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Anti-Imperialism

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(1912) and the tireless agitation of Aristide Pratielle, but their anti-imperial efforts remain as yet unexplored. At the same time, however, as Sylvain Boulouque concludes, the overall influence of French anarchists in anti-imperial resistances and involvement in colonial wars was minimal. That does not mean, though, that their active role in trade unions and other revolutionary syndicalist associations should be overlooked, and more research is needed to open a window onto the history of anarchist anti-imperialism the French empire.⁷⁵

Conclusion

Taking on board Bakunin's support for national independence movements, the recent transnational turn in the global historiography of anarchism has surely been complemented by a postcolonial turn in recent years. As the case studies from across the British, French, Portuguese and Spanish empires in this chapter have demonstrated, the struggle for national independence easily gelled with anarchist ideals of freedom, anti-authoritarianism and equality across ethno-racial lines. Across empires, international anarchist principles of anti-imperialism challenged the nationalist tendencies in many independence movements to envision stateless, postcolonial societies where class struggle and freedom went hand in hand. The chapter has illuminated some of the discrepancies and antagonisms between anarchists and anti-colonial nationalists, but also shed light on the growing body of scholarship that leaves us wanting for more. This overview chapter, in other words, has only opened new avenues of inquiry into anarchist anti-imperialism.

⁷⁵ S. Boulouque, 'Les anarchistes et les soulèvements coloniaux. De la guerre d'Indochine à la guerre d'Algérie', *L'homme et la société*, 123–124 (1997), 116.

formation of the ‘Comité contre la guerre et l’union sacrée’ in Paris in 1935, which included notable members such as Henry Poulaille, Simone Weil, Magdeleine Paz and Jean Giono, but also syndicalists (of the *La Révolution prolétarienne* group) and anarchists associated with the journals *Le Libertaire* and *Le Combat syndicaliste*.⁷¹

Looking back to an even earlier period, during her imprisonment in New Caledonia, Communard leader Louise Michel supported the indigenous Kanak Revolt in 1878: ‘The Kanaks were seeking the same liberty we had sought in the Commune’, she wrote in her memoirs.⁷² A quarter of a century later, the internationalist dimensions of French anarchism—not just cross-channel exchanges between France and Britain, as Constance Bantman has explored—extended to Louise Michel’s and Ernest Girault’s tour of Algeria in 1904.⁷³ Both Michel and Girault, argues Clotilde Chauvin, spoke vehemently about the exploitative nature of French colonialism in Algeria, but also about the destructive influx of Italian, Maltese and Spanish immigrants.⁷⁴ Their tour of Algeria points to the longer history of anarchist anti-imperialism in the French context. As does Jean Grave’s pamphlet ‘La Colonisation’

⁷¹ B. Stora, ‘La gauche socialiste, révolutionnaire et la question du Maghreb au moment du Front populaire (1935–1938)’, *Revue française d’histoire d’outre-mer*, 70:258 (1983), 57–79.

⁷² L. Michel, *The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1981), 112; see also C. J. Eichner, ‘Exil et empire colonial: Louise Michel et l’expérience de la déportation’, in L. Godineau and M. César (Eds), *Regards sur la Commune de 1871 en France* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2018).

⁷³ C. Bantman, ‘Internationalism Without an International? Cross-Channel Anarchist Networks, 1880–1914’, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire*, 84:4 (2006), 961–981.

⁷⁴ C. Chauvin, *Louise Michel en Algérie: La tournée de conférences de Louise Michel et Ernest Girault en Algérie (octobre-décembre 1904)* (Saint-Georges-d’Oléron: Les Editions libertaires, 2007); see also L. van der Walt and M. Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* (Oakland: AK Press, 2009), 321.

Abstract

Focusing on the period from 1870 to 1960, this chapter provides an overview of anarchist approaches to anti-imperialism, offering examples of collaborations, solidarities, antagonisms and syntheses between anarchists and anti-colonialists from across the British, Spanish, French and Portuguese colonial worlds and within the imperial metropolises in Europe. Alongside anti-colonial resistances to these processes, anarchists were central to the development of an anti-imperial political modernity within the European left as well as across the colonial worlds. In fact, as this chapter illustrates, anarchism was inherently anti-imperial in its demands for individual freedom and insistence on dismantling the power structures that governed European colonial policies. Exploring core principles of anarchist anti-imperialism with a vision of post-colonial societies, the chapter discusses issues of nationalism and the nation-state, anti-statism and political organisation, exile and diaspora, anti-capitalism and boycott. In doing so, it pays particular attention to theory and praxis, ideological sympathies and revolutionary methods, including terrorism, insurrection and sabotage. Within these discussions, the chapter highlights antagonisms and incompatibilities among and between anarchists and anti-colonialists, allowing for an assessment of the limitations of anarchism within the anti-colonial context.

Introduction

From its early days as an organised political movement with its own distinct theoretical and practical expressions, emerging in the wake of the First International in the late 1860s, anarchism has stood in opposition to imperial domination and oppression. In one of his final works, *Statism and*

Anarchy (1873), after he had abandoned the liberatory force of pan-Slavic nationalism, Mikhail Bakunin challenged that ‘the construction of a great Slavic empire means only the enslavement of the Slavic people’.¹ Extending this analogy, he doubted whether ‘imperial Europe’ could continue its colonial rule because ‘Two-thirds of humanity, 800 million Asians asleep in their servitude will necessarily awaken and begin to move’.² Peter Kropotkin, too, often championed the right of colonial subjects to overthrow imperialist regimes and saw it as a necessary step towards the realisation of anarchism. His friendship with Margaret Noble, the Scots-Irish socialist also known as Sister Nivedita, translated into anarchist influences on the Indian revolutionary movement as she brought Kropotkin’s work with her to India.³ A few decades later, after the disillusionment with the Russian Revolution had set in among the global radical left, alongside anarchists from Argentina, Chile and Mexico, a group of Indian revolutionaries attended the formative meeting of the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men’s Association (IWMA) in Berlin in late December 1922 and attempted to bring anarchism into India’s freedom struggle.⁴ With Fascism on the rise across Europe in the following decade, the IWMA re-affirmed this commitment to anti-imperialism when it resolved at its convention in Spain (1931) that it ‘is most emphatically opposed

¹ M. Bakunin, ‘Statism and Anarchy’, in S. Dolgoff (Ed), *Bakunin on Anarchy: Selected Works by the Activist-Founder of World Anarchism* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1973), 339.

² Quoted in D. Guerin, *Anarchism: From Theory to Practice* (London: Monthly Review Press, 1970), 68.

