "Critique of Hegel's Doctrine of the State and Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts," in K. Marx, *Early Writings* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1992).
- 71 Marx, *Critique of Hegel*, p. 80.
- 72 *Ibid.*
- 73 Marx, *Economic and Philosophical*, pp. 385–6.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p. 384.
- 75 Lichtheim, p. 37.
- 76 Lichtheim, p. 21. This explains in part why a revolutionary democratic movement did not develop in Britain. For further discussion see M. Beer, *A History of British Socialism*, 2 vols. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1953), vol. 1.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 79 Lichtheim, p. 21.
- 80 *Ibid.*
- 81 See P. Musso, *Saint Simon et le Saint-Simonisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999).
- 82 See W.L. Sargant, *Robert Owen and His Social Philosophy* (London: Smith-Elder, 1860); A. Bebel, *Charles Fourier* (Berlin: Echo, 2008).
- 83 By 1830, France had a population of more than twenty million people. For more on Constant's life and thought, see T. Todorov, *A Passion for Democracy: Benjamin Constant*, trans. A. Seberry (Algora, 1999).
- 84 See A. Briggs, ed. *Chartist Studies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960).

- 85 Interestingly this is the same kind of argument that contemporary communitarians make against liberalism in general. See, for example, A. MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (London: Duckworth, 1981); M. Sandel, *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); C. Taylor, *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); M. Walzer, "The Communitarian Critique of Liberalism," *Political Theory* 18 (1990), pp. 6–23.
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- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 199.
- 89 *Ibid.*, pp. 199–200.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 201.
- 91 *Ibid.*, p. 256.
- 92 *Ibid.*, p. 258.
- 93 *Ibid.*, p. 258.
- 94 PS §354.
- 95 *Ibid.*, §355.
- 96 PR, p. 257.
- 97 K. Marx, *Critique of Hegel*, p. 80.
- 98 See K. Marx, *Grundrisse* (New York: Vintage, 1973), p. 264; cf. M. Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, ed. G.P. Maximoff (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1953), pp. 294–301.
- 99 V.I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," in *The Essential Works of Lenin*, ed. H.M. Christman (New York: Bantam Books, 1966), p. 358; cf. K. Marx, F. Engels, and V.I. Lenin, *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974), p. 85; cf. R.C. Tucker, ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1978), p. 484, 490; pp. 565–6.
- 100 Lenin, *State and Revolution*, p. 358; cf. *Marx-Engels Reader*, pp. 542–3.
- 101 Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" in *Essential Works*, p. 112.
- 102 Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 32 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), p. 21; cf. L. Trotsky, *Writings 1936–1937* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1978), pp. 513–4.
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- 107 See C.E. Schorske, *German Social Democracy 1905–1917* (New York: Science Editions, 1965).
- 108 See N. Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1964).
- 109 M. Bakunin, *Bakunin on Anarchy: Selected Works by the Activist-Founder of World Anarchism*, ed. and trans. S. Dolgoff (New York: Knopf, 1972), p. 240.

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- 111 E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, trans. W. Moore and P. Cammack (London: Verso, 1985), pp. 11–12.
- 112 G. Lukács, "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat," in *History and Class Consciousness*, trans. R. Livingstone (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), pp. 91–2.
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- 116 See T. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E.B. Ashton (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), p. 25.
- 117 See H. Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).
- 118 J. Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests*, trans. J.J. Shapiro (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), pp. 314–15.
- 119 J. Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, trans. by Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), pp. 312–22. See also *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 1: *Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, trans. T. McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984).
- 120 For a discussion of the lifeworld and its colonization, see J. Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 2: *Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Rationality*, trans. T. McCarthy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), esp. pp. 153–97.
- 121 See J.P. Sartre, *A Critique of Dialectical Reason*, trans. A. Sheridan-Smith (London: New Left Books, 1976); cf. May, *Poststructuralist Anarchism*, pp. 31–2.
- 122 See L. Althusser, *Reading Capital*, trans. B. Brewster (London: New Left Books, 1970), esp. Chap. 5. For more on Althusser, see May, pp. 32–5; Hindess, "Marxism," 323–8.
- 123 For a survey see May, pp. 37–44; See also C. Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings*, 2 vols., trans. D.A. Curtis (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988); H. Cleaver, *Reading Capital Politically* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); R. Dunayevskaya, *The Marxist-Humanist Theory of State-Capitalism* (Chicago: News and Letters, 1992); J. Holloway, *State and Capital: A Marxist Debate* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); A. Negri, *Marx Beyond Marx*, trans. H. Cleaver et al. (South Hadley: Bergin & Garvey, 1984).
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- 125 Negri, pp. 113–22; cf. C. Castoriadis, "Socialism or Barbarism," in *Writings*, vol. 1, pp. 79–84.
- 126 *Ibid.*

