

PAWEŁ MALENDOWICZ  
Bydgoszcz  
ORCID: 0000-0003-2325-9966

## SUBSTANTIALIST STATE PHOBIA IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THOUGHT

The term “state phobia” refers to the thought and publications of the French scholar Michel Foucault (1926-1984) (see: Dean, Villadsen 2016). For the author of this paper, state phobia is aversion to the state, stemming from fear of the state. The phenomenon of fear is examined in political sciences on numerous levels and in multiple contexts. However, themes related to fear appear most frequently as a side issue in social engineering studies and impact on people. Justification of fear may also be useful in examining power, leadership, political participation, social conformism, violence in politics, terrorism and fundamentalism, armed conflicts, stereotypification, manipulation and accreditation in the public sphere (Pierzchalski, Golinowski 2016: 9-12). Nevertheless, the author focused on fear, aversion and, more broadly, phobia directed at state. Phobia as such denotes fear, whereas state phobia is manifested in aversion towards the state. However, it must be noted that aversion to the state should be analysed in two dimensions: substantialist and accidentalist. Substantialist criticism relies on perceiving essential evil in the criticised phenomenon, which is embedded in the nature of the phenomenon as such. Such evil, manifested in the material aspect, cannot be removed. It is an immanent feature of a criticised phenomenon, which can be done away only by simultaneously doing away with the entire phenomenon. Accidentalist aversion refers to accidental and unnecessary defects; it has an occasional nature. Such defects may be repaired, removed or healed (Bartyzel 2009: 11). The subject matter of the paper is substantialist state phobia in the contemporary political thought. The postulate of liquidation of the state does not occur in currents of political thought which feature elements of accidentalist state phobia; there is only a postulate of reforms of the state.

The opposite of state phobia is “state latry”. This is worship of the state resulting from its adoration. Analogously to Jacek Bartyzel’s definition of demolatry (Polish: *demolatria*) as “public ‘worship’ founded on democratic ideology and based on a belief in the ‘rule of the people’ and celebration of democratic ‘religion’” (Bartyzel 2002: 7), state latry may be defined as the public ‘worship’ founded on state ideology, based on a belief in the state and celebration of the ‘state’ religion. On the other hand, within the meaning of pursued mode of thinking in the form of a political system, a manifestation of the implemented etatist system is statocracy, characteristic for, e.g.,

the political system and the dominant mode of thinking among the political elites of the Russian Federation (Bäcker 2007). The author of the paper defined the state in reference to the traditional definition of Georg Jellinek (power, territory, people), but also as an institution that exists in the logical and normative dimension, a category of the language, a representation of the system of standards regulating people's behaviour, psychical experiences of people related to institutions, power and governing, a type of a common value and goals, as well as a large social group with common historical experiences. A state is a political organisation, where the authorities organise the collaboration of social groups and choose the modes of solving conflicts among them; it is a hierarchy of standards and values, positions and roles, structures and ideas; this is a territorial organisation, internally and externally sovereign, compulsory, as well as the organisation of rule of some over the whole (Lamentowicz 1996: 8-10).

The purpose of the paper is to identify arguments addressed against the state, as well as analysis of determinants of state phobia in selected currents of political thought. Based on the status of knowledge on political science, and in particular knowledge in the area of the contemporary political thought, it is possible to conclude that the substantialist criticism of the state characterises the anarchist thought. Substantialist state phobia is also present in the currents of thought that, with respect to criticism of the state, show similarities to anarchism. These are: anarcho-capitalism, national anarchism, tribalism, primitivism and anarcho-transhumanism. The author decided that substantialist state phobia is not a feature of various trends of communist thought, as they treat the state (capitalist and socialist) as a step necessary for the communism to exist.

The above-listed trends may be characterised as independent currents of political thought, or as trends of anarchism. They may be classified as independent trends of political thought only when their analysis is holistic, i.e. it pertains to all layers of political thought: systems of values, criticism of reality, methods of its changes and a vision of the future. They are classified as trends of anarchism when authors of analyses rely on a conviction that the idea of freedom is a primeval value in them (as in anarchism without adjectives), whereas all layers of the political thought are determined by it, which durably binds them with anarchism. Finally, some of these currents may be classified not as trends in anarchism, but as other ideologies. Such classifications are possible if the idea of freedom is not their original value, but a value which determines the relations with non-anarchist trends of political thought is an overriding or equivalent value to the idea of freedom. And thus: anarcho-capitalism may be classified as a trend of libertarianism, national anarchism as a trend of radical nationalism, whereas anarcho-transhumanism as a trend of transhumanism. All of the above-listed modes of positioning currents of political thought are justified when the researcher's stand is characterised by lability and deprived of dogmatism in defining a political thought.

