# 4.5
# DANCES WITH AGITATORS
## What Is 'Anarchist Music'?

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### Introduction

Robin Ballinger argues that '[m]usic is neither transcendental nor trivial, but inhibits a site where hegemonic processes are contested' (in Sakolsky and Ho (eds.), 1995: 14) – in other words, music *matters*. However, music (and culture more widely) is often viewed as being of minor importance within social movements, as something coincidental rather than fundamental. Consideration of anarchism and music contributes to an understanding of the complex relationships between culture and radical politics more widely, while challenging those narrow conceptions of radicalism that fail to take cultural aspects into account. This chapter points to the core role of culture (and music) in social movements, and the recognition of this importance across a wide spectrum of anarchist perspectives. The chapter then considers evaluations of 'anarchist music', identifying the aspects which are too easily recuperated by the State and capital (such as aesthetics and lyrics), and highlighting those aspects which contain *radical transformative potential* (such as Do-It-Yourself or DIY production processes – though this is necessarily marginal in character and scope). A transformation is not a fixed entity; it only operates in relation to an a priori situation. Evaluation of 'anarchist music' in terms of transformation is therefore alive to shifting contexts, and does not impose a particular set of criteria – yet, it still usefully problematises any claim of a particular music as being 'anarchist'. However, no form of music (in terms of its aesthetic or production process) is entirely immune to co-optation, and it is argued here that music's radical transformative potential is most fully realised, and most resilient, when engaged within a culture of resistance.

### Culture

> At the dances I was one of the most untiring and gayest. One evening … a young boy took me aside. With a grave face, as if he were about to announce the death of a dear comrade, he whispered to me that it did not behoove an agitator to dance. Certainly not with such reckless abandon, anyway. It was undignified for one who was on the way to become a force in the anarchist movement. My frivolity would only hurt the Cause.

> I grew furious at the impudent interference of the boy. I told him to mind his own business … I did not believe that a Cause which stood for a beautiful ideal, for anarchism, for release and freedom from convention and prejudice, should demand the denial of life and joy … If it meant that, I did not want it. 'I want freedom, the right to self-expression, everybody's right to beautiful, radiant things' … I would live my beautiful ideal.
>
> *(Goldman, 1934: 56)*

The aforementioned quotation from Emma Goldman[1] is often expressed in condensed form as: 'If I can't dance, it's not my revolution', and highlights an oft-repeated tension in the anarchist movement around cultural expression. For the purposes of this chapter, Goldman and the young comrade represent two poles of this dispute: the chastising young comrade represents those who insist on a 'serious', materialist anarchism based on a reductive economistic philosophy; and Goldman represents anarchisms which *also* embrace the 'non-material' aspects of society, such as revolutionary agency[2] and culture. 'Culture' is a broad term, understood in different ways depending on its context – theatre, literature, art, sport, dancing and music are denoted in a narrow use of the term, but 'culture' understood in a wider sense may also express the sum of human (or other animal) social activity, from tool usage and forms of language, to how societies organise themselves. Rudolf Rocker[3] discusses culture in this wider understanding, arguing that 'a culture … is in its innermost essence anarchistic' (1937: 353). He argues that culture 'has grown organically' and 'knows no subterfuge', while 'States create no culture'; so therefore, culture and the State are 'in the deepest sense, irreconcilable opposites' (Rocker, 1937: 283, 81). Rocker understands culture as developing in a bottom-up, popular manner. He was writing in the early 1930s in a period when mass culture was only just beginning to appear, and while it is possible to point to cultures which fit with Rocker's understanding, the trajectory of the twentieth century throws up a litany of cultures which are in no sense anarchistic. Rocker does identify this in his distinction between 'nationalism' and 'culture', but later critiques, such as those of Antonio Gramsci[4] or the Situationists,[5] recognise more explicitly that culture is manipulated and even generated by the State and capitalist institutions in a top-down manner to influence society in ways that they find beneficial – encouraging national pride, obedience to authority and insatiable consumerism, for example. This recognition of culture as a potentially oppressive force is expressed by numerous anarchist writers and groups. For example, Murray Bookchin[6] (1995: 52) writes that '[c]apitalism swirls around us – not only materially but *culturally*' – the logics and behaviours of capitalism are engrained in society beyond the level of economic transaction. Class War[7] identify mass culture as oppressive and as operating to preserve the State by stopping 'those at the bottom from revolting':

> for advanced capitalism to work effectively, the workforce has to identify and agree with the aims and values of the capitalists … modern capitalism and the State have to fill people's minds with the 'right' ideas, and deny the validity of those ideas that question the status-quo.
>
> *(Class War Federation, 1992: 52–53)*

Most contemporary anarchists recognise this potentially oppressive manifestation of culture, but culture is not solely a tool of the State and capital. As Harold Barclay (1997: 36) points out: 'a culture is only manifest through the individual behaviour of its participants and in no culture are those participants clones. In every system there is variation in terms of

behaviour and interpretation of behaviour. And this situation provides then the opportunity for conflict'. So while culture can be oppressive, and it often is, the terrain of culture is not closed-off from struggle. This 'culture war' is recognised as being of key importance by many anarchists (though it is important to add, *not by all*). Reclaim the Streets! co-founder John Jordan argues (in McKay (ed.), 1998: 130) that 'cultural values … are at the centre of the global ecological and social problems … If the problem is one of values – a cultural problem – it therefore requires a cultural response'. CrimethInc.[8] follow a similar tack: 'resisting capitalism isn't just an economic matter but also a cultural one, involving a shift in values and practices' (CrimethInc. Ex-Workers Collective, 2011: 323). The mass culture engendered by capitalism and the State is otherwise termed as 'hegemonic' or 'mainstream', and outside of this, there are 'subcultures' and 'countercultures' which embody different values and practices, though often with significant overlap with the dominant mass culture. Anarchists, according to Laura Portwood-Stacer (2013: 7), 'can only be understood … as *both* subculture and movement'. Indeed, this aspect of Portwood-Stacer's analysis of the contemporary anarchist movement in the US readily applies to historical anarchist movements as well. Chris Ealham (2005: 35) points to 'a specifically anarchist counter-culture … in the *barris* [of Barcelona]' in the years preceding the social revolution and Civil War in Spain (1936–39). He writes that the

> CNT[9] was just one element in Barcelona's growing proletarian public sphere, an alternative grassroots social infrastructure comprising newspapers, cultural associations and social clubs. The other key institution was the *ateneu* (atheneum), a popular cultural and social centre … [which] organised a wide choice of leisure activities, such as theatre, choral and musical groups.
>
> *(Ealham, 2005: 41)*

Through this,

> the CNT was able to influence an *oppositional working-class culture* and help to mould a relatively autonomous proletarian world view during a time when, elsewhere in Europe, the advent of new forms of mass culture, such as football and music halls, was beginning to erode and dilute socialist consciousness.
>
> *(Ealham, 2005: 43)*

Albert Meltzer[10] identifies the same cultural emphasis and engagement 'in the life of the local community' by syndicalist unions in Italy, Germany and Argentina (2002: 8). Ealham, using Situationist and Gramscian terminologies, understands this oppositional culture as 'a kind of counter-spectacle with its own values, ideas, rituals, organisations and practices … a counter-hegemonic project' (2005: 43). Today, the term most often used by anarchists to describe this strategy is 'culture of resistance'.