- 127 Cleaver, pp. 57–62.
- 128 Castoriadis, in *Writings*, vol. 2, pp. 318–19.
- 129 Negri, p. 150.
- 130 Castoriadis, in *Writings*, vol. 2, pp. 230–59.
- 131 May, *Poststructuralist Anarchism*, p. 43.
- 132 Cf. Rawls who argues that a liberal-democratic government can support either capitalism or socialism; a liberal regime does not require any specific economic system in order to be just.
- 133 Self, “Socialism,” p. 340.
- 134 See, for example, F.A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1944); L. von Mises, *Socialism* (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1981).
- 135 Self, “Socialism,” pp. 348–53.
- 136 *Ibid.*, p. 348.
- 137 For a survey, see Self, “Socialism,” pp. 343–8.
- 138 See, for example, R. Hahnel, *Economic Justice and Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 2005); J. Roemer et al., *Equal Shares: Making Market Socialism Work*, ed. E.O. Wright (London: Verso, 1996); D. Schweickart, *Against Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Chapter 5

- 1 One of the few scholarly analyses of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century antianarchist propaganda is N. Hong’s “Constructing the Anarchist Beast in American Periodical Literature: 1880–1903,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 9 (1992), pp. 110–30, which in turn is based on an earlier monograph entitled *The Anarchist Beast: The Anti-Anarchist Crusade in Periodical Literature 1884–1906* (Minneapolis: Haymarket Press, 1972).
- 2 In his doctoral dissertation (“‘The Whole World is Our Country’: Immigration and Anarchism in the United States, 1885–1940,” University of Pittsburgh, 2010), Kenyon Zimmer conclusively demonstrates that anarchism was not a “foreign” doctrine imported from Europe, as most immigrant anarchists had no exposure to anarchism prior to emigrating to the United States.
- 3 For a history of anarchist terrorism, see G. Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (London: Penguin, 1963), Chap. 6.
- 4 For example, Johann Most and Luigi Galleani. See F. Trautmann, *The Voice of Terror: A Biography of Johann Most* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); *Anarchy Will Be! The Selected Writings of Luigi Galleani*, ed. B. Pateman (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2007).
- 5 See, for example, L. Fabbri, *Lettere ad una Donna sull’Anarchia*, 2nd edn (Chieti: C. di Sciuillo, 1905), pp. 12–16; E. Goldman, “The Psychology of Political Violence,” in *Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York: Mother Earth, 1910), pp. 85–114; P. Gori, *Le Basi Morali dell’Anarchia* (Chieti: C. di Sciuillo, 1904), p. 26; J. Grave, “Means and Ends,” in *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*, ed. R. Graham, 2 vols (Montreal: Black Rose, 2005), vol. 1, p. 156; P. Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Studies* (London: Commonweal, 1892), especially pp. 13–20; P. Kropotkin,

- “Expropriation,” in Graham, pp. 153–6; G. Landauer, “Destroying the State by Creating Socialism,” in Graham, pp. 164–7; E. Malatesta, *Errico Malatesta: His Life and Ideas*, ed. V. Richards (London: Freedom Press, 1965), p. 53; L. Tolstoy, “On Non-Violent Resistance,” in Graham, pp. 157–9.
- 6 See T. Morgan: *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Random House, 2004), Chap. 2.
 - 7 That Marxism has not met a similar fate is exceedingly odd. After all, it wasn’t an anarchist but a self-proclaimed Marxist—Joseph Stalin—who systematically massacred nearly one million people during the Great Purges of 1937–1938. (It is true that the so-called anarchist terrorists were civilians, whereas Stalin launched the Purges in his capacity as a head of state, but this scarcely diminishes their barbarity, let alone exculpates Stalin as their chief perpetrator. And in any case, the “red menace” of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not come close to mounting the death toll achieved during the Purges.)
 - 8 P. McLaughlin, *Anarchism and Authority* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 14. Crucial exceptions, most all of which were produced by historians, include P. Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967); J. Joll, *The Anarchists* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964); J. Maitron, *Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France (1880–1914)*, 2nd rev. ed. (Paris: Société Universitaire d’Editions et de Librairie, 1955); D. Miller, *Anarchism* (London: Dent, 1984); A. Ritter, *Anarchism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); G. Woodcock, *op. cit.*
 - 9 McLaughlin, *ibid.*
 - 10 R. Rocker, *Anarchosyndicalism* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1938), p. 31.
 - 11 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, pp. 19, 29.
 - 12 Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, p. 49.
 - 13 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 198.
 - 14 Rocker, p. 31; cf. C. Ward, *Anarchy in Action* (London: Freedom Press, 1982).
 - 15 L. Susan Brown, *The Politics of Individualism* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1993), p. 106.
 - 16 *Ibid.*, p. 106; cf. Rocker, pp. 20–1.
 - 17 See, for example, L. Call, *Postmodern Anarchism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003); A. Koch, “Poststructuralism and the Epistemological Basis of Anarchism,” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 23:3 (1993), pp. 327–51; T. May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); S. Newman, *From Bakunin to Lacan: Anti-Authoritarianism and the Dislocation of Power* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001).
 - 18 See, for example, G. Crowder, “Anarchism,” in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 1, ed. E. Craig (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 244; A.J. Simmons, “Philosophical Anarchism,” in *For and Against the State*, ed. J. Sanders and J. Narveson (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996); R.P. Wolff, *In Defense of Anarchism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).
 - 19 Simmons, “Philosophical Anarchism,” p. 19.
 - 20 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
 - 21 *Ibid.*
 - 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 20–1.

- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 R. Sylvan, "Anarchism," in *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, ed. R. Goodin and P. Pettit (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993), p. 216.
- 25 Sylvan, "Anarchism," p. 236; cf. D. Bouchier, "Hard questions for social anarchists," in *Reinventing Anarchy, Again*, ed. H. Ehrlich (London: AK Press, 1996), pp. 106–22; cf. B. Martin, "Democracy Without Elections," *op. cit.*, pp. 123–36.
- 26 P. Kropotkin, *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution*, ed. M.A. Miller (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970), p. 284.
- 27 McLaughlin, p. 43; cf. P. Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: Harper Collins, 1992), p. 45.
- 28 *Ibid.*; cf. Marshall, p. 45.
- 29 Note that "power over" may be a species of "power to" if "Jones has power over Smith" is understood as "Jones has the power to compel Smith to ϕ , prevent Smith from ϕ 'ing, or both," where ' ϕ ' is an action of some sort.
- 30 Marshall, p. 45.
- 31 Brown, p. 108.
- 32 Sylvan, "Anarchism," p. 221.
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 McLaughlin, p. 56.
- 35 M. Bakunin, *Selected Writings from Mikhail Bakunin* (St. Petersburg, FL: Red and Black, 2010), p. 32.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 *Ibid.*
- 38 McLaughlin, p. 29.
- 39 M. Bakunin, *Selected Writings from Mikhail Bakunin*, ed. A. Lehning, trans. S. Cox and O. Stephens (New York: Grove Press, 1974), p. 202.
- 40 Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, pp. 62–3; *Red Emma Speaks*, ed. A.K. Shulman (New York: Humanity Books, 1998), p. 435.
- 41 *Anarchism and Other Essays*, p. 67.
- 42 Bakunin, *Selected Writings from Mikhail Bakunin*, p. 35.
- 43 Bakunin, *Bakunin on Anarchy: Selected Works by the Activist-Founder of World Anarchism*, ed. and trans. S. Dolgoff (New York: Knopf, 1972), p. 134; cf. Rocker, *Anarchosyndicalism*, p. 17.
- 44 D. Weick, "Anarchist Justice," in *Reinventing Anarchy*, ed. H. Ehrlich et al. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 139.
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- 53 P. Kropotkin, *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, ed. R. Baldwin (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), p. 284.
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- 56 Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, p. 68.
- 57 E. Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, pp. 19–20.
- 58 Berkman, *What is Anarchism?* (London: AK Press, 2003), p. 145.
- 59 H. Havel, "What's Anarchism?" (Stelton, NJ, 1932).
- 60 *Ibid.*; cf. Kropotkin, *Selected Writings*, p. 150.
- 61 S. Christie, *My Granny Made Me An Anarchist* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2007), pp. 162–3.
- 62 B. Morris, "Anthropology and Anarchism," in *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* 45, pp. 35–41; cf. Rocker, p. 20; cf. Proudhon, *What is Property?*, p. 43.
- 63 Bakunin, "Science and the Urgent Revolutionary Task," in *The Anarchists*, ed. I.L. Horowitz (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2005), p. 122.
- 64 Cafiero, *Anarchia e Comunismo*, pp. 29, 42.
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- 66 Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 99.
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- 69 E. Malatesta, "Towards Anarchism," in *Man! An Anthology of Anarchist Ideas, Essays, Poetry and Commentaries*, ed. M. Graham (London: Cienfuegos Press, 1974), p. 75.
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- 71 A. Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (New York: Mother Earth, 1912), pp. 508–9. I am grateful to Barry Pateman for suggesting Max Baginski as the true identity of "Philo."
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- 75 *Ibid.*
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- 82 Berkman, *What is Anarchism?*, pp. 164–5; cf. Bakunin, *The Basic Bakunin*, pp. 117–18; Proudhon, in D. Guérin, *No Gods, No Masters*, ed. P. Sharkey (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 57–8.
- 83 Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, p. 67.
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- 103 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, pp. 20–1.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
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- 108 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 77.
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- 110 *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- 111 *Ibid.*, pp. 176–9.
- 112 Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, pp. 80–1.
- 113 My discussion of prefiguration borrows from Benjamin Franks’s excellent work on the subject. See *Rebel Alliances* (AK Press, 2006), pp. 97–100; and “Vanguards and Paternalism” in *New Perspectives on Anarchism*, ed. N. Jun and S. Wahl (Lexington Books, 2009), pp. 101–2.
- 114 E. Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2003), p. 261.
- 115 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 68.