Irrespective of the above, all of the aforementioned currents of political thought emerged at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, outside of the dominant modes of thinking about the state and its future. All of them challenged the necessity of existence of the state.

In relation to the study goal formulated in this manner, the author asked the following research questions:

- which arguments against the state were formulated by the authors of political thought characterised by substantialist state phobia?
- which values determined the criticism of the state on the part of authors of state phobic currents of political thought?
- what were the differences and similarities among the currents of political thought characterised by substantialist state phobia?
- which functions may be performed by state phobic political thought with respect to a democratic state?

Based on these questions, the author formulated a study hypothesis, in line with which the substantialist state phobia is determined by the process of maximising the idea of freedom in political thought, which affects the aversion or hostility towards the state. Such thought may perform both constructive and destructive functions with respect to a democratic state.

In order to verify the research hypothesis, the author analysed source texts (ideological, programme, propaganda and journalistic texts) of the above-listed political movements, their leaders and acolytes.

The paper is divided into chapters. Every chapter corresponds to one current of political thought. In the final part of the paper, the author shows functions of the state phobic political thought with respect to a democratic state.

#### ANARCHISM (WITHOUT ADJECTIVES)

Anarchism is a trend of political thought which has been developing since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its forerunners were, *inter alia*: Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876) and Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921). Nowadays, the anarchist movement operates in various forms. First of all, there are local groups that create national federations. The following organisations operate on the international level: the International of Anarchist Federations – *L’Internationale des Fédérations Anarchistes*, which was set up in 1968 and the International Workers’ Association, established in 1922. There were also other international organisations which brought together anarchist groups and whose programmes included declarations for pursuing less significant currents in anarchism (see: Malendowicz 2011, Marshall 2010). The modern anarchist movement does not have such distinctive leaders as the anarchism of the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The overriding idea in anarchism is freedom. This is freedom both from any coercion, including compulsory organisations, but first and foremost from the state, as well as freedom to anything to which man, as a creature naturally free and socialised, is entitled. In one of their information brochures, anarchists from Great Britain wrote: “The Anarchist Federation is an organisation of revolutionary class struggle anarchists. We aim for the abolition of all hierarchy, and work for the creation of a world-

wide classless society: anarchist communism” (Anarchist Federation 2010: 37). They also rejected capitalism claiming that it relies on the exploitation of the working class by the ruling class. According to them, social inequalities also refer to race, gender, sexuality, health, skills and age, which means that some people are higher and others lower in the social hierarchy. There are the rulers and the ruled. Such system is reinforced by organised religions, which were also negated by anarchists (Anarchist Federation 2010: 37-38).

Programme documents of the Polish Anarchist Federation had similar content. In one of them, the opponents of state wrote:

“As anarchists, we are convinced that the inevitable concentration of power in the system of state communism must lead to the emergence of a narrow elite of power controlling the rest of the society with means of administrative coercion, whereas concentration of capital in the capitalist system leads to the emergence of an equally narrow elite, controlling the society by means of economic coercion. Given the fact that none of these situations can be reconciled with the idea of omnipresent freedom, we are the proponents of abolishing any hierarchical structures, both in the social and the economic life” (Federacja Anarchistyczna 2010).

As an alternative for the state, the anarchists postulated creation of a network of autonomous organisations, based on the principles of voluntariness and self-governance. They are meant to cover all aspects of social life, as part of which members of the society could satisfy their life needs. Similarly to British anarchists, also the anarchists from the Polish Anarchist Federation believed that the society is dominated by a narrow ruling class, holding either administrative power or capital, governing the rest of the society in its own interest. According to them, the ruling class - having gained power - even as a result of democratic endowment, is no longer interested in maintaining democratic rules of the game, and the society organised in this manner cannot exist without coercion and repression. Capitalism also relies on economic coercion and social inequalities, forcing the majority of the society to resign from pursuit of own needs in the name of interests of those who hold the means of production (Federacja Anarchistyczna 2010).

