UPPSALA UNIVERSITY

Department of Government

Research Paper – C-Level

Anarchy and Tradition for Radical Climate Action?

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Comparing Ecological Anarchism and Post-Development

through

Key Issues in the Radical Climate Action Debate

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Table of Contents

Introduction

In 2007, Climate Change was heaved up on the global agenda not only through the 5th IPCC report being published but also through it being dealt with as a top priority at the G8 summit in Heiligendamm, Germany.

Many of the tens of thousands protesters in the fields outside the security fence this summer in Heiligendamm will now be involved in what could be called the radical climate action movement. Kicked off in the aftermath of the Stirling protest camp in Scotland 2005, anti-globalisation activists in the UK organised the first Camp for Climate Action in 2006 at the outskirts of Drax coal-fired power station, the biggest single CO_2-emitter in the UK.[1] This might have been the birthplace of a new social movement within the wider radical anti-globalisation network. Last year, the camp then moved to Heathrow airport near London.[2] Being centred around the three pillars of "direct action", "radical ecological living on the camp" and "sustainable education", the camps aim was to create "communities of resistance" which forward the message that "governments and corporations" are the root cause of climate change themselves and hence systematically unable to deliver solutions. These solutions, it is argued have to come from the people themselves, from the bottom up, the grassroots.[3] And the movement seems to be growing. For 2008, climate action camps are planned in Australia, the United Kingdom, Germany and four so-called convergences in the United States.[4]

Besides the growth of the movement, it is an extremely diverse movement, from local supporters opposing the expansion of an airport in order to protect their homes through to ecological anarchists that demand further radical systematic changes. Hence the movements articulation towards the outside world is not void of contradictions. While some state, that the problem cannot be solved within the current paradigm of science and with "techno-fixes" the main banner displayed in the mass media reads "We are armed ... only with peer-reviewed science". At the same time, black and green flags[5] are flapping over various tents and a quote from the historical

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1   Independent Media Center. *Climate Camp 2006.* <http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/actions/2006/climatecamp/>
2   Independent Media Center. *Climate Camp 2007.* <http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/actions/2007/climatecamp/>
3   Camp for Climate Action. *A Guide to the Camp for Climate Action.* 2007. Introduction Chapter.
4   Wikipedia. *Camp for Climate Action.* <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Camp_for_Climate_Action>
5   Note: Black and Green Flags are a symbol for ecological anarchism.

anarcho-communist group called the Diggers[6] "..that words and writing were all nothing and must die, for action is the life of all, and if thou dost not act thou dost nothing" is painted upon them. The phrase "Social Change not Climate Change" demanding a social revolution and predicting the end of the growth economy echoes through the camp constantly, while NGOs offer workshops on what kind of policies should be enforced by strong governments[7].

Similar debates can be found in the literature of the political theories of ecological anarchism and post-development. What is the role of science, technology and a belief in progress and growth within the development paradigm? Do they lie at the root cause of the environmental crisis?[8] How to draw the connection between social and environmental issue? Is it better policies and more sustainable markets that we need or rather an overthrowing of the industrial system and the development paradigm as such?[9] The parallels are striking. But at the same time questions arise: How close are the two political theories really? Can they inform and stimulate the debate within the radical climate action movement?[10]

These questions become all the more relevant, when knowing, that the theoretical frameworks above are not very well known and have not been internalized at all by the radical climate action movement. While marginal portions of the social movement might be aware of these theories, the broad majority has not considered the theories distinctively as tools for *theoretical and political problem solving* or only applied it's symbolism (e.g. black and green flags for ecological anarchism) which overall renders the discourse of the activists clearly autonomous.

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6 Note: The Diggers were a quasi-anarchist group in the English Civil War fighting for a more egalitarian society without the strictly enforced social hierarchy of the seventeenth century. See 'Diggers' in Matri Parker, Valerie Fournie & Patrick Reedy. *Dictionary of Alternatives.* London: ZedBooks. 2007.

7 Camp for Climate Action. *A Guide to the Camp for Climate Action.* 2007. Workshops Chapter.

8 Note: Central questions within post-development theory.

9 Note: Central questions within ecological anarchist theory

10 The last question also raises the question about the perspective on research that this paper takes. It should be said, that this essay is also thought to be what has been called by emancipatory researchers a „militant investigation". As an anarchist reflection on this, Uri Gordon argues for a „participatory philosophical engagement" of the researcher who engages with the material produced by social movements and facilitates reflection and furthers the activist debate. „By providing critically engaged and theoretically informed analysis generated through collective practice, participatory philosophy aims to provide tools for the ongoing reflection of anarchist activists while remaining interesting and relevant to a broader audience." The „broader audience" meaning here, the public interested in solutions to the climate crisis. See:
Uri Gordon. 'Practicing Anarchist Theory' in Graber & Shukaitis. *Constituent Imagination.* London: AK Press. 2007

Some researchers have noted however, that independently from the theoretical discourse, the political practice of anarchism especially, might very well reflect the *political culture and practice* of the social movement in question (see chapter "Theoretical Framework"), while the movement would not consider itself as anarchist but rather as "autonomous or anti-authoritarian"[11]. While there has been, as mentioned, research on this politically cultural dimension of social movements, this paper is strictly limited to the theoretical comparison factilitated through the radical climate action debate.

Aims of the Paper

Hence the aims of the paper are twofold. Firstly a comparison of the two separate political theories shall be presented. Inspired by the discursive parallels mentioned above, this comparison will take place along the lines of debate within the radical climate action movement. It shall be analysed if and what common ground can be established between the two distinct theoretical frameworks and what contradictions arise with regards to the different argumentations on the climate change issue.

Secondly, but more as a side effect, it shall be examined in how far the two theoretical approaches can facilitate and help to further certain debates on key issues within the radical climate action movement. Here some more thoughts on the climate change issue will be brought forward based on the comparison of the two theories and the debate within this newly emerging social movement. This practical agenda will all point out some possible yard sticks for the future way forward and when the question arises "What Next?". Hence, the paper is not only of theoretical validity within political science but also practical political use for the social movement in question.

Research Question

Hence based on the elaborations above, as main research question the following could be formulated:

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11 Uri Gordon. *Anarchy Alive!*. London: Pluto Press 2008. p. 10. Passim.

„What are the differences and commonalities between ecological anarchist and post-development political theory, especially when being applied to key issues in the radical climate action debate?“

Structure

In order to answer these questions, the second chapter will focus on the "theoretical framework", introducing the two theories in question, namely ecological anarchism and post-development theory, through elaborating on different strands and key concepts within them as well as explain how these theories will be applied methodologically and lastly clarify the limitations of the paper.

In the third chapter, radical climate action debate will be introduced and the three key issues to which the theory will be applied, presented. It is hence a combination of background on which the analysis follows suit. Each of the three key issues will be defined and directly afterwards the theory applied to it and hence compared to each other.

The conclusion will then engage with key commonalities and differences between the two theories, thirdly give some proposals on furthering the debate between as well as fouthly within the theories. Lastly it will offer some politically practical reflection on the comparison and its value for the radical debate around tackling climate change.

It should be noted, that it was decided to put background and analysis into one chapter in order to create only short thought-bridges between the two sections but at the same time keep a clear distinction between the rather descriptive and the rather analytical part of the essay.

Contribution and Motivation

Firstly, one contribution of investigating the questions above is to bring two distinct political theories together through comparison and test their commonalities and differences. As such it constitutes a contribution to the wider academic field of political theory and philosophy and might open new research agendas for future studies and also reveals the possibilities for a mutually

supportive synthesis of the two theories. Another new contribution to the academic sphere is the application of those theories upon topics with which they have not extensively dealt with. More specifically, the breaking down of the expansive theoretical bodies and the interpretation of these in order to make them applicable to the case as well as portraying the practically political implications is what constitutes this contribution. As such it furthers the development of those very two theories by applying them to a case to which they have not been applied before and with which they have not dealt with before. Yet two further major contributions are the summarizing and conceptualization of each of the two theories and the attempt to show the internal coherency of each and offering some internal bridges for the internal differences as well as the summarizing and conceptualization of the three key issues, all of which have not been formulated in such a distinct manner before.

Choice of Theory, Material and Case

Focussing on the choice of the two distinct theories of ecological anarchism and post-development, these have been chosen firstly because there is a severe lack of communication and comparison of the two theories which needed to be filled. Secondly, due to the choice of the case (see below), the parallels in the problems dealt with by the case on the one hand and the two theories on the other, further deepened the choice for these specific political theories. The theoretical material is chosen by it's relevance to the case and no limitation is put on a specific strand within one theory. This is to make sure to have enough resources to draw from.

It however also leads to overlaps between the two theories. Authors such as Gandhi, Thoreau and Illich have been claimed by both politically theoretical traditions respectively. Not being alive anymore, these authors can not state their specific affiliation, if there is any. That these overlaps can both facilitate the process of comparison through pointing to commonalities, they could at the same time present a problem by blurring the straight line between the two theories which have substantial differences. Hence the works of the authors have been handled carefully and their statements be used wherever they most obviously fit into one of the political theories and the overall commonalities and differences between the theories evaluated in the analytical chapters.

As to the choice of case, namely the radical climate action debate, it has primarily be chosen

because it is a topical issue and a newly emerging social movement about which no research had been conducted so far. Hence, by choosing this case pioneering work shall be conducted. Pioneering in the sense of being the first to apply these political theories to the developing social movement. As social movements rarely produce „academic texts" or publish articles in journals the resources to draw from constitute mainly written and electronic texts, that were written within the framework of the climate action debate, by activists and groups engaged in the social movement themselves. As the literature here is not all too extensive it can said to be representative of the written debate. Not however of the oral debates and discussions on such events as the Camps for Climate Action. This however I will try to balance through my own involvement and experience in the movement which entailed a lot of these afore mentioned discussion, but of course has no representative claim.

The three key issues within the case of the radical climate action debate, namely "What's the problem?" (e.g. single vs. systemic issue), "What do we do about it?" (e.g. technological fix vs. social change) and "How do we relate to others?" (e.g. to the global South) have been chosen after a thorough evaluation of the debate itself (for further definition see chapter "Background and Analysis"). The broadness of the chosen key issues is due to firstly, the complexity of the debate itself, which with it's multiple areas of discussion can only be framed by these broad key issue questions. Secondly as consequence, this facilitates the theoretical comparison by not having to conduct risky interpretation of broad theories to picky and limited cases and key issues. A balance between innovative interpretation and theoretical closeness in therefore reached.

It should be noted as well, that the chosen key issue questions might raise the problem of how distinct they actually are. While the first and second question are clearly cut, the third question of relating to others might very well be a subquestion of the second question on modes of change. It has been decided however to formulate this third key issue separately, firstly because it represents, even if logically only a sub-question, a large space of the climate action debate and secondly presents a perfect base in itself, for comparing the two political theories which have elaborate statements on this key issue.

Theoretical Framework

In order to clarify the theoretical framework applied in this paper, ecological anarchism as

well as post-development theories shall be introduced hereafter generally, as well as key concepts explored that could be relevant for the radical climate action debate.