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- 118 S. Nechayev, *Catechism of the Revolutionist* (London: Violette Nozieres Press and Active Distribution, 1989).
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- 120 R. Rocker, *The London Years* (London: Robert Anscombe, 1956), p. 145.
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- 123 See F. Brooks, *The Individualist Anarchist: An Anthology of Liberty 1881–1908* (London: Transaction, 1994).
- 124 Historically speaking, the individualists have more in common with twentieth-century libertarians such as Murray Rothbard, Lew Rockwell, Jan Narveson, Tibor Machan, Robert Nozick, and John Hospers. For a historical survey, see B. Doherty, *Radicals for Capitalism: A Freewheeling History of the Modern American Libertarian Movement* (New York: Public Affairs, 2007).
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- 126 A. MacIntyre, *After Virtue* (London: Duckworth, 2006); *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (London: Duckworth, 2001).
- 127 MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, pp. 123, 187–8.
- 128 *Ibid.*, p. 202.
- 129 *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- 130 MacIntyre, *Whose Justice?*, pp. 3–4.
- 131 MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, pp. 222–3.
- 132 MacIntyre, *Whose Justice?*, pp. 12–13.
- 133 B. Franks, "Anarchism and the Virtues," in *Anarchism and Moral Philosophy*, ed. B. Franks and M. Wilson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 135–60.

- 134 May, *Poststructuralist Anarchism*, p. 61.
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- 136 Marx and Engels, *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. R. Tucker (New York: Norton, 1978), p. 544.
- 137 M. Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, ed. G.P. Maximoff (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1953), p. 365.
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- 140 Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, p. 224, emphasis mine.
- 141 J.S. Cohn, *Anarchism and the Crisis of Representation* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2006), p. 57.
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- 143 *Ibid.*, pp. 337–8.
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- 145 *Ibid.*
- 146 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 102.
- 147 Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, pp. 137–8.
- 148 This is in part what makes anarchist critique “fluid.” It is also “fluid” to the extent that it does not rely upon any single criterion of critique. For example, in addition to moral arguments against the state, anarchists have also proposed what be termed “pragmatic” arguments. The latter are concerned not with questions of moral justification but rather of necessity, expediency, and other prudential considerations. Thus Bakunin repeatedly points out that the state is not only morally condemnable but unnecessary as well.
- 149 See, for example, Bakunin, *Selected Writings from Mikhail Bakunin*, p. 100.
- 150 See, for example, May, *Poststructuralist Anarchism*, pp. 61–2; Newman, *From Bakunin to Lacan*, pp. 17, 31.
- 151 P. Proudhon, *Si les traités de 1815 ont cessé d’exister* (Paris: E Dentu, 1863), p. 111.
- 152 Proudhon, *De la justice*, p. 485.
- 153 Bakunin, *Bakunin on Anarchy*, p. 57.
- 154 E. Malatesta, *Anarchy*, trans. V. Richards (London: Freedom Press, 1995), p. 18.
- 155 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 71.
- 156 Proudhon, *De la justice*, p. 493.
- 157 Bakunin, *Bakunin on Anarchy*, p. 239.
- 158 Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 104.
- 159 Goldman, *Red Emma Speaks*, p. 90.
- 160 Qtd. in E. Lunn, *The Romantic Socialism of Gustav Landauer* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973), p. 225.
- 161 Qtd. in Lunn, p. 226.
- 162 Bakunin, *Basic Bakunin*, p. 177.
- 163 Malatesta, *Anarchy*, p. 20.
- 164 Goldman, *Red Emma Speaks*, p. 90.
- 165 Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, p. 242.
- 166 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 86.

- 167 Bakunin, *Selected Writings*, pp. 68–9; cf. Proudhon, “As individualism is the primordial fact of humanity, so association is its complementary term,” *System of Economical Contradictions* (Boston: Tucker, 1888), p. 429. Unlike Simmons, Bakunin et al. would not regard the principle of voluntarism as a sufficient condition for morally acceptable political relations. “Voluntary servitude” is still servitude, and to this extent remains morally condemnable.
- 168 Malatesta, *Anarchy*, p. 36; *The Anarchist Revolution*, ed. V. Richards (London: Freedom Press, 1995), p. 95.
- 169 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 76.
- 170 Malatesta, *Anarchy*, p. 29.
- 171 Goldman, *Red Emma Speaks*, p. 118.
- 172 F. Urales, *La Anarquía al alcance de todos* (Barcelona, 1928), p. 29.
- 173 D. A. de Santillan, *After the Revolution* (New York: Greenberg, 1937), p. 95.
- 174 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 90.
- 175 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
- 176 *Ibid.*, p. 49; cf. Bakunin, *Selected Writings*, p. 172.
- 177 See D.A. Shafter, *The Paris Commune* (London: Palgrave, 2005); R. Tombs, *The Paris Commune 1871* (London: Longman, 1999).
- 178 In addition to Bookchin’s *The Spanish Anarchists*, see R. Alexander, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War*, 2 vols. (London: Janus, 1999); S. Christie, *We, the Anarchists! A Study of the Iberian Anarchist Federation 1927–1937* (London: Meltzer Press, 2000).
- 179 See section in Chap. 6.
- 180 See J. Holloway and E. Pelaez, *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico* (London: Pluto Press, 1998).
- 181 See R. Burbuck and K. Danaher, eds., *Globalize This! The Battle Against the World Trade Organisation and Corporate Rule* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2000); A. Cockburn et al., *Five Days That Shook the World: Seattle and Beyond* (London, New York: Verso, 2000).
- 182 Malatesta, *The Anarchist Revolution*, p. 121.
- 183 See Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*, pp. 73–81; Bakunin, *Selected Writings*, pp. 170–2; Bakunin on Anarchy, p. 270; See Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories, and Workshops*, ed. C. Ward (London: Freedom Press, 1985).
- 184 Proudhon *System of Economical Contradictions*, p. 305.
- 185 *Ibid.*, p. 316, emphasis mine.
- 186 J. Grave, *La société des nations* (Paris: Administration et Rédaction, 1918), p. 4.
- 187 Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, p. 58.
- 188 Bakunin, *Bakunin on Anarchy*, p. 270.
- 189 *Ibid.*, p. 240.
- 190 *Ibid.*, pp. 146.
- 191 Bakunin, *Selected Writings from Mikhail Bakunin*, p. 9.
- 192 Bakunin, *Basic Bakunin*, p. 124
- 193 E. Reclus, “An Anarchist on Anarchy,” in *Anarchism*, ed. A. Parsons (Chicago, 1887), p. 144.
- 194 P. Kropotkin, *Act for Yourselves* (London: Freedom Press, 1988), p. 83.
- 195 Kropotkin, *Ethics*, p. 22.
- 196 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

