

5-2016

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Recommended Citation

Woodcock, Alexis M., "Anarchism in Book Publishing: An Exploration of Business and Ethics" (2016). *Book Publishing Final Research Paper*. 13.

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Anarchism in Book Publishing:
An Exploration of Business and Ethics

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May 10, 2016

Research Question: How do anarchist publishers reconcile their businesses with their ideals?

Introduction

The term *anarchist business* may seem like an oxymoron to some. In fact, the misconception that anarchism precludes any organization at all is rampant, regardless of participation in capitalism. The fact remains that there are anarchist businesses all over, from restaurants to bookstores to record labels, engaging in capitalism while simultaneously opposing it. Publishing is an area of particular interest, with a number of explicitly anarchist presses actually thriving. How do they reconcile their businesses with their ideals? Does their work contradict their ideologies?

What is anarchism?

Perhaps the most useful place to start is in defining what anarchism is and isn't. One pamphlet from See Sharp Press gives a concise summary to this end, beginning with the negations.

According to the author, Chaz Bufe, anarchism is not the following: terrorism, which is rejected by most as highly unethical and impractical; primitivism, which is a separate ideology that is also rejected by most as unethical and impractical; chaos or a rejection of organization, which is a complete misconception; amoral egotism, which is a toxic ideology that often masquerades as anarchism but isn't; or libertarianism as defined by the US political party, which has little to do with historical uses of the term. Detractors of a rigidly pacifist persuasion might contend that certain forms of direct action, especially those that damage property, qualify as terrorism, but most anarchists would likely argue that there is a distinction to be made between non-defensive violence against people and violence against inanimate objects.

A 2011 article in the *Guardian* professes a similar negation of the common usage. According to author David Goodway, "Anarchists disdain the customary use of 'anarchy' to mean 'chaos' or 'complete disorder.'" Similarly, section A.1.1 of infoshop.org's Anarchist FAQ

includes the following pronouncement: “To state the obvious, anarchy does not mean chaos nor do anarchists seek to create chaos or disorder.” But if this common usage of the term is mistaken, what sort of ideology do anarchists actually espouse?

According to the Anarchist FAQ, anarchism is “a political theory which aims to create a society within which individuals freely cooperate together as equals. As such anarchism opposes all forms of hierarchical control—be that control by the state or a capitalist—as harmful to the individual and their individuality as well as unnecessary.” L. Susan Brown writes in *The Politics of Individualism*, “Anarchists oppose the idea that power and domination are necessary for society, and instead advocate more co-operative, anti-hierarchical forms of social, political and economic organisation” (1993, 109). In their letters, Sacco and Vanzetti wrote that anarchists are “the radical of the radical—the black cats, the terrors of many, of all the bigots, exploiters, charlatans, fakers and oppressors. Consequently we are also the more slandered, misrepresented, misunderstood, and persecuted of all” (1928, 274).

The Kate Sharpley Library has an archived page offering Stuart Christie’s definition of anarchism, including the following text:

Anarchism is the movement for social justice through freedom. It is concrete, democratic and egalitarian. . . . Anarchism promotes mutual aid, harmony and human solidarity, to achieve a free, classless society—a cooperative commonwealth. . . . In an anarchist society, mutually respectful sovereign individuals would be organised in non-coercive relationships within naturally defined communities in which the means of production and distribution are held in common. . . . We are well aware that a perfect society cannot be won tomorrow. . . . However, it is the vision that provides the spur to struggle against things as they are, and for things that might be.

To return to the previously cited article from the *Guardian*, Goodway states that anarchism

signifies the absence of a ruler or rulers, a self-managed society, usually resembling the co-operative commonwealth that most socialists have traditionally

sought, and more highly organised than the disorganisation and chaos of the present. An anarchist society would be more ordered because the political theory of anarchism advocates organisation from the bottom up with the federation of the self-governed entities—as opposed to order being imposed from the top down upon resisting individuals or groups.

He goes on to detail its history as a workers' movement; the ideology's first published naming as anarchism by Proudhon in his 1840 work *What is Property?*, in which he calls himself an anarchist and “a firm friend of order”; its diversity in the particulars of the ideology; and the perhaps growing number of what he calls “natural anarchists,” people who haven't identified themselves with the word but “think and behave in significantly anarchist ways.”