For ecological anarchism this means to define the political theory of anarchism generally, (What is anarchism?), and then delve into two distinct strands of ecological anarchism namely *anarcho-primitivism* and *social ecology*. While these are often portrayed as mutually exclusive, I will introduce another strand in ecological anarchism that I call *anarchist simplicity* in order to bridge the two theoretical framework and make it more workable.[12]

Similarly the theoretical framework of post-development will be laid out. Firstly defining what is actually meant by the theorists when talking about development and the „development discourse" and secondly criticise a present categorization of post-development into either a „programme of *reactionary populism*" or „a project of *radical democracy*", since the prior is a marginal appearance and should be neglected[13]. That several assumptions of this categorization are questionable and overestimated will be shown by introducing *ecological, post-development feminism* as a third strand of the post-development school.[14]

Ecological Anarchism and and Key Concepts

Firstly one can focus on what the political philosophy of **anarchism** actually entails. What exactly is anarchism? A broad variety of definition of the term have been given. Some of them shall be investigated here. The state of affairs of anarchy, which anarchists strive for would usually be defined as a „society without government and anarchism as the social philosophy which aims at its realization"[15]. As such the philosophy assumes, that „human beings are at their very best when they are living free of authority, deciding things among themselves rather than being ordered about"[16]. More specifically anarchism coming from the Greek and meaning 'without rulers' argues, that „all

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12 Note: For a contemporary advocate of anarchist simplicity see: William Coperthwaite. *A Handmade Life.* Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing. 2007. Passim.

13 Note: For a detailed characterization of these stands see:Aram Ziai. 'The ambivalence of post-development: between reactionary populism and radical democracy', *Third World Quarterly*, 25:6. 2004. pp. 1045 - 1060

14 Note: For a contemporary collection of this tradition see: Kriemild Saunders (ed.). *Feminist Post-Development Thought.* London: ZedBooks. 2002. Passim

15 Peter Marshall. *Demanding the Impossible.* London: Fontana Press. 1993. p. 3

16 Clifford Harper. *Anarchy   Graphic Guide* London: Camden Press. 1987. Passim

forms of authority, and particularly state authority, are oppressive as well as socially dysfunctional"[17]. It wants to replace such forms of *domination and hierarchy* with individual autonomy and voluntary cooperation aiming for a „decentralized and self-regulating society consisting of federations of voluntary associations of free and equal individuals"[18]. Stressing the historical continuity of anarchist ideas from primitive societies to ecological communes and the anti-capitalist movement today it can be characterised as a „river with many currents and eddies, constantly changing and being refreshed by new surges but always moving towards the wide ocean of freedom"[19]. Others have stressed the relevance of anarchism as the advancement of a specific political culture and hence as a set of „common orientations towards political action and speech" that include a shared form of horizontal organisation based on networks, decentralisation and consensus, a shared repertoire of political expression based on direct action, constructing of alternatives, community outreach and confrontation and lastly among others a shared political language that includes a distinct commitment to resisting all forms of domination, from which is derived a resistance to capitalism, the state, patriarchy, environmental destruction, internal hierarchies and so forth[20]. All of the following theories are built upon these theoretical and consensual hallmarks.

Focussing on the different strands within the theoretical tradition, the first to mention would be **anarcho-primitivism**. Within this tradition, key concepts include „*industrial civilisation" and industrial production*[21] which is seen as inherently and structurally unsustainable and therewith at the core of the ecological crisis which can only be overcome by the abolishment of it. Along with this civilisation goes a *division of labour and specialisation*[22] which is argued to creates an alienation from providing directly for one's needs and thereby removing oneself from nature as a system to provide for these needs. In order to sustain this labour division a *domestication of life*[23] must have taken place, which is contrasted with indigenous, nomadic cultures and seen as a basis for human and resource exploitation at the current rate. Lastly, all of this would not have been

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17 Matri Parker, Valerie Fournie & Patrick Reedy. *Dictionary of Alternatives.* London: ZedBooks. 2007. p. 9
18 Peter Marshall. *Demanding the Impossible.* London: Fontana Press. 1993. p. 3
19 Peter Marshall. *Demanding the Impossible.* London: Fontana Press. 1993. p. 3
20 Uri Gordon. *Anarchy Alive!.* London: Pluto Press 2008. p. 33-35.
21 Alice Carnes & Zerzan. *Questioning Technology.* London: Freedom Press. 1988. Passim.
22 John Zerzan. *Future Primitive: and Other Essays.* Brooklyn: Autonomedia. 1994. Passim.
23 John Zerzan (ed.). *Against Civilisation.* Feral House: Los Angeles. 2005. Passim.

possible without *science and technology*[24] which subordinates both humans and nature both physically and mentally through it's way of seeing the world.

The second strand within ecological anarchism called **Social Ecology**, focusses on the *domination of men over nature, creating the current crisis as deeply rooted in social domination between humans*[25]. Being grounded in an anarchist critique of capitalism and the state it draws out a *philosophy of nature*[26] it tries to overcome anthropocentrism while avoiding misanthropic tendencies and in it's *anthropology of hierarchy and domination*[27] elaborates on different forms of domination and hierarchy between humans and their connection to the environmental crisis. As a solution it offers *post-scarcity anarchism*[28] as an age of abundance through emancipatory technology and an *ecotopia*[29] of federated ecological communes.

Lastly, **anarchist simplicity** a neglected and often religious, non-violent and / or utopian strand, as defined by myself, demands a *radical redefinition of wealth and needs* through voluntary material simplicity and argues that it is the level of *overconsumption* not of overpopulation that lies at the root cause of the environmental crisis. As such it denies that there is such a thing as „Western civilisation" and argues that such still has to be created through a careful *blending of culture, world views and indigenous technologies* beyond any dogma to create radical plurality and achieve human liberation and emancipation[30].

In conclusion it remains to be noted, that the last strand of ecological anarchism, allows to bridge the differences between Social Ecology and anarcho-primitivism. The entirety of ecological anarchism is hence displayed in the diagram below.

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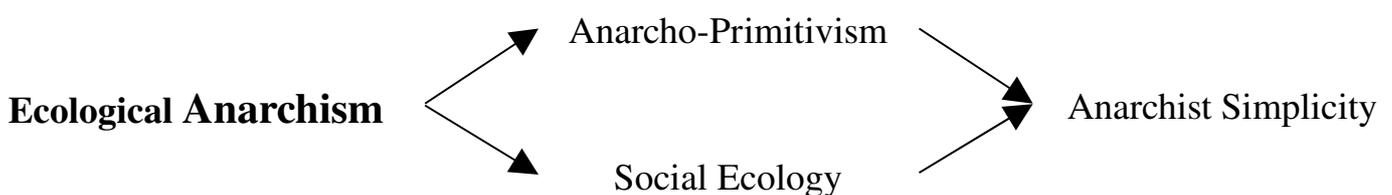
24 Theodore Kaczynski. *Industrial Society and its Future.* Berkeley: Jolly Roger Press. 1996. Passim.

25 Brian Morris. *Ecology and Anarchism.* Images Publishing: Malvern. 1996. Passim

26 Murray Bookchin. *Toward an Ecological Society.* AK Press: London. 1980. Passim

27 Murray Bookchin. *The Philosophy of Social Ecology: Essays on Dialectical Naturalism.* Montreal: Black Rose Books. 1996. Passim.

28 Murray Bookchin. *The Ecology of Freedom.* Edinburgh: AK Press. 2005. Passim.

29 Murray Bookchin. *The Ecology of Freedom.* Edinburgh: AK Press. 2005. Passim.

30 Jan-Hendrik Cropp. *Research Paper B-Level*. 'The Political Theory and Practice of Anarchist Simplicity'. Unpublished. 2007. Passim.

Similarly to ecological anarchist political theory it makes sense to define the object of study of the post-development theory, namely **development** itself. It argues, that the discourse around this term is firstly, *eurocentric*, secondly *imperialist* and thirdly a meaningless concept[31]. As an alternative it usually proposes to find alternatives to this paradigm, usually in the form of communities combining elements of 'traditional' and 'modern' culture, regaining control in the fields of politics, economics and knowledge in opposition to the state, global capitalism and science and thus finding 'alternatives to development'"[32]. In more detail, firstly post-development has hence an interest not in development alternatives but in alternatives to development. It follows thus a rejection of the entire paradigm.[33] This paradigm according to the theorists consists of various concepts which are hegemonically defined by the development discourse in a reactionary fashion and hence criticised. Among them are: *Development, modernity and modernization in itself along with its definitions of environment, equality, helping, market, needs, one world, participation, planning, population, poverty, progress, production, resources, science, socialism, standards of living, state, technology[34] as well as embedded within these, industrialism, capitalism, sustainability, growth and so forth*[35]. Secondly as an alternative to development it takes interest in local culture and knowledge[36] and promotes self-reliance often in the form of subsistence communities, reclaiming their commons, cultural self-consciousness, indigenous production and political modes of decision-making.[37] As a force promoting and pushing forward these alternatives, it defends vividly and supports strongly localised, pluralistic grassroots movements that resist contemporary processes of development within their communities. As result, the research conducted by post-development theorists takes a highly critical stance on what is "established knowledge" in the scientific discourse around development trying to deconstruct its hidden euro-

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31 Manfred Max-Neef. *Human Scale Development. Development Dialogue 1.* DHF: Uppsala. 1989. Passim

32 Aram Ziai. 'Imperiale Repräsentationen - Vom kolonialen zum Entwicklungsdiskurs' in *Magazin sul serio Nr. 10*. Reflect! Assozation: Berlin. 2005. Passim.

33 Arturo Escobar. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1995. Passim.

34 Wolfgang Sachs (ed.). *The Development Dictionary.* London: ZedBooks 1992. Passim

35 Various Authors. *What Next?. Development Dialogue No. 47.* DHF: Uppsala. 2006. Passim.

36 Arturo Escobar. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1995. Passim.

37 Gilbert Rist. *The History of Development.* London: ZedBooks 1997. pp. 123-140

centric and at least partially imperialist assumptions[38]. Within this consensus, post-development scholar Aram Ziai has made a further distinction between two discourses, firstly "sceptical post-development" and secondly "neo-populist post-development", which shall be critically investigated hereafter.

Firstly, focussing on what has been called **sceptical post-development**, it involves such key concepts as a *sceptical and critical promotion of local culture and communities*, meaning a differentiated approach to both its emancipatory potential and its reactionary pitfalls. As such it promotes *combination of achievements of modernity and pre-modernity*. The specific strand also takes on a *constructivist perspective towards culture* which sees it as flexible, renderable and changeable structure. It hence *avoids*, based on a post-modern argument, *to formulate blue-prints* for a better society. As an alternative it argues for radical democracy and a massive decentralisation of economic and political power in order to enforce the right for self-determination[39].