But this understanding of anarchists as 'cultural activists' (Sakolsky and Ho (eds.), 1995: 9) is, for some, contentious, with cultural resistance 'often seen as a retreat from more direct, "effective" forms of political confrontation' (Portwood-Stacer, 2013: 8). As avant-garde anarchist violinist Norman Nawrocki puts it,

> too many anarchists tend to downplay if not denigrate the role of 'culture' in our fight for a new world, and thus, refuse to give active support or credence to those who try to develop and practice through self-expression a new anarchist aesthetic – musical

> or otherwise. 'Where's the struggle?' hardcore, culturally-challenged anarchoids often protest, as Emma Goldman screeches, kicks off her dancing shoes and rolls over in her grave.
>
> *(in O'Guérin (ed.), 2012: 62)*

These 'hardcore, culturally-challenged anarchoids' do not understand culture as part of the struggle, which is conceived as being fought solely on the grounds of economics or 'Politics'. 'Politics' is understood in various ways depending on its context – in some senses, *everything* is political in its effect on society, but Wilhelm Reich warns specifically against '[t]he fetish of "politics"' understood as 'diplomatic exchanges between the representatives of great and minor powers which decide the fate of humanity' (which might otherwise be termed 'capital P Politics' or 'politicking'). Reich argues that 'politics' is alienating for the 'political layman [*sic*]' who 'rightly says that he [*sic*] doesn't understand anything about it' (1973: 44). Reich's solution is 'to cut through the inextricable knot of bourgeois politics, by ceasing to imitate it and opposing it with the basic principle of revolutionary politics … to democratise and simplify politics and make it accessible to everyone' (1973: 48). This simplification and democratisation entails the politicisation of 'private life, fairs, dance-halls, cinemas, markets, bedrooms, hostels, betting shops! Revolutionary energy lies in everyday life!' (1973: 73). This foreshadows the feminist slogan 'the personal is political' which dissolves the boundary between the domestic and the public spheres – but crucially here, it also emphasises the *cultural* aspects of revolutionary struggle (dance halls and cinemas), eschewing the narrow understanding of 'politics' for a much broader and encompassing definition. The contemporary US anarchist movement (and indeed those elsewhere) provides an example of this broader, culturally inclusive understanding, where, in Portwood-Stacer's (2013: 7–8) analysis, 'culture and politics are co-constitutive; to resist one is to resist the other', and likewise, Uri Gordon (2008: 4) describes contemporary anarchism as a '*political culture*'. Murray Bookchin too, even in the midst of his anti-lifestylist polemic (1995: 9 f.n.), identifies the 'anarchic counterculture during the early part of the hectic 1960s [as] often intensely political'.

The writers and groups referenced in discussion of culture thus far come from a wide spectrum of diverging anarchist perspectives and traditions,[11] but coalesce in (loose) agreement in terms of the seriousness with which culture (in its 'narrow' definition) ought to be taken by anarchists. Those anarchists who reject culture entirely are a minor fringe in the movement, and generally speaking their objection to 'culture' boils down to a personal distaste for a particular aesthetic, while they, of course, still engage in cultural activities at a practical level.

So culture is crucial, even while it is contentious, and consideration of culture and music is essential in understanding any social movement.

## Music

Focusing closely on 'anarchist music' allows an examination of the tensions and complexities which surround the wider relationships between anarchism and culture. Petesy Burns, an anarchist punk musician (in O'Guérin (ed.), 2012: 50), argues that the 'combination' of anarchism and music 'can be a potent force for change'. This 'force for change', this *radical transformative potential*, is a fruitful framework in consideration of anarchism and music – an evaluation of music can be made in terms of its social impact, or the potential thereof.

Perhaps the most directly transformative aspect of music is its ability to inspire and radicalise. Nawrocki celebrates this potential:

> this magical musical moment was a turning point in their life and marked a renewal of commitment, a blossoming of consciousness, a pivotal psychic insight that reaffirmed their anarchist convictions and practice. Thanks to the music, one more pair of arms for the barricades, one more match for the fire, one more point of resistance on the map towards freedom.
>
> *(In O'Guérin (ed.), 2012: 65)*

Wilhelm Reich,[12] writing in the 1930s, pointed to the same potential, recognising '[f]olk song and dancing as a spur to revolutionary feeling' (1973: 58). Reich argued that the emotive power of music could be instrumentalised for revolutionary ends:

> everywhere where the bearers of the coming revolution live their lives; by means of good folk music, a folk dance, folk-songs utilisable by the revolution, already anti-capitalist in themselves, appropriate to the feelings of the oppressed, they can create, disseminate and plant in peoples' feelings that atmosphere which is bitterly necessary for us to make the broadest of masses sympathetic to the revolution.
>
> *(Reich, 1973: 58)*

Crucially, Reich considers folk music (taken to mean popular music written, performed and enjoyed by ordinary people on a peer-to-peer level, rather than the narrow generic descriptor it occupies now) to be '*already* anti-capitalist', and inherently so. Reich does not explain what it is about folk music that is necessarily anti-capitalist – but possible elements could be some particular lyrical content, non-capitalist production processes, inclusive and democratic norms of performance, or even the aesthetic form of the music. Robb Johnson, a contemporary anarchist folk musician, argues that some music forms engender an anarchistic aesthetic, pointing to 'the radical element to creativity' in 1930s jazz or 1960s pop wherein '*the very form itself* is the revolutionary agent' even when 'typified by primarily a-Political content' (in O'Guérin (ed.), 2012: 55). Here, the actual musical arrangement, the sound and feel of the music, is identified as the transformative aspect, and avant-garde and experimental musicians engaged with anarchism would make a similar case in terms of radical aesthetics. The breaking-down of the barrier between audience and performer is a core ideal in genres and scenes such as punk and hip-hop, and also folk, jazz and many avant-garde music forms. This is a further example of an aesthetic anarchistic musical impetus in its radical democratisation of music performance.