³ E. Boehmer, *Empire, The National, and the Postcolonial, 1890–1920: Resistance in Interaction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 45–46; P. Heehs, ‘Foreign Influences on Bengali Revolutionary Terrorism, 1902–1908’, *Modern Asian Studies*, 28:3 (July 1994), 538–539; P. Pelletier, ‘L’influence kropotkinienne en Asie orientale’, *Itinéraire*, 3 (1988), 43–48.

⁴ ‘Bericht des Sekretariats der IAA über 1923–1924’, IWMA Archives, International Institute of Social History (IISH), Amsterdam.

anarchists regarding the war in Algeria were, of course, not confined to the French Empire but happened across the imperial metropolises altogether and date back to the late nineteenth century.

As in Latin America, but fewer and less influential, anarchists in Algeria were almost exclusively from a European background. David Porter has identified three important anarchist presences: first, Mohamed Saïl, an Algerian-born, but Paris-based anarchist who joined the Union Anarchiste and the Revolutionary Syndicalist General Labour Confederation and wrote extensively about French colonialism in Algeria; second, the North African Libertarian Movement (MLNA), established in 1950, and led by Fernand Doukhan and later Léandre Valéro, actively participated in the revolution from 1954 until it was suppressed in 1957; third, exiled Spanish anarchists who had fled Franco’s brutal regime and, by and large, remained sympathetic to anti-colonial resistances but also adopted a ‘non-interventionist’ stance in the Algerian war.⁶⁹ Each in their own way, these three strands articulated and practised forms of anti-imperialism that aligned with the general stance adopted by anarchists elsewhere across the colonial and postcolonial world.⁷⁰ As a precursor to the Algerian war, Benjamin Stora has looked at the wider Maghreb area and the

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 20–22.

⁷⁰ See also P. Bouba, ‘L’Anarchisme en situation coloniale: le cas de Algérie. Organisations, militants et presse (1887–1962)’. Histoire. Université de Perpignan, 2014. Français; P. Bouba, ‘Le mouvement anarchiste en Algérie de 1887 à 1926: presse de propagande et de combat, activités militantes et positions politiques face au fait colonial’, in A. Kadri, M. Bouaziz, and T. Quemeneur (Eds), *La guerre d’Algérie revisitée. Nouvelles générations, nouveaux regards* (Paris: Karthala, 2015); G. Fontenis, ‘L’insurrection algérienne et les communistes libertaires’, in S. M. Barkat (Ed), *Des Français contre la terreur d’Etat: Algérie 1954–1962* (Paris: Reflex, 2002), 81–90; S. Boulouque, *Les anarchistes français face aux guerres coloniales, 1945–1962* (Lyon: Atelier de création libertaire, 2003); S. Pattieu, *Les camarades des frères: Trotskistes et libertaires dans la guerre d’Algérie* (Paris: Syllepse, 2002).

Canarian anti-colonialism from his exile in Venezuela (1896–1898). What Galvan-Alvarez and others ultimately contribute to is the growth of scholarly work on the history of anarchist anti-imperialism within the Spanish Empire.

Anti-Imperialism in the French Empire

Stemming from another part of the Caribbean, the influential anti-colonial thinker Frantz Fanon was born in the French colony of Martinique. Although embedded in the Marxist tradition, attempts have been made to consider his anarchist lineages as well. In his early work, Peter Worsley has drawn attention to Fanon's debt to Bakunin's thoughts on the 'lumpenproletariat', especially concerning anti-colonial violence, while Ryan Allen Knight puts Fanon and Bakunin into a productive conversation around anarchism's potential for anti-colonial struggles.⁶⁶ However, despite Daniel Guérin's initial praise of Fanon's *L'An V de la révolution algérienne* (1959), his influence on French anarchism remains limited and discussed primarily in relation to anti-colonial violence.⁶⁷ Instead, while opposing French colonialism as racist, repressive and exploitative, French anarchists adopted two positions on the Algerian revolution (1954–1962)—taking into account issues of national liberation, revolutionary violence, and collaboration with statist forces—'between those who feared corruption of the anarchist ideal and those eagerly embracing progressive allies as an escape from anarchism's usual isolation'.⁶⁸ Those debates that took place among French

⁶⁶ P. Worsley, 'Frantz Fanon and the "Lumpenproletariat"', *Socialist Register*, 9 (1972), 193–230; R. A. Knight, 'Anti-Colonial Anarchism, or, Anarchistic Anti-Colonialism: The Similarities in the Revolutionary Theories of Frantz Fanon and Mikhail Bakunin', *Theory in Action*, 5:4 (2012), 82–92.

⁶⁷ D. Porter, *Eyes to the South: French Anarchists & Algeria* (Oakland, Edinburgh: AK Press, 2011), 49, 185–186.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

to any form of imperialism and to the brutal oppression of the so-called colonial peoples. It proclaims its fullest solidarity with the exploited of all countries and of all races, and is resolved to take all possible means to draw these people into the great brotherhood of struggling humanity'.⁵ Despite such long-standing commitment to the internationalist principles of anti-imperialism, historians of anarchism's international reach have only recently begun to explore these dimensions.

This chapter provides a synthesis and overview of the growing body of scholarship on anarchist anti-imperialism. Following a recent transnational and postcolonial turn in anarchist studies, publications such as Benedict Anderson's *Under Three Flags* (2005), Steven Hirsch and Lucien van der Walt's edited volume *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870–1940* (2010), Maia Ramnath's *Decolonizing Anarchism* (2011), Geoffroy de Laforcade and Kirk Shaffer's *In Defiance of Boundaries* (2015) and Barry Maxwell and Raymond Craib's collection *No Gods, No Masters, No Peripheries* (2015) have brought attention to the ways in which anarchists approached the question of imperialism and how, reciprocally, anti-colonialists embraced anarchist ideologies and praxes.⁶ More recently, Peter Cole, David Struthers and

⁵ The International Working Men's Association I.W.M.A., *Its Policy, Its Aim, Its Principles* (Berlin: International Working Men's Association, 1933), 18.