Such assessments were also shared by anarchists operating on the international level. Anarchists from the International of Anarchist Federations declared that they were fighting for “the abolition of all forms of authority whether economical, political, social, religious, cultural or sexual, the construction of a free society, without classes or States or frontiers, founded on anarchist federalism and mutual aid” (International of Anarchist Federations 2016).

Also anarchists from the International Workers’ Association, who call themselves revolutionary unionists or syndicalist anarchists (anarchists with an adjective), listed the following as the basic principles of their organisation:

- “Revolutionary unionism, basing itself on the class struggle, aims to unite all workers in combative economic organisations, which fight to free themselves from the double yoke of capital and the State”.
- “Revolutionary unionism is the staunch enemy of all social and economic monopoly, and aims at its abolition by the establishment of economic communities and administrative organs

run by the workers in the field and factories, forming a system of free councils without subordination to any authority or political party, bar none”.

- “Revolutionary unionism is opposed to all organisational tendencies inspired by the centralism of State and Church, because these can only serve to prolong the survival of the State and authority and to systematically stifle the spirit of initiative and the independence of thought” (International Workers’ Association 2016).

The political thought of European anarchists at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century was characterised by substantialist state phobia, motivated by maximised interpretation of the idea of freedom. Arguments directed against the state by the anarchists also included accidentalist ones. Substantialist criticism of the state did not exclude application of accidentalist arguments – they were a supplement for it. Among the areas of anarchist criticism of the modern social relations, it is possible to list the following ones:

- democracy: for anarchists, democracy is not a political system relying on the idea of freedom; it is a system of power of the mathematical majority over the minority or the minority (political and economic elites) over the majority, elections do not reflect the pluralism of people’s views;
- European integration: anarchists believe that this is a process of unification of states, and thus compulsory institutions; the European Union is an institution whose elites are even more alienated from the society than the elites of European states;
- militarism: anarchists believe that armies are the tools of the states to pursue their interests or the protection agencies of international corporations and large banks which, thanks to them, can multiply their profits by operating throughout the world;
- propaganda systems: anarchists believe that mass media and educational systems solidify the social conviction about the necessity of existence of a state; the dominant narrative makes it impossible for people to imagine a life without a state, even though in reality, a state is a historical institution, it has not existed forever and does not have to exist eternally;
- ecology: anarchists decided that the modern international corporations operate for profits which they put above protection of the environment, whereas political elites in states, being financially dependent on economic elites, accept such operation (see: Malendowicz 2013b: 324-385).

#### ANARCHO-CAPITALISM

The overriding values in anarcho-capitalism are freedom and property. Numerous organisations and political parties operating in almost all regions of the world, also on the international level, make references to these values. These organisations promote various trends of libertarianism. Minimalist currents of libertarianism aim for radical reduction of the state, whereas anarcho-capitalism strives for its liquidation.

The most important representative of anarcho-capitalism was Murray Newton Rothbard (1926-1995). According to him “capitalism is the fullest expression of anarchism, and anarchism is the fullest expression of capitalism” (*Exclusive Interview...* 2014). In a book entitled *The Ethics of Liberty* Rothbard wrote:

“Most people, including most political theorists, believe that once one concedes the importance, or even the vital necessity, of some particular activity of the State—such as the provision of a legal code that one has ipso facto conceded the necessity of the State itself. The State indeed performs many important and necessary functions: from provision of law to the supply of police and fire fighters, to building and maintaining the streets, to delivery of the mail. But this in no way demonstrates that only the State can perform such functions, or, indeed, that it performs them even passably well” (Rothbard 1998: 161).

Radicalism of his anti-state ideas was expressed in a conviction that a state is a theft, a war is a mass murder and compulsory military service is slavery, whereas taxes are a plunder. According to Rothbard, a state is the largest and best organised aggressor, and this refers to all states - democracies, dictatorships or monarchies, etc. (Bartyzel 2010: 35).