Secondly, favouring the prior strand of post-development, Ziai draws a gloomy picture of another discursive strand in post-development namely **neo-populist post-development**, which he characterises as "reactionary" and "anti-modernist"[40]. In contrast to the four elements of the sceptical tradition he argues that it is based on a *romanticisation of traditional culture and local communities,* which negelects reactionary traditions within them; an uncompromising but *unhelpful rejection of modernity and development* which does not recognize the alleged positive features of these dynamics and processes; a views of *cultures as static and rigid* hence neither capable nor favouring change without Western discursive imperialism and lastly a *blueprint-like* wish to return to *local subsistence economies and communities*, which he argues are not a good in themselves[41].

Thirdly, the last strand of post-development, namely **ecological post-development feminism**, firstly makes a contribution to sceptical post-development and shows, that the criteria by which neo-populist post-development has been defined are not in themselves reactionary, but that *neo-populist post-development only consists of a marginal amount of post-development writers, that*

38 Arturo Escobar. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1995. Passim.
39 Vandana Shiva. 'How Wealth Creates Poverty' in *Resurgence 240*. Bideford: Resurgence Publication. 2007.
40 Ziai, Aram. 'The ambivalence of post-development: between reactionary populism and radical democracy', *Third World Quarterly*, 25:6. 2004. pp. 1045 - 1060
41 Ziai, Aram. 'The ambivalence of post-development: between reactionary populism and radical democracy', *Third World Quarterly*, 25:6. 2004. pp. 1045 - 1060

use their discourse for racist cultural totalitarianism[42]. The feminism referred to above hence shows, the *potential benefit of a consequent rejection of modernity and development, the preservation of subsistence communities and the local culture for women's struggle against patriarchy* and thereby prove the feminist potential of arguments that Ziai doomed to be reactionary[43]. It thereby demands from the radical democracy emerging from sceptical post-development to allow for these option and recognize their emancipatory potential.

If we visualise the theoretical field of post-development in conclusion, the following diagram, shows this very interaction between sceptical post-development and ecological post-development feminism as well as the emancipation of what has been termed negatively "neo-populist" post-development through the same feminism.

Post-Development → Sceptical Post-Development ~~Neo-Populist Post-Development~~ → Ecological, post-development feminism
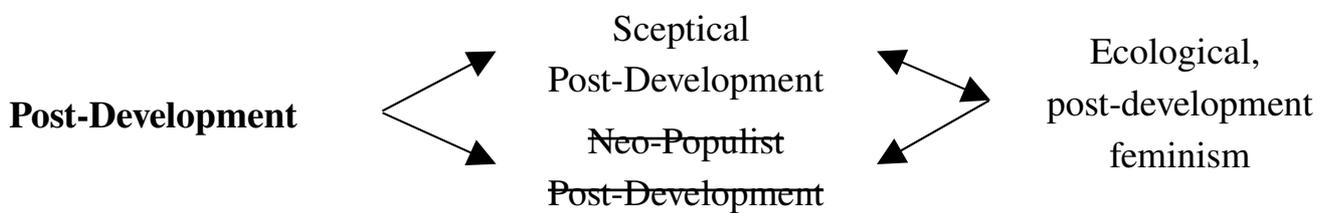
Methodology

Methodologically, the two different theoretical frameworks exposed above, will be applied to the key issues in the radical climate change debate, illustrated above and through that compared to each other. Of course the application demands an interpretation of the theoretical framework, which has not yet been used in the specific context of these issues of the radical climate action movement. In order to facilitate such an application and therefore the comparison, the key concepts, mentioned above will be tried to be used within the application and comparison in order to structure the argument.

This methodology is hence a modified approach of „argumentative discourse analysis" which reflects to some extend the method formulated by Bacchi originally[44].

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42 Ziai, Aram. 'The ambivalence of post-development: between reactionary populism and radical democracy', *Third World Quarterly*, 25:6. 2004. pp. 1045 - 1060

43 Kriemild Saunders (ed.). *Feminist Post-Development Thought.* London: ZedBooks. 2002. Passim

44 C. Bacchi. 'Policy as Discourse: what does it mean? where does it get us?' *Discourse*, vol. 21, no.1. 2000. 49-57.

Delimitations

The analytical description of the theoretical framework above as well as it's application and comparison as „unified" bodies of political theory to the radical climate action debate is not thought to swipe away the differences within the theories themselves. However as a comparison of the two theories and only as a side effect, of different strands within the theories is the aim of the paper, all that has to be proven is that the strands are not mutually exclusive but indeed internally coherent. This was hence also one of the aims of the preceding chapter.

Background and Analysis

Having laid out the theoretical framework, it will now be applied to and applied through what I call *key issues in the radical climate action debate.* These key issues were chosen through an evaluation of literature, articles and texts produced by the activists in the radical climate action movement which is a newly evolving global social movement. These broad key issues which have several elements embodied within them try to represent the totality of re-emerging common issues and questions in the broad and diverse debate around „tackling the root causes of climate change", reflections on camps for radical climate action in the past, mainly in the United Kingdom and comments on "where to go next"[45]. The first of which is "what's the problem" with climate change. Second, often based on the first question is the challenge of "what can be done about it", what are the possible modes for change? Third and lastly, it shall be asked "how to relate to 'others' " in order to achieve this change; the other being all those not directly involved in the social movement. While these are broad questions, around which many discussions in social movements center around, they suit the broadness of the political theories dealt with in the last chapter and serve a fitting device for interpretation and comparison.

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45 Camp for Climate Action. *Camp for Climate Action 2007 Website.* About. 2007.
      <http://www.climatecamp.org.uk/about.php>

Background on Key Issue I – What's the problem?

The first key issue or dilemma in the radical climate action movement centers around climate change itself. The question here is firstly, what exactly is the cause of climate change? Is it simply about reducing greenhouse gas emissions? Is it something larger? Or is it actually not „a problem" in itself but rather a symptom of a statist, capitalist, industrial or other world-system, just as other forms of exploitation and domination are?[46] If so, will the same mechanisms that brought us into this mess (state policies and market mechanisms) in the first place be able to heave us out of it or does it demand radical and deep systematic changes by people themselves?[47] Can we lay social and political problems aside ("Holy Shit! Do something fast!"[48]) until we have overcome the climate crisis which is so urgent, or will such a procedure only foster the dominative social and political relations existing today?[49] What role does science play? Is it actually relevant or could one have expected this environmental collapse through thoroughly analysing the system we are living in today? Does focus on "knowing your science" lead to a de-politicisation of the issue and a subordination of the movement to the quick, technological fixing ideas of science?[50]
These are the questions on which grounds the two theories will be compared in this first part of the analytical chapter.

Comparison on Key Issue I – What's the problem?

Simply on the basis of the theoretical framework exposed before, it becomes clear that both, ecological anarchism as well as post-development have a systemic analysis of the causes of climate change. In a personal email interview on the topic, **post-development** theorist Gilbert Rist, also quoted before, says the following on the root causes of climate change:

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46 Penny Cole and Philip Wade. 'Why Capitalism is Unsustainable'. *Camp for Climate Action Website.* Articles. 2007. <http://www.climatecamp.org.uk/drupal/?q=node/83>

47 Anonymous. Where Next for Radical Climate Action?. *Now or Never Website.* 2007. <http://www.now-or-never.org.uk/wherenext.php>

48 Note: An alleged quote by a climate camp activist in Heathrow, London, Summer 2007.

49 Anonymous. Sound and Fury. *Now or Never Website.* 2007. <http://www.now-or-never.org.uk/sound.php>

50 John Archer. Are we armed only with peer-reviewed science?. *SHIFT Magazine.* 2007. <http://www.shiftmag.co.uk/armedwithscience.html>

The root of the climate warming that we are witnessing lies in the use and abuse of fire (or heat), coming from coal, oil or uranium, that is necessary to fuel the many engines that we "*need*". This started in the beginning of the XIXth Century, when "fire engines" progressively replaced those that were driven by the energy of water, wind, or animals. These "discoveries" or "inventions" constitute a major turn in history. But this might also not have happened.

[..]   The recipe for "*development*" is quite simple : just live on stocks rather than flux. This is what we are doing since one and a half century. Instead of using renewable energy we have progressively relied on non-renewable ones. The thermo-*industrial* society behaves like an individual who, in order to increase his *standard of living,* decides to sell his family jewels. This may work for some time but not for ever.

[..]   Of course, the main advantage of fossil energy is that it can be shipped wherever it is needed, since it is not dependent on (renewable) flux. Neither wind nor water can be "encapsulated" (except in hydro-electric dams).

[..]   On the economic level, the main problem comes from the confusion between stocks and flux [...]: e.g. the price of oil (which comes from a stock) is fixed on the market as if it were a (renewable) flux. This is, of course, the consequence of *market domination*. Which also raises the question of the (incoherent) presuppositions of economic "*science*".

[..]   I therefore firmly believe that the *"clean and green" sustainable "development"* has no real future. As long as *economic growth* is universally considered as the "solution", problems shall increase and worsen.[51]

Terms that hint the root causes of the climate crisis according to post-development theory have been emphasized in this quote. Among them, development and along with it industrialism, standard of living, needs, markets, science and growth. Post-development further elaborates on the metaphysical belief in technology, its inherent cultural imperialism as well as the „internal colonisation" of European society through it, which as Rist describes is an underlying cause of climate change. Costs of the „industrial myth of production" include, social coldness and stress, relentless competition, ultimately an end to the fulfillment of basic human needs and the creation of artificial needs. These "needs" fuel more over the thermo-industrial society and hence climate change. Therefore, post-development hence analyses, the hegemonic basis of Western civilisation namely development as the crucial historical factor that lead to the global warming crisis. As such it rejects the idea, that the same thinking that led to the situation (e.g. science) can not „solve" the problem, but will be prone to worsen it. Hence a solution that would not demand a systematic and

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51 Gilbert Rist. *Personal Email Conversation.* 2007. My Emphasis.

paradigmatic shift away from the development dogma for reasons of time or other, would be prone to fail.

Ecological anarchism in the respect of a systematic analysis of the root causes of the problem seems similar. Firstly focussing on anarchism generally, the development discourse as well as root causes of climate change it produces, could be defined as a mode of domination and a discursive hierarchy and are therefore not mutually exclusive. As shall become clear in the second paragraph proceeding this, such interpretation only works when interpreting post-development in an anarchistic manner. Vice-versa, therefore a post-development interpretation of anarchism seems more difficult when regarding the issue of climate change.

Especially the arguments brought forwarded by anarcho-primitivists fit into the post-development picture very well. Industrial society and it's production as inherently destructive of nature, and science and technology as fuelling this process[52] would definitely go hand in hand with the view forwarded by Rist above. Similarly, the idea of overconsumption rather than overpopulation as forwarded by anarchist simplicity fits well with the post-development arguments, and parallels the „abusive use of fire engines".

In what ecological anarchism differs is that post-development does not take into consideration the anthropology of hierarchy and domination which Social Ecology would stress when formulating a position on climate change. Based on Bookchin's theory it would stress the symptomatic character of climate change as a logical outcome of dominative relationships between both humans and humans as well as humans and nature that have led to the development of such a destructive in industrial system in the first place[53].

