

Bojan Radej, Slovenian evaluation Society, Working Paper vol. VI, no.2/2013.

Revised version Oct 2020.

Published as Ch 4 in "Complex Society – In the Middle of a Middle World", Vernon Press, 2021 (with M. Golobič), <https://vernonpress.com/book/1083>

Organisation problem

“Do not dupe yourself with the silly notion that things will arrange themselves. Nothing ever arranges itself, least of all in human relations. It is men who do the arranging, and they do it according to their attitudes and understanding of things.”

Alexander Berkman (1870-1936), Lithuanian political activist and anarchist

[in ‘What is Anarchism?’ Edinburgh, AK Press, 2003 (1929), p. 185]

1 System and antisystem

The antisystem perspective originates from the emergence of the modern state in Europe after the French Revolution, at the end of the eighteenth century (Wallerstein. 1989). It brought ‘the antisystem conflict’ to surface (Marshall, 1964), as an irresolvable divergence between civil society as the social domain of freedoms (the Antisystem) and the state as the domain of order (the System). Accordingly, Marx (in Møller, 2002) distinguished systemic processes of cooperation between institutions from social processes of cooperation between agents. Touraine (1985) also understood civil society as the realm of the Antisystem apart from the political realm of the System.

The antisystem conflict is probably best visible in the recurring outbursts of massive popular dissent by diverse social movements against the System. One of the most important protests in recent decades is the Occupy Movement, beginning on the 17th of September 2011, when the first occupation of public spaces started in Zuccotti Park in New York’s financial district and later spread across a large part of the westernised world. The movement operates under the banner ‘99 percent’, representing the majority who feel excluded from the System. This reminds the social sciences as well as politicians that they need to develop an understanding of collective processes from the antisystemic perspective and then observe the latter from the irrational perspective of those who are excluded from the System.

Wallerstein (1989) wrote that the entire political history of the modern world is the history of shifting boundaries between insiders and outsiders. The distinction between what a social construct includes and excludes is the foundation of political thinking, and is deeply engraved into its constitution. What is necessary for the constitutive political entity to emerge always produces exclusion (Lorey, 2008)—not only externally, by prohibiting entry to outsiders, but also internally, by institutionally ignoring the aspirations of unfitting members, such as opponents, minorities, and those in marginalised subcultures who represent the void of the official System.

The formative basis of every political structure is discriminative inclusion, the exclusion of members with their inclusion (Wallerstein, 1989), or inclusive exclusion (Carbado et al., 2008), when members are included only as the excluded (Blair et al., 2002) because some of their defining characteristics are not recognised. Exclusion in every society shapes the specific landscape of the structural unconscious (Derrida, 1988), in which the excluded is present only invisibly as a void, and as that which is ignored and forgotten. Membership in a formal system is therefore as much about inclusion

on the grounds of similarity as it is, albeit less visibly, about the exclusion of incompatibility as something irrational. This led Holloway (2004) to conclude that social ties in ordered social systems can arise in a certain respect only after being first torn down in several other respects.

For Feyerabend (1975), exclusion is one of three basic logical relations, along with inclusion and overlap. Yet in social systems, acts of exclusion precede acts of inclusion. Difference is prior to unity (Rodriguez, 1999) in every model or theory of totality, identity, truth, universalism or ideal. Aggregation and integration in social systems can arise only on the rubbles of previous exclusion. It then seems reasonable to insist that the exclusion of irrational content is a more fundamental and thus more appropriate starting point for comprehending and ordering complex society than inclusion of everything similar.

The postulate that exclusion can act as a powerful connective principle seems counterintuitive, unless one applies it in the irrational perspective of the excluded. For social movements, the radical opposite of systemic exclusion is not systemic inclusion but antisystemic exclusion of the excluders as protagonists of asocial sociality.