- 197 Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, pp. 119–20.
- 198 *Ibid.*, p. 157, emphasis mine.
- 199 Kropotkin, *Ethics*, p. 22.
- 200 Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid* (Forgotten Books: 2008), p. 178.
- 201 H. Barclay, *People Without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchy* (London: Kahn & Averill, 1996); P. Clastres, *Society Against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology*, trans. R. Hurley and A. Stein (New York: Zone Books, 1989); J. Gledhill, *Power and Its Disguises* (London: Pluto Press, 1994); D. Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*; K. Maddock, “Primitive Society and Social Myths,” in *A Decade of Anarchy 1961–1970: Selections from the Monthly Journal “Anarchy”*, ed. C. Ward (London: Freedom Press, 1987), pp. 59–71. B. Morris, “Anthropology and Anarchism” and *Anthropology of the Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- 202 Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 203.
- 203 “J’appelle l’ordre toute disposition sérieuse ou symétrique. L’ordre suppose nécessairement division, distinction, différence. Toute chose indivise indistincte non différenciée ne peut être conçue comme ordonnée ces notions s’excluent réciproquement.” P-J Proudhon, *De la création de l’ordre dans l’humanité* (Paris : Garnier Frères, 1849), p. 1.
- 204 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 205 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 206 Quoted in Cohn, *Anarchism and the Crisis*, p. 60.
- 207 *Ibid.*
- 208 *Ibid.*
- 209 Bakunin, *Selected Writings*, p. 231.
- 210 Bakunin, *Selected Writings from Mikhail Bakunin*, p. 50.
- 211 *Ibid.*
- 212 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- 213 *Selected Writings*, p. 231.
- 214 *Selected Writings from Mikhail Bakunin*, p. 50.
- 215 *Ibid.*
- 216 E.H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (New York: Vintage, 1961), p. 175.
- 217 Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, p. 38.
- 218 *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- 219 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- 220 *Ibid.*, p. 39.
- 221 Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, pp. 117–18.
- 222 Kropotkin, *Ethics*, p. 12.
- 223 Cohn, *Anarchism and the Crisis*, p. 74.
- 224 Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, p. 109.
- 225 F. Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, ed. K. Ansell Pearson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 161.
- 226 *Ibid.*, Essay 2, Section 12.
- 227 C. Cate, *Friedrich Nietzsche* (New York: Overlook Press, 2005), pp. 128–9.
- 228 D. Colson, “Nietzsche and the Libertarian Workers’ Movement,” in *Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist Tradition*, ed. J. Moore (New York: Autonomedia, 2004), p. 13; cf. Maitron, *Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France*, vol. 1, p. 421.

- 229 M. Onfray, *Georges Palante: Essai sur un Nietzsche de Gauche* (Bédée: Éditions Folle Avoine, 1989).
- 230 L. Guilloux, *Cripure* (Paris: Gallimard, 1962).
- 231 G. Aldred, *Nietzsche—Apostle of Individualism* (London: Bakunin Press, 1910).
- 232 L. Starcross, “‘Nietzsche was an Anarchist’: Reconstructing Emma Goldman’s Nietzsche Lectures,” in Moore, pp. 29–39.
- 233 Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, Essay 2, Section 11.
- 234 F. Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, trans. W. Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), Section 335.
- 235 J. Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, trans. F. Lawrence (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), p. 83ff.

Chapter 6

- 1 W. Welsch, *Our Postmodern Modernity* (Weinheim: Acta Humaniora, 1988), pp. 12–13.
- 2 See Z. Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000); D. Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); F. Jameson, *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991); J. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. G. Bennington and B. Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).
- 3 Obviously this is an incredibly contentious claim, one that requires much more justification than I provide here. As it is not an essential thesis of this monograph, however, I am content to regard it as a supposition that remains open to question.
- 4 L. Cahoon, *From Modernism to Postmodernism* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996), p. 5.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- 6 *Ibid.*
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 L. Call, *Postmodern Anarchism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003), p. 2. For a “map” of the postmodern matrix, see pp. 1–24.
- 9 F. de Saussure, “Course in General Linguistics,” in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*, ed. J. Rivkin and M. Ryan (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 77–8.
- 10 A false attribution, incidentally, as even Plato was aware of this relationship before Saussure. The structuralist emphasis on this point is part of a larger argument that language does not reflect the world and experience. See A. Bass, “‘Literature’/Literature,” in *Velocities of Change*, ed. R. Macksey (Baltimore and London: Methuen, 1974).
- 11 Saussure, pp. 81–8.
- 12 J. Derrida, “Différance,” in *Literary Theory*, p. 390.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 391.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 397.
- 15 J. Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, trans. A. Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 289; *Of Grammatology*, trans. G.C. Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1976), p. 50.