Anarchism & Capitalism

Despite the emergence of “anarcho”-capitalist ideologies (the inclusion of scare quotes being the most common manner of reference), a brief study of the core tenets of anarchism as an ideology show it to be in direct opposition to capitalism. As a result, “anarcho”-capitalists are scorned by the vast majority of anarchist communities—while their anti-state leanings seem superficially to place them under the anarchist umbrella using the dictionary definition, anarchism is in fact a complex political theory that is very explicit in its opposition to all hierarchy, including those inherent in capitalism. As the Anarchist FAQ puts it in section F.1, “Opposition to government is a necessary but not sufficient condition for being an anarchist Even a superficial glance at anarchist theory and history shows that no anarchist limited their critique of society simply at the state.” The passage goes on to point out that “anarcho”-capitalists “are not against authority, hierarchy, or the state—they simply want to privatise them.” According to the FAQ, many libertarians take on this position, this label, and some eventually take it to its logical conclusion, which is essentially that of a competitive monarchy.

Even using the dictionary alone to define it, breaking down the word *anarchy* to its base components still leaves one with a sense that hierarchy really is the crux of the matter rather than the state alone, and the theory has historically reflected that. According to Merriam-Webster, the origin of the word comes from the Latin *anarchia* and Greek *anarchos*, which both translate to “having no ruler.” A ruler most directly refers to a state figure, but anyone who holds power over another—legally, economically, or otherwise—can be said to be a type of ruler. In *Chomsky on Anarchism*, Noam Chomsky writes, “A consistent anarchist must oppose private ownership of the means of production and the wage slavery which is a component of this system, as incompatible with the principle that labor must be freely undertaken and under the control of the producer” (2005, 123).

All this being the case, how is it possible that anarchist publishers—not “anarcho”-capitalists, but truly anarchist publishers—can reconcile their businesses, their participation in capitalism, with the core values of their ideologies?

Anarchist publishers

There are anarchist businesses all over the world, implicitly or explicitly, and they take many forms. What they tend to have in common is the goal of embodying their ideals even while working in the undesirable framework of capitalism. They often do this by promoting mutual aid, offering safer spaces for marginalized communities, using nonhierarchical organization, and disseminating texts and resources they deem important. Though almost anyone can put together a zine, anarchist publishers are largely where the book-length texts of such ideologies come from.

Two very well-known anarchist publishers in the United States are AK Press and CrimethInc. There’s also Freedom Press, in the United Kingdom; ChristieBooks, operated solely

by the Scottish anarchist Stuart Christie; On Our Own Authority! Publishing, in Atlanta, GA; Strangers in a Tangled Wilderness, an imprint of Combustion Books; Ardent Press; Little Black Cart, in Berkeley, CA; Eberhardt Press, in Portland, OR; and Left Bank Books, in Seattle, WA. This is not an exhaustive list, and it doesn't scratch the surface on publishers who operate on anarchist principles but don't declare themselves as such (and one can easily understand why shying away from such a label might appeal to—well, anyone who really wants to be heard by a mainstream audience). It also excludes publishers who put out a great deal of anarchist material but are not explicitly anarchist presses.

Though we can fill in many blanks using academic texts, information from About pages online, and the Anarchist FAQ at infoshop.org, interview requests were sent out to many of the above presses for some direct thoughts on the matter. Four responded: ChristieBooks, On Our Own Authority! Publishing, CrimethInc., and Left Bank Books. It will be useful to briefly review some background information on each publisher before moving forward:

CHRISTIEBOOKS

The history of ChristieBooks is perhaps best reflected in the biography of Stuart Christie, who runs the press singlehandedly.

Originally from Glasgow, Scotland, Christie was born in 1946. In 1964, when he was eighteen, he was apprehended in an attempt to assassinate Francisco Franco, the Spanish dictator who, after assisting in the overthrow of Spain's republic in the Spanish Civil War, ruled Spain from 1939 (with the support of the Catholic Church and fellow dictators Hitler and Mussolini) until his death in 1975 (history.com, 2009). Initially sentenced to twenty years behind bars, Christie was released after three because of international pressure and, more officially, a letter to

Franco from Christie's mother (Campbell, 2004). Christie's bio on PM Press's website has this to say about what followed:

On his release in 1967 Christie was involved in the re-formation of the Anarchist Black Cross and the launch of the anarchist monthly Black Flag, and was later arrested and charged with seven others of being a member of the 'Angry Brigade' in what became, at the time, the longest trial in British judicial history. Acquitted on all charges at the Old Bailey trial Christie set up the anarchist publishing house Cienfuegos Press which later became Refract Publications, The Meltzer Press and what is now ChristieBooks.