Proceeding this of course is also an alienated relationship to nature, or in other words a shift in the philosophy of nature. This however could be reconciled with the post-development discourse, which also laments about the "development" perception of nature as an object to be exploited[54].

On the other hand again, Social Ecology would obviously, if taking the post-scarcity argument into account, not paint such a gloomy picture of science and technology as a root cause of climate change but as mentioned before stress the dominative relationships in which these mechanism of techniques are used in the present which would however also present a solution to the

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52 Alice Carnes & Zerzan. *Questioning Technology*. London: Freedom Press. 1988.
53 Murray Bookchin. *The Ecology of Freedom*. Edinburgh: AK Press. 2005. Passim.
54 Murray Bookchin. *Toward an Ecological Society*. AK Press: London. 1980. Passim

problem if applied in a non-hierarchical manner[55]. Hence the thinking that led to climate change in the first place, would if modified and informed by anarchist thinking be able to present a workable solution to the problem. An argument that obviously colides with both views of post-development and anarcho-primitivism.

Coming back to anarchist simplicity it can be mentioned, that absence of a Western civilisation can be somewhat reconciled with Western civilisation as in development as a root cause. This is the case, because obviously anarchist simplicity's idea of a Western civilisation would inherently create a break with the ideas of development as in overconsumption and a rejection of current definitions of wealth and needs[56]. This shows yet another parallel between post-development and anarchist simplicity. Both of the theories demand a radical redefinition if not abandonment of these terms as they present a root cause for the global warming crisis. Similarly the idea of cultural blending as a pre-requisite for a society that would prevent environmental crisis such as climate change goes hand in hand with the argument of post-development, arguing that the conceptual cultural hegemony of development is indeed at the foundation of the present climate crisis.

Sceptical **post-development** theorists as defined by Ziai above would indeed agree very much to this cultural blending that, anarchist simplicity as a strand of ecological anarchism proposes. While climate change is in it's root the outcome of a dominative Western culture with it's features as defined by Rist above, it demands a project of progressive and open-ended, „radical democracy"[57]. As such it criticises capitalism because of its relations of exploitation and oppression in the field of culture, knowledge and the relationship to nature which are problems in itself and cannot be reduced to the „system of capitalism" alone[58]. Hence the climate crisis is also linked to a distinct economic system, namely capitalism, which through the subordination of non-profitable but sustainable knowledge, culture and relationships to nature is actively destroying the climate. These relations of power, also enforced by capitalism and government, in the global South take „new forms of domination and subjection (concerning areas such as education, demography, housing, psychiatry, cultural values, ethnic oppression, etc.)".[59] Hence not only exploitation but also other

55 Murray Bookchin. *Post-Scarcity Anarchism.* Montreal: Black Rose Books. 1986. Passim.
56 William Coperthwaite. *A Handmade Life.* Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing. 2007. Passim.
57 Note: Radical democracy in the sense used of Lummis (1996) and Laclau & Mouffe (2001).
58 Arturo Escobar. Discourse and power in development: Michel Foucault and the relevance of his work to the Third World, *Alternatives*, 10. 1985. pp. 377 400.
59 Arturo Escobar. Discourse and power in development: Michel Foucault and the relevance of his work to the Third World, *Alternatives*, 10. 1985. pp. 377 400.

forms of domination are causing the transformation of the basis of "right livelihoods" in the sense of a no-impact, into resources to be either commercialised or destroyed. While post-development thereby describes the consequences, of a dominative world view, it identifies this very world view and the practices deriving thereof as a root cause of climate change.

Pretty much the same is done by **ecological anarchism**. Anarcho-primitivism identifies this world view as "Western civilisation". This progress of „civilisation" as the root cause for the current social and environmental crisis and hence climate change. Civilisation is defined as a „culture – that is a complex of stories, institutions and artifacts – that both leads and emerges from the growth of cities" that embody „people living more or less permanently in one place in densities high enough to require the routine importation of food and other necessities of life" resulting in a „funneling of resources towards these centers", exploiting the people and nature at the sources of these resources[60]. That such centers as key emitters of greenhouse gases and through the thirst for fossil fuels are according to ecological anarchism, exploiting the peoples at the source of these resources, such as gas, oil and coal, seems self-evident. „Civilisation" then, according to this analysis has taken various forms. The current mode being called „*industrial civilisation*" and *industrial production*, which, with its modes of domination and hierarchy needs an continuous application of wide-spread violence and coercion in order no to collapse and gain access to the afore mentioned resources. Climate change could be interpreted as one form of such violence. This violence is enforced by those higher up in the industrial hierarchy upon those at the bottom and concealed through high-tech industrial production which is seemingly "clean". That such invisible pollution occurs is strikingly coming to the fore through the awakening to climate change. In order for this industrial complex to be maintained it requires coercion, cultural subordination, land evictions, forced labour. This is the case because, industrial societies have to reach out and conquer and colonize in order to gain access to the raw materials and labour needed for its reproduction[61]. Fossil fuels in the climate change context as well as the machinery needed and the devices produced for renewable energy exploitation, are no exception to this theoretical argument.

Coming back to the **post-development** debate a rather contrasting argument has been formulated by the marginal strand of neo-populist post-development. One can cite Rahnema who is

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60 Derrick Jensen. *Endgame. Vol. 1. The Problem of Civilisation.* New York: Seven Stories Press. 2006. pp. 17-18.
61 Derrick Jensen. *Endgame. Vol. 2. Resistance.* New York: Seven Stories Press. 2006. Passim.

describing the idea of development as a virus to the people's immune system which she sees in traditional culture.[62] Such statements represents the reactionary side of anti-modernism as it perceives culture as static and Western modernity as a sickness to the "original state". This is said to be dangerously social Darwinist and to legitimate violent enforcement of traditional culture as in keeping up patriarchy. However in the case of climate change, this "virus" would be similarly described as a root cause of climate change, or rather a virus in itself that perpetuates the destruction of the "people's immune system".

Similarly another citation can be forwarded and which more openly shows the "reactionary mode" of neo-populist post-development. This is Alvares' critique of the "alien model of development"[63]. On a basis of cultural totalitarianism she argues that "our continuing xenophilia compels us to export our best genetic resources at zero cost to economies abroad while simultaneously importing less than the very best and often, mostly questionable and inappropriate sources of productivity from abroad"[64]. That this ethnic reductionism in genetic terms, in combination with seeing Ayatollah Khomeini and his patriarchy as a liberator, amounts to "nationalism with racist undertones"[65], is obvious. Similarly therefore an application of this reactionary thought to the climate change issue, would reveal "the other" abroad, meaning all those living in the area from which the idea of development originated are as people themselves the cause of the climate crisis.

Obviously such argument would be outwardly rejected and revealed as dangerously reactionary by **ecological anarchism**. As a strand of it, Social Ecology, a radical political theory, with it's main proponent, namely Murray Bookchin, argues, that the present *ecological crisis is deeply rooted in social problems*, namely hierarchical and dominative social and political systems and thereby consequently rejects the racialist explanation of Rahnema above as yet another argument to perpetuate these dominative systems. Hence the basis of his theory is the argument, that all forms of domination and hierarchy are linked with each other. Consequently he argues, that the dominative relationships between people are linked to men's domination over nature and vice-

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62 Rahnema and Bawtree (eds.). *The Post-Development Reader.* London: ZedBooks. 1997. pp. 111   129
63 Claude Alphonso Alvares. *Science, Development and Violence: The Revolt against Modernity.* Delhi: Oxford University Press. 1992. p. 34
64 Claude Alphonso Alvares. *Science, Development and Violence: The Revolt against Modernity.* Delhi: Oxford University Press. 1992. p. 34
65 Ziai, Aram. 'The ambivalence of post-development: between reactionary populism and radical democracy', *Third World Quarterly*, 25:6. 2004. pp. 1045 - 1060

versa.[66] As industrial society and its technology aims to dominate nature it can neither do without domination and hierarchy between men. Rather then being a problem in itself, climate change is rather a problematic symptom of this web of domination. More deeply rooted in the Western Enlightenment and critical theory tradition, Bookchin comes to these conclusions through an synthesis of philosophy, science, anthropology and history[67].

Bookchin continues with an "*anthropology of hierarchy and domination*", in which he argues that the domination of women by man, man by man and nature by man has led to "epistemologies of rule" which encourage competitive and hierarchical thinking[68]. Such competitive and hierarchical thinking has hence artificially created the tragedy of the commons of the atmosphere and thereby caused climate change at its root. As one mode of such domination he sees the state as „not merely a constellation of bureaucratic and coercive institutions [...] but also a state of mind, an instilled mentality for ordering mentality"[69]. Consequently climate change is also connected to governments which through their policies have created climate change in the beginning and are now demanding popular coercion to solve the problem it created in the first place. A process of self-legitimation could therefore analysed by social ecologists in the case of climate change and states.

Hence the ecological crisis is not primarily rooted in technology, industrial growth or overpopulation but rather in these relations of domination and hierarchy.[70] On a somewhat dialectical note, Bookchin argues at the same time that no technology is ethically neutral and that industrial technology especially was crucial for the establishment of "classes, proprietorship, and exploitation [...] in short, the vast paraphernalia of the State". He also argues, that on a more basic level, the industrial system needed a hierarchy, surveillance and discipline in order to keep itself going in an orderly manner and was able to more efficiently and intensively exploit employers through rationalization who, in the past lived an autonomous and naturally irregular life as craftsmen and was replacing the system of "interdependence and independence" in short freedom with that of dependence and domination.[71] Nevertheless he remains faithful, that the technology that

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66 Murray Bookchin. *Post-Scarcity Anarchism.* Montreal: Black Rose Books. 1986. pp. 80-92
67 Peter Marshall. *Demanding the Impossible.* London: Fontana Press. 1993. Passim.
68 Murray Bookchin. *The Ecology of Freedom.* Edinburgh: AK Press. 2005. p. 164. Passim.
69 Williams Morris. *News From Nowhere.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2003. Passim.
70 Murray Bookchin. *The Murray Bookchin Reader.* Continuum International Publishing: London. 1997. Passim
71 Murray Bookchin. *The Ecology of Freedom.* Edinburgh: AK Press. 2005. pp. 166, 391-395, 406-410

enslaves people now, can liberate them tomorrow, when hierarchies and domination are dissolved. Climate change is thereby a consequences rooted in the application of wrong and dominative technology in the present however not structurally in technology itself, as post-development might argue.

Hand in hand with Social Ecology, anarchist simplicity stresses that in order to overcome domination and hierarchy we have to realise that the logics of state and capitalism are embodied and reflected in our everyday life[72]. As such climate change is just as well rooted in our daily routines and everyday practices, such as excess consumption, consent to state domination and dependence on both capitalism and governments which are root causes of the climate crisis, but inherently based on it's internalisation by people in their everyday lifes.