- 16 Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, p. 280.
- 17 J. Derrida, *Positions*, trans. A. Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 119–20.
- 18 Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, pp. 141–60.
- 19 See for example J. Derrida, *Aporias: Dying—Awaiting (One Another at) the “Limits of Truth,”* trans. T. Dutoit (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).
- 20 See for example J. Derrida, “Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences,” in *The Structuralist Controversy: The Languages of Criticism and the Sciences of Man*, ed. R. Macksey and E. Donato (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1970), pp. 247–72. (Reprinted in *Writing and Difference*).
- 21 J. Derrida, “Plato’s Pharmacy” in *Dissemination*, trans. B. Johnson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 125.
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- 23 Derrida, “Structure, Sign, and Play,” p. 264.
- 24 Derrida, “Différance,” p. 7; cf. “Living On: Border Lines,” in *Deconstruction and Criticism* (New York: Continuum Books, 1979), pp. 104–5. Derrida’s use of the term “strategic” here should not be confused with Todd May’s “strategic political philosophy.” In context, it is clear that Derrida’s description of deconstruction is of a piece with May’s “tactical political philosophy.”
- 25 Derrida, *Positions*, pp. 41–5.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 J. Derrida, *The Margins of Philosophy*, trans. A. Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 2–4, 16.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 For example, statements about airplanes could not be uttered in the Middle Ages because the historical a priori condition necessary for the production, transmission, and intelligibility of such statements within discourse (viz., the actual existence of airplanes) was not yet satisfied.
- 30 M. Foucault, “On the Archaeology of the Sciences,” in *The Essential Foucault*, ed. P. Rabinow and N. Rose (New York: The New Press, 2003), p. 401.
- 31 M. Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” in *The Essential Foucault*, p. 137.
- 32 M. Foucault, *The Essential Foucault*, pp. 316–17.
- 33 M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. A. Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1978), p. 248. It is during this stage that the prison becomes the “penitentiary”—a space wherein bodies are not merely confined, but in which souls are made “penitent” (through discipline).
- 34 *Ibid.*, pp. 252–3.
- 35 G. Spivak and M. Ryan, “Anarchism Revisited: A New Philosophy,” *Diacritics* (June 1978), pp. 66–79.
- 36 *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* is based on an earlier piece entitled “Is Post-structuralist Political Theory Anarchist?” *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 15:2 (1989), pp. 167–82. Similar works include R. Amster, “Anarchism as Moral Theory: Praxis, Property, and the Postmodern,” *Anarchist Studies* 6:2 (October 1998), pp. 97–112; J. Carter and D. Morland, “Anti-Capitalism: Are We All Anarchists Now?” in *Anti-capitalist Britain*, ed. J. Carter and D. Morland (Gretton, Cheltenham: New Clarion Press, 2004); J. Dempsey and J. Rowe (2004), “Why Poststructuralism Is a

- Live Wire for the Left,” *Radical Theory/Critical Praxis: Making a Difference Beyond the Academy?*, ed. D. Fuller and R. Kitchin (Praxis, 2004); S. Sheehan, *Anarchism* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003);
- 37 S. Newman, *From Bakunin to Lacan: Anti-Authoritarianism and the Dislocation of Power* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001).
 - 38 L. Call, *Postmodern Anarchism* (see note 8).
 - 39 For an exhaustive study of early French anarchist movements, see J. Maitron, *Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France (1880–1914)*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Société universitaire d’éditions et de librairie, 1955) and *Le Mouvement Anarchiste en France*, vols. 1–2 (Paris: Maspero, 1975). See also D. Berry, *History of the French Anarchist Movement, 1917–1945* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002).
 - 40 On the influence of anarchism within the student movement, see K.J. Heinemann, *Put Your Body Against the Wheels: Student Revolt in the 1960s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dees, 2001).
 - 41 See T. Nairn, “Why it happened,” in A. Quattrochi and T. Nairn, *The Beginning of the End: France, May 1968* (London: Panther Books, 1969).
 - 42 See Gombin, R. “The Ideology and Practice of Contestation Seen Through Recent Events in France.” *Government and Opposition* 5, no. 4 (1970): 410–29, esp. 411. As Gombin notes, this is confirmed by one of the best-known members of the French Anarchist Federation, Maurice Joyeux, in an interview in *Le fait public* 14 (January 1970), p. 40.
 - 43 Richard Gombin notes that some scholars have acknowledged the implicit or subterranean influence of earlier movements such as Proudhonism and anarchosyndicalism. See for example, J. Julliard “Syndicalisme révolutionnaire et révolution étudiante,” *Esprit* 6–7 (June–July 1968); G. Adam, “Mai, ou les leçons de l’histoire ouvrière,” *France-Forum* 90–1 (October–November 1963); M. Reberiou, “Tout ça n’empêche pas, Nicholas, que la Commune n’est pas morte,” *Politique aujourd’hui* 5 (May 1969); A. Kriegel, “Le syndicalisme révolutionnaire et Proudhon,” in *L’actualité de Proudhon* (Brussels: l’Institut de Sociologie Libre de Bruxelles, 1967).
 - 44 The Situationist International was a collective of radical artists whose art and propaganda did much to shape the overall spirit of the uprisings. The two principal texts of situationism, both originally published in 1967, are G. Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit: Black and Red, 1983) and R. Vaneigem, *The Revolution of Everyday Life* (London: Left Bank Books, 1994). For more on the Situationists and the Enragés more generally, see R. Viénet, *Enragés and Situationists in the Occupation Movement, France, May ’68* (New York and London: Autonomedia/Rebel Press, 1992).
 - 45 Qtd. in A. Hirsch, *The French New Left: An Intellectual History from Sartre to Gorz* (Boston: South End Press, 1981), p. 143.
 - 46 Gombin, p. 411; cf. Interview with D. Cohn-Bendit in Magazine Litteraire 8 (May 1968).
 - 47 For some of the Situationists’ criticisms of classical anarchism, see Viénet, pp. 260–1.
 - 48 D. Guérin, “Mai, une continuité, un renouveau,” in *Le fait public* 6 (May 1969); J. Maitron, “Anarchisme,” in *Le Mouvement social* 69 (October–December 1969).