However, evaluation of 'anarchist music' in terms of aesthetic or performance is not entirely convincing. The aforementioned examples cover a widely diverse range of musical styles and performance approaches,[13] and while they contain elements which are arguably *anarchistic*, it is difficult to assert that any aesthetic is *inherently* or *exclusively* anarchist, or that their anarchistic elements result in any radical transformative potential. Nawrocki agrees that '[t]here is certainly music that inspires anarchist thoughts, inclinations, and the desire for full and total, absolute and unrestrained social evolution here and now', but, pointing to the experience of anarchist punk band Propagandhi, 'this same music can also fuel unthinking drunken frat boys' (in O'Guérin (ed.), 2012: 63). The anarchist intent behind a musical aesthetic does not prevent it from being misinterpreted in ways that are completely antithetical to anarchism. And in a similar logic, no aesthetic is immune from capital co-optation. The influence of capitalist production will be discussed in more detail later, but in terms of aesthetic, consider the blast beats and demonic roarings of grindcore/extreme metal band Napalm Death. Their deliberately abrasive aesthetic developed in the anarcho-punk and

DIY UK Hardcore scene of the late 1980s, but despite their decidedly counter-normative sound, they have released music with the major corporate label Sony Music Entertainment through imprints such as Columbia, Relativity and Century Media. Even clearly expressed oppositionalism through lyrics is open to (perhaps wilful) misinterpretation, as, for example, when former Tory Prime Minister (and Eton alumni) David Cameron announced that The Jam's 'Eton Rifles' (1979) was one of his favourite songs (Radio 4, 2008). The Jam's Paul Weller was duly horrified, shaking his head with disbelief and asking: 'Which part of it didn't he get? It wasn't intended as a fucking jolly drinking song for the cadet corps' (in Wilson, 2008). Johnny Marr of The Smiths was similarly appalled when Cameron expressed affection for his band, publicly stating on social media: 'David Cameron, stop saying that you like The Smiths, no you don't. I forbid you to like it' (Marr, 2010). But, as Marr's humorous tweet reveals of course, no amount of protest by the artist can prevent such warped interpretations of the original intent of the music – the music's radicalism can be completely demolished in the subjective process of interpretation by the listener.

To be clear, there is no aesthetic prescription for anarchist music; any attempt to define it solely on the basis of sound or style is fruitless. Any aesthetic that is identified as 'anarchist' is immediately undercut by non-anarchist manifestations of that same aesthetic – but in an even more fundamental sense, it *shouldn't* be possible to identify an anarchist aesthetic. The musical forms, genres and scenes associated with anarchism are myriad,[14] which is to be expected since anarchism itself is highly amorphous and ill-defined. As Boff Whalley of anarchist band Chumbawamba puts it, '[r]adical and libertarian music, *by its nature*, can't be defined musically' (in O'Guérin (ed.), 2012: 81).

This is not to say that aesthetic considerations are irrelevant in discussion of 'anarchist music', but the theme of 'radical transformation' emerges as a more useful evaluative tool. Three main evaluations of 'anarchist music' will be made here: (1) music which espouses anarchist ideals, perhaps even without the intention of doing so, but which is produced and distributed within mainstream/capitalist cultural frameworks; (2) music which is produced and distributed through alternative, non-capitalist and anti-capitalist networks (DIY) whether or not it is explicitly anarchist or espouses anarchist ideals; and (3) music which emanates from within the anarchist movement itself, promotes or supports anarchism explicitly and forms part of an anarchist culture of resistance. These evaluations are not intended as some kind of 'anarchy test' or a set of qualifying criteria, but to help develop an understanding of the relationships between anarchism and music, and as a result, the wider relationships between anarchism and culture.

## Accidentally Anarchist Music

In an opposing corollary to David Cameron's subjective appropriation of the Jam and the Smiths, Nawrocki (in O'Guérin (ed.), 2012: 61) asks whether 'occasional musical "accidents", unintentionally anarchist in spirit or content, but perceived as such by listeners, count as "anarchist music"?' For example, the core anarchist tenet of freedom is a repeated trope in many genres of music. Even in the most vapidly banal lyrical use of 'freedom', with no anarchist intent whatsoever, there is nothing to prevent listeners attaching an anarchistic interpretation – a lack of didactic content allows scope for any number of interpretations. Even specifically, radical/transformative themes, such as revolution, provide fodder for banal lyrics. For example, the 1999 UK Number One single 'Because We Want To' (*Honey To The B*, (Innocent, Virgin [EMI], 1999)), by short-lived pop sensation Billie, contains references to revolution, freedom and self-empowerment.

Taken at face value, there are clearly radical elements to the lyrics here – they could even be reasonably interpreted as anarchistic. While Billie's call to revolution was not heeded on a society-wide level (and, to be sure, there was no real revolutionary intent behind the track), it is impossible to rule out at least *some* grain of radical transformative potential. Capitalism is, in many senses, a totalising system, seeking to monetise all aspects of society – but it is not total. Even though the lyrics have been essentially voided of their substantive content, merely to posture as 'edgy' in pursuit of record sales, there remains the possibility that someone hearing Billie's 'revolutionary' lyrics might take them entirely seriously, despite their decidedly *un*revolutionary context.

In any case, as Ballinger points out, '[u]nderstanding the politics of music from a text-based analysis is particularly problematic' (in Sakolksy and Ho (eds), 1995: 17). The scope for interpretation is just too subjective to be analysed with any usefulness, especially in the banal lyrics of most commercially oriented music. Ballinger (in Sakolksy and Ho (eds), 1995: 17) asks an insightful question in this regard: 'what might "protest lyrics" be in social contexts where the very language of struggle has been co-opted?' In the case of Billie's 'revolutionary' verse, co-optation is clearly at work. 'Because We Want To' was distributed via celebrity millionaire Richard Branson's label Virgin, which was owned by EMI, and subsequently absorbed into Universal Music Group (one of the remaining 'Big Three' corporate music industry behemoths). So, the production processes behind Billie's 'revolution' are in no sense revolutionary, because no matter what the 'accidental' potential for transformation within the lyrical content (minimal though it is), Universal Music Group makes a profit – corporate capitalism is the ultimate beneficiary. This seriously problematises any transformative claim made of 'accidentally' anarchist music, but corporate influence has an even more direct impact in terms of copyright infringement claims made against content uploaded to the Internet. Gil Scott Heron said that the revolution would not be televised ('The Revolution Will Not Be Televised' (Flying Dutchman, 1971)),[15] and it seems that it won't be streamed online either – a version of The Beatles song 'Revolution' uploaded to YouTube is replaced with the message: 'This video contains content from UMG_MK,[16] who has blocked it in your country on copyright grounds' (appended in a much smaller font with, 'Sorry about that').[17] Universal Music Group profits from The Beatles' 'Revolution' (2008) just as it profits from Billie's, and it *actively* curtails the free[18] sharing of these songs through an ideology of private property rights and an opposition to free access to resources – the interests and activities of Universal Music Group are clearly antithetical to anarchism.