⁶ For a valuable discussion of this transnational turn, see C. Bantman and B. Altena (Eds), *Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies* (Oakland: PM Press, 2014); see also B. Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London: Verso, 2005); S. Hirsch and L. van der Walt (Eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870–1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); M. Ramnath, *Decolonizing Anarchism: An Antiauthoritarian History of India's Liberation Struggle* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2011); M. Schmidt, *Cartography of Revolutionary Anarchism* (Oakland, Edinburgh: AK Press, 2013); B. Maxwell and R. Craib (Eds), *No Gods, No Masters, No Peripheries: Global Anarchisms* (Oakland: PM Press, 2015); S. Hirsch and L. van der Walt (Eds), *An-*

Kenyon Zimmer's global history of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), *Wobblies of the World* (2017), includes chapters on South Asia, Oceania, Ireland and South Africa.⁷ In comparison to the Marxist international, Anderson notes that, 'just as hostile to imperialism, [anarchism] had no theoretical prejudices against "small" and "ahistorical" nationalisms, including those in the colonial world'.⁸ Similarly, Hirsch and van der Walt propose that 'anarchism and syndicalism were important currents in anti-imperial, including anti-colonial, struggles in the late nineteenth and early-to-mid twentieth centuries—and were, for the most of this period, more important than their Marxist rivals'.⁹ In her book, Ramnath attempts to re-angle our understanding of anarchism in relation to anti-imperialism and anti-colonial struggles to uncover, instead, a global tradition of 'antiauthoritarian thought/praxis, of a universal human urge [...] toward emancipation, which also occurs in many other forms in many other contexts'.¹⁰ To look for such varieties of anarchist thought and praxis outside Europe reveals not necessarily an anti-imperialist politics, but helps to 'counter the lingering diffusionist (and implicitly Eurocentric) perspectives that can characterize work on ideas and movements', as Raymond Craib notes.¹¹ In other words, such scholarship has carved out important avenues of inquiry

archism, Marxism, and Nationalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870s–1940s: Antagonisms, Solidarities, and Syntheses (New York; London: Routledge, 2018).

⁷ P. Cole, D. Struthers, and K. Zimmer (Eds), *Wobblies of the World: A Global History of the IWW* (London: Pluto Press, 2017).

⁸ Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, 2.

⁹ Hirsch and van der Walt, 'Rethinking Anarchism and Syndicalism: The Colonial and Postcolonial Experience, 1870–1940', in *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*, xxxii.

¹⁰ M. Ramnath, *Decolonizing Anarchism*, 6.

¹¹ R. Craib, 'A Foreword', in Maxwell and Craib (Eds), *No Gods, No Masters, No Peripheries: Global Anarchisms* (Oakland: PM Press, 2015), 3.

but as one link in the chain of an international anarchist revolution against all states, capital, and religion'.⁶² Following independence in 1898, many Cuban anarchists continued their struggle against the new state and what they saw as a continuation of the colonial regime. The Cuban cigar workers in Havana Key West and Ybor City, in particular, challenged the new regime failure to live up to promises of social, racial and economic equality and freedom for all.⁶³

Sitting next to Shaffer's work, Benedict Anderson charts similar anti-imperialist networks in his erudite *Under Three Flags*, linking up Latin American anarchism with the Filipino writers José Rizal and Isabelo de los Reyes. In mapping 'the gravitational force of anarchism between militant nationalisms on opposite sides of the planet', Anderson brings to light exactly the historical prominence of anarchism within anti-imperialist struggle across the colonial world. Anarchism's emphasis on personal liberty, autonomy, and non-hierarchy, argues Anderson, appealed to the oppressed workers and peasants across the colonial world.⁶⁴ Giving a more nuanced insight into the ethnic make-up of these struggles, Enrique Galvan-Alvarez has recently highlighted the particular role of Canary Islanders' subaltern consciousness in the anti-colonial and anarchist struggles in the late nineteenth century Americas.⁶⁵ For example, Canarians like Secundino Delgado drew specifically on the colonial history of the Islands in his involvement in the Cuban independence struggle and US labour movements and the articulation of

⁶² K. Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 40.

⁶³ Ibid.; E. M. Daniel, 'Cuban Cigar Makers in Havana, Key West, and Ybor City, 1850s–1890s', in G. de Laforcade and K. Shaffer (Eds), *In Defiance of Boundaries*, 25–47.

⁶⁴ B. Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, 2, 72.

⁶⁵ E. Galvan-Alvarez, 'Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Canarian Imagination: The Missing Flag', *History Workshop Journal*, 83:1 (2017), 253–271.

of periodicals, most of them in Spanish, which enabled the development of an anti-imperialist modernity. Key figure M. D. Rodríguez often exposed the exploitation of workers in the Canal Zone, especially ‘black workers from throughout the Caribbean, who were the poorest paid and lived in the worst conditions’.⁶⁰ What is more, the configuration of Spanish and Cuban as ‘semi-whites’ by the US, meaning that they were relegated to dangerous work alongside black Caribbean workers, forged transnational, anti-imperial alliances between workers from across the isthmus.

The emergence of such alliances happened principally through publications printed in Spain and Cuba. If Panama was briefly a nodal point for transnational anarchist activity, Cuba had long been a hub for anarchists from across the Spanish hemisphere. During the independence struggle, as Kenyon Zimmer noted earlier, anarchists played a central role. Adapting international anarchism to the cultural politics of late nineteenth-century Cuba, anarchists engaged in the ‘anticolonial war versus Spain, the post-war symbolic use of the war and its leading figure José Martí, the role of immigration, and how all should contribute to an anarchist definition for a new Cuba’.⁶¹ The 1892 manifesto *Manifiesto del Congreso Obrero* tied anti-imperial and anarchist struggles together, giving life to Bakunin’s idea of supporting national liberation struggles as legitimate goals for anarchists, while remaining cautious of Martí’s nationalist Partido Revolucionario Cubano. According to Kirk Shaffer, ‘they pushed an “anti-imperialist” and “internationalist” agenda in the island’s war for independence; they saw the struggle not as a “nationalist” revolt,

⁶⁰ K. Shaffer, ‘Panama Red: Anarchist Politics and Transnational Networks in the Panama Canal Zone, 1904–1913’, in G. de Laforcade and K. Shaffer (Eds), *In Defiance of Boundaries*, 54.

⁶¹ K. Shaffer, ‘Rebel Soul: Cultural Politics and Cuban Anarchism, 1890s–1920s’, in G. de Laforcade and K. Shaffer (Eds), *In Defiance of Boundaries*, 143.

into the centrality of anti-imperialism to the broad historical tradition of anarchism as a global phenomenon.