Antisystemic exclusion has deep roots in the earliest Western democracies. Greek Athens (but also Argos, Miletus, Syracuse, and Megara)¹ practiced exclusion in the form of ostracism as an integral part of their democratic procedure since the fifth century BCE. This was considered to be an indispensable means of protecting the democratic institution from the resurgence of tyranny (Allman, 2013). Ostracism was directed against members of the elite class. At a fixed meeting in midwinter every year the people decided, without debate, whether they would hold a vote on ostracism some weeks later. Those who were qualified to vote would then scratch onto a shard of clay the name of another citizen or party leader to be banned from taking leadership in city office (hence the term ostrakismos—shard judgment; Rehbinder, in Allman, 2013) and exile him without bringing any charge against him. When a sufficiently large number of voters wrote the same name, the man had to leave Attica within 10 days and stay away for 10 years. The property of the banished man was not confiscated and there was no loss of status and no stigmatisation after he was allowed to return. If he attempted to return earlier, the penalty was death.²

Another example is ‘secessio plebis’ in the Roman Republic of the fifth century BCE. Large numbers of plebeians deserted the Roman Republic in protest many times, and seceded to the Mons Sacer, which was beyond the jurisdictions of the Republic. Secession was a form of insurrection against the Roman patricians who did not fulfil their duties to meet plebeian needs. In exile they self-organised into a political alliance and invented themselves as a self-constituted political force (Lorey, 2008) that was capable of autonomous political action. To assure the return of plebeians to the city, the patricians eventually agreed not only to fulfil standard obligations but also to concede some of their power by creating the office of the Tribune of the Plebs.³ This office was the first example of a government position held by the plebs (Lorey, 2008) in Rome.

The strategies of social movements call for the exclusion of excluders by the excluded (Castells, in Kreisler, 2001). Gustav Landauer (1911), one of the leading theorists of anarchism in Germany⁴ at

1 Encyclopaedia Britannica, #Ostracism; IX 2015.

2 Ibid.

3 Wikipedia, #Secessio plebis; IX 2015.

4 Wikipedia, #Gustav Landauer; VII 2015.

the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, justified a strategy of refusal in which individuals withdraw their cooperation from official institutions of the System. He claimed that it is not good to be included in something bad, and if the System in a given society is repulsive, it is better to stay excluded from it. Landauer posited social exclusion against the System as a prerequisite for creating positive communal alternatives and a foundational principle for building alternative communities. An excluded person always has a choice to become someone who seeks to alter the contents of his or her life in an antisystemic manner (Landauer, in Gordon, 2008). Instead of seeking recognition, an excluded person can opt for autonomy from the System and become a self-governing being, an entity aiming to be involved in a community with other excluded autonomies who together develop non-institutional collective action to bring about social change (Snow et al., in Tilly, 1999).

However, there are considerable obstacles, which obstruct social movements from establishing themselves as viable alternatives to the System. Obstacles originate from the diversity of ways in which members of society feel excluded from the System. This gives ground for antisystemic activity under the most diverse banners—as antiwar, antifascist, anticapitalist, antiglobalisation, antiracist, antidevelopment, antiausterity, antielitist, or anticonsumerist movements. Social struggles for emancipation are always against something (Holloway, 2004), a ‘counter-conduct’ manifesting itself as dissent, dissidence, revolt, disobedience, resistance, or desertion (Foucault, 1997). Antisystemic positions create an extraordinary diversity of social movements in their programmes but also a diversity of ways in which they choose to organise their actions.

Social movements have developed several common concerns, but not a single common solution (Holloway, 2010). They present themselves with programmes proclaiming what they stand against rather than asserting what they stand for and how they contribute to antisystemic goals. The single common denominator shared among social movements is opposition to the System (Rigon, 2015). There is only one antisystem horizon, yet there are many diverse answers to the question about how to be antisystemic, which specific programme is most appropriate, and which organisational form is best suited for its implementation.

What diverse movements have in common and where they feel most connected is in their “negative denomination” (Balibar, 2007, para. 9). The method of negative definition, or describing terms by what they are not (Bookchin, 2005) was justified long ago by the philosopher Plotinus (in *The Enneads*, third century CE). He suggested a ‘via negativa’ method is appropriate for handling dyadic situations, when one aims to define absolute terms. This method is certainly well suited to reproduce antisystem conflict. However, negative denomination cannot guide the resolution of the organisational problems of movements because it fails to explain how to construct positive antisystemic alternatives.