In an interview for this paper, Christie described the organization as a "one-man band" that is not profit-motivated, designed to "publish books [he] think[s] are of interest to anarchists and then move on quickly to the next one."

CRIMETHINC. EX-WORKERS' COLLECTIVE

CrimethInc.'s publications include works of memoir detailing anarchist activities, musings, and adventures; how-to guides; theory and academic investigations; and examples of anarchist praxis in everyday life. Their FAQ page, with answers provided by representative Nadia C., indicates that CrimethInc. was in part the result of "a discussion among some friends about the revolutionary organization Winston joins in Orwell's *1984*. The idea came up that it was actually a branch of the government . . . and from there, we began to consider what the opposite kind of organization would be (one that purported to be a part of the culture industry that rules today, while secretly undermining it), and how to form one." This parenthetical portion is perhaps the most highly relevant part in answering the question at hand, though we'll get further into the specific answers from another representative later on.

One of this press's books, *Recipes for Disaster: An Anarchist Cookbook*, may be of particular interest because of the title's similarity to a certain work released in the 1960s.

However, this is what they had to say about that previous title on their website:

The original "Anarchist Cookbook" was not at all anarchist—not composed or released by anarchists, not derived from anarchist practice, not intended to promote freedom and autonomy or challenge repressive power—and was barely a cookbook, as the recipes in it are notoriously unreliable. At best, it was a fraud, a spoof; at worst, an attempt to undermine the legitimacy of anarchist practice, and cause readers to injure themselves.

Their iteration is of an entirely different bent: "It provides information such as how to form a cooperative bike maintenance collective, how to make use of creative media such as posters and spraypaint for free expression, and how to resist the attempts of police to break up demonstrations."

Perhaps CrimethInc.'s best-known title is *Days of War, Nights of Love: Crimethink for Beginners*. Its page on their website describes it in the following way:

At 292 heavily illustrated pages, our flagship book is the perfect size for any knapsack and the perfect reference manual for anyone seeking a life of passion and revolt. AK Press calls it "an underground bestseller." . . . This book is supposed to help you analyze and disassemble this world—what you build for yourself in its place is in your hands, although we've offered some general ideas of where to start.

ON OUR OWN AUTHORITY! PUBLISHING

Founded in 2012 in Atlanta, GA, On Our Own Authority! Publishing describes itself as "a volunteer-run autonomous research press." Their About page goes on to state the following: "Specializing in anarchist and radical literature, we publish intellectual history, social movement history, and studies of global political thought, emphasizing themes of anti-colonialism, direct democracy, and workers' self-management."

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this press is that many of their publications are not explicitly anarchist—as a representative stated in an interview conducted for this paper, “We mostly publish histories that examine the movement and direct action of freedom-seeking peoples. In our view, some of the most anarchistic social movements in history did not necessarily self-identify with anarchism. For this reason, we publish a fair amount of Pan-African studies, especially Caribbean histories.” This acknowledgement that anarchistic principles can exist and have existed around the world apart from that explicit label certainly sets them apart from many other anarchist presses, and it helpfully broadens the sometimes-narrow range of examples one can point to of anarchy in action throughout history.

LEFT BANK BOOKS

Perhaps best known as a radical bookstore in Seattle’s Pike Place Market, Left Bank Books also publishes books through its Left Bank Publishing Project. According to their About page, it was founded in 1973, “when a group of people split off from the University District’s Red and Black Books to form their own collective bookstore.” It uses bimonthly meetings to make decisions via consensus, and in the Collective 101 section of their About page, they state the following about their organization:

The core staff is composed of roughly six paid members. We are responsible for bookkeeping, invoice payment, ordering, taxes, lease negotiations, volunteer coordination, marketing, and general store maintenance. We also have approximately twenty weekly volunteers who work at the store in exchange for discounts on books, and learning how to run an independent bookstore. History as a Left Bank volunteer is required to be hired for a paid staff position.