The lyrical allusion to 'revolution' by Billie and the Beatles does not by any sensible measure equate them with 'anarchist music' – but there should be no expectation for this to be the case, and neither Billie nor the Beatles make any claim otherwise. The point is that, even while music which 'accidentally' conjures up broadly anarchistic themes *could* be interpreted as potentially transformative, this is seriously problematised, and often completely undermined, by the production processes behind these songs, which is very often inimical to anarchism. Songs explicitly referencing anarchy or anarchism carry more expectation in this regard – their lyrical invocation is far more particular, but again, this is far from straightforward. Consider, for example, the song titled 'Anarcho-Syndicalism' (*Oakland's Tight – Hella Tight* (Round Whirled Records, 2010)) by Carne Cruda, a 'Post-Latin' ska outfit from Oakland, California. It is almost entirely instrumental, except for a reverb-laden voice sample (which sounds like Noam Chomsky) repeating the phrase 'anarcho-syndicalism'. Carne Cruda's website describes the band's members as a 'roster of Capitalism-smashers' who find that 'playing booty-shaking Latin and Caribbean music is far superior to working for The Man' (www.carnecruda.com/about-us), but these instances of radical rhetoric are fairly

anomalous against the background of frivolous lyrical tropes, such as their current single 'I Love You More Than Tacos' (Round Whirled Records, 2016). Again, basing analysis on the lyrical expression of a band is not a decisively insightful approach, but while the band is on a small independent label, they also happily promote their music on Apple's iTunes, and there is no evidence of any further connection to anarchism or anti-capitalist production practices or distribution networks. So even though Carne Cruda explicitly references a relatively niche anarchist strategy, in this context, 'anarcho-syndicalism' is just a curio with an aurally pleasing arrangement of syllables, and the radical transformative potential does not tangibly exceed that of Billie's 'Because We Want To'.

Perhaps the best-known lyrical use of 'anarchy' is the Sex Pistols' 1976 single 'Anarchy in the UK' (EMI, 1976), and indeed, punk is amongst the musical genres with the widest and deepest connections to anarchism. However, even here, the expression of anarchism is decidedly vague – in the opening lines of the first verse, the pronunciation of 'anarchist' is mangled to rhyme with 'anti-christ', and the closing lines identify the task of an 'anarchist' as 'Get Pissed, Destroy'. The musical impetus of constructing rhymes is, for most musicians, a more important concern than providing an accurate portrayal of a political philosophy (and there is no expectation that it should be otherwise), but in terms of production and distribution, the single version of 'Anarchy in the UK' was released on major label EMI, and the album version (on Never Mind the Bollocks, Here's the Sex Pistols (Virgin, 1977)) was released on Virgin, both now subsumed under Universal Music Group. It would be easy to write off the Sex Pistols' 'anarchy' as just empty posturing, engineered by manager Malcolm McLaren to sell more trousers from his overpriced Kings Road shop and ultimately profiting the corporate music industry, but it had an undeniably substantial impact, and was an important influence behind the explosion of DIY punk bands, including many which were (and are) explicitly anarchist. Penny Rimbaud, co-founder of anarcho-punk progenitors Crass, exemplifies this:

> I first heard the Sex Pistols 'Anarchy in the UK' [with Steve Ignorant] … and although we both felt that the Pistols probably didn't mean it, to us it was a battle cry. When Johnny Rotten proclaimed that there was 'no future', we saw it as a challenge. We both knew that there was a future if we were prepared to fight for it. It was our world and it had been stolen from us. We set out to demand it back.
>
> *(Rimbaud, 1998: 216)*

Despite remaining firmly within mainstream, corporate production practices, the Sex Pistols' 'accidentally' radical transformative potential was realised in the subsequent development of a fiercely politically committed anarchist punk underground, which has spread globally and thrives to this day. While 'anarchist music' that is produced and distributed through non-anarchist production processes is still deeply problematic, the fact that it contains at least some radical transformative potential cannot be ignored – and this applies to Billie, the Beatles and Carne Cruda, as well as the Sex Pistols. As Steven Taylor argues (and as the example of the Sex Pistols appears to confirm): 'the commodification of an original artefact may dilute the impact of the pure product, but it doesn't render it meaningless. Given wide distribution, a particular commodity may inform and influence the mass culture' (2003: 13). Taylor's comment is arguably even more salient in the case of bands and musicians who emerged from DIY and anarchist-engaged music scenes, but 'sold out' to major labels and corporate production processes. 'Anarchist bands' such as Chumbawamba (who signed to EMI in 1997) or Against Me! (who signed to Warner Music Group imprint, Sire, in

2005, having previously signed to Fat Wreck Chords, which was distributed by Sony BMG, in 2003) can reasonably be argued to have 'diluted their impact' as a result of 'selling out', but any new fans acquired in their foray into the corporate music industry are also likely to encounter their previous DIY output as a result, and with it an exposure to the DIY anarchist music scene from which these 'sellouts' emerged. They act as a form of gateway from mainstream commercial culture into alternative, underground culture – and this relationship highlights a key point: cultures of resistance stand in opposition to mainstream capitalist culture but they are not isolated from it.

However, this is not to say that underground and DIY cultural communities are grateful to sellouts for bringing increased exposure to their music scenes – far from it. Todd Taylor of *Razorcake* zine writes that 'every artist from Hole to Rage Against The Machine who said they were going to bring the machine down from the inside … lied or [was] delusional. The machine has paid them well and they've since shut their fuckin' mouths about toppling the industry' (in *Razorcake* #39, quoted in Dunn, 2012: 234). Sandra Jeppesen also recognises engagement with the corporate music industry as fatal to music's radical transformative potential, arguing that the influence of 'corporate production or control … be[ing] co-opted or recuperated by the mainstream … takes the powerful message out of punk (or anarchism, protest, hip-hop etc.) and sells it back to people, emptied of its former meaning' (2011: 29). The perceived sell-outs by 'anarchist bands' such as Chumbawamba and Against Me! were met with repercussions from the DIY community. Chumbawamba member Boff Whalley writes that

> The history of anti-Chumbawamba rhetoric from self-described anarchists would fill half my house … Sell outs! How dare you claim to be anarchists and yet participate in the consumerist commodification of art! There's even an EP[19] of songs available about the band featuring songs with choruses of 'Chumbawamba, you're shit!'
>
> *(In O'Guérin, 2012: 80)*

Against Me! signed to major label imprint Sire records in 2005, but it was signing to Fat Wreck in 2003 (from the independent label No Idea) that sparked the fiercest reaction. According to Against Me!'s singer, Laura-Jane, *MaximumRockNRoll* columnist Bill Florio called on the band's fans to:

> come to the shows and pour bleach on our T-shirts and merch – just this insane ranting and raving in his columns, saying that we were the fucking devil … While we were playing, [someone went] out and slashed our tyres. They weren't even trying to hide it that they did it. They were just like, 'Yeah, we fucking slashed your tires [*sic*], you fucking sellouts'.
>
> *(Nguyen, 2007)*

Whatever the arguments around the degree to which these bands 'sold out', or the imagined consequences of doing so, the visceral reaction from their former DIY music communities makes a clear point – sellouts are not tolerated. DIY represents an alternative economy, organised along ethics and values distinct from the mainstream corporate/capitalist industry, and as Alan O'Connor notes,

> If successful bands simply leave this underground for the major labels the autonomy of the entire field is weakened. Imagine if these bands instead used their popularity to

> strengthen independent labels and their distributors, independent promoters and community space, zines and the whole punk underground.
>
> *(O'Connor, 2008: 24)*

The 'alternative economy' represented by DIY is damaged when participants sell out – which explains why 'selling out' is viewed so negatively, despite the potential to take their radical message to a wider audience.