Anarchy in the Empires: Histories, Contexts and Debates

Focusing on resistances to British, French, Spanish, Portuguese and American imperialism from 1870 to 1960, the period under consideration in this chapter is marked by the expansion and height of colonialism, rapid globalisation and migration, and the development of technological advances, at the one end, and the end of the Second World War and onset of decolonisation, at the other. Whereas the first wave of European imperialism from the fifteenth century was marked by ecclesiastical rule, slave trade and capitalist expansion by companies, the second wave from the 1870s onwards involved a race by European nation states and the United States to colonise formally territories across Africa and Asia. At the same time, parts of Latin America, Australia and Canada often suffered under the repressive regimes of post-independent/neo-colonial rulers, who principally continued the expansionist policies of former colonial masters and initiated their own imperial adventures. These historical processes of colonialism and their attendant resistances have been usefully explained by Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope as ‘the military, political, legal and/or economic control of one people’s territory by another so that the subject territory is made to relinquish resources, labour and produce for little or no compensation’, which is a valuable working definition of imperialism for this chapter.¹²

From the outset, the second wave of Euro-American imperialism met resistance wherever it spread across the

¹² I. Ness and Z. Cope (Eds), Preface, *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), vi.

colonial world, but within the metropolises of Europe and the United States, too, resistance to imperialism was tangible. As a growing body of scholarship has noted, despite scepticism about the nationalist character of anti-colonial struggles for independence, anarchists were among the chief figures to both articulate and practise a politics of anti-imperialism on the home front. At the same time, there has been increasing scholarly attention to the ways in which anarchism developed and spread across national borders during that same period and, in the process, challenged and confronted the ideologies of colonialism in toto. Taking on board Stephen Howe's working definition of anti-imperialism as, both, a commitment to the equality of European and non-European peoples and cultures combined with the right to self-determination and, also, to the political praxis of eradicating colonialism in one's own country through national and international alliances, the chapter interrogates alliances, solidarities and antagonisms between two strands of revolutionary thought and praxis: anarchism and anti-imperialism.¹³ It brings together a new corpus of scholarship to provide an overview of the ways in which anarchist anti-imperialism emerged as a central component within global struggles against European imperialism.

The intellectual impetus behind such an undertaking, however, must take into account the early attempt by Sam Mbah and I. E. Igariwey to illuminate the ways in which anarchism as a way of life impacted African societies in *African Anarchism* (1997).¹⁴ Their study is a useful reminder of the ways in which anarchism in Africa emerged not necessarily as a European Enlightenment philosophy, as George Ciccariello-Maher has cautioned, but also as a praxis and life-style often found

¹³ S. Howe, *Anticolonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire, 1918–1964* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1–2.

¹⁴ S. Mbah and I. E. Igariwey, *African Anarchism: The History of a Movement* (Tucson: See Sharp Press, 1997).

Rica as a white, progressive postcolonial nation, anarchists contributed to the confrontation of such narratives through the ideas of Proudhon and Bakunin. Nationalism conflated into patriotism was re-defined by these young intellectual anarchists in Costa Rica and, in doing so, they contributed to the development of anti-imperialist anarchism.⁵⁸

In Puerto Rico, a Spanish colony ceded to the United States after the Spanish-American war in 1898, anarchists fought both against Spanish rule and, subsequently, imperial US domination. As Kirwin Shaffer has explored, these struggles against Spanish and US imperialism were embodied by key figure Juan Vilar, whose anti-authoritarianism was directly linked to anti-imperialism. Despite the emotional appeal of nationalism in the struggle against colonialism, the history of anti-imperialism in Puerto Rico was less a 'project of political nationalism and more about a collective identity of resistance—in short, a distinct form of antiauthoritarianism rooted in the island people's collective nationality against colonialism'. Native Boricuas, Shaffer continues, 'forged a culture of resistance to colonial rule throughout Puerto Rico's history of subjugation', which anarchists fused with international antiauthoritarian ideals of a stateless, non-religious and anti-capitalist post-independent society.⁵⁹

Further to the southwest, gaining independence from Colombia in 1903 but subsequently victim of neo-colonial US expansion, Panama became a brief nodal point for anarchists from across Latin, Central and North America as well as Cuban revolutionaries during the construction of the Canal (1903–1914). These areas were connected through a number

⁵⁸ D. Díaz-Arias, 'From Radicals to Heroes of the Republic: Anarchism and National Identity in Costa Rica, 1900–1977', in G. de Laforcade and K. Shaffer (Eds), *In Defiance of Boundaries*, 219–242.

⁵⁹ K. Shaffer, *Black Flag Boricuas: Anarchism, Antiauthoritarianism, and the Left in Puerto Rico, 1897–1921* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 17.

anced analysis of Latin American societies. They acknowledged political, economic and cultural differences between nations, calling for the study of indigenous and migratory antecedents, local and historical particularities, and working-class diversity. Their emphasis was on preserving autonomy of local organisations as an antidote to the centralizing institutions of modern politics.⁵⁵

Among longshoremen and dockworkers in Buenos Aires and further afield, questions of nationalism and internationalism often came up; however, as anarchist-inspired labour organisations quickly spread across the recently independent nation, anarchists ‘fostered inter-ethnic solidarity’ in response to the Catholic hold on workers.⁵⁶ What is more, Laura Fernandez Cordero has drawn attention to the intersectionality of women’s participation in labour struggles and the overall resistance against domination.⁵⁷

Much like in South America, anarchists had a strong presence in Central America and readily mixed with, supported and defended indigenous and native peoples against European colonisation and its postcolonial legacies of domination. Sixty years after formal independence in 1847, in the early twentieth century a group of young radicals appropriated various strands of European anarchism to the sociocultural reality of Costa Rica and articulated a form of cultural defiance that, although small in significance, made its way into the discourse of anti-imperialism. Challenging the national discourse of Costa

⁵⁵ G. de Laforcade, ‘Straddling the Nation and the Working World: Anarchism and Syndicalism on the Docks and Rivers of Argentina, 1900–1930’, in Hirsch and van der Walt (Eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*, 323.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 331.

⁵⁷ L. F. Cordero, ‘The Anarchist Wager of Sexual Emancipation in Argentina, 1900–1930’, in G. de Laforcade and K. Shaffer (Eds), *In Defiance of Boundaries*, 302–325.

in African societies.¹⁵ Indeed, Mbah and Igariwey note that, ‘the ideals underlying anarchism may not be so new in the African context. What is new is the concept of anarchism as a social movement or ideology. Anarchy as an abstraction may indeed be remote to Africans, but it is not at all unknown as a way of life’.¹⁶ While Mbah and Igariwey’s book does not deal specifically with African anarchism as an anti-imperialist ideology and praxis, it reveals some of the ways in which colonialism disrupted and restructured indigenous societies across Africa. By contrast to their philosophical conception of anarchism, argues Lucien van der Walt, it is anarchism as a socialist and working-class movement rooted in the debates in the International Workingmen’s Association (IWA), 1864–1877, and immersed in anti-imperial and anti-colonial struggles, that demands a global perspective in which ‘the movement’s rich history in the colonial and postcolonial world is placed centre-stage’.¹⁷ Following van der Walt’s line of inquiry, from an anarchist perspective, anti-imperialism challenges European colonialism’s destructive impact and, instead, advocates demands for freedom, mutualism and equality among all peoples.