It might be tempting to point to this sort of organization and assert that this is top-down to a degree, with the paid members holding some level of power over the continued presence of the volunteer members. However, as they state later on, “In our collective individuals are equally

empowered to make decisions related to the store.” Administrative tasks need to be delegated, and it does make sense within any collective for members to have to prove their commitment to the endeavor and earn their place—it’s also useful to have a system like that to ensure that someone who’s going to cause a lot of problems can’t just sign on and bring the entire operation to a halt at the first meeting. In other words, having a process by which potential members are added to a collective isn’t as inherently hierarchical as it might first appear, especially considering that it’s not a single person or vertical line of bosses making these decisions.

Unlike in more-traditional workplaces, in an anarchist organization, being delegated administrative tasks doesn’t equate to a single person’s absolute power over the fate of others within the organization. It can be agreed instead that certain people simply have specific responsibilities, and some organizations (usually larger ones) can even break things down into something resembling federations. The important part is that the decision-making process is bottom-up instead of top-down. This of course gets slightly more complicated in the event of a problematic member who doesn’t want to change their behavior or leave, but complicated doesn’t have to mean contradictory to the ideology.

Organization

As should be clear from the previous section, one of the most obvious differences between traditional publishers and anarchist publishers comes in the form of business organization. For example, AK Press describes their organization on their website in the following way:

We operate without a corporate structure. No boss, no managers, no bullshit. We’ve replaced hierarchy with cooperation, accountability, and responsibility of our individual members. New ideas aren’t generated by specialists in air-conditioned offices, but in open meetings—where ideas are discussed freely and a course of action is decided democratically by everyone directly affected by the decision.

This opposition to hierarchical structure seems only natural considering the core principles of anarchism, as well as why “anarcho”-capitalists are widely considered to not be anarchists at all. Similar statements were made throughout the interviews and pages consulted for the research conducted for this paper. An interviewee at Left Bank Books noted that they “don’t have a hierarchical organization at the helm. There is no CEO at the top to squash projects against the wishes of those on the bottom.” Little Black Cart’s About page details a much lengthier discussion on their organization:

Little Black Cart is entirely volunteer-run. . . . Formal consensus decision-making has been the assumption for anarchist groups for long enough for us to understand its weaknesses and the areas in which it does not work well. . . . We are actively experimenting with a different model of anarchistic decision-making. We have had enough of focusing on meetings as the main problem-solving tactic, or of forcing everyone to participate in every decision. Instead we encourage a more fluid relationship between LBC and its participants. Everyone chooses their own level of involvement and no one is asked to care about anything that they do not care about. We find this creates an environment where people can find the most fun and inspiration and where flexibility is valued over process, bureaucracy, or compulsion.

This brings up another interesting point about anarchist organizations. Consensus is certainly the most widely used method for decision making in anarchist circles. The Anarchist Library’s archived Seeds of Change page on the subject defines it in the following way:

Consensus is a decision-making process that works creatively to include all persons making the decision. Instead of simply voting for an item, and having the majority of the group getting their way, the group is committed to finding solutions that everyone can live with. This ensures that everyone’s opinions, ideas and reservations are taken into account.

It then goes on to detail the problems with majority voting, examples of places consensus has been shown to work on much larger scales than the meetings small businesses tend to have (e.g., the Zapatista movement in Mexico), and best practices to make the process work. As Little Black Cart points out, however, consensus is not without its own limitations, especially if it’s

done poorly—and it often is. What Little Black Cart describes as their process, however, really is a form of consensus decision making—it’s merely substituting “non-support” or “standing aside” votes with abstention in participation altogether on issues that do not interest specific members. All the same, it’s worth bearing in mind that, when it comes to anarchist organization and decision making, there’s more than one way to use consensus-based processes—for more information, see Seeds of Change’s full text on the issue.

A difference in goals

One less obvious but equally important point of distinction—perhaps even a definitional one—is the difference between the goals, the purposes, of anarchist publishers and traditional publishers. Traditional capitalist ventures tend to concern themselves largely with turning a profit, and while anarchist publishers could be said to be nonprofit ventures, they’re more than that. An anonymous representative from CrimethInc. had this to say on the topic:

We are not concerned with making a profit. We don’t see our efforts as business, but rather as an effort to make connections between people and communities that could increase their capacity to act autonomously in defiance of the prevailing order. We measure success according to how well we equip people—creatively, ethically, strategically, and with historical reference points—for the current struggles taking place in our society.

Left Bank Books echoed similar sentiments, stating, “I guess the biggest thing is that we don’t intend to generate a profit. All proceeds from sales of books/pamphlets are sunk back in to books/pamphlets. . . . Certainly another intention is the destruction of the capitalist system that allows traditional publishing companies to exist as they do.”