Similar state phobic ideas were voiced by a Polish libertarian, Jacek Sierpiński. His ideas were also motivated by the belief of freedom with respect to own property management. According to Sierpiński, the state performs its basic function, namely extension of impact and increase in the profits of the ruling class.

“In a state, the main purpose is to procure positions that offer control over the activities of other people and subsequently to use them properly for own benefits. This may either be done legally by imposing taxes on people and assigning them to own businesses or remuneration or by staffing positions in management boards and supervisory boards of state-owned companies, or illegally by taking bribes for not interfering or granting privileges. (...) A state is created by people, whereas people in a definite majority will act in their own, egoistically understood, interest. Such interest pushes the majority of people to reach for power and to use it in this and not another manner” (Sierpiński 2018).

This opinion testifies to the substantialist nature of the state criticism. Sierpiński’s criticism is, however, determined by simultaneous maximisation of the idea of freedom and property. Every man, according to anarcho-capitalists, has a right to manage own property - items and own person.

#### NATIONAL ANARCHISM

National anarchism is an ideology that was shaped by the British activist from a political margin, Troy Southgate (1965). He was active in radically nationalist organisations and co-created, at the beginning of the 1990s, a fascist and traditionally Catholic movement called the Third Position. Subsequently, his views evolved in the direction of national anarchism (Macklin 2005: 301-326). This thought was promoted by the National-Anarchist Movement.

National anarchism, according to the declarations of its authors, is a state phobic thought. From anarchism, Southgate took the treatment of the state as an enemy *per se*, support for the idea of participating democracy, use of class categories in discussions about socio-economic issues, hostility to the media, politicians, parliamentarism and political parties and, more broadly - the entire demo-liberal system. For national anarchists, a state is an oppressive system on multiple layers: tax, official, educational, military, penal, etc. This oppressiveness stems from the sole definition of the state, which is related to the division into the ruling ones and the ruled ones. As long as a state exists, no matter who it is governed by and how, a nation cannot be free. Threats for societies living in states include corrupted elites controlling the state, omnipresent power of officials, politicians and repression apparatus, absence of the actual impact of people on state policy and its functioning, imperialisms (Ćwik 2016). Furthermore, Troy Southgate's national anarchists opposed the Zionist imperialism and instead, they proposed racial separatism (National-Anarchist Movement 2010).

One of the chapters of the "Manifesto" of the National-Anarchist Movement was entitled: "Community Against the State." The author of the document claims:

"In the past, the political process involved small groups of chieftains, warriors and holy men, each of whom would get together at regular intervals to discuss the needs and aspirations of their respective communities; particularly in relation to security and well-being. (...) The main problem with parliamentary democracy is the fact that it is representative. Indeed, whilst it is possible for people to vote for a political party and elect a politician from their immediate locality, that individual cannot be recalled or replaced for several years - depending on the country concerned and the parliamentary system in question. However, as we know only too well, politicians are not very good at keeping their promises and tend to get elected and then make a series of treacherous u-turns. So whilst a politician claims to represent your interests he or she actually represents the interests of a party. The term 'party' relates to a part of the whole, so despite a Member of Parliament supposedly representing people residing within a specific area, only a mere section of the community - i.e. those who voted for the MP in the first place - is able to have its wishes expressed. And that's without taking into account that a minority of people even bother to vote in the first place, let alone the fact that politicians rarely bother to fulfil their promises!" (National-Anarchist Movement 2010).

Similarly to anarchists, national anarchists also failed to propose a clear and precise vision of the future without a state. Troy Southgate laconically described the future as a collection of rural communities, occupying own space, where they can live in accordance with their own principles. These principles were meant to depend on the nature of people making up a given community. The most important thing is to make such communities self-sufficient. They should also rely on the principles of reciprocal assistance, and not coercion. They should respect their neighbours and be ready to defend against enemies (Southgate 2012).

These convictions of Troy Southgate testify to the fact that freedom in national anarchism is interpreted as freedom from the state and freedom within the meaning of

the freedom of a nation (tribe). This is confirmed by substantialism of state criticism, yet not determined by freedom of an individual, but by negative freedom of the human community. The overriding values in national anarchism are thus: a nation (a tribe) and negative freedom (from the state).