“There are more civil society organisations in the world today than at any other time in history” (Edwards, 2014, para. 1). Furthermore, people have never been more active in creating their social life by themselves. So why is civil society organisations’ impact not growing? Why is a deep transformation of society towards a more free and autonomous life absent? The characteristic of antisystemic politics today is not that it lacks resistance to the many forms of oppression, but that resistance movements fail to form organisational consistency and build their cooperation on synergies. Social movements have not yet discovered how to benefit from complex conditions and their radical diversity. Just the opposite! They suffer from the severe organisational problem of how to organise, form leadership, and establish an Antisystem structure, which remain the most acute strategic challenges of social movements.

Movements have largely developed an impulse towards unstructured operation, which is a genuine reaction to an over-structured social system. For them, conventional forms of vertical organisation are highly problematic. They reject traditional hierarchical models, such as trade unions, practiced by many old social movements. Organisation requires vertical structuring, the clarification of roles, acceptance of obligations, submission to procedures, and the imposition of constraints on members. Movements usually resist structuring because they fear that it could chain them to a uniform hierarchy and, as a result, plunge their intrinsic diversity into face-to-face confrontations.

Yet organisation is requisite for the accomplishment of goals. The new social movements that emerged in the 1960's have searched for new forms of organisation. New organisational approaches are instead predominantly horizontal because this enables non-hierarchical and anti-authoritarian ways of acting (Land, King, in Stoborod, Swan, 2014). To organise horizontally, new social movements employ approaches such as consensus-based decision-making, assemblies, forums (The World Social Forum), autonomous zones, camps (Occupy), swarms, and network organisation. Network organisation is particularly relevant due to its capacity to produce network effects—a prerequisite for the effective mass mobilisation of followers and resources. Networking decreases the effort needed to mobilise additional followers and reinforces a positive feedback loop with synergies between movements.

New organisational forms effectively resolve some of the most stubborn deficiencies of conventional vertical organisation. New forms are pluricentric interconnections of self-regulated members involved in informal processes of decentralised problem solving in which cooperation arises through weakly structured relations.

Large scale, weakly connected networks are vulnerable when dealing with internal challenges, for instance in debates about how to change the strategies and tactics of antisystem operation. These questions enforce themselves due to the characteristic programme-action inconsistency of these movements. A prominent example is the 'Organisational debate' in the Situationist International.

This was an international organisation of social revolutionaries (1957-1972) founded on avant-garde art movements, particularly Dadaism and Surrealism.⁵ The Situationists were among the most influential ideological levers of the student demonstrations in Paris during May of 1968 to outline the intrinsic plurality and horizontality of antisystem efforts, by endorsing many core anarchist claims from the beginning of the twentieth century. A debate about how effectively they engaged in antisystemic struggles took place between the autumn of 1968 and the spring of 1972, and made evident the inconsistency between their programmes and the actual practices of their operations (Dowling, 2005). The debate soon triggered an avalanche of mutual accusations, due to ideological inconsistencies or to the lack of contribution to the movement's goals. This caused the exclusion and exits of several prominent members,⁶ which meant the end of the Situationist International (Ford, 1995). A more recent example comes from the Occupy movement. One of its activists explained that things "got tough not when the movement was facing a common enemy but when it was facing a common ally" (Van Hook, 2014, para. 16).

⁵ Wikipedia, #Situationist International; X 2014.

⁶ See for instance Raoul Vaneigem's Letter of resignation (Saturday 14 November 1970; English translation by 'Not Bored!'), especially because it is written as a self-reflective statement, <http://www.notbored.org/resignation.html>, II 2016.

Networks can be fully democratic structures only for small groups with focused concerns. Dunbar (1992) estimated that the maximum size for a group to remain manageable in direct face-to-face interactions is about 150 persons. For large-scale actions with diverse scopes, social movements must go beyond direct interactions and form structured coalitions with a vertical hierarchy.

Movements have experienced that too much structure in their organisation (Verticalism) constrains their diversity and ability to adapt to changing circumstances; yet too little structure with only shallow forms of connectedness (Horizontalism) can be equally dangerous (Boulton, Allen, 2015), and can lead to undemocratic leadership (Rigon, 2015).

Bourdieu (2005) sees here a decisive challenge related to the question of how the excluded can ensure the collective production of realistic alternatives, while not being subjected to uniformity nor to paralysing conflict between their diverse antisystemic foundations. The working question in studying the organisation problem of antisystem movements should be how can counter-hegemonic politics be created as a fully developed alternative to the System without creating new centralised organisational structures, including visible and, more importantly, invisible ones?