So anarchist publishing is not only not looking to turn a profit—indeed, such presses are often run by volunteers, with all the money generated going directly back into the presses—but also simultaneously striving to dismantle the very systems it’s forced to work within.

Funding

Considering that some anarchist presses are run entirely by volunteers and that these presses also tend to be nonprofit, issues of financing might pique one's interest with regard to the presses in question. Perhaps surprisingly, the anarchist presses reviewed for this paper were mostly self-sustaining. ChristieBooks was the exception in the small sampling of interviews acquired, stating, "ChristieBooks isn't self-sustaining (from revenue); if I've got money (generated by my day-job and freelance projects) to cover the print I'll do it; sometimes CB titles are funded/sponsored by generous like-minded comrades who want to see particular titles in print."

A representative from On Our Own Authority! Publishing had the following to say about their organization's funding:

Yes, for the most part, OooA! is self-sustaining. The money for the press was initially put forward in 2012 by my friend, comrade, and mentor, Dr. Modibo Kadalie. We were able use the funds raised by our first book sales to keep those initial titles in print and also start publishing other titles. This basic pattern has continued over the past four years. However, every so-often Modibo or I will use some of our personal money to help push things along. . . . We've got an extremely tight budget, but so far we've been able to make it work.

CrimethInc. has a slightly more complicated history with it, perhaps in part because of its earliest roots in zines and other free materials, but the effect is essentially the same:

Our original model, in the 1990s, was to produce as much of our material for free as possible, in order to distribute it for free. . . . Eventually, however, we were operating on a bigger scale than we could manage with those methods. We had to shift to paying for mass production. Starting in the early 2000s, we funded the printing and circulating of massive quantities of free literature with income from the sales of our books. More recently, although we continue to fund our operations chiefly through book sales, subscriptions to our journal, and the like, we also carried out a crowdfunding campaign . . . to raise funds for our most ambitious outreach project, To Change Everything, which has since appeared in 25 languages around the world.

Left Bank Books is also financially self-sustaining, though they said when interviewed that they did experiment with crowd-sourced funding with some success previously.

Other notes on anarchist publishing

To give one last bit of context before reaching the direct answers to our central question, I asked respondents whether they had any additional thoughts or notes on anarchist publishing as a whole. Two answers were particularly striking. The CrimethInc. representative traced anarchist publishing back to the early days of the printing press, discussed the importance of the spread of ideas, and commented on why print publishing might be especially important today:

Arguably, we can date a certain kind of social dissent from Gutenberg, and anarchist publishing, predominantly atheist though it is, is solidly in that tradition. . . . Ever since Proudhon set the type for one of Fourier's books as a young print-shop worker, anarchists have set considerable store by the printing press as a tool with which human consciousness—and thus the world—may be transformed. A century ago, the anarchist who smuggled books or printing plates (not bombs) across the border was a common figure. This underscores anarchists' faith that ideas, rather than force alone, can play the determinant role in the destiny of humanity, despite the attempts of authoritarian regimes to render freedom itself unthinkable; and the fact that so many anarchist printers had to work in clandestinity suggests that the authorities feared the same. Today, what was once accomplished by government censors is carried out more subtly by algorithms—for example, those that Facebook programmers use to determine which content comes to the fore. This only makes anarchist publishing more important: by deliberately utilizing an outmoded technology, we sidestep the latest methods of discourse control.

The other note came from the representative from On Our Own Authority! Publishing and detailed a fault in much of the explicitly anarchist publishing world, a large gap in the histories given attention, and discussed how their press works to break from that pattern:

Anarchist presses publish countless history books about the Paris Commune, the Spanish Civil War, the Chicago Haymarket Riot, etc. These are all very inspiring stories, and there is much to be learned from them. However, until we begin to place these historical events into conversation with other similar movements and uprisings in Africa, Asia, South America, and the Caribbean, we are not living up to our purported internationalism, nor our potential as revolutionaries. I believe strongly that we cannot build a movement against racism and colonialism while we elevate the history of the 1871 Paris Commune but ignore the 1763 Berbice Rebellion in Guyana—among many other examples. Anarchists and socialists debate endlessly over Marx, Bakunin, Kropotkin, and Bookchin, but we leave the writings of people like Joseph Edwards (a brilliant Jamaican labor activist and

philosopher) to literally rot in obscurity. So, a large part of the reason for founding OooA! was to start placing all these historical struggles and thinkers into conversation with one another.