As a consequence such artificial needs include "electric power, synthetic clothing, junk food and travel". This ideology of needs induces cultural imperialism and uses coercion through the market and government which want to control and manage the requirement or needs of people instead of letting them formulate "personal claims to freedom which would foster autonomous coping"[73]. As such the climate crisis is created by this ideology of needs which is maintained by popular coerced consent and keeps the system destructive of the climate running. Non-violent Christian anarchist Leo Tolstoy argued, that the industrial factory system needed to satisfy these needs was robbing people the control over their lifes, leading to "compulsory and monotonous labour at another man's will"[74] under conditions of long hours and low pay and a disconnect from nature.[75] Such disconnect from nature as well as as the ripping of people of the power over their life led to the creation of the basis for the industrial system which know destroys the climate. Similarly, individualist anarchist Henry Thoreau, argued, that "urban industrial man, alienated from nature himself and his fellows as a producer and a consumer"[76]. Such dichotomy was needed to allow the consumer ideology emerge and make the climate crisis possible. Consequently industrialism locked people up in a drive for profit and power over others. In short, a society enslaved by the few[77], who in turn in their pursuit of profit and power take such environmental disaster as climate change as an

72 Tom Hodgkinson. *How to be Free.* Penguin Publishing: London. 2007. Passim.
73 Ivan Illich. *Tools for Conviviality.* London: Fontana Press 1973. Passim
74 Peter Marshall. *Demanding the Impossible.* London: Fontana Press. 1993. p. 376
75 Leo Tolstoy. *Social Evils and their Remedy.* London: Methuen. 1915. p. 68
76 Peter Marshall. *Demanding the Impossible.* London: Fontana Press. 1993. p. 185
77 Henry Thoreau. *The Selected Works of Thoreau.* London: Houghton Mifflin. 1975. pp. 243-456

opportunity to be exploited. In his political essay on 'Useful Work versus Useless Toil', William Morris furthermore launched a heavy critique against capitalism, arguing that the capitalist division of labour through the modern industrial technology led to class division, mass production and machine domination as well as compulsory labour[78] all of which the problem of climate change to emerge and determines the unequal distribution of it's effects.

Concluding we can say that, that post-development and ecological anarchism agree, that climate change as such is not „a problem in itself" but rather a symptom of a larger system. While post-development puts the emphasis on cultural and discursive modes of domination, ecological anarchism emphasis that these are carried out through hierarchies and domination in social, political and economic systems. A common root cause for climate change identified by both political theories is Western civilisation, even if for different reasons. Similarly for both theories, technology, industry and science are core issues when wanting to understand the climate crisis we are facing. In their totality, the two theories see both, lifestyle issues and systemic issues at the root cause of climate change. The only major difference is the mutually exclusivity between ecological anarchism in opposition to neo-populist post-development. This reactionary strand of post-development is however also mutually exclusive to the wider emancipatory post-development consensus and thereby to be neglected in the further comparison, especially as the literature of this strand is quiet exhaustive.

Background on Key Issue II – What do we do about it?

Having compared the political theories' perception on the root causes of climate change, the second key issue focusses on what action can be based on this analysis. Is it about individuals changing their lifestyle, being punished for it and the creation of a feeling of guilt for one's own indidvidual action? Or does it need systemic change after which changes in behaviour will follow suit? Or is a combination of both, that climate change demands[79]? What would a post-carbon, low-

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78 Williams Morris. 'Useful Work vs. Useless Toil' in Various Writers. *Why Work?*. London: Freedom Press. 1983. Passim

79 Anonymous. Sound and Fury. *Now or Never Website*. 2007. <http://www.now-or-never.org.uk/sound.php>

impact society look like?[80] What standards of technology would it entail and what role does science play? Is there a quick techno-fix? Will technology be „good" after the revolution? Or is it rather about discovering a materially simple but mentally rich alternative way of living? What industries have to go[81]? Are the aims of the change separable from the means? Are these radical changes possible through reform or does it need a revolution? Is it about a single issue campaign or a systemic critique[82]? And if it will be a revolution, will we not have to cut back materially after it, but will there be "luxury for all"[83]? What role does direct action against the ills and for the promotion of these alternatives play? If it's not about lobbying then how has this direct action look like? How to avoid an unreflective fetishisation of symbolic actions for the media[84]? Is that what we are doing it for? Those are the questions posed to the two theories in this second analytical part of the chapter.

Comparison on Key Issue II – What do we do about it?

Focussing first on **ecological anarchism**, anarcho-primitivsm argues, that dues to the causal analysis above, there is ultimately no way in which industrial civilisation could be called either socially, culturally or environmentally sustainable, no matter which form it takes.[85] As such it has to be dismantled in order to solve the climate crisis.

Consequently as an alternative to "industrial civilisation" then, anarcho-primitivists advocate the development of a new primitive truly ecological society, drawing inspiration from ancient indigenous cultures in which they find "goods valued for their utility or beauty rather than cost; commodities exchanged more on the basis of need than of exchange value; distribution to the society at large without regard to labor that members have invested; labor performed without the idea of a wage in return or individual benefit, indeed largely without the notion of 'work' at all."[86] To

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80 Anonymous. Where Next for Radical Climate Action?. *Now or Never Website.* 2007.
  <http://www.now-or-never.org.uk/wherenext.php>
81 Jessica Charsley. Climate Camp Hijacked by a Hardcore of Liberals. *SHIFT Magazine.* 2007.
  <http://www.shiftmag.co.uk/climatecamphijacked.html>
82 Anti-Atom-Plenum-Berlin. *Climate Change and the Radical Left*. 2007.
  <http://www.klimacamp.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=96&Itemid=108>
83 Anti-Atom-Plenum-Berlin. *Climate Change and the Radical Left*. 2007.
  <http://www.klimacamp.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=96&Itemid=108>
84 Anonymous. Sound and Fury. *Now or Never Website.* 2007. <http://www.now-or-never.org.uk/sound.php>
85 Derrick Jensen. *Endgame. Vol. 1. The Problem of Civilisation.* New York: Seven Stories Press. 2006. pp. 1-445.
86 Marshall Sahlins. *Stone Age Economics.* Routledge: London. 2003. Passim.

achieve this, they advocate a revolutionary politics, build upon the premises of an anarchist culture mentioned by Uri.[87]

Such a society would hence do away with issues of civilisation such as the *division of labour* and *specialisation*. These communities would lead to the human's and community's ability to provide for their own needs and the erosion of a dependence on outside experts and various industrial sectors and thereby dissolving the inevitable leading to hierarchy and inequalities within civilisation.[88] This process going hand in hand with the abolishment of industrial standardization, which according to Watson, led to a centralisation of power which ensures a domination over people and nature through which both are rendered "objects" and additional resources for the industrial production.[89]

The second key issue that would be solved in such nomadic societies is that of *domestication of life*, meaning the shift from nomadic societies to sedentary ones. Such move entailed a desire for control over a predictable system, which subordinated both humans and nature. One way of ensuring this was to enclose certain strips of land which destroyed the common access to resources for all and laid the foundation for property.[90] Most crucially was domestication, because it categorically subordinated other nomadic forms of living and wiped them out wherever it encountered them. An example would be the genocides against indigenous populations all over the world in the wage of colonisation[91]. In another step, domestication with its growing rates of reproduction lead to *mass society* as in the overpopulation of the planet which firstly makes non-hierarchical organisational modes a lot more difficult due to political interdependence[92] and secondly exceeds the caring capacity of the earth[93]. A radical decrease of population is therefore inevitable to solve the climate crisis. How this is supposed to be conducted in reality is left open by anarcho-primitivists.

While **post-development** might indeed agree to the first two points it would reject the notion that only nomadic life can be climatically sustainable. Focussing on their proposal of a revival of *local culture and communities*, post-development would argue, that sedentary lifestyles are indeed not synonymous with a destruction of the commons but could just as well as nomadic indigenous

87 Uri Gordon. *Anarchy Alive!*. London: Pluto Press 2008. Passim.
88 Jacques Ellul. *The Technological Society*. Toronto: Vintage. 1964. Passim
89 David Watson. *Against the Megamachine*. Brooklyn: Autonomedia. 2003. pp. 24-139
90 Derrick Jensen. *Endgame. Vol. 1. The Problem of Civilisation*. New York: Seven Stories Press. 2006. Passim.
91 David Watson. *Against the Megamachine*. Brooklyn: Autonomedia. 2003. Passim.
92 Theodore Kaczynski. *Industrial Society and its Future*. Berkeley: Jolly Roger Press. 1996. Passim.
93 David Watson. *Against the Megamachine*. Brooklyn: Autonomedia. 2003. Passim.

cultures serve as an inspiration for the creation of low-impact and post-carbon communities and societies. Similarly another argument that has been forwarded by anarcho-primitivists, namely the establishment of patriarchy through domestication of life is contradicted through the literature within the feminist strand of post-development, which argues, that a preservation of the traditional sedentary culture has to be an option, especially for the preservation of the emancipation of women[94].

Consequently, the feminist strand in post-development is proposing *local subsistence economies and communities* in order to avoid the post-modern absence of concrete alternative leaves that allows arbitrary politics created by sceptical post-development. As such the proposal of local subsistence communities is seen ecological post-development feminists as itself empowering women and defeating the reactionary approaches of development that we came across in the first analytical chapter. While not wanting to offer a universal truth or blue-print, post-development feminists examining Ladakh have shown the success of such a subsistence option[95]. Similarly it has been shown, that subsistence allows for dignity and pride in women and if conducted as a „personal claim to freedom"[96] helps to foster their autonomy from development if conducted as a conscious. Not least because of this focus on solution from the grassroots movements and from the bottom up, have post-development scholars warned of statist or market-based solutions to climate change, such as carbon trading[97]. Hence the idea of subsistence communities is not a problem as portrayed by sceptical post-development but a solution to the patriarchal feature of commodification of household and reproduction work in capitalist development and therewith reclaiming nature as a liberating feature for women.[98] It becomes obvious, that a combination of emancipatory elements in traditional culture, as in subsistence culture, with especially non-material ideas of modernity, as in a conscious rejection of patriarchy is need to completely erode the basis for reactionary climate politics in a feminist post-development view.

Ecological anarchism or more specifically Social Ecology, more deeply rooted in a Western outlook on alternatives, finds inspiration in the pre-literate societies which were based on individual autonomy, mutual cooperation, interdependence, unconditional satisfaction of material and social

94 E. P. Thompson. *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary.* Stanford: Stanford University Press 1988. Passim.
95 Helena Norberg-Hodge. *Ancient Future: Learning from Ladakh.* London: Rider & Co 2001. Passim.
96 Ivan Illich. *Deschooling Society.* London: Penguin Books 1973. Passim.
97 Various Authors. Carbon Trading. *Development Dialogue No. 48.* DHF: Uppsala. 2006. Passim
98 Vandana Shiva. *Earth Democracy.* London: ZedBooks. 2005. Passim.

needs and so on but which lacked a self-consciousness. These agricultural and hunter and gatherer societies change when cities came into being which allowed for authoritarian technology, capitalist surplus accumulation, domination over nature and women[99]. Nevertheless Bookchin for instance remains inspired by the Greeks ancient local democracy, their ideals of local self-sufficiency as well as the historical examples of the anarchist tradition, also as a tool for solving the climate crisis.