So, in terms of 'accidentally' anarchist music, it is impossible to write off at least a degree of radical transformative potential. This is seriously problematised by the underlying non-anarchist production processes and distribution networks – this point is made starkly in the case of 'anarchist musicians' who sell out, where the impact of music that actually *has* anarchist intent behind it is diminished and undermined by mainstream capitalist production.

## DIY (Do It Yourself)

The issues around selling out demonstrate that production and distribution are key concerns in any analysis of the radical transformative potential of 'anarchist music'. Tim Yohannan (1945–98), founder and long-time editor of influential DIY punk zine *MaximumRockNRoll*, argued that '[i]n the long run … what's important about punk is not the lyrics, what people say, but what *they do*' (interviewed by Turner, in Sakolsky and Ho (eds.), 1995: 181), Kevin Dunn quotes Walter Benjamin[20] to make a similar point:

> What matters … is the exemplary character of production, which is able, first, to induce other producers to produce, and, second, to put an improved apparatus at their disposal. And this apparatus is better, the more consumers it is able to turn into producers – that is, readers or spectators into collaborators.
>
> *(Benjamin, 1934: 777, in Dunn, 2012: 234)*

Dunn (2012: 234) therefore argues that '*being* DIY and independent is far more effective than *talking* about being DIY and independent. It is a form of cultural production that can turn passive consumers into producers in their own right'. So DIY is transformative in its capacity to expand the field of DIY production, at the expense of mainstream capitalist production.

DIY ethics and production are recognised as transformative by anarchists too, and this extends far beyond the realm of music production. As anarchist historian George Woodcock (1912–95) put it, '"Do-it-yourself" is … the essence of anarchist action, and the more people apply it on every level, in education, in the workplace, in the family, the more ineffective restrictive structures will become and the more dependence will be replaced by individual and collective self-reliance' (Woodcock, 1986: 421). More DIY production means less corporate capitalist production and less State control, and in this respect, DIY is oppositional and radically transformative.

Bound up with the contention around culture and anarchism discussed earlier, DIY is often associated with 'lifestylist' anarchisms. This is an oversimplified and sectarian view, and an emphasis on DIY in fact extends across the spectrum of anarchist political perspectives. Among those who might be identified as 'lifestylist', George McKay (1998: 14) argues that 'DiY's most consistent historical and theoretical antecedents lie in anarchist thought and practice', while Portwood-Stacer (2013: 31) notes: 'The DIY principle can be, and is, applied to almost everything anarchists consume'. DIY is also reflected in the anarchist mutualism/co-operativism advocated by the likes of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon,[21] or, more recently, Colin

Ward,[22] and Sean Martin-Iverson identifies 'autonomous "Do-It-Yourself" forms of cultural production [as] a *prefigurative* politics of praxis, as workers struggling against the imposition of work' (Martin-Iverson, 2014: 10). DIY extends beyond typically 'lifestylist' perspectives to also find expression in anarchisms which are at the furthest remove from 'lifestylism', for example in anarcho-syndicalist and labour union strategies. Jack Kirkpatrick describes the Industrial Workers of the World[23] as a 'scrappy little *DIY* union' (in Ness (ed.), 2014: 246) and Geoffrey Ostergaard (1963) describes the anarcho-syndicalist implementation of direct action as a 'grass-roots, *do-it-yourself* kind of action' (in Ward, 1987: 141).

So, DIY clearly has a grounding in anarchism and this extends across the spectrum of anarchist political perspectives, but, as in the previous section, it is informative to analyse DIY music forms in terms of their radical transformative potential, or even the extent to which they embody an *already achieved* radical transformation.

Invoking a classic revolutionary socialist demand, CrimethInc. (2006: 3) exhort their readers to 'seiz[e] all the means of production you can get your hands on', but CrimethInc. elsewhere (2008: 113) challenge the materialist assumptions behind this demand by asserting that '*culture* is the ultimate means of production, the one that produces human life itself … it can be seized and shared like any other!' In terms of seizing the means of production and distribution of music, DIY practitioners have achieved *some* success. Ballinger argues that '[d]evelopments in music technology and mass communications have … facilitated networks of alternative music like rap and punk, and create the potential for a transnational oppositional culture' (in Sakolsky and Ho (eds.), 1995: 19). CrimethInc., who themselves emerged from the anarchist punk scene, argue that this oppositional culture extends into production as well: 'Underground punk bands released their own records and established their own venues, *setting up an alternative economy* based on "do-it-yourself" networks and anticapitalist values' (2011: 325). These 'anti-capitalist' values are chiefly expressed (and are evaluable) in two related ways. Firstly, DIY music producers are concerned with minimising price (and often eschew profit entirely) – these DIY 'business' ventures are 'a failure in commercial terms' (Thompson, 2004: 150). Charging too much money for DIY-produced commodities or events invites an accusation of 'selling out' just as much as actual engagement with corporate industry. Secondly, DIY production is viewed as 'a passion rather than a job' (O'Connor, 2008: 80) which establishes a 'challenge to alienated labour' (Martin-Iverson, draft c. 2014: 11), which Martin-Iverson marks as an 'especially' important aspect to being genuinely DIY (draft c. 2014: 10). The concept of 'alienated labour' comes from Marxist theory, and argues that a core aspect of capitalism is the separation of the producer from the products of their labour. This is related to profit, since if a DIY producer is not making money, they are unable to pay others to produce on their behalf, and they are unable to 'take a cut' or cream off the profit, as would be the case in the 'normal' terms of economic exploitation in capitalist production. So, DIY practice means that the producers themselves engage in unalienated labour and are directly connected to their product, and, further, means that DIY producers cannot *employ* alienated labour.

In punk, and other DIY music scenes, these non-capitalist production practices are recognised as being explicitly oppositional and *anti*-capitalist. As Thompson notes, 'the corporate music industry stands in for the whole of capitalism, for it is when they confront the major labels' business practices, music, and bands that punks best understand themselves as opposed to capitalism' (2004: 4). Through these anti-capitalist modes of production and distribution (by minimising or eschewing profit, and rejecting alienated labour), and by establishing their own networks of commodity exchange, DIY music forms represent a form of 'anarchy in action'. Thompson points to the prefigurative aspect of DIY punk, in which

he identifies 'the seeds of a society in which collectives own the means of production and produce for non-commercial ends' (2004: 78), or to quote the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), they are 'forming the new society within the shell of the old' (Brown, 1990: 19).