- 49 For more on the history of May 1968 and its influence, see D. Caute, *Sixty-Eight: The Year of the Barricades* (London: Paladin, 1988); R. Fraser et al., *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1988).
- 50 H. Hamon, "'68—The Rise and Fall of a Generation?" in *May '68*, ed. D.L. Hanley and A.P. Kerr (London: The Macmillan Press, 1989), p. 20.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- 52 J.E. Decker, "Direct Democracy and Revolutionary Organization in the 1968 French Student-Worker Revolt," in *Proc. of AMWSFH* 5 (1977), pp. 406–14.
- 53 Decker, p. 407.
- 54 Hamon, p. 17.
- 55 P. Patton, *Deleuze and the Political* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 4; cf. G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, "Deleuze et Guattari s'expliquent . . .," *La Quinzaine Littéraire* 143: 16–30 (June 1972), p. 15; cf. A. Feenberg and J. Freedman, *When Poetry Ruled the Streets: The French May Events of 1968* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), p. xviii.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 57 G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. R. Hurley, M. Seem, and H.R. Lane (New York: Viking Press, 1977). Though we ought not to underestimate Guattari's contributions to this and later works in political philosophy, I will only refer to Deleuze in the present essay for purposes of clarity and convenience.
- 58 G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. B. Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).
- 59 G. Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. P. Patton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 36–40.
- 60 G. Deleuze, *Expressionism in Philosophy: Spinoza*, trans. M. Joughin (New York: Zone Books, 1990), p. 16.
- 61 G. Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, trans. H. Tomlinson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 147.
- 62 For more on the temporality of substance, see G. Deleuze, *Bergsonism*, trans. H. Tomlinson and B. Habberjam (New York: Zone Books, 1988).
- 63 See T. May, *Gilles Deleuze: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 26–71.
- 64 D. Smith, "Deleuze and the Liberal Tradition: Normativity, Freedom, and Judgment," *Economy and Society* 32: 2 (May 2003), p. 307.
- 65 Some philosophers claim that an action is rational if and only if it satisfies a *rational* desire. This is an ongoing debate within contemporary analytic moral philosophy which, for the sake of brevity, I shall not discuss here.
- 66 Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, pp. 55–6.
- 67 Derrida, of course, articulates a similar view; the difference is that for him this fluidity is a feature of language rather than a feature of *reality itself*.
- 68 See G. Deleuze, *The Logic of Sense*, trans. M. Lester and C. Stivale (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).
- 69 May, *Deleuze*, p. 120.
- 70 *Ibid.*, pp. 119–20.
- 71 C. Colebrook, *Gilles Deleuze* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 56; cf. Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, p. 1.
- 72 May, *Deleuze*, p. 123.