As a societal solution Bookchin offers what he calls "*ecotopia*", a society in which the political psyche which is freed of dominative and hierarchical logics and in which an anarchist reason is established through recovering the "continuum between out natural world and out social world, out biological being and out rationality"[100]. Such ecotopia is possible because our current industrial society allows us to choose our needs freely. An environment that would favour such condition would be a collection of communes which are freely federated and are governing themselves autonomously and economically establishing anarcho-communism in which private property is abolished and goods distributed according to needs and making use of libertarian technologies such as craft workshops and renewable energies[101].

Similarly, the sceptical **post-development** tradition is said to extend struggles for self-determination in the third world in channeling them against development with its oppressive structures of for instance state, market and science. As much as social ecology favours ancient democracy, in post-development representative democracy is deconstructed as a political system that encourages elitism arguing that „in modern democracies, a small minority decides for the people [...] A minimal minority promulgates the laws and makes the important decisions. Alternance in power between competing parties or "democratic counterweights" does not modify that fact'"[102]. At the same time however the liberal democratic system serves as an 'umbrella' under which the odds of social movements' struggles for autonomy are far better than under a dictatorship".[103]

As a consequences, sceptical post-development pleads for radical decentralisation of power to the local level may it be political or economic power[104]. „A vision of the future in the Third World

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99 Janet Biehl. *The Politics of Social Ecology.* Black Rose Books: Montreal. 1997. Passim.

100 Marius de Geus. *Ecological Utopias.* Utrecht: International Books 1999. Passim.

101 Marius de Geus. *Ecological Utopias.* Utrecht: International Books 1999. Passim.

102 Gustavo Esteva & Prakash. *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures.* London: Zed Books. 1998. Passim.

103 Gustavo Esteva. Regenerating peoples s space,*Alternatives*, 12 (1). 1987. pp. 125 152

104 Gustavo Esteva. Preventing green redevelopment, Development. *Journal of SID*, 2. 1991. pp. 74 78.

must explicitly be one of a decentralized polity, economy, and society. In addition to the obvious forms of political and economic decentralization, there is also a need for what may be termed epistemological decentralization"[105]. What this „epistemological decentralization" is a rejection of the notion of universal, „objective" truth and knowledge[106]. Hence not only the idea of political representation is dismissed by the sceptical post-development theory but also that of epistemological representation: „The ability to represent the world conceptually and symbolically enables the disengaged observer to manipulate that world"[107].

Even more radically, anarcho-primitivism within **ecological anarchism** rejects science even as one world view among many, arguing that modern technology that originates out of this "scientism" is regarded to enforce and perpetuate the division of labour alluded to above. Focussing on the industrial reality of technology in the present, anarcho-primitivists argue that it is as complex system involving the global division of labour, resource extraction and exploitation especially in the form of wiping out traditional modes of living[108]. As such technology is never neutral, but moreover is always linked to a system of domination and control.[109] This is the case for all; those with access to the technology, those providing the raw materials for its production and those involved in the manufacturing itself. Further, industrial society and technology originating thereof is self-perpetuating the dynamics explained above as every new innovation of technology goes hand in hand with supportive technologies that needs to be fuelled, maintained and repaired[110].

As an alternative to the scientific worldview Bookchin's develops a *philosophy of nature*, in which he follows Kropotkins idea of mutual aid within natural systems. He argued, that nature is not competitive in character but intrinsically mutually cooperative and that from nature we can derive an objective ethics for ultimate human freedom[111]. Human beings however are unique in that they are creative, conscious and purposeful beings able to shape societies and make their own history. As such humans are intrinsically social beings needing to associate, to care for our own kind and

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105 Apffel-Marglin & Marglin (eds.). *Dominating Knowledge: Development, Culture and Resistance.* Oxford: Clarendon. 1990. pp. 73 101.
106 Apffel-Marglin & Marglin (eds.). *Decolonizing Knowledge. From Development to Dialogue.* Oxford: Clarendon 1996. p. 1 & Passim
107 Apffel-Marglin & Marglin (eds.). *Decolonizing Knowledge. From Development to Dialogue.* Oxford: Clarendon 1996. p. 12 & Passim
108 Derrick Jensen. *Endgame. Vol. 1. The Problem of Civilisation.* New York: Seven Stories Press. 2006. pp. 1-445.
109 John Zerzan. *Future Primitive: and Other Essays.* Brooklyn: Autonomedia. 1994. pp. 24-50
110 Kirkpatrick Sale. *Rebels Against the Future.* New York: Perseus. 1996. Passim
111 Peter Kropotkin. *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution.* London: Freedom Press. 1998. Passim.

collaborate[112].

Contrary however to post-development and other ecological anarchist objections to science, at the beginning of Social Ecology stands the idea of *post-scarcity anarchism*, a state of affairs he argues which can be achieved with the help of modern technology. This dissolution of the material scarcity as a pre-requisite for many relations of hierarchy and domination through "technology of abundance" is hence crucial[113].

When talking about how to achieve such a society, Bookchin refuses to make a distinction between means and ends for social change and achieving an anarchist society. Only the abolishment not the overtaking of power will be able to achieve such an eco-anarchist society which constantly challenges power to arise. A combination of "propaganda by deed", hence the construction of alternative communities by affinity groups and a long process of enlightenment is his proposal. Such process will eventually lead to the "magic moment" of revolution[114].

That such an uncompromising commitment to anarchist social change is contradictory to ideas in the marginal neo-populist school of **post-development** can be shown through the dangerous rejection and interpretation of the "decay of cultural diversity" which then leads to an appraisal for some kind of enlightened authoritarianism. Rahnema argues that people are not be asked as they have " internalized the developers' perception of what they need" and decision making should hence for "the good of the community" be entrusted to certain leaders, "the wisest, most virtuous and hence the most "authoritative" and experienced persons of the groups—those who commanded everyone's respect and deference"[115].

It is also contradictory to the anarchist simplicity argument within **ecological anarchism**, which offers as a *response to the last dilemma of individualism versus collective action* the political philosophy of Gandhi. For him, both, a means and an end is 'swaraj' or self-rule. In this political theory the individual and it's autonomy is at the core and meant the „continuous effort to be free of government control, whether it is foreign or whether it is national".[116] The individual is then a drop in the water from which an „oceanic circle" originates. These outer circles would be the self-reliant and self-sufficient village economy, based on local and renewable resource, handicrafts and artisan

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112Peter Marshall. *Demanding the Impossible.* London: Fontana Press. 1993. Passim.
113Murray Bookchin. *Post-Scarcity Anarchism.* Montreal: Black Rose Books. 1986. pp. 80-92
114Murray Bookchin. *The Ecology of Freedom.* Edinburgh: AK Press. 2005. pp. 166, 391-395, 406-410
115Rahnema and Bawtree (eds.). *The Post-Development Reader.* London: ZedBooks. 1997. p. 389
116George Woodcock. *Gandhi.* London: Fontana Press 1972. p. 86

production, where decisions are made in consensus by those concerned and social life would self-organise itself on mutual aid and voluntary agreements to a state in which "there is no political power because there is no state". These communities would even be able to defend themselves non-violently in forms of peace brigades. However in order for such a political order to prevail, simplicity was a core necessity and pre-requisite.[117]

In order to achieve such a society it need, both individually and collectively a *redefinition of both wealth and needs.* Both, wealth that creates poverty and artificial material needs that are the basis for such a materialist definition of wealth are to be abandoned.

As an alternative anarchist simplicity offers a definition of wealth as quality not quantity. Time for contemplation, creation of beauty and work as leisure is their demand. As such it transcends anarcho-primitivism and social ecology by allowing both rational and irrational basis for such re-definition. The ideal of a society of simple craftsmen creating hand-made, spartan, beautiful, useful things should satisfy both afore mentioned strands with their ideals of unalienated work, may that be primitive of highly skilled artisanship[118]. Anarchist simplicity aims to create affluence and abundance through simplicity not through a materialist "post-scarcity" based on technology and leaving space for aesthetics found in primitive societies. Similarly it turns down the argument of an over-population (anarcho-primitivism) at the same time as it rejects the idea that our present levels of consumption would allow a "post-scarcity" life for all (Social Ecology). It turn it states that due to *overconsumption instead of overpopulation* material excess is dependent on the impoverishment of others[119]. A solution is once again a combination of individual as well as collective simplicity in alternative communes in combination with direct action and resistance[120].

Now when looking at the the reasons for anarchist simplicity advocating a simple life it becomes clear that they are twofold. Firstly they originate from the individual autonomously wanting to work in leisure and in an unalienated fashion, fulfilling an anarcho-primitivist demand and secondly in order not to create wealth through the impoverishment of others reflecting Bookchins worry about the interconnection between social and environmental issues[121].

A response to the *issue of civilisation* from an anarchist simplicity perspective a quote from

117 Mohandas Gandhi. *Hind Swaraj.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997. pp. 188-189
118 William Coperthwaite. *A Handmade Life.* Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing. 2007. Passim.
119 William Morris. 'Communism' in *The Political Writings.* London: Lawrence & Wishart 1973. Passim.
120 William Morris. 'Society of the Future' in *The Political Writings.* London: Lawrence & Wishart 1973. Passim.
121 Leo Tolstoy. *Social Evils and their Remedy.* London: Methuen. 1915. Passim.

Gandhi does the work. Asked by a journalist when coming to England what he thought about Western civilisation he said: "It would be a good idea". Hence, anarchist simplicity transcends the question of whether civilisation is "good" (Social Ecology) or "bad" (anarcho-primitivism) by arguing that is has never existed and that the realization of civilisation would indeed lie in anarchist simplicity itself. Such a civilisation would indeed be able to *combine nomadic and sedentary ways of life* mutually inspiring each other and therewith transcending yet another ecological anarchist dilemma.

Concluding we can say that, when we once again neglecting the neo-populist school of post-development several commonalities between the two theories can be noted. Firstly both of them reject a separation of end and means and favour a combination of constructing real alternatives to their receptively analysed root causes of climate change and direct action as resistance to reveal these very root causes and if possible challenge them directly and physically. This presents a clear position on the aim of direct action which cannot be merely symbolical but has to be practically stopping destructive practices as well. Furthermore both theories have what could be called a long-term revolutionary perspective which rejects the notion that a short-term revolution will bring about the deep structural changes both in lifestyle and the system that are needed, without loosing this very demand for systemic social change. As mentioned, both theories also demand a combination of lifestyle change and social change. However both of these changes have to originate from below and can not be enforced by existing structures from above which created the problem in the first place. Somewhat diverting from the commonality of rejecting technology as a solution and identifying it as one root cause of climate change, social ecology within ecological anarchism gives it an unusually emancipatory profile. Also common is a demand for radical decentralisation and some sort of communal way of simple living in which there will be "luxury for all" in terms of mental satisfaction but not in terms of material overshoot. Lastly another minor deviation can be found in primitivism which instead of overconsumption analysis overpopulation as the issue to be solve by a population reduction which is not supported by neither the rest of ecological anarchism nor the post-development political theory.