However, this DIY production remains largely at the level of representation – it is not easy to sidestep the totalising influence of capitalist social relations, and this limits the successes of DIY production. The independent networks and alternative economies created through DIY music production and distribution are not isolated from the wider capitalist economy. Despite the fringe successes of DIY networks, the means of production and distribution are still in capitalist hands, producing for profit rather than to meet social needs. To evade this would mean either producing no commodities whatsoever (as might be observed in folk music's emphasis on direct communication and non-commercialism), or seizing *all* means of production, in a way that penetrates vertically downwards through the economy – for music production, this would include the oil rigs which extract the raw materials for vinyl records and plastic CDs and tapes, the oil refineries, the delivery trucks (and then also the raw materials and factories to build the delivery trucks) and so on up (and across) the production chain until an entirely 'vertically integrated' DIY economy could be realised, independent from capitalist production.

Because DIY networks are inescapably connected to capitalist production, DIY producers cannot evade the alienated labour carried in the overhead costs of their 'punk businesses', despite attempts to distance themselves from profit. Even if a DIY producer keeps prices to an absolute minimum, making zero profit, with no price markup whatsoever, they are still passing on the alienated (exploited) labour contained in the price of everything sourced from the non-DIY economy. The vinyl for records, the sound system for a gig, the paper for advertising material, the delivery companies, the computer manufacturers and Internet providers – these are all (at present) non-DIY, and all entail alienated labour and profit. If DIY producers were to sell commodities at a loss or give them away for free, this *still* would not fully negate the profit of non-DIY producers and the alienated labour they employ, since the loss would inevitably have to be paid for by the DIY producer themselves, which in all likelihood would be money from a 'day job' engaged in alienated labour. The taint of capitalist production can be passed on, but not eliminated.

The marginality of DIY's successes in taking over the means of production means that, as A. K. Thompson notes: 'DIY ethics must come to terms with the fact that – at present – it primarily represents people's *intention* to become direct producers. In truth, most of what actually gets "produced" remains representational in character' (2010: 22). Stacy Thompson concurs that 'the economic practices of [DIY punk do not] … fully succeed, if success means a complete, if local or temporary, overthrow of the capitalist mode of production' (2004: 81–82). Fredy Perlman[24] writes that the kind of anti-capitalist production represented by DIY: 'can *only* [be done] marginally; men's [*sic*] appropriation and use of the materials and tools available to them can only take place after the overthrow of the capitalist form of activity' (2002: 11). Hubert Lagardelle,[25] from a revolutionary-syndicalist perspective, recognises the essential weakness of economic resistance which remains at the margins of capitalism: 'it is only by seizing the instruments of labour, by making itself the *exclusive* owner of the factories, workshops, etc., that [the working class] will assure its emancipation' (2011: n.p.). A recognition of DIY's limitations is not to say that DIY is not worthwhile or transformative – it prefiguratively points to alternative economies, and to some degree embodies this alternative, while providing a material infrastructure for cultures of resistance, as will be discussed later.

However, more than simply being limited in its opposition to capitalism, it has been argued that DIY production practices in fact bolster capitalism. William K. Carroll and Matthew Greeno (in Fisher (ed.), 2013: 123) write that rather than challenging capitalism, DIY music subcultures merely supply more markets and consumers: 'Each subculture and identity group offers a niche market to corporate capital. As market principles invade culture they absorb and commodify the voices of subjugated groups within the chain of production and consumption'. Martin-Iverson points to the pervasiveness of capitalist social relations in the Indonesian punk scene, arguing that '[w]ith the growing commercialisation of the scene, punk autonomy has been harnessed to a neoliberal, entrepreneurial independence which reproduces precariousness and class exploitation within the scene' (draft c. 2014: 6). DIY, especially when it fails to eschew profit and alienated labour, reproduces capitalist social relations – these producers *become capitalists*. As CrimethInc. (2011: 88) put it: 'like the magnate in miniature … [they] ha[ve] to internalise the logic of the market, taking its pressures and values to heart'. Tom Frank (in Sakolsky and Ho (eds.), 1995: 111) argues that 'rebel ideology … has fuelled business culture ever since the 1960s … [a] long, silly parade of "countercultural" entrepreneurship'. So, it is possible for DIY to be co-opted into a neo-liberal capitalist framework, especially in the subjectivity of small-scale entrepreneurs. In this view, an apparently anarchistic production practice is no more immune from capitalist co-optation than the anarchistic aesthetics discussed earlier. But, in the final evaluation, Martin-Iverson (draft c. 2014: 10) argues that 'DIY production is a form of anarchist prefigurative politics, aimed at the *active production of alternative social values* rather than simply making demands or expressing opposition'. Despite its limitations and vulnerabilities, DIY is essentially radical and transformative. McKay (1998: 27) is insightful when he comments: 'maybe we should be talking less of Do it Yourself than Do it *Ourselves*'. This shift from individualised to cooperative production is key to resisting capitalist co-optation and expanding the field of DIY production.

So, 'accidentally' anarchist music was argued to be seriously problematised by its underlying production processes – but even production practices like DIY, which are understood as anarchistic, are limited and an evaluation of DIY as 'anarchist music' is not straightforward. As suggested earlier, DIY production and anarchistic aesthetics are most clearly evaluable as 'anarchist music' when tied to anarchist political philosophy, and this is observable in anarchist cultures of resistance.

## Cultures of Resistance

Examples of music forms which emanate from the anarchist movement include: the samba bands and drum corps that feature at protests; the sound systems that thump late into the night at squat parties or are loaded onto specially welded bikes for Critical Mass rides; gigs and records which raise funds for anarchist causes such as prisoner support, Food Not Bombs, and specific anarchist campaigns, groups and unions; music events which provide the social setting for activists to meet, relax, talk and (of course) dance. Echoing the Emma Goldman quote near the start of the chapter, Earth First! and IWW organiser Judi Bari (1949–97) argued that, 'as an individual, music enriches your life. So, if a movement is going to go anywhere, there has to be some joy in it. It has to be something people want to do' (interviewed by Sakolsky in Sakolsky and Ho (eds.), 1995: 173). But music is more than just the backing-track to the anarchist movement; it is the vibrant cultural glue that holds the movement together. As Bari puts it, 'a movement that's held together with music is way stronger, it's going to survive a lot more, inspire people a lot more' (interviewed by Sakolsky in Sakolsky and Ho (eds.), 1995: 173). This isn't to say that a musical or cultural focus replaces

the multifaceted aspects of struggle for social transformation – but it does augment them. Music is an important part of *cultures of resistance* – and taking 'culture' in its narrow interpretation, as discussed earlier, it can be argued that many music forms are themselves a form of resistance culture.