What is more, exploring core principles of anarchist anti-imperialism with a vision of postcolonial societies, the chapter discusses issues of nationalism and the nation-state, anti-statism and political organisation, transnationalism, exile and diaspora, anti-capitalism and science, cooperativism and boycott. In doing so, it pays particular attention to so-called ‘propaganda by the word’ and ‘propaganda by the deed’, theory and praxis, ideological sympathies and strategic rev-

¹⁵ G. Ciccariello-Maher, ‘An Anarchism that is Not Anarchism: Notes Toward a Critique of Anarchist Imperialism’, in J. C. Klausen and J. Martel (Eds), *How Not to be Governed: Readings and Interpretations from a Critical Anarchist Left* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011), 19–46.

¹⁶ Mbah and Igariwey, *African Anarchism*, 39.

¹⁷ L. van der Walt, ‘Global Anarchism and Syndicalism: Theory, History, Resistance’, *Anarchist Studies*, 24:1 (2016), 85.

olutionary methods, including terrorism, insurrection and sabotage. Within these discussions, the chapter highlights antagonisms and incompatibilities among and between anarchists and anti-colonialists, allowing for an assessment of the limitations of anarchism within the anti-colonial context and, conversely, the shortcomings and flaws that often have impacted postcolonial societies.

Reflecting the internationalist movements of anarchists during this period, it offers broader surveys as well as case studies from across the British, French, Portuguese and Spanish colonial worlds. However, while colonial subjects and anarchists were subject to certain national and colonial legal regimes, they frequently travelled across national borders in pursuit of freedom from imperial rule. Therefore, to understand properly the global reach of anarchism and anti-imperialism, this chapter also seeks to bring to light networks of resistance across imperial territorial divides. Extending Constance Bantman and Bert Altena's transnational inquiry, it challenges orthodox lines of historicism that have, until recently, tended to focus on anarchist resistances within national borders.¹⁸ Keeping such transnational crossings in mind, however, the most productive way to present an overview of anti-imperialism as an articulation and praxis of anarchist struggle is to proceed via those colonial regimes being challenged.

Anarchist Anti-Imperialism in the British Empire

With colonial possessions across North America and the Caribbean, Africa and the Middle East, South Asia, Southeast Asia and the Oceania, Britain emerged as the biggest European empire in competition with France, Spain and Portugal.

¹⁸ C. Bantman and B. Altena (Eds), *Reassessing the Transnational Turn*.

across borders and often collaborated with Chilean and Argentinean workers too.

In Chile, the case of Casimiro Barrios's expulsion on grounds of being an unwanted foreigner threw up some of the ways in which anarchists fought against imperial (and capitalist) structures of governance. As Raymond Craib has demonstrated, under the 1918 Residency Law and 'enticed perhaps by Chilean colonization agents', Barrios was faced with deportation in December 1920. Eventually expelled, Barrios tried to re-enter Chile in 1930, only to be executed by carabineros.⁵⁴

In the early twentieth century, anarchists in Latin America travelled frequently across national borders, hinting at the transnational nature of working-class revolutionaries. As in Peru and Chile, anarchists in Argentina confronted not only state bureaucracy and repression but also formed alliances with indigenous peoples in their acts of resistance. While some historians have debated whether anarchism was just another European import to South America, Geoffroy de Laforcade has argued that,

by the time the anarchist American Continental Workers' Association (*Asociación continental Americana de trabajadores*, part of the syndicalist International Workers Association) met in Buenos Aires in 1929 ... delegates from Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Central America, and the Andes had developed a nu-

colonial World, 227–271; S. Hirsch, 'Anarchism, the Subaltern, and Repertoires of Resistance in Northern Peru, 1898–1922', in Maxwell and Craib (Eds), *No Gods, No Masters, No Peripheries: Global Anarchisms*, 215–232; S. Hirsch, 'Anarchist Visions of Space and Race in Northern Peru, 1898–1922', in G. de Laforcade and K. Shaffer (Eds), *In Defiance of Boundaries*, 261–280.

⁵⁴ R. Craib, 'Anarchism and Alterity: The Expulsion of Casimiro Barrios from Chile in 1920', in Maxwell and Craib (Eds), *No Gods, No Masters, No Peripheries: Global Anarchisms*, 158–179.

Anti-Imperialism in the Spanish Empire and Postcolonial Latin America

Elsewhere in South America, across the former Spanish colonies in the Caribbean, and into Mexico, anarchists were instrumental in the struggle against Euro-American imperialism and its postcolonial legacies of racial and class oppression. A growing body of scholarship has paid attention to the ways in which ‘in Latin America, where protracted resistance against the centralization of modern states followed the revolutions for independence in the 1820s, anarchists encountered models of regionalism and federalism that they interpreted as bearing historic potential for the future’.⁵¹ Resisting the European foundations of the nation-state and imperial endeavours in the New World, anarchists ‘participated in the creation of modern “national” identities in Latin America while combating conservative, atavistic, racialized discourses of national belonging’.⁵²

In Peru, European immigrant urban and rural workers readily formed alliances with indigenous peasants, as Steven Hirsch has shown. Although less influential than in Argentina and Brazil, Peruvian anarchists challenged imperialist trade and export policies, bypassing state-imposed laws and regulations, and extended their activities to the rural areas of Cuzco and Puno. During the 1910s and 1920s, Carlos Condorena, Ezequiel Urviola and Hipolito Salazar, for instance, articulated both anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist discourses and praxes and stressed the importance of taking pride in indigenous struggles.⁵³ The Peruvian anarchists stretched their activities

⁵¹ G. de Laforcade and K. Shaffer, ‘Introduction’, in G. de Laforcade and K. Shaffer (Eds), *In Defiance of Boundaries*, 6.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵³ S. Hirsch, ‘Peruvian Anarcho-Syndicalism: Adapting Transnational Influences and Forging Counterhegemonic Practices, 1905–1930’, in Hirsch and van der Walt (Eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Post-*