#### TRIBALISM

In his texts, the afore-mentioned Troy Southgate referred to the ideas of Englishman Richard Hunt (1933-2012) – editor of magazines “Green Anarchist”, “Alternative Green Magazine” and author of critical texts about the modern civilisation of consumerism, power, state centralism, capitalism and socialism. His major works include a brochure of 1976 entitled “The Natural Society: A Basis for Green Anarchism” and a book of 1997 entitled “To End Poverty: The Starvation of the Periphery by the Core.”

The thought of Richard Hunt may be called tribalism. Hostility towards state centralism makes it similar to anarchism. In Hunt’s opinion, the modern civilisation relies on a conviction that work determines the wealth of people, whereas the quality of life should be determined by natural resources. The world is divided into the ruled and the ruling, which was enforced by too numerous population of people. Metropoleis (centres of civilisation) draw benefits from the exploitation of poor societies living in the peripheries. According to Hunt, destruction of such civilisation may take place through its collapse. There are three ways of transfer from the epoch of civilisation to the society of nature: first of all, a revolution carried out in the peripheries of the industrialised world, e.g. through independence fights and cessation of dispatch of fuels and other resources to the centre of the civilisation, secondly: disruption of political entities into smaller parts (e.g. the European Union) and thirdly: tax cuts and depriving the state of income. Reverting to the forms of tribal life would be possible if the population of people in the world was radically reduced. The basis of existence of tribal communities would be family communities. Power - understood as state power - and police would be unnecessary, due to the fact that small tribal communities would not need them due to having an option of solving group problems independently. Families and communities of neighbours would take over the functions of social assistance (*An Interview...* 2010, Malendowicz 2019: 113-114).

At the end of his flagship essay, Richard Hunt wrote:

“Rules protect the rulers, not the ruled. Those words will ring across the world and change that world. No longer will the establishments be able to con the peoples out of their possessions, to tyrannize over them with their theories and philosophies for their days in the sun are almost over, and their hypocritical, predatory world will be replaced by a more gentle, honest, peaceful, Natural Society” (Hunt n.d.).

In the case of tribalism, not only the idea of freedom determined the views of Richard Hunt with respect to the state, but broader understanding of the idea of justice. This idea not only consisted of notions of freedom, but also such values as equality, community, affluence, co-existence with nature and social harmony.

#### PRIMITIVISM

The primitivist thought is close to tribalism. Its main creators are John Zerzan from the USA (1943) and John Moore from Great Britain (1957-2002). John Zerzan collaborated with such magazines as “Fifth Estate”, “Anarchy: the Journal of Desire Armed” and “Green Anarchy”. His major work is an essay entitled “Future Primitive.” John Moore published in, e.g., “Green Anarchist”. His major work is a brochure entitled “A Primitivist Primer” (Zerzan n.d., Malendowicz 2019: 89).

In “A Primitivist Primer” John Moore wrote:

“Anarcho-primitivism (a.k.a. radical primitivism, anti-authoritarian primitivism, the anti-civilization movement, or just primitivism) is a shorthand term for a radical current that critiques the totality of civilization from an anarchist perspective, and seeks to initiate a comprehensive transformation of human life. (...) Individuals associated with this current do not wish to be adherents of an ideology, merely people who seek to become free individuals in free communities in harmony with one another and the biosphere, and may therefore refuse to be limited by the term ‘anarcho-primitivists’ or any other ideological tagging. At best, then, anarcho-primitivism is a convenient label used to characterize diverse individuals with a common project: the abolition of all power relations – e.g., structures of control, coercive authority, domination and exploitation – and the creation of a form of community that excludes all such relations” (Moore n.d.).

The main target of primitivists’ objection was not only the state, but also the technology, which Fredy Perlman described as follows: “technology is nothing but the Leviathan’s armoury” (Moore n.d.). According to John Zerzan, to whom John Moore referred, technology causes separation of people from one another. It causes alienation. This is a form of domination and hierarchisation of the society (Moore n.d.).

The inspiration for building alternative social relations was, according to primitivists, a “return to the past.” In the past, people lived in small social groups, based on egalitarianism, and they were sustained by soil. Work was shorter. Problems related to hunger and wars were rare. People were physically health, whereas the average life span was longer than in agricultural and early-industrial communities. Leadership in primitive communities was temporary and relied not on power, but on conviction (*Against Mass Society* 2001: 1, 5).