The failure to resolve the organisation problem of social movements either from structured or unstructured positions suggests that the solution may lay somewhere in the middle between the two extremes. This invites a mesoscopic elaboration of the organisation problem.

A mesoscopic hybrid approach seems entirely appropriate because it is consistent with the nature of antisystemic challenges. New social movements have “never been and have never aspired to become a fixed, comprehensive, self-contained, and internally consistent system of ideas, set of doctrines, or body of theory” (Jon, 2009, p. 505).

They are characterised by inconsistency between their programmes and actions. The programmes of movements are often more radical than their antisystemic contributions, or vice versa. This discrepancy suggests that cooperation between movements may materialise neither on the grounds of similarity among their programmes, nor on the grounds of similarity in their organisational approaches, but only in the hybrid middle through the inconsistency between their programme and action.

When movements with inversely similar programme-action inconsistency converge through the middle, they recover their internal programme-action consistency, but only together and in a heterogeneous way as a hybrid correlate or coalition. A spectrum of obtained coalitions constitute the Antisystem structure.

From the irrational perspective of the excluded plebeians, system exclusion is no longer something marginal, a nonsense or error. Just the opposite! It arises as a premium guide for the establishment of a freer society that is ordered in an empowering way for its increasingly diverse and autonomous members.

Establishing antisystemic structure is instrumental for the decoupling of conflicts that take place in society from conflicts that take place in the System (Trenz, 2008) because they are two essentially different kinds of conflict. Decoupling should relieve society from antisystemic antagonism between the state and citizens, allowing society to deal with internal contradictions in their original plural agonistic (Mouffe, 2000) manner, between the citizens themselves as friendly opponents.

Mesoscopic resolution of the organisation problem of social movements gives ground for an antipostmodern ordering of complex society, as freely oscillating between internal structural contradictions on meso level of society.

2 Organisation problem

The organisation problem of social movements ensues from a diversity of their programmes as well as of the ways their activities are organised. Their programmes are either reformist, revolutionary or autonomist (Holloway, 2004), ranked from less to more radical. For reformists, systemic exclusion is only a result of suboptimal performance by official institutions, so it can be improved routinely. Reformists appeal for a nonconfrontational path to systemic change as a series of small adaptive steps over the long-term, without destruction of the old and by minimising the number of victims of reform in the short-term.

In contrast to reformists, social movements with a revolutionary programme see the existing social order as fundamentally inadequate and accordingly demand its replacement with a radically different system. They claim that the excluded from the system must first demolish the walls of their exclusion, and then enforce an alternative system structure to replace the old one. A revolutionary organisation is strictly vertical, with party leadership taking the central role at the top of the movement's hierarchy to guarantee consistency between its programme and action. However, revolutionaries are too often too committed to a negative programme—antagonising the old system and remnants of 'old forces'. This strategy is rational from the party's point of view since it guarantees the clique its privileged position in transformative times. However, the instrumentalisation of power for the sake of protecting the revolutionary project subverts its core mission. The primary revolutionary goal of materialising positive visions of social justice and freedom for the people while dissolving the repressive state, by negation of the negation as foreseen by Hegel, Marx, and Engels, become secondary at best.

Rosa Luxemburg (1900), as one of the most vocal representatives of the third autonomist programme, rejected both previously addressed antisystem programmes. She claimed that a series of incremental and unsubstantial reforms over time could not radically change society in a transformative way. Furthermore, a chain of progressive reforms can break down and change its course to conservative. This was the case with the neoliberal austerity reforms in the EU that considerably dismantled the welfare state established during the second half of the twentieth century.

She also criticised the revolutionary programme, claiming that party-led movements remain trapped in 'the Master's discourse' (Lacan, 2007) so they necessarily fail to affect a genuine social transformation in favour of depressed social classes. When a given social movement accepts the logic of power as legitimate, the battle for freedom is already lost (Holloway, 2004). The question is then not who should exercise power and how, but how to create social relationships that are not based on relations of domination (Holloway, 2004). The primary challenge for social movements is to construct a world without masters and slaves (Vaneigem, 1972), with autonomous people and communities governing themselves. This is the foundation of the autonomist antisystem programme.