Alongside the rise of anarchism within the First International in the 1870s, Irish nationalists increasingly resorted to insurrectionist terrorism, propaganda by the deed and the use of dynamite in the struggle for Irish freedom. In his early account *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution* (1876), Thomas Frost contextualises the Irish struggles against British imperialism alongside anarchists’, Communists’ and Nihilists’ struggles against the Russian Tsar and suggests a form of revolutionary affiliation between such disparate forms of resistance to oppression.¹⁹ More recently, Niall Whelehan has brought attention to the early alliances between anarchists and Irish republicans, giving the example of Southern Italy as a space for insurrectionist guerrilla warfare against the ‘internal colonialism’ of the Italian monarchy for both Irish republicans and Italian anarchists.²⁰ Despite such kinship, though, anarchism as a political ideology and praxis did not substantially influence Irish struggles for independence, although it garnered sympathy from Britain’s anarchist circles.²¹

However, Irish anti-colonialists such as James Connolly, William O’Brien and James Larkin found syndicalism useful in their articulation of Irish freedom. In his recent book, Conor McCarthy examines Connolly’s involvement with the IWW in the United States and how it influenced his anti-imperialist activities. ‘Syndicalism helped to shape Connolly’s attitudes and positions not only during his time in America’, McCarthy argues, ‘but also to events and politics in Ireland when he returned there’, and with its focus on workers and direct action, syndicalism influenced the formation of the Irish

¹⁹ T. Frost, *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution, 1776–1876*, Vol. II (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876).

²⁰ N. Whelehan, *The Dynamiters: Irish Nationalism and Political Violence in the Wider World, 1867–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 51, 64–67.

²¹ D. Ó Donghaile, ‘Anarchism, Anti-Imperialism and “The Doctrine of Dynamite”’, *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 46:3/4 (2010), 291–302.

Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) in 1909 and the articulation of anti-imperialism.²² Extending the historical focus on Connolly, O'Brien and Larkin, Emmet O'Connor has demonstrated how industrial unionism helped to decolonise the labour movement in Ireland. However, O'Connor cautions that 'there was never a formally syndicalist organization in Ireland' nor much of an overtly anarchist influence on syndicalism.²³ Stemming from a different line of inquiry, Federico Ferretti has recently explored the role of Ireland in Élisée Reclus' geography, biography and political thinking to argue that 'the direct links between Reclus' circle and the Irish Socialists and Republicans ... confirms the existence of a grassroots solidarity, and hence mutual contamination, among transnational movements for social liberation in the Age of Empire'.²⁴ In other words, despite anarchism's relatively minor impact on anti-imperialist struggles in Ireland, considering it alongside a broader spectrum of political ideologies and methods, including Irish republicanism and syndicalism, gives a much better understanding of the political value and deeper history of anarchism as a global phenomenon of antiauthoritarian and anti-imperial praxis.

Much like in Ireland, the IWW and syndicalism briefly inspired revolutionary workers in both Australia and New Zealand in the early twentieth century. However, relatively minor in impact, ending principally with the rise of Communism in the wake of the Russian Revolution, labour struggles in Australia and New Zealand rarely took on an anti-imperialist

²² C. McCarthy, *The Revolutionary and Anti-Imperialist Writings of James Connolly, 1893–1916* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

²³ E. O'Connor, *Syndicalism in Ireland, 1917–1923* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1988); E. O'Connor, 'Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, and Nationalism in Ireland', in Hirsch and van der Walt (Eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*, 195.

²⁴ F. Ferretti, 'Political Geographies, "Unfaithful" Translations and Anti-Colonialism', *Political Geography* (2017), 11–23.

the large wave of immigration from Europe sometimes caused tension between the native Brazilians and Afro-Brazilians (slavery had only been abolished in 1888), who organised and struggled along racial lines, and the European immigrants, who fought against imperialism through class affiliation.⁴⁸ That said, as Toledo and Biondi conversely argue, the Brazilian labour movement was also influenced by centuries of slave revolts and was not 'characterized by division based on internecine ethnic and conflicts'.⁴⁹ Indeed, as Edgar Rodrigues has explored, the likes of Antonio Conselheiro's Canudo community as well as the autonomous societies established by *quilombos* (descendants of fugitive slaves) inspired anarchist ideas and praxis in Brazil.⁵⁰ With no major conflicts between European immigrants and Afro-Brazilian workers, the unions were open to all races, and anarchists actively participated in the struggle for equality and freedom for all workers. Whether such struggles extended to the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea, Cape Verde, Timor, Macau and Goa remains unexplored.

fer (Eds), *In Defiance of Boundaries: Anarchism in Latin American History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015), 162–184.

⁴⁸ S. L. Maram, *Anarquistas, Imigrantes e o Movimento Operário Brasileiro, 1890–1920* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979); Colin Everett, 'Organized Labour in Brazil, 1900–1937: From Anarchist Origins to Government Control' [<https://libcom.org/history/organized-labor-brazil-1900-1937-anarchist-origins-government-control-colin-everett>]

⁴⁹ E. Toledo and L. Biondi, 'Constructing Syndicalism and Anarchism Globally: The Transnational Making of the Syndicalist Movement in São Paulo, Brazil, 1895–1935', in Hirsch and van der Walt (Eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*, 373; see also P. de Góes, Jr., *The Luso-Anarchist Reader*.

⁵⁰ E. Rodrigues, *Os libertários: idéias e experiências anárquicas* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1988), 85–101.

movement of anti-imperialism. Instead, it emerged briefly as an import within the Portuguese empire.

In Brazil, however, anarchism and syndicalism had a much greater impact on the development of labour struggles and anti-imperial resistance. As Plínio de Góes, Jr. suggests, prior to Portuguese colonisation, 'native Brazilians lived in an egalitarian society free from European religious experience'. With the arrival of the Portuguese and Catholicism, he argues, 'anarchism was required in Brazil, as in Europe, precisely to cure diseases, the diseases of capitalism and hierarchy, which had been brought from abroad'.⁴⁴ As a growing body of scholarship on anarchism in Brazil has noted, Brazil became a haven for southern European immigrants who brought with them radical ideas and praxes for labour struggle.⁴⁵ Under the Empire of Brazil (1822–1889), trade unions were prohibited, but with the establishment of the republic in 1889, unions began to spring up across Brazil. Rodrigues, Ramos and Samis attribute the emergence of anarchism to the arrival of Italian immigrants in the late 1880s, and particularly of Artur Campagnoli in 1888, but soon followed Portuguese, Spanish, German and Russian anarchists.⁴⁶ With substantial immigrant communities in Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Santos, in particular, anarchism quickly influenced workers' struggles, and anarchists organised against European imperialism, in general, and later on the imperialist ambitions behind the First World War, more specifically.⁴⁷ At the same time, as in other European settler colonies across the globe,

⁴⁴ P. de Góes, Jr. (Ed), *The Luso-Anarchist Reader: The Origins of Anarchism in Portugal and Brazil* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2017), 2.