This idyllic image is not always consistent with the truth, yet it shows aversion towards the modern civilisation, including the state. Nevertheless, similarly to tribalism, in primitivism not only the idea of freedom determined the views of John Zerzan and John Moore on the state. Determinants of state criticism included ideas of social equality, community, justice, co-existence with nature and social harmony.

## ANARCHO-TRANSHUMANISM

Authors and proponents of transhumanistic thought are aiming for improvement of man with the use of modern technologies and accomplishments of various scientific disciplines in order to make him/ her perfect, using full potential of the brain and free of diseases: an immortal post-human. Forerunners of transhumanism include: Fereidoun M. Esfandiary (FM-2030) (1930-2000), Max T. O'Connor (Max More) (1964), Marvin Lee Minsky (1927-2016), Ray Kurzweil (1948), Nick Bostrom (1973), Danila A. Miedwiediew (1980) (see: Bostrom 2005: 1-25). In 1998, the World Transhumanist Association was set up, which later transformed into the international association Humanity+. At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, informal groups of followers of transhumanism were established, and even political parties, such as the Transhumanist Party in the USA, set up in 2014 by Zoltan Istvan.

Anarcho-transhumanism is not a fully developed current of social thought. It is rather a consequence of transhumanist interpretation of the history of man and possibilities of man's evolution in the future. The effect of transhumanist outlook on man is the concept according to which when man becomes a perfect creature, power or state institutions will no longer be necessary. Thanks to development, man will accomplish freedom.

Transhumanism, as well as anarcho-transhumanism, stand in opposition to ecological and retrospective trends of political thought. Anarcho-transhumanist state phobia does not result from a conviction about the overriding idea of freedom in the hierarchy of man's system of values, but from the concept of evolution of man's history. The consequence of such evolution would be a perfect man (or a man-machine, cyborg, post-human), thus not necessitating compulsory institutions such as the state.

## FUNCTIONS OF STATE PHOBIC POLITICAL THOUGHT

State phobic political thought performs specific functions with respect to the society. However, they are to be analysed in the context of types of state criticism – substantialist or accidentalist criticism. The first of them is radical criticism. Realisation of substantialist criticism of the state would result in liquidation of the state. Thus, such criticism – as potentially possible to be realised or under realisation – would be destructive towards the state. On the other hand, accidentalist criticism pertains to these “defects” of the state which may be repaired. Therefore, such criticism is constructive. Nevertheless, substantialist criticism may have a constructive dimension. This is possible when by means of maximisation, exaggeration and excessive display of the alleged defects of the state, it attracts attention to the noticeable defects which are the object of accidentalist criticism. In social reception, substantialist criticism (unrealised) is transformed into accidentalist criticism (perceived, accepted and realised). Then, the state phobic political thought may perform the following functions: informing, preventing, explaining, educating, valuating, motivating, activating, con-

trolling, indicating alternatives, reforming, as well as directive and ethical function (see: Malendowicz 2013a: 83-97).

The function which consists in informing is fulfilled when social movements and creators of political thought inform about social problems which are not the object of interest of dominant media, e.g. the anarchists drew attention to the problems of growing and uncontrolled immigration to Europe several years before the immigration crisis. Prevention is striving to prevent the undesired phenomena and social problems, like the aforementioned crisis. Explaining is the analysis of modern social problems from the perspective other than neo-liberalism, capitalism and democracy. This is an analysis of social processes from the perspective of values other than the dominant ones. Education is promotion of stances which in democratic states are considered desired, yet are not put into practice, e.g. civic stands. As a result of domination of consumerist stances, civic activity transforms into civic passivity and apathy, which violates the foundations of a democratic state and thus a civic society. Valuation is indication of the hierarchy of values. In the era of consumerism, material values are dominant, whereas spiritual values are forgotten. Motivation and activation are functions performed with respect to individual persons and social groups, the aim of which is improvement of the existing status. Control is a function performed with respect to power. It consists in confronting of things as they are with how they should be. Indication of alternatives means evidencing that the world as it is, is not the only one possible. Here, the motto of the alter-globalisation movement finds its application: "another world is possible". Reforming is repair of the state's defects; repair of what exists. The directive function consists in designating direction of activity for social movement focused on reforms. Ethical function is to indicate moral bases for the necessity of social changes and repair of the state.