The importance placed on the dissemination of information and ideas is a crucial piece of the puzzle at hand. Bringing awareness to anarchic systems at work throughout history and the world is also essential to anarchism in general, both for its effectiveness in combating stigma and doubt and for its offering of potential jumping-off points for creating blueprints toward a more equal future.

So how do they ultimately reconcile their ideals with their business?

With all this context in mind, how can anarchist participation in capitalism possibly make sense?

The overarching answer to this question comes down to purpose and inevitability. When capitalism is as ubiquitous as it is today, as all-consuming, when money decides who lives and dies in so many different contexts, it is arguably impossible to be effective while refusing to participate at all—in this way, participation is not only inevitable but strategic. However, it's perhaps even more important to consider that a large of part of the endgame is to destroy capitalism altogether, to use this inescapable mechanism to spread the ideas and information necessary to destroy it and create something else—perhaps not something absolutely perfect, but something better, less parasitic, less horrific. The representative from Left Bank Books had this to say specifically:

Speaking purely for myself, I don't see it too differently from pretty much every decision I have to make in my day to day life. Capitalism is all pervasive, tainting the most intimate moments of our existence. I don't think we can escape it before we destroy it, and choose to make decisions as close to my ideals as can be done, and don't punish myself for choices made under the duress of the false choices capitalism presents us. That said, we pretty exclusively publish anti-capitalist writings, and will never profit (in the strict sense of the word) from their sales.

Detractors may assert that it's a matter of the ends justifying the means, contradicting the ideology in the process, but that's a gross oversimplification at best. The means in this case are essentially inevitable, and only the minimum amount of participation is actually done to achieve the necessary result. As a CrimethInc. representative put it, "Everything we do is directed at the destruction of capitalism. It's not a matter of keeping our hands clean, but of acting effectively—obtaining enough resources to accomplish our goals as aspiring revolutionaries. Of the resources that come in, we keep nothing for ourselves." As for Stuart Christie, he asserted that he doesn't actually need to reconcile his ideals with the business or capitalism, as he doesn't consider ChristieBooks to really *be* a business, considering that it's only him and not profit-oriented.

On Our Own Authority! Publishing, however, had perhaps the most impactful and comprehensive answer of all:

I think it's important to understand and emphasize that capitalism is a global system of oppression, and therefore it's not really possible to do anything on earth today without participating in capitalism. All of our action to abolish capitalism is necessarily predicated on the idea that we live under its rule and wish to free ourselves and our communities from the tyranny of that unjust power. About one hundred years ago, the workers and "hobos" of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) contributed an essential idea to the anarchist and socialist movements. They said that we must "build the new society in the shell of the old." I'd like to think that in some small way, anarchist publishers are helping to do that. . . . Anarchist publishing and book selling is a tradition that is as old as anarchism itself. Emma Goldman, for example, published and sold books and newspapers through her own Mother Earth Press. Freedom Press in London is another great example. In Japan, the anarchist group Commoner's Society wrote or translated numerous anarchist pamphlets and operated a newspaper. These publishing houses were at various times absolutely essential to broader movements against capitalism and empire. For me, their importance as a tool for education and communication is too significant to be flippantly dismissed as a "capitalist" enterprise (although some uncomradely, "more-revolutionary-than-thou," anarchists certainly do this).

This response puts together in a relatively succinct and salient way all that's been previously discussed here, from the inevitability of capitalist participation to the goal of abolishing capitalism to the tradition of anarchist publishing throughout history.

Conclusion

Anarchist publishers reconcile their participation in capitalism with their ideals without significant difficulty, if sometimes in different ways. Capitalism is everywhere and therefore largely impossible to avoid interaction with, making justification for participation beyond that fact unnecessary for some. There's also the consideration of the typical endgame, which is to destroy all forms of hierarchy, including capitalism—commerce is simply the most effective way, given the circumstances, to get these ideas to spread. Anarchist organizational structures also tend to be significantly different from traditional capitalist ones, embodying anarchist ideals of nonhierarchical organization within the unfortunately necessary (for the moment) shell of capitalism—after all, one cannot strive for the destruction of one way of doing things without simultaneously building up and reifying another, and there's arguably something poetic to be said for using the tools of one's enemies to lay the groundwork for destroying the manifestations of their ideologies, especially when it also makes the most sense strategically.

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