The third and last key issue question focusses on the theoretical comparison of the two political theories through the question of the relation of the radical climate action movement to „others" that are not directly involved in the movement. How can the radical climate action movement establish a solidarity towards social movements in the global South while looking at the industrial development in those countries with severe reservations? Should renewable resources in the South exploited for the energy lust of the North?[122] Obviously an attempted prevention of this development could easily be called neo-imperialism, something the radical climate action movement definitely does not want to be called. Another question is how the radical climate action movement should relate to other social movements in other social and environmental struggles both globally and regionally? Where are the connection points to the wider anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation community? And are these radical alliances the only ones to be forged?[123] Or should a broad alliance based on inclusion and acceptance be a goal? Does this on the other hand not lead to the co-option of radical claims?[124] And how about the scientific community? Is „peer-reviewed science", really and armament against the system or rather a problem in itself? Would a more pragmatic attitude towards science be needed?[125]

Comparison on Key Issue III – How do we relate to „others?"

Focussing on **post-development** theorist Rist and his elaborations on North-South relationships it first necessary to mentions that he criticises that industrialism and its technology were one of the key feature of a totalitarian social evolutionism which rendered everything not "developing" through the path of industrialisation doomed to wither away. He alleges both industrial development and technology more generally to destroy self-reliance, as it is based on an inherent

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122Anonymous. Clean Energy from the Deserts?. *Camp for Climate Action Website.* Articles. 2007.
   <http://www.climatecamp.org.uk/drupal/?q=node/71>

123Klima-Aktion-Camp-Vorbereitungsgruppe. *Camping08?*. 2007. <http://klimacamp.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=88&Itemid=100>

124Anonymous. Where Next for Radical Climate Action?. *Now or Never Website.* 2007.
   <http://www.now-or-never.org.uk/wherenext.php>

125John Archer. Are we armed only with peer-reviewed science?. *SHIFT Magazine*. 2007.
   <http://www.shiftmag.co.uk/armedwithscience.html>

dependency relationship, in knowledge, ideology and financial aid to the global North[126]. Hence realizing such Darwinist evolutionism of the development ideology it is clear, that post-development theorists would argue that such a discourse would have to be abandoned by Western social movements before being able to interact effectively with grassroots movements in the globa South.

In line with that Rist argues that, industrial technology is nothing but providing wealth on „the costs of others" and the destruction of the environment as a „technique for plunder" of natural resources[127]. Industrial technology especially he saw as enriching the powerful and impoverishing the poor as well as his crucial political goal of self-rule of the individual and communities. He was arguing that industrial technology was crucial for mass-murder in wars. It is according to Gandhi undermining subsistence economies of small villages, disconnecting humans from nature and destroying it, increasing alienating work and eroding manual work as leisure and leading to diseases. Such could only persist through a quasi-religious belief in „development" and „progress" that are underlying industrial technology. The most powerful symbol for this might have been the Gandhian spinning wheel, which showed his rejection of machinery more generally and industrial machinery more generally.[128] Hence a non-technologist relationship to grassroots initiatives in the global South is demanded, since the use of technology in the Northern movements is in itself seen as a way of establishing an oppressive and dominative relationship to local communities in the South which has to be abandoned.

In line with that, **ecological anarchism**, or more precisely anarchist simplicity, seeks to create a "*cultural blending*" in both cases of *world views and technologies* as a relational politics to movements and people in the global South. This alternative is a response to the critique of French Christian anarchist Jacques Ellul arguing, that industrial technology has run completely out of control, and that men is not in control of it anymore, but that „autonomous technique" as he calls it is in control of human kind through its dogma of efficiency. Hence a non-technologist view would not only benefit North-South relationships but as well relationships within the network in the North. This technological totality is therefore contradictory to liberation and freedom and „eliminates or subordinates the natural world". It is however the state as well as capitalism and technology, which,

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126Gilbert Rist. *The History of Development.* London: ZedBooks 1997. pp. 41-42, 128-129, 216
127Wolfgang Sachs (ed.). *The Development Dictionary.* London: ZedBooks 1992. pp. 275-287
128Anthony J. Parel. *Gandhi   Hind Swaraj and other wrtitings.*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1997. pp. xviii   xix, lvii, 36-38, 69, 107-111, 164-170

engaged in a mutually supportive relationship to control humankind.[129] To overcome this technological religion a return to the emancipatory elements of traditional folk culture and crafting is required which is blended with achievements of modern times but always with the aim to simplify the act of creating[130]. Practically this could be seen as a practical act of relational solidarity towards communities in the South and their own specific folk and indigenous technologies. As such the movement would respect traditional cultures as demanded by anarcho-primitvists as well as incorporate demands of the "post-scarcity" age, by creating abundance through material simplicity.

Similar to ecological anarchism hence, others in the **post-development** discourse have further argued, that industrialism in the North is based on a global division of labour in which resources are plundered from the global peripheries, while the introduction of industrial technology in the global South has eroded well-being and independence through the destruction of artisan craftsmanship which helped to ensure autonomous self-sufficiency based on readily available local and renewable materials.[131] A notion that stresses the horizontal and non-technologist relational politics towards the South formulated before. Ecological post-development feminists in turn, have argued that this industrial destruction of subsistence economy has rendered women's subsistence work worthless and thereby enforced patriarchal relationships[132]. Hence it remains crucial for the radical climate action movement to consider what the "solutions" advocated by them would mean for women in the Southern hemisphere. Two other aspect of the post-development critique of industrial technology, crucial for relational politics, are that such technology, firstly with its 'one-size fits all' pre-supposition, destroys regional, extremely varied "vernacular", indigenous "technologies" which encourage "co-operation" and which "correspond to a profound need to be autonomous; not only an extension of people's hands and brain, but also a constant reminder of their need for conviviality [...]". And that secondly industrial technology is out of control and that we are in an age of "techno-logical fixes without any identifiable fixer". It is thereby "subjecting the whole of mankind", driven by "world capitalism" with its "global management" that is responsible for the impoverishment through development. "Real choices of a socio-political kind" are absent in the technology system[133]. Hence an act of solidarity by the radical climate action movement would be to

129 Jacques Ellul. *The Technological Society.* Toronto: Vintage. 1973. pp. 3-133.
130 William Coperthwaite. *A Handmade Life.* Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing. 2007. Passim.
131 Edward Goldsmith et al. *The Future of Progress.* Totnes: Resurgence Books. 1995. pp. 34-48
132 Mies & Shiva. *Ecofeminism.* London: ZedBooks. 1993. pp. 1-55
133 Rahnema and Bawtree (eds.). *The Post-Development Reader.* London: ZedBooks. 1997. pp. 115-116, 148-149

offer these "real choices" in the forms of concrete practices of alternative living in the global North. which encourage the social movements in the South to resist the development paradigm. This critique however is further expanded upon by arguing that even "moderate-impact technologies" are bound to the paradigm of industrialisation and the overstepping of "limits of nature". The thereby further the "hierarchy of modernity over 'non-modern' societies". The impossibility of catching up with "industrial society" through ecological constraints is also emphasized[134]. This offers yet another stone in the mosaic of relational politics, demanding from the radical climate action movement to abandon any subordinating relationship, which wants communities in the South to "catch-up" with for instance clean and green industrialism but rather pleads for a sharing of indigenous and local knowledge between resistance communities in the South and North.

A similarly radical argument on the relation to to science has been formulated by **ecological anarchism** or more specifically, anarcho-primitivism arguing that *science and technology* played a key role and enforced the dynamic of civilisation. As a basis for modern technology, science is analysed as a method of understanding with certain assumptions, that subordinates other ways of seeing the world. Logics within science such as abstraction, reductionism and observation from the outside, alienates humans and most importantly serves as a "dominant mechanistic religion" that justifies the destruction of traditional way of lives which can not be proven scientifically, through the imposition of industrial civilisation in the name of progress[135]. Hence a rejection of pure rationalist and scientific relational politics in necessary.

Similarly, anarchist simplicity remains critical of all Western mainstream traditions such as science. Consequently it views the world view generated by science as one way of seeing the world but exists on a horizontal plane with all other traditions, all of which encompass motivations for a life of simplicity[136]. This then demands a pragmatic approach to science. Taking science as a tool whenever necessary but never letting it slip into a totalitarian notion under which to subordinate the movement ("We are armed only with peer-reviewed science").

Another arguments against this dominative relational politics based on science if forwarded by **post-development** „forefather", Ivan Illich, who criticised industrial society for its unaccessible institutionalised expert knowledge and the role of technocratic elites which are required to keep it

134Kriemild Saunders (ed.). *Feminist Post-Development Thought.* London: ZedBooks. 2002. pp. 19, 23
135Alice Carnes & Zerzan. *Questioning Technology.* London: Freedom Press. 1988. Passim.
136George Woodcock. *Gandhi.* London: Fontana Press 1972. Passim.

running[137]. Hence the radical climate action movement would quickly slip into a role of such an expert elite when using pure scientism as a basis for solidarity relation to the communities and movements in the global South.

As a consequence, ecological post-feminists have argued for a *rejection of modernity and development* whenever helpful as it could be argued that modernity with its „catching-up" ideology has actually imposed a male dominated system upon women who before that took pride and autonomy from subsistence work[138]. Similarly feminists in post-development showed how through a rejection of development and modernity, and the upholding of ecological traditions in India, a regenerative effect for women and the relations of patriarchy can be achieved and the Western dualism between culture and nature be challenged[139]. Hence ecological post-development shows that the current discussion around modernity within the radical climate action movement has to be balanced a lot more to allow for emancipation through several traditions, not only the modernist one. Especially, when anti-modernism can point towards concrete alternatives to patriarchal relationships.

In a somewhat similar fashion even if more radically and based on internal Northern relational politics, **ecological anarchism**, and anarcho-primitivism especially, argues that it is necessary for radical movements such as the radical climate action movement, to separate itself from what is commonly known as "the Left", due to it's dogmatism (ideas of "unity", "the masses" and "progressive"), also that towards modernity and as mentioned "progress", and collectivism as a mode of organisation. The later being rejected because of its suppression of the individual desire for the "collective good"[140] Contrary to that, Social Ecology around the political theorist Bookchin, is deeply rooted in the "traditional Left" and its modes of collective mass organisation[141] and warns about increasing individualism and lifestyle politics and the collapse of movement politics.

A balance could here be stricken through that sceptical **post-development** which rejects any universal blue-prints which would once again only create new power-relationships. As such it would agree to both proposals for modes of organisation for the radical climate action movement

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137 Ivan Illich. *Tools for Conviviality.* London: Calder & Boyars. 1973. Passim

138 Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen et. al. (eds.). *There Is An Alternative.* London: ZedBooks 2001. Passim.

139 Apffel-Marglin & Marglin (eds.). *Dominating Knowledge: Development, Culture and Resistance.* Oxford: Clarendon. 1990. pp. 73–101.