## CONCLUSIONS

The analysis above proves that the hypothesis formulated in the introduction to the paper was partially verified positively. Substantialist state phobia is determined by the process of maximising the idea of freedom in political thought, which affects the aversion or hostility towards the state. This is the case in anarchist thought, where the idea of freedom is a primeval and overriding value with respect to other values.

However, in the case of anarcho-capitalism, the process of maximisation refers to two values: freedom and property. In national anarchism, substantialism of state criticism consists in maximising the nation's (tribe's) and not the individual's freedom; furthermore, the idea of freedom has exclusively a negative dimension in this trend of political thought – it entails freedom from the state. In the case of tribalism, not only the idea of freedom determined the views of the proponents of this political thought with respect to the state, but a broader understanding of the idea of justice. This idea not only consisted of notions of freedom, but also such values as equality, community, affluence, co-existence with nature and social harmony. The situation is similar in

primitivism. Not only the idea of freedom determined the view of primitivists with respect to the state. Determinants of state criticism included ideas of social equality, community, justice, ecology and social harmony. Anarcho-transhumanists think of the future of the state in a completely different manner. The anarcho-transhumanist state phobia results from the concept of evolution of man's history. The consequence of such evolution would be a perfect man (or a post-human), thus not necessitating compulsory institutions such as the state.

Irrespective of such differences, state phobia may perform both constructive and destructive functions with respect to a democratic state, which confirms the second part of the study hypothesis.

### Bibliography

- Against Mass Society* (2001), „Green Anarchy” 6: 1,5.
- An Interview with Richard Hunt* (2010) (first appeared in „The Crusader”, issue 6), National-Anarchist Movement 18.09.2010, [http://www.national-anarchist.net/2010/09/interview-with-richard-hunt\\_18.html](http://www.national-anarchist.net/2010/09/interview-with-richard-hunt_18.html) (accessed 2.01.2018).
- Anarchist Federation (2010), *Aims and Principles*, in: Anarchist Federation, *Introduction to Anarchist Communism*, „Anarchist Communist Editions. Pamphlet no. 21”.
- Bäcker R. (2007), *Rosyjskie myślenie polityczne za czasów prezydenta Putina*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Bartyzel J. (2002), *Demokracja*, Radom: Polskie Wydawnictwo Encyklopedyczne.
- Bartyzel J. (2009), *Śmiertelny bóg Demos. Pięć wykładów o demokracji i jej krytykach*, Warszawa: Fijorr Publishing.
- Bartyzel J. (2010), *Geneza i próba systematyki głównych nurtów libertarianizmu*, in: Bulira W., Gogłozka W. (eds.), *Libertarianizm: teoria, praktyka, interpretacje*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.
- Bostrom N. (2005), *A History of Transhumanist Thought*, „Journal of Evolution & Technology” 14(1): 1-25.
- Ćwik G. (2016), *Narodowy anarchizm*, „Szturm” 23.11.2016, <http://szturm.com.pl/index.php/mie-siecznik/item/464-grzegorz-cwik-narodowy-anarchizm> (accessed: 5.07.2019).
- Dean M., Villadsen K. (2016), *State phobia and civil society. The political legacy of Michel Foucault*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Exclusive Interview with Murray Rothbard* (2014) (originally published in „The New Banner: A Fortnightly Libertarian Journal” 25.02.1972), LewRockwell.com 26.12.2014, <https://www.lewrockwell.com/2014/12/murray-n-rothbard/radical-candor/> (accessed: 6.07.2019).
- Federacja Anarchistyczna (2010), *Plaszczyzna ideowa Federacji Anarchistycznej*, 29.12.2010, <http://www.federacja-anarchistyczna.pl/index.php/plaszczyzna> (accessed: 5.07.2019).
- Hunt R. (n.d.), *The Natural Society: A Basis for Green Anarchism*, The Anarchist Library, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/richard-hunt-the-natural-society-a-basis-for-green-anarchism> (accessed 2.01.2018).
- International of Anarchist Federations, *International of Anarchist Federations (IAF-IFA) principles*, Frankfurt 2016, <http://i-f-a.org/> (accessed: 5.07.2019).
- International Workers' Association (2016), *The Statutes of Revolutionary Unionism*, 12.2016, <http://www.iwa-ait.org/content/statutes> (accessed: 11.12.2017).