However, there is a sense that culture is *not* 'political' (and certainly not 'Politics' or politicking) – this is at the root of dismissals of culture by some anarchists, but is also recognised by those attuned to culture's radically transformative role. Discussing DIY and culturally active groups in *Anarchy in Action*, Colin Ward points out that

> None of them fits into the framework of conventional politics. In fact, they don't speak the same language as political parties. They talk in the language of anarchism and they insist on anarchist principles of organisation, which they have learned not only from political theory but from their own experience.
>
> *(Ward, 1996 [1973]: 137–8)*

As Steven Duncombe (1997: 175) puts it, 'the politics of culture never announce themselves as political … the politics expressed within and through culture become part of us, get under our skin, and become part of our "common sense"'. This 'unannounced' aspect is key to the radical transformative potential in cultures of resistance – the transformation of 'common sense' arguably has a more fundamental impact in society than shifts in mere 'politics' or 'economics'. Class War makes this very point: 'We believe that our ideas must become part of peoples everyday lives, not just a reaction to a hostile economic, social or political environment' (*Class War*, c. 1991: n.p.).

The building of cultures of resistance is expressly argued as a core strategy by numerous writers and activist groups from a range of anarchist perspectives. But as CrimethInc. (2011: 323) warn, 'culture can appear "different" and even oppositional without actually challenging capitalism at all'; so, *resistance* stands as a crucial and defining aspect of anarchist cultural activity and organising. These cultures are 'resisting' against the dominant culture (or intersecting cultures) of bourgeois capitalism, patriarchy, racism, heterosexism, statism, nationalism (etc. *ad nauseam*). This widely ranging resistance is evident specifically within music as well, for example CamBagMag's songbook *Four Chord Revolution. Songs of Protest. Sing n Fling with chord diagrams* (1987) covers a whole range of issues including squatting, solidarity with South African and Namibian prisoners, Nicaragua, apartheid, the Diggers, anti-Thatcher, asbestos, anti-cops, anti-McDonald's, and is accompanied by information and links to numerous anarchist groups and campaigns, including *Black Flag*, Class War, Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, Direct Action [probably indicating the Direct Action Movement], West Midlands Hunt Saboteurs and Anarchist Communist Federation. Class War are explicit about this oppositional aspect of cultural resistance: 'Capitalists dominate and control most forms of cultural production … and recreate popular cultural activities infected with THEIR ideology. Because of this an essential part of revolutionary politics is to develop a revolutionary culture of resistance' (*Class War* no. 47, c. 1991: n.p.). And, for Class War, this opposition must be unerringly confrontational and uncompromising – cultures of resistance must make 'demands that the ruling class cannot even contemplate, let alone fulfil' (Class War Federation, 1992: 76). Similarly to Reich's identification of an *already* anti-capitalist folk music tradition, Class War views it as 'essential to promote and strengthen the working class culture that *already exists*' (Class War Federation, 1992: 76), and again, a similar argument is made by Bookchin (1995: 21), who celebrates 'the rich *culture* that was created by revolutionaries over the past centuries, indeed by ordinary working people'. Ballinger points

to these same oppositional, resistant and culturally constructive aspects in music specifically, asserting that 'oppositional music practices not only act as a form of resistance against domination, but generate social relationships and experience which can form the basis of a new cultural sensibility and, in fact, are involved in *the struggle for a new culture*' (in Sakolsky and Ho (eds.), 1995: 14).

An oft-cited example of music in the anarchist movement is found in the IWW.[26] Daniel O'Guérin (2012: 3–4) discusses the IWW's 'tradition of folk songs and poems that aroused solidarity among workers in struggle or kept their stories alive around the camp fire'. Bari identifies this instrumental aspect of music, describing it as 'a really good organising tool. It gives the whole thing a kind of spirit; it really fuels the movement in a lot of ways' (interviewed by Sakolsky in Sakolsky and Ho (eds.), 1995: 173). In this vein, Class War sought to instrumentalise music in their 'Rock Against The Rich' gigs and tours of the late 1980s and mid-2010s. Their rationale was based on a belief that rock music could 'be a force in bringing people together for organised resistance' (*Class War* c. 1988: n.p.). So in addition to individual enjoyment and social cohesion, music also plays a practical role in cultures of resistance. These cultures serve as a bedrock from which more specifically focused resistance movements can spring. As CrimethInc. (2009: 74) argue, 'A sustainable space that nurtures long-term communities of resistance can ultimately contribute more to militant struggle than the sort of impatient insurrectionism that starts with confrontation rather than building to it'. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the CNT in Barcelona in the early 1900s provides a historical example of this function of resistance cultures.

However, anarchist cultures of resistance are distinct from Gramscian or autonomous Marxist counter-hegemonic projects, because the point is not to replace the dominant culture (or cultures) with a *new* dominant culture. As CrimethInc. (2006: 17) put it, 'radicals should never conflate offering paths to liberation with promoting their own subcultures. It should never appear that, like those who speak of converting the masses, our goal is to assimilate everyone else'. Portwood-Stacer (2013: 63) quotes Adam Tinnell, who in an 'anarchist fashion' blog argues that

> With such a diverse politic as anarchism, being interpreted and enacted in thousands of different cultures around the world, not to mention the contributions of anarcha-feminism and queer anarchism, it's totally unacceptable to let one or two subcultures dominate the look and the feel of this movement.
>
> *(Tinnell, 2009)*

However, while music and culture are *necessary* aspects of radically transformative or revolutionary struggle, and may in some respects be prior to other forms of struggle, this is not to say they are pre-eminent or sufficient in isolation. As Nawrocki puts it (in O'Guérin (ed.), 2012: 67), 'rock 'n roll, anarcho or not, just isn't revolution. We always saw our daily work, our cultural contribution, as only a small part of the equation'. Cultures of resistance cease to be effectively oppositional when they become 'anarcho-ghettos' into which activists recede. As in the discussion of DIY, earlier, an attachment to anarchist political philosophy is essential in maintaining the resistant and radically transformative aspects of cultures of resistance.

## Conclusion

In writing this chapter on 'anarchist music', there was a temptation to proffer a list of music forms which 'qualify' as anarchist. However, any such list would have been severely skewed by

my own aesthetic preferences, and by the music forms to which I have been exposed. I am in no position (and nor is anyone) to prescribe what music people should enjoy making or listening to.

Rather, this chapter has sought to explore possible frames of evaluation behind the complex question: 'what is anarchist music?' The key interrogation here has been the potential for, or realisation of, *radical transformation*. This interrogation of radical transformative potential has been applied to 'anarchist music' in terms of 'anarchist' aesthetics, 'anarchist' lyrics, 'anarchist' DIY production practices and 'anarchist' cultures of resistance. This has not been to present a static definition of what constitutes 'anarchist music', but to present an evaluation which teases out some of the key issues in the relationship between anarchism and music, and between anarchism and culture more widely.