⁴⁵ R. B. Deminicis and D. A. R. Filho (Eds), *História do anarquismo no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X; Niterói, RJ: EdUFF, 2006).

⁴⁶ E. Rodrigues, R. Ramos, and A. Samis (Eds), *Against all Tyranny!: Essays on Anarchism in Brazil* (London: Kate Sharpley Library, 2003), 2–3.

⁴⁷ See also B. A. Loner, 'From Workers' Militancy to Cultural Action: Brazilian Anarchism in Rio Grande do Sul', in G. de Laforcade and K. Shaf-

nature and veered more towards syndicalist rather than anarchist principles of organisation. Settled primarily by white European workers, labour struggles in these newly independent nations, instead, threw up some of the discrepancies between indigenous peoples and the white working classes that usually translated into anti-imperialist solidarity rather than anti-imperialist activities.²⁵

More concrete forms of grassroots' anti-imperialist solidarity, though, also existed between anarchists and Indian nationalists, particularly in the North American and European diasporas. In many ways, the history of anti-imperialism and anarchism in Canada is entwined with both British colonial policies and the growth of US imperialism in the early twentieth century. As both Maia Ramnath and Seema Sohi have demonstrated, Indian nationalists in the Ghadar Party on the US West Coast and in British Columbia, Canada, associated with anarchists and radical working-class unions. Lala Har Dayal, to take one example, became a member of the Oakland branch of the IWW, formed the Fraternity of the Red Flag, and set up the Bakunin Institute to spread anarchist thinking among the Indians in North America. Pandurang Khankhoje and Taraknath Das, too, had contacts with Wobblies, and the ideas of syndicalism certainly influenced their articulation of anti-colonialism.²⁶ Kenyon Zimmer has noted, moreover,

²⁵ V. Burgmann, *Revolutionary Industrial Unionism: The Industrial Workers of the World in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); E. Olssen, *The Red Feds: Revolutionary Industrial Unionism and the New Zealand Federation of Labour, 1908–1914* (Auckland; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); M. Derby, 'Ki Nga Kaimahi Maori ("To all Maori Workers"): The New Zealand IWW and the Maori', in P. Cole, D. Struthers, and K. Zimmer (Eds), *Wobblies of the World*, 186–203.

²⁶ M. Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 62–67; S. Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance, and Indian Anticolonialism in North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 88–96.

how Indian radicals in the Ghadar party formed alliances with American anarchists in their struggle against the British Empire as well as racist American immigration laws. Against the scepticism of some anarchists towards the nationalist bent of the Indian revolutionaries, the Bakunin Institute's paper *Land and Liberty*, edited by the Indian-born William C. Owen, championed such freedom struggles across the colonial world.²⁷ These anti-imperialist alliances, Zimmer has noted elsewhere, also influenced American anarchist debates before and during the First World War, especially among the Italian anarchists in the United States who protested the invasion of Abyssinia in 1895 as well as among Cuban exiles who joined forces with anarchists to fight in the Cuban War of Independence (1895–1898).²⁸

In Europe, Indian nationalists, too, associated with anarchists, and many adopted a position of solidarity with such freedom struggles. However, Thomas Keell, editor of *Freedom*, and Guy Aldred, editor of *The Herald of Revolt*, supported the Indians in London and, conversely, the Indian nationalists donated money to the Malatesta Release Committee in 1912. Despite ideological differences, Aldred even went to prison for printing the propaganda organ *The Indian Sociologist* in 1909 and remained involved in the Indian revolutionary movement until the outbreak of the First World War.²⁹ At the same time, the wave of 'propaganda by the deed' that had affected Europe around the turn of the century greatly inspired the Indians. For instance, P. M. Bapat and Hem Chandra Kanungo Das came

²⁷ K. Zimmer, *Immigrants Against the State: Yiddish and Italian Anarchism in America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 105–107.

²⁸ K. Zimmer, 'At War with Empire: The Anti-Colonial Roots of American Anarchist Debates during the First World War', in Matthew S. Adams and Ruth Kinna (Eds), *Anarchism, 1914–1918: Internationalism, Militarism and War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 175–198.

²⁹ O. B. Laursen, 'Anarchist Anti-Imperialism: Guy Aldred and the Indian Revolutionary Movement, 1909–1914', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. DOI: 10.1080/03086534.2018.1431435.

pecially against the so-called pass laws, and in organising dock-workers in Cape Town. In the early decades of the twentieth century, in other words, anti-colonialism in South Africa drew not just on the politics of the Communist International, as often held, but instead fused anarchism into the politics of liberation and organisation of a common society of free individuals, not a nation-state format.

Anti-Imperialism in the Portuguese Empire and Brazil

In the first decades of the twentieth century, anarchism and syndicalism also reached the workers in Mozambique, although here it developed separately from South Africa, as an import from Portuguese immigrants and deported political prisoners. According to José Capela and van der Walt, it was primarily located in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) and centred around José Estêvam's Revolutionary League (formed in 1910) and the Grupo Libertário Francisco Ferrer (formed in 1911), but generally excluded Africans, although not *assimilados*, those exempt from the discriminatory colour bar, from their organisations. Anarchists and syndicalists published in a number of local periodicals as well as participated in strikes across the country, but martial law and the Portuguese dictatorship suppressed the radical press and independent unions, thereby crushing budding attempts to introduce anarchism into anti-colonial struggles in Mozambique.⁴³ The case of Mozambique, in other words, illustrates the ways in which anarchism in the colonial world did not necessarily cross imperial borders and boundaries to mutate into an international

⁴³ J. Capela, *O Movimento Operário em Lourenço Marques, 1898–1927* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 1981); L. van der Walt, 'Anarchism and Syndicalism, Southern Africa', in I. Ness (Ed), *International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest: 1500 to the Present* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 147–155.

of anarchist praxis and terrorism for overthrowing colonial regimes.

In South Africa, both during British colonisation and after gaining Dominion status in 1910, anarchism and syndicalism has been central to the articulation of anti-colonial resistances. As a settler colony, workers and radicals from across Europe and North Africa, particularly British and Jewish immigrants, among them Wilfred H. Harrison, J. T. Bain, Henry Glasse and A. Z. Berman, brought with them anarchist and syndicalist ideas that fomented in South Africa from the 1910s onwards.³⁹ While the libertarian movement in South Africa may have started among white settlers, argues Lucien van der Walt, it gradually evolved and included African, Coloured and Indian revolutionaries.⁴⁰ Organised along the lines of the One Big Union model of the IWW, anarchist and syndicalist unions such as the Social Democratic Federation, Industrial Socialist League and the Industrial Workers of Africa emerged and flourished throughout the early decades of the twentieth century.⁴¹ Questions of race, anti-imperialism and nationalism were central to these unions, which translated into multiracial and international politics 'characterised throughout by a principled and distinctive opposition to racial discrimination and prejudice, with a commitment to interracial labour organising and working class unity'.⁴² Embracing anarchist and syndicalist ideas, African revolutionaries such as T. W. Thibedi, Fred Cetiwe, and Hamilton Kraai played a key role in anti-imperial struggles, es-

³⁹ J. Hyslop, *The Notorious Syndicalist: J. T. Bain, A Scottish Rebel in Colonial South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2004).