140 John Zerzan. *Future Primitive: and Other Essays.* Brooklyn: Autonomedia. 1994. Passim.

141 Murray Bookchin. *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism.* AK Press: London. 1995. Passim

mentioned above, if they avoid beings rooted in some ideological blue-prints. An example of such rejection is sceptical post-development's critique of Marxist categories of class, since „social classes never existed as such" and society „cannot be reduced to the economic sphere" as well as of determinstic history as it amounts to „privileged knowledge" and „blind faith". A consequence is hence to "give up the idea of educating others' and combat all proposals for a common discourse"[142]. Hence post-development would argue for a horizontal cooperation between different modes of organisation and relations to each other each of which should not dominate the other through imposition of "common discourse". Ultimately this hence means, that "respect for cultural diversity [...] prohibits generalizations. There are numerous ways of living a "good life", and it is up to each society to invent its own"[143].

A different argumentation with a similar outcome within post-development however is that relational politics need to be be be negotiated horizontally between local knowledge (Southern) and such modernist approaches as science (Nothern) testing both for the emancipatory potential for the respective case. That both an inducement of modernism as well as a critical preservation of local knowledge, if otherwise societies would be impoverished by Western culture, are legitimate has been shown by several feminist case studies[144]. The tendency however is that a combination of the preservation of emancipatory traditions and less so an inducement of modernism is the best way against patriarchy[145]. Such relational politics could also be interpreted for Northern internal politics of relation through arguing that horizontal negotiation between different ways to approach and solve the problem of politics in the radical climate action movement need to stand next to each other with each being tested through its practice on its emancipatory potential but not stopped as long as it does not hinder other approaches.

Concluding we can say that concerning relational movement politics between North and South, a horizontal approach to grassroots communities from the climate action movement is demanded by both theories. This horizontalism means an abandonment of all dominative discourses and practices. The first deriving, from the development and science discourses and the second from

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142Gustavo Esteva. Regenerating peoples s space,*Alternatives*, 12 (1). 1987. pp. 125 152
143Gilbert Rist. *The History of Development*. London: ZedBooks 1997. pp. 241-287
144Kriemild Saunders (ed.). *Feminist Post-Development Thought*. London: ZedBooks. 2002. Passim
145Helena Norberg-Hodge. 'Economics of Happiness' in *Resurgence* No. 245. Bideford: Resurgence 2007.

the practical consequences of technology and lifestyle within social movements such as the radical climate action one. This however also means a rejection of creating a guilt argument against communities in the global South that "are developed" right now, but demands a radical switch in every day life of resistance communities in the North, that inspires movements in the South horizontally to resist this systemic domination through forced development. A strand of ecological anarchism that might not be all to happy with this approach is Social Ecology, with it's deeps root in the Western Enlightenment tradition. Focussing on the internal movement politics this Social Ecology would also put a focus on unity and mass movements, other traditions in ecological anarchism as well as post-development are more a lot more sceptical. Rather then a united mass movement they tend to demand a combination of radical change within every day life and a decentralisation of movement politics which network and discuss horizontally while not trying to dominate each other. As such the cutting edge and radical argument it is argued by both theories has to be preserved, this however is not seen as contradictory to broad network politics as long as they do no demand unity but radical diversity. As such, with the exception of Social Ecology once again, post-development as well as ecological anarchism would reject a focus of the radical climate action movement on science as a "weapon" while the identify as a crucial dynamic of domination and would accept it only if at all as one world view among others that should be used cautiously.

Conclusion

In this last part and concluding part of the essay, it shall be summarized what overall commonalities and differences can be found between the two political theories, after having compared them through the radical climate action debate. As a consequence outlooks will be given firstly on the perspective of a further dialogue between the two theoretical currents and some proposals for such a way forward formulated. Secondly, internal disputes within each of the political theories will be summarized and solution proposals be forwarded. Last and thridly perspectives of the radical climate action movement shall be discussed, based on the theoretical discourse around it created through the application of the two theories in this paper.

Focussing hence on the **commonalities** of the two political theories, one can firstly mention, that both of them deconstruct and reveal certain meta-narratives behind the climate change crisis and thereby offer a systemic analysis of the issue. Post-development reveals the discourse of development as crucial, while ecological anarchism focusses on the dynamics of domination of which climate is a symptom.

Secondly, focussing on the solutions to the climate change crisis, common proposals are a focus on social movements and grassroots communities, which enforce a dualistic strategy of resisting the system physically trying to sabotage it and simultaneously construct radically decentralised alternatives, that satisfy the needs, as claims of freedom, that the system satisfies only for the privileged if for any, and thereby build alternative infrastructure that can be used after systemic changes have occurred through massive, decentralised direct action. Both advocate radical plurality within this framework in which one action does not hinder the action of others in the movement.

Thirdly, when looking at the relational politics, that alliance politics should not end up in compromises. For these alliance, both theories propose horizontal networks of radical plurality in which debate is stimulated internally as well as through the actions themselves. Both argue, that in order to effectively combat the climate crisis, broad radical networks need to be established, with ecological anarchists focussing on the anti-globalisation, anti-capitalist movement and post-development on the grassroots, subsistence communities in the South. Overlaps here are obviously present.

Now, when looking at the **differences** between the two political theories, which are as seen above rather small, another three points can be noted. Firstly, there is a difference in heritage. While ecological anarchism, being connected to anarchism more broadly is as a distinct political theory, rooted in the Western world, even if partly inspired by non-Western approaches, post-development has a distinct heritage in the global South. This does lead to different argumentations that proceed the common points mentioned above. Secondly there is a difference between the metanarratives of the two political theories. While from an anarchist perspective, post-development takes one form of

domination and makes it the underlying cause of all forms of domination. This is a contrast to anarchism as well as ecological anarchism, which argues, that ecological and social issues can never be reduced to one form of domination, may thay be economical exploitation (Marxism) or a single discourse (post-development). Domination as power over others can thereby persist even if these forms of dominations would be abolished and have to be continuously challenged. Hence both in marxist-communist societies and in post-development subsistence communities domination still prevails. Hence, such reductionism is dangerous, according to Anarchism. This difference might be explained, by that anarchism is thirdly a political theory that originated out of political practice and culture, while post-development is a theory that evolved in what has been called by some the „academic ivory tower".

Having laid out the differences we can now focus on ways forward and and the question of **whats next in the relationship between the two political theories**? Firstly a key role for the dialogue between the two theories is embodied in anarchist simplicity. In this strand of ecological anarchism, many of the overlapping authors between post-development and ecological anarchism can be found. Therefore authors such as Gandhi, Illich, Esteva, Escobar, Graeber and Thoreau could take on a mediating role between the theoretical traditions. Such statements from post-development theorists as

> „All communities in the South I know of are hierarchically structured. Anarchism is but another Western idea (with some roots in pre-Soviet Russia), which, to my opinion, has no future. Any society must abide by commonly accepted rules. Leaders have to be designated and respected. This does not mean that the "democratic" rule has to be enforced. Other modes (even "traditional" ones) are possible."[146]

show a severe of lack in communication. That many ecological anarchist scholars have indeed conducted anthropological studies on non-hierarchical, traditional societies shows the ignorance of many post-development theorists[147]. As such, probabaly the most promising option, also considering the academic isolation of the post-development school, is the integration of post-development into especially ecological anarchism, which has already been partly done by anarchist simplicity but has

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146Gilbert Rist. Personal E-Mail Conversation. 2007.
147Note: For these studies see David Graeber (2004; 2007) and Barclay (1982;1997)

to be conducted a lot more passionately. The realization that "development" is indeed one major form of domination both in industrialised and traditional societies has not yet come about and leads to very dangerous and in themselves dominative attitudes towards progress, science, technology as well as towards societies in the South. As such a deeper investigation is needed in how far and in what way the concept of Western civilisation in ecological anarchism and the concept of development interrelate. Is only Western civilisation dominative? Does Western civilisation already exist or is it something still to be achieved though cultural blending? One approach then, to integrate post-development into anarchism would be to let loose the idea of a dogmatic political ideology or theory and rather long for a state of affairs, a mode of organisation or a political culture simply called "anarchy" and abandon the "-ism". The aim of anarchy as a situation without domination as power over, would also do away with the dogma of development and accept all forms of local knowledge, spirituality, religiosity and so on as long as they prevail in this situation and political culture of anarchy. This strategy would also take into account the critique of blueprints launched by sceptical post-development. Practically, movements and communities that embody these values already are the decroissance movement in France, many self-conscious subsistence communities in the South, such as the Zapatistas, social movements mostly centring around indigenous and peasant populations against mining and industrialisation in the South as well as hopefully such movements in the North, of which the radical climate action movement could be a part if taking these proposals seriously.

Fourthly focussing on ways forward and the question **what's next internally within each of the two theories** it can be noted that within **ecological anarchism**, even independently from incorporating post-development, a stronger emphasis should be put on the anarchist simplicity tradition for reasons of internal reconciliation. Central disputes include the issue of the Enlightenment, such as science, rationalism and technology, in which social ecology is deeply rooted, while anarcho-primitivism has a strong critique against it[148]. Similarly, Bookchins heritage originates from the old Left along with its, even if radically adjusted modes, ideas of collective organisation, which again is turned down by anarcho-primitivists in favour of individual

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148Murray Bookchin. *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism.* AK Press: London. 1995. Passim

autonomy[149]. Finally another contrasts exists between anarcho-primitivists who claim that humankind has a „population problem", that industrialism is structurally tied to exploitation of the impoverished and nature and hence focusses on biocentric worldview against which Bookchin pits his often quiet arrogant humanism and hence anthropocentric perspective[150]. That these two strands are however not *mutually exclusive*, despite the raging debate between them has been shown by timely research by Alan Carter[151] and the definition of the anarchist consensus and description of its political culture by Gordon[152]. However, anarchist simplicity as outlined in the theoretical framework chapter has probably the greatest potential for these alleged contradictions.

Similarly, **post-development** with not nearly as much internal differences, should nevertheless urgently rid itself off the in reality very marginal neo-populist strand, through putting and emphasis on ecological and post-development feminism and sceptical post-development, which is more likely to accept alleged disadvantages of neo-populist post-development, when shown, that these are indeed not part of this reactionary branch within the discipline, but rather part of the emancipatory feminist tradition within it.

Lastly the radical climate action movement as part of the broader anti-capitalist movement needs to reflect uncompromisingly through the theoretical tools laid out in this essay and even tackle quasi-holy dogmas such as embodied in such paroles "Luxury for All" as "Everything for Everybody, Everything for Free". What material standard of living does a gift-economy entail. What exactly means luxury in the face of ecological and more importantly climate collapse? Wouldn't the answer be a socially and mentally luxurious, while materially frugal and simple society? In the end we still want to eat, house and travel after the revolution. All this needs artisan skills we do not have and non-dominative infrastructure that is not yet in place.

<div align="center">

"Nobody has the Right to Obey"

Hannah Arendt

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149 Murray Bookchin. *Social Ecology and Communalism*. AK Press: London. 2007. Passim
150 Murray Bookchin. *Which way for the Ecology Movement*. AK Press: London. 1994. Passim
151 Alan Carter. *A Radical Green Political Theory*. New York: Routledge. 1999. Passim.
152 Uri Gordon. *Anarchy Alive!*. London: Pluto Press 2008. Passim.

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