Castoriadis (in Graeber, 2004) defined autonomous communities as those that constitute themselves independently of the System, its institutions and operating mechanisms. Autonomists are often referred to as anarchists, but it may be more appropriate, at least for the present discussion, to emphasise that this kind of movements does not operate simply without rules imposed by the System (anarchos) but operate with their own rules (auto nomos) as self-governing organisms. Autonomists do not simply refuse official structures of order but invent mutually empowering ways of organising the multitude of autonomous contributions of those excluded from the System.

Autonomists assess the results of revolutions as insufficient. The challenge for them is not to replace one system with another. Autonomists want the elimination of monolithic structures of power, and

in this regard are more radical than revolutionaries. Engels (in Chomsky, 1973) wrote that autonomists manage to invert the revolutionary strategy by eliminating the System at the beginning instead of at the end of a revolutionary transition. This is only feasible because unlike reformists and revolutionaries they do not perceive the System as a real structure. Tucker (in Chomsky, 1973) argued that the System is only a concept that the majority accepts. In order to destruct a particular system of exclusion, therefore, a violent assault on power is unnecessary (Holloway, 2004). A revolution is required only in the minds of the excluded (Landauer, 1911), which implies removing the uniform concept of structure from minds, and subsequently from their relations. Following Landauer (1911), the System is a condition, a certain relationship among human beings, a mode of behaviour between men; we destroy it ... by behaving differently toward one another. The ways in which people relate must change as a precondition for the elimination of hostile power structures. Proudhon (1809-1865), one of the first modern anarchists, similarly argued that an abusive System collapses only at the point when people generally become aware of its antisocial and oppressive nature, and then reject the antisocial practices of the System in their everyday relations (Guérin, 2005).

The autonomists nevertheless agree with the revolutionaries that reforms cannot repair the system. They also agree with the reformists that it is not necessary to destroy the System in order to produce social change. Yet, unlike reforms or revolutions, autonomy cannot come from the outside, nor can it be granted or imposed. "We anarchists do not want to emancipate the people; we want the people to emancipate themselves" wrote Errico Malatesta (1897, par. 15). Hakim Bey (1991) similarly remarked that only the autonomous can live in autonomy. Indeed, those who do not make use of the freedoms that are available to them will undermine others. This brought Lévinas (1969) to perceive autonomy as selfish and narrow-minded, concerned only with the conditions of its own realisation while failing to provide broad antisystem mobilisation aimed at changing the System.

Consequently, diverse social movements cannot sufficiently converge when striving for an autonomist programme, just the same as they could not converge when striving for a reformist or revolutionary programme.

The programmatic discordancy of social movements is a tremendous obstacle to their closer cooperation. Unfortunately, this is not the only obstacle! Another equally exhausting barrier relates to how movements organise their actions. Movements that do not organise in the same way rarely converge on joint undertakings. Two basic organisational principles contradict in this regard: vertical and horizontal.

Organisational contradictions are clearly exposed at regular World (and European) Social Forums. These Forums take place annually, beginning with Porto Alegre in 2001 as a counter summit to the World Economic Forum in Davos organised by economic elites. Social Forums are meetings of thousands of civil society organisations, which are engaged in concrete actions towards a more united, democratic and fair world, but they are also trying to construct functional alternatives to neoliberalism.

Two main organisational types of movement regularly fall into confrontation at Social Forums. Experiences at the European Social Forum in 2004 (in London) are especially indicative of this. The participants spontaneously formed two opposite camps, termed 'Horizontals' and 'Verticals' (Dowling, 2005). The Verticals consisted of representatives from trade union organisations and major international nongovernmental organisations such as those that had previously organised mass demonstrations (Dowling, 2005). They demanded all other movements to subordinate their style of operation to the same set of priorities as a prerequisite for joint political action. They also promoted

professionalisation of the Forum's operation, not only to achieve its goals more efficiently but as a contribution to the establishment of a more permanent antisystem (infra) structure for future undertakings.