- 73 Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, p. 1.
- 74 May, *Deleuze*, p. 125.
- 75 G. Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. S. Hand (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).
- 76 See n. 61 above.
- 77 May, *Poststructuralist Anarchism*, p. 71. There is some justification for this move, as Foucault acknowledged the influence of Deleuze's *Nietzsche and Philosophy* (1962) on his own theory of power (Patton, p. 49). "Deleuze, in turn, commented upon and elaborated Foucault's theses about power, first in his review of *Discipline and Punish* and then in the additional comments on power in his *Foucault*" (*ibid.*)
- 78 Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, p. 40.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- 80 Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, p. 29.
- 81 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 82 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 84 R. Bogue, *Deleuze and Guattari* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 105.
- 85 Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, p. 135.
- 86 Deleuze, *Nietzsche*, p. 58.
- 87 *Ibid.*
- 88 *Ibid.*, pp. 53–4.
- 89 *Ibid.*, p. 85; *Expressionism in Philosophy*, pp. 102, 218.
- 90 Patton, p. 62.
- 91 Deleuze, *Nietzsche*, p. 67.
- 92 G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. D. Polan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), p. 60; cf. G. Deleuze and C. Parnet, *Dialogues*, trans. H. Tomlinson and B. Haberjam (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p. 133.
- 93 May, *Poststructuralist Anarchism*, p. 71.
- 94 Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, p. xiii.
- 95 Daniel Smith, p. 307.
- 96 Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 216; Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues*, p. 135.
- 97 G. Deleuze, *Negotiations*, trans. M. Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 145–6.
- 98 G. Deleuze, "What is a 'dispositif'?" in *Michel Foucault: Philosopher*, trans. T. Armstrong (New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 162.
- 99 Daniel Smith, p. 307.
- 100 G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *What is Philosophy?*, trans. H. Tomlinson and G. Burchell (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 47; Deleuze, *Negotiations*, p. 85 and *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy*, trans. R. Hurley (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1988), p. 23.
- 101 Deleuze, "Intellectuals and Power," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. D. Bouchard, trans. D. Bouchard and S. Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 206–7; cf. Patton, pp. 47–8, May, *Deleuze*, p. 127.
- 102 Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues*, p. 146; cf. May, *Deleuze*, p. 142.
- 103 May, *Poststructuralist Anarchism*, p. 131.

- 104 May, *Deleuze*, p. 140.
- 105 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 184.
- 106 May, *Deleuze*, p. 141.
- 107 Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 433.
- 108 *Ibid.*, pp. 223–4; Deleuze and Parnet, *Dialogues*, p. 130.
- 109 Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus*, p. 224.
- 110 May, *Poststructuralist Anarchism*, pp. 63–4.
- 111 *Ibid.*, p. 61.
- 112 To my mind the most comprehensive and well-argued critique of postanarchism remains J.S. Cohn, *Anarchism and the Crisis of Representation* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2006), which has been extremely influential on my own analysis.
- 113 *Ibid.*, pp. 121–7.
- 114 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- 115 May, *Poststructuralist Anarchism*, p. 127.
- 116 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 117 *Ibid.*, p. 130.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p. 133.
- 119 *Ibid.*, p. 134.
- 120 T. May, *The Moral Theory of Poststructuralism* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 1995).
- 121 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 122 *Ibid.*, Chap. 3.
- 123 May, *Moral Theory*, p. 87.
- 124 *Ibid.*, p. 88.
- 125 Patton, p. 9.
- 126 *Ibid.*, p. 106.
- 127 Smith, p. 308.
- 128 *Ibid.*
- 129 *Ibid.*
- 130 C. Korsgaard, *Sources of Normativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 8–9. For further reading on normativity in general see E. Sosa and E. Villanueva, *Normativity* (London: Blackwell, 2005); J. Gert et al., *Brute Rationality: Normativity and Human Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); J. Dancy, *Normativity* (London: Blackwell, 2000); S. Kagan, *Normative Ethics* (Westview Press, 1997).
- 131 Korsgaard, pp. 1–4. For more on this distinction see especially R. Hursthouse, *On Virtue Ethics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); A. McIntyre, *After Virtue*; M. Slote and R. Crisp, *Virtue Ethics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
- 132 May, *Deleuze*, p. 4.
- 133 *Ibid.*
- 134 Korsgaard, p. 2.
- 135 May, *Deleuze*, p. 4.
- 136 *Ibid.*, p. 5. As May notes, both developments pave the way for modern liberal democratic theory.
- 137 *Ibid.*
- 138 *Ibid.*

- 139 F. Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, trans. W. Kaufmann (New York: Penguin, 1988), Prologue, Section 2 and *The Gay Science*, trans. W. Kaufmann (New York: Vintage Books), section 125.
- 140 See for example *Daybreak*, trans. R.J. Hollingdale (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), esp. Section 3; *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, esp. "On the Old and New Tablets" and "On Self-Overcoming"; *On the Genealogy of Morals*, trans. W. Kaufmann and R.J. Hollingdale (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), esp. Essay 2, Sections 11–20.
- 141 May, *Deleuze*, pp. 6–7.
- 142 Deleuze, *Expressionism in Philosophy: Spinoza*, p. 226.
- 143 May, *Deleuze*, p. 3.
- 144 Korsgaard, p. 50.
- 145 A.C. Ewing, *The Definition of Good* (London: Macmillan, 1947), p. 149.
- 146 M. Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*, ed. G.P. Maximoff (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1953), p. 265.
- 147 See M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 2: The Uses of Pleasure*, trans. R. Hurley (New York: Random House, 1985); *The History of Sexuality, Volume 3: The Care of the Self*, trans. R. Hurley (New York: Random House, 1986).
- 148 Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*, trans. R. Hurley (New York: Random House, 1978), p. 89.
- 149 Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in *The Essential Foucault*, pp. 145–69.
- 150 *Ibid.*, p. 146.
- 151 *Ibid.*
- 152 Foucault, "Technologies," p. 158.