It is hoped that this chapter might influence the reader's own evaluation of 'anarchist music' in terms of music consumption *and* music-making – but for an immersive and engaged evaluation, the surest approach is to Do It Yourself.

## Notes

1 Emma Goldman (1869–1940) was an anarchist activist famous for her fiery orations. Much of her activist 'career' was in the US, but she was also a first-hand witness of the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 and the Spanish Revolution in 1936. Her writings have been influential in the anarchist and feminist movements. A useful introductory text is *Anarchism and Other Essays* (London: Active Distribution, Zagreb: Što čitaš, 2014 [1910]), which includes a brief autobiography and includes several key writings – available free at: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/emma-goldman-anarchism-and-other-essays [accessed 22 October 2016].

2 Revolutionary agency refers to the idea that social change must occur concurrently with a change in the mindsets of the individuals that make up that society. See, for example, the writings of Gustav Landauer (1870–1919), such as *Revolution and Other Writings: a Political Reader* ed. and trans. Gabriel Kuhn, (Oakland: PM Press, 2010), available free at: https://libcom.org/files/Landauer_Revolution_and_Other_Writings.pdf [accessed 22 October 2016].

3 Rudolf Rocker (1873–1958) was an anarchist writer and activist. Forced to leave Germany in the 1930s because of the rise of Nazism, he was involved in organising Yiddish-speaking tailors in the East End of London, and eventually made his way to the US. Among his most popular writings is *Anarcho-syndicalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1989 [1938]), available free at: https://libcom.org/files/Rocker%20-%20Anarcho-Syndicalism%20Theory%20and%20Practice.pdf [accessed 22 October 2016].

4 Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) was a Marxist and founder of the Communist Party of Italy. An excellent introduction to his key concepts can be found in Roger Simon, *Gramsci's Political Thought: an introduction* 3rd edn. (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 2015).

5 See especially Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books, 1994) [1967], available free at: www.antiworld.se/project/references/texts/The_Society%20_Of%20_The%20_Spectacle.pdf [accessed 22 October 2016].

6 Murray Bookchin (1921–2006) was an anarchist writer based in the US. His early work developed key contemporary themes such as 'social ecology' but late in his life, he moved away from anarchism to espouse ideas under the rubric of 'libertarian municipalism' (see *Social Ecology and Communalism* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007)), which has found contemporary resonance with revolutionary groups in the Kurdish region of Rojava (see Abdullah Öcalan, *Democratic Confederalism* (Cologne: International Initiative, 2011), Can Cemgil and Clemens Hoffmann, 'The "Rojava Revolution" in Syrian Kurdistan: A Model of Development for the Middle East?' *IDS Bulletin*, 47:3 (2016), 53–76, and Yagmur Savran, 'The Rojava Revolution and British Solidarity', *Anarchist Studies*, 24:1 (2016), 7–12).

7 The Class War Federation is an anarchist activist group that formed in the UK in 1986, though the *Class War* newspaper was first published in 1982 as a way to expose politicised punks to class-struggle anarchism. Their most recent incarnation is the Class War Party, which fielded candidates (albeit subversively) in the 2015 UK General Election. See: www.classwarparty.org.uk/ [accessed 22 October 2016].

8 The CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' collective is a loose collection of anarchist activists, writers and propagandists, primarily based in the US, which emerged from the punk scene in the 1990s.
9 *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* or National Confederation of Labour, a prominent anarcho-syndicalist union founded in 1910, which, though banned by Franco during the Fascist dictatorship, remains active. See: www.cnt.es/ [accessed 22 October 2016].
10 Albert Meltzer (1920–96) was an anarchist activist in Britain, and co-founder of *Black Flag* newspaper and the Kate Sharpley library and publisher.
11 For example, Bookchin is notorious for his anti-lifestylist polemic, and Meltzer and Class War have also been outspoken against lifestylism, while Portwood-Stacer defends 'lifestyle activism' and CrimethInc. are frequently identified by detractors as lifestylists – yet in terms of culture, there is broad agreement (even if they would be wont to admit the similarity).
12 Wilhelm Reich (1987–57) was born in Austria, but moved to the US to escape Nazism, and was a pioneering psychoanalyst, especially in the field of sexual liberation. He also wrote on political themes from a Freudian–Marxist perspective.
13 For more on some of the numerous manifestations of anarchist culture, see: Jesse Cohn, *Underground Passages: Anarchist Resistance Culture, 1848–2011*, (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2014).
14 To aid the reader's own exploration of 'anarchist music', some music forms commonly associated with anarchism include: folk, hip-hop, punk, hardcore, ska, reggae, Oi!, grindcore, death metal, dance music forms (such as grime, dub-step, rave and techno), jazz, avant-garde/classical, pop, samba, Greek rebetiko, Mexican corridos, Krautrock.
15 Latterly distributed by RCA and currently owned and distributed by Sony Music Entertainment.
16 The UK arm of Universal Music Group, based in Milton Keynes (MK).
17 www.youtube.com/watch?v=KrkwgTBrW78.
18 In the case of YouTube, 'free' content is paid for with reams of advertising – effectively selling your attention to corporate companies.
19 The record in question is titled *Bare Faced Hypocrisy Sells Records/The Anti-Chumbawamba EP* (Ruptured Ambitions, Propa Git, 1998).
20 Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) was associated with the Frankfurt School philosophers, who took an unorthodox approach to Marxism, and were especially concerned with cultural issues. Benjamin died while trying to escape the Nazis.
21 Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) was the first self-described anarchist political philosopher.
22 Colin Ward (1924–2010) emphasised the already existing anarchy observable in activities such as squatting and many other aspects of life which are organised away from the interference of the State or corporate capitalism. See: Colin Ward, *Anarchy in Action* (London: Freedom Press 1996 [1973]), available free at: https://libcom.org/files/Ward_-_Anarchy_in_Action_3.pdf [accessed 24 October 2016].
23 The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or 'Wobblies') is a union founded in the US in 1905, which has many commonalities with anarcho-syndicalism, and counts many anarchists as members. See: https://www.iww.org/ [accessed 24 October 2016].
24 Fredy Perlman (1934–85) was an author, lecturer and IWW member. While he did not describe himself as an anarchist, his writings have been influential in anarchist circles, especially *Against His-story, Against Leviathan* (1983), available free at: https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/fredy-perlman-against-his-story-against-leviathan [accessed 24 October 2016].
25 Hubert Lagardelle (1874–1958) was an early proponent of revolutionary-syndicalism, which was a forerunner of what is now known as anarcho-syndicalism. However, he later became a fascist sympathiser and took a post in the Vichy government in France during the Second World War.
26 A digital transfer of a 1954 record of IWW songs is available free at: https://archive.org/details/SongsOfTheWobblies [accessed 24 October 2016].

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