Verticalism culminated at the World Social Forum in 2007 (in Nairobi), where a small group of professionals involved in the organising committee managed the whole process and made decisions independently. The majority of other movements were involved in the process only as subcontractors (Rousset, 2009). However, these bureaucratic organisations could not advance social movements but actually served to weaken them "by demobilizing mass defiance and channelling activists into electoral politics" (Halcli, in Browning et al., 2000, p. 467). Rousset described a similar schism at the World Social Forum in 2009 (in Belém), which failed to create the conditions for an overlapping interaction at the macro level (Padovani, Tuzzi, in Rossiter, 2006) out of multiple interactions between individual movements at the micro level. At the concluding events, the Horizontalists and Verticalists even organised their operations as separate sessions.

The Horizontalists consist of large number of small local networks and movements that operate with direct interactions. They focus on the needs of oppressed groups and insist on not neglecting the lowest global strata (Wallerstein, 2014) in the work of the Forum. They pursue volunteerism and inclusive approaches, consensual decision making, non-hierarchical operation and ethical reflectivity. Only when the European Social Forum in 2008 (in Malmö) completely abandoned a vertical logic was it able to successfully overcome centralised operation. Yet this also plunged the Forum into a crisis of perspective since it failed to develop overall synergy and depth. The Forum's results remained diffused because it failed to aggregate and structure its achievements into a clear intellectual vision (Vivas, Antentas, 2008).

One of the major organisational challenges for Horizontalists relates to their inability to aggregate many diverse antisystemic contributions into clear guidelines for macro level decision-making. The idea of e-democracy in connection with advancingly accessible information technology is an example, illustrating how difficult this challenge really is.

Information technology raised large hopes for many who expected it to help with the spontaneous structuring of large-scale participatory processes. This was especially the case at the World Social Forum in 2007. Organisers developed an online platform to interlink thousands of participating organisations from which the structure of their initiatives would automatically emerge, like in a black box, without passing through the formalised decision-making procedure of the Forum. They expected that the neutrality and horizontality of a software programme would be able to put together and structure agents who did not know each other (Rigon, 2015). Organisers developed a special computer algorithm that was supposed to be the main methodological innovation of the Forum (Rigon, 2015). The plan was to create new connections and collaborations among movements working along similar lines and to come up with common strategies at plenary sessions of the Forum. Each organisation was invited to express interests and propose joint activities with other movements; others would see an interesting proposal, get in touch, and prepare common activities; consequently, the structure of movements would start to shape spontaneously. However, too many organisations simply refused to cancel their own activities and merge them with other initiatives that had been proposed by unknown participants from another corner of the globe (Rigon, 2015). In absence of a communally recognised vertical aggregation rule, technology could not surpass even the microscopic level of the antisystemic structure.

Despite their obvious advantages, horizontal networks evidently have organisational problems. One of the reasons is that networks can easily become drowned in their own success, in the abundance of

diversity they produce by efficiently linking but not structuring a large number of individual members. As long as a network is open and has minimal internal rules, too many options are open to it; faced with these, the network shatters into indecisiveness and becomes unstable (Rossiter, 2006). Networks generate “a plethora of possibilities and a deficit of necessity” (Foucault, 1991, p. 78). When no clear direction is given, the network remains indecisive in the face of its freedom of choice, unable to cope with strategic challenges. In the middle of abundance, social movements face a “scarcity of scarcity” (Curzon Price, 2007, par. 5). When externally imposed constraints dissolve, “the only thing we have a real shortage of is shortage itself” (Sedláček, 2011, p. 241). This suggests that unless networks self-impose some restrictions and vertical structuring, movements cannot sufficiently converge to gain complex coherence for large-scale collective action.

If they want to fulfil their antisystemic mission, social movements cannot remain unstructured. Collective action requires organisation, uniform rules and restrictions on the expression of differences. In her renowned article, Jo Freeman (1972), an American feminist and political scientist, explicitly rejected the imperative of unstructured operation by social movements. For her, the very concept of unstructured operation is dogmatic. If a process is not structured, it cannot protect itself against internal subversion induced by the efforts of stronger participants to prevail. When structure is not acknowledged, power remains disguised. An absence of structure means not only an absence of hierarchy but also an absence of formalisms that keep a minority of group managers, representatives and leaders responsible and accountable. Unstructured process is for Freeman only a fence behind which some agents and brokers can manipulate the group by limiting information, forming hidden alliances and withholding knowledge of operating rules and procedures for translation between members and leadership. Unstructuredness creates a black box of decision-making and leads to the hegemonic use of consensual methodology (Rigon, 2015).

Freeman tells that every group inevitably structures itself, regardless of its nature, duration, and objectives. That is exactly why one cannot have a free market. To talk about a *laissez-faire* society, that is free from structural impositions from above, is for her the same nonsense as talking about a *laissez-faire* self-regulating market. In both cases, the slogan serves to establish covert and informal hierarchies. Only two things are possible: a movement is either formally structured, or its structure remains invisible (Freeman, 1972). When a movement acknowledges its internal structure and leadership, tensions and conflicts do not disappear but become transparent and developmental rather than regressive (Western, 2014).

The organisation problem of social movements has many faces. It seems that the problem is so traumatic because protagonists try to approach it in a narrow way—either in an overly restrictive or in an overly spontaneous manner. Narrow organisational solutions pervert to reproducing an unresolvable tension between the discourse of open space and hegemonic practices (Rigon, 2015), which increases friction among the movements instead of capacitating them for structured antisystem action.

Yet it is a long-standing mistake of the organisation debate to think that “one should choose between formlessness (‘spontaneous’ movement) and form” (Nunes, 2012, para. 2), the hierarchy, between strategy and process, between closure and openness, between a fixed form and no form at all (Berger, 2013). The organisation of social movements seems to require hierarchies as well as networks, and therefore both vertical and horizontal organisation. This suggests situating enquiry about the organisation problem of social movements in the middle-ground, where all of these forms intersect through their complementary programme-action inconsistencies.

3 Complementary inconsistencies

Many social movements are characteristic for internal inconsistency between their programmes and actions. Their programmes are either more radical than their actions, or vice versa. For instance, trade unions usually espouse revolutionary programmes in relation to the capitalist state, yet their actions remain reformist, aiming only at gradual improvements of workers' rights while restraining from revolutionary tactics. Just the opposite occurred with the Occupy movement, which refused to declare an overarching programme. The majority of participants in the movement were aware only of a fluid feeling of unease and discontent that sustained and united various specific demands (Žižek, 2015). Their protest actions nevertheless resulted in an irreversible mind shift in the general public as a recognition of the extreme and progressing polarisation of global wealth between the super-rich and the increasingly impoverished and disempowered majority.

In conditions of widespread antisystemic programme-action inconsistency, the programme with which a given movement presents itself to other movements and the actual results of its antisystemic operation, which after all is how it is recognised by other movements, seldom add up. Social movements accordingly observe one another as incomplete and irrational in their antisystemic aspirations. Movements are not seen as irrational only from the aspect of the System, but also from the aspect of one another.

However, the programme-action discrepancy of movements is not incidental; it is not an error, but reveals the deeper nature of antisystemic struggles. Bookchin (2005) outlined the typical programme-action duality amid the binary opposition between theory and practice. One must distinguish between how to perceive and how to reflect the world (Simon, 1962). The programmatic dispositions of movements reflect principal concerns about universal matters, expressed in abstract and conceptual terms. Actions, on the other hand, take place in the real world of operational constraints. Movements possess constrained operational means, which further limit them to a narrow set of working options. The result is an incomplete implementation of foundational programme demands.

Analogously, the impact of various other movements' actions far exceed their programme commitments, often due to the distinctive social creativity of their actions. Sometimes they achieve transformative effects by changing behaviour and invoking a shift in values at least among followers if not also the general public or even generationally, as in the case of the Occupy movement.

The inconsistency between movements' programmes and actions suggests something rather important. Antisystem movements are most similar in their inconsistency, aside from the similarity of their negative denominations, which is obviously not sufficiently connective. This puts forward the idea of applying the internal inconsistency of movements as the most natural even though irrational common denominator for organising their large-scale cooperation and multi-scope structuring.

Graeber (2004) propose a very convenient methodological starting point for operationalising this idea. He distinguishes between a movement's input side, defined by its programme declarations, and its output side, which relates to its actions and their actual contributions towards transforming the System. Drawing from this idea, one can organise diversified social movements into a square programme-action matrix (PAM). This is the meso matrix, which is a suitable methodological tool for the exploration of cooperation strategies among movements based on their characteristic footprints of inconsistency.

The meso matrix is a form of a highly ordered network. To organise movements into