⁴⁰ L. van der Walt, 'Revolutionary Syndicalism, Communism and the National Question in South African Socialism, 1886–1928', in Hirsch and van der Walt (Eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*, 33–35.

⁴¹ L. van der Walt, 'Anarchism and Syndicalism in an African Port City: The Revolutionary Traditions of Cape Town's Multiracial Working Class, 1904–1931', *Labor History* 52:2 (May 2011), 137–171.

⁴² van der Walt, 'Revolutionary Syndicalism', 89.

to France specifically to learn how to make bombs from anarchists. Through Joseph 'Libertad' Albert, editor of *L'Anarchie*, they came into contact with the Russian Maximalist Nicolas Safranski, who taught them about explosives and bombs. In the spirit of anti-colonial solidarity, Safranski even intended to go to India to join his 'black comrades', as he called them, but never went.³⁰ This spirit of anti-colonial solidarity and 'propaganda by the deed' also led to a fateful alliance between the Indian nationalists Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and Abdul Hafiz and a group of Swiss-based Italian anarchists, led by Luigi Bertoni and Arcangelo Cavadini, to smuggle bombs and weapons into Switzerland, and later Italy, during the First World War. According to intelligence reports, the Indians and Italians also plotted to assassinate a number of European kings, presidents and prime ministers in an attempt to overthrow imperial regimes of power, but this never materialised.³¹ Such cross-political fertilisation between Indian nationalists and European anarchists, with particular emphasis on the praxis of terrorism, gives a more nuanced understanding of anarchism's influence on anti-colonial resistances.

Chattopadhyaya, though, also had close contacts within the European anarchist milieu, writing for Jean Grave's *Les Temps Nouveaux*, and in post-Russian Revolution Berlin associated with Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. Despite Goldman's interest in the Indian revolutionary movement, and given that several Indian Ghadar members contributed to *Mother Earth*, she doubted Chattopadhyaya's anarchist ethics and remarked that 'it was Hindu nationalism to which he

³⁰ Heehs, 'Foreign Influences on Bengali Revolutionary Terrorism', 533–556.

³¹ O. B. Laursen, "'The Bomb Plot of Zurich': Indian Nationalism, Italian Anarchism and the First World War', in Adams and Kinna (Eds), *Anarchism, 1914–1918*, 135–154.

had devoted himself entirely'.³² Chattopadhyaya's long-time collaborator M. P. T. Acharya, however, also found himself in Berlin and, after becoming disillusioned with the promises of Bolshevism, joined the anarcho-syndicalist IWMA in 1923. For more than thirty years, Acharya immersed himself in the international anarchist movement, fusing his anti-colonial activities with anarchist ethics, and attempted to bring anarchism to India. In doing so, Acharya charted a different path towards anarchist anti-imperialism than M. K. Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan.³³ He remains a solitary figure, however, and the Indian anti-colonial struggle for independence is dominated by Marxist influences.³⁴

Alongside the Indians in Europe and North America, Egyptian revolutionaries were influenced by anarchism in their struggle for independence. Not just because Egyptian nationalists travelled in the same Euro-American circles as the Indians but also because particularly Italian anarchists, including Errico Malatesta, brought the revolutionary tenets of anarchism to Egypt. According to Anthony Gorman, Italian political refugees and workers who benefitted from a network of labour, transport and communications across the Mediterranean first introduced anarchism to Egypt in the 1860s.³⁵ International in its outlook, the early Italian radical

³² E. Goldman, *Living My Life* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1931), 771. For more on Goldman's interest in India, see J. D. Elam, 'The "Arch Priestess of Anarchy" Visits Lahore: Violence, Love, and the Worldliness of Revolutionary Texts', *Postcolonial Studies*, 16:3 (2013), 140–154.

³³ N. D. Gupta, 'Indian Anarchists', *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 59:1 (1998), 106–114; see also Geoffrey Ostergaard, *The Gentle Anarchists: A Study of the Leaders of the Sarvodaya Movement for Non-Violent Revolution in India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

³⁴ O. B. Laursen, "'Anarchism, pure and simple": M. P. T. Acharya, Anti-Colonialism and the International Anarchist Movement', *Postcolonial Studies* (forthcoming).

³⁵ A. Gorman, "'Diverse in Race, Religion and Nationality ... But United in Aspirations of Civil Progress": The Anarchist Movement in Egypt, 1860–

organisations in Egypt gradually seeped their ideas into Arabic Egyptian labour organisations by the early twentieth century, influencing writers such as Salama Musa and Shibli Shumayyil.³⁶

What is more, such commitments to moral, political, economic and social emancipation also gradually inflected anti-imperial resistances among Egypt's multifarious ethnic make-up and, indeed, the revolutionary nationalists that radicalised the independence struggle in the early twentieth century. In fact, just like the Indians, Egyptian nationalists often came into contact with anarchists in Europe and North America, and were particularly inspired by 'propaganda by the deed' and the praxis of revolutionary terrorism. While the Egyptians who travelled through European revolutionary networks among anarchists, such as Ibrahim al-Wardani, were not anarchists per se, Ilham Khuri-Makdisi notes that 'both elites and non-elites incorporated many aspects of anarchism into ambient discourses and practices'.³⁷ What is more, Khuri-Makdisi argues, 'anarchism and anarchist ideas, in Egypt and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, far from being confined to marginal and minority groups, were gaining ground and being synthesized in other revolutionary radical or social movements, which included proto-nationalist, nationalist, trade unionist, and Muslim reformist movements'.³⁸ In other words, to think about anarchism in relation to anti-colonialism in Egypt requires a shift in our understanding of the value

1940', in Hirsch and van der Walt (Eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*, 3–31.

³⁶ A. Gorman, 'Internationalist Thought, Local Practice: Life and Death in the Anarchist Movement in 1890s Egypt', in M. Booth and A. Gorman (Eds), *The Long 1890s in Egypt: Colonial Quiescence, Subterranean Resistance* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 222–252.

³⁷ I. Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 130.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 131.