- Lamentowicz W. (1996), *Państwo współczesne*, Warszawa: WSiP.
- Macklin G. D. (2005), *Co-opting the Counter Culture: Troy Southgate and the National Revolutionary Faction*, „Patterns of Prejudice” 39(3): 301-326, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00313220500198292>.
- Malendowicz P. (ed.) (2011), *The anarchist thought in Europe at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The collection of documents and other source material*, Piła: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Stanisława Staszica w Pile.
- Malendowicz P. (2013a), *Krytyka przemian ekonomiczno-politycznych na przełomie wieków a funkcje współczesnej ultralewicy*, in: Laska A. (ed.), *Marksowskie inspiracje w badaniach polityki*, Warszawa: Difin.
- Malendowicz P. (2013b), *Ruch anarchistyczny w Europie wobec przemian globalizacyjnych przełomu XX i XXI wieku*, Warszawa: Difin.
- Malendowicz P. (ed.) (2019), *The world turned upside down. Alternative trends of political thought at the beginning of the 21st century. Collection of source texts*, Bydgoszcz: Wąbrzeskie Zakłady Graficzne.
- Marshall P. (2010), *Demanding the impossible. A history of anarchism*, Oakland: PM Press.
- Moore J. (n.d.), *A Primitivist Primer?*
- National-Anarchist Movement, *N-AM Manifesto*, 18.09.2010, <http://www.national-anarchist.net/2010/09/part-one-anti-zionism.html>; <http://www.national-anarchist.net/2010/09/part-5-racial-separatism.html> (accessed: 5.07.2019).
- Pierzchalski F., Golinowski J. (2016), *Wstęp*, in: Pierzchalski F., Golinowski J. (eds.), *Socjotechnika lęku w polityce*, Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego.
- Rothbard M. N. (1998), *The Ethics of Liberty*, New York-London: New York University Press.
- Sierpiński J. (2018), *Państwo nie gnije*, Stowarzyszenie Libertariańskie 19.11.2018, <https://slib.pl/jacek-sierpinski-panstwo-nie-gnije/> (accessed: 6.07.2019).
- Southgate T. (ed.) (2012), *National-Anarchism: A Reader*, London: Black Front Press.
- The National-Anarchist Movement, *N-AM Manifesto*, 18.09.2010, <http://www.national-anarchist.net/2010/09/part-4-community-against-state.html> (accessed 5.07.2019).
- Zerzan J. (n.d.), <http://www.johnzerzan.net/> (accessed 5.07.2019).

**Dr hab. Paweł Malendowicz**, Wydział Nauk o Polityce i Administracji, Uniwersytet Kazimierza Wielkiego (drpm@poczta.fm)

**Słowa kluczowe:** statofobia, radykalizm, myśl polityczna, anarchizm

**Keywords:** state phobia, radicalism, political thought, anarchism

#### ABSTRACT

*State phobia is aversion to the state, stemming from fear of the state. In the article, aversion to the state is analyzed in two dimensions: substantialist and accidentalist. Substantialist criticism relies on perceiving essential evil in the criticized phenomenon, which is embedded in the nature of the phenomenon as such. Accidentalist aversion refers to accidental and unnecessary defects; it has an occasional nature.*

*The subject matter of the paper is substantialist state phobia in contemporary political thought. The following concepts were analyzed: anarcho-capitalism, national anarchism, tribalism, primitivism and anarcho-transhumanism. The purpose of the paper is to identify arguments addressed*

*against the state, as well as to analyze determinants of state phobia in selected currents of political thought. The hypothesis is an assumption that substantialist state phobia is determined by the process of maximizing the idea of freedom in political thought, which generates aversion or hostility towards the state.*

*In order to verify the research hypothesis, the author analyzed source texts (ideological, program, propaganda and journalistic texts) of the above-listed political movements, their leaders and acolytes. The political thought under discussion may perform both constructive and destructive functions with respect to a democratic state. As a result of the analysis, the hypothesis was partially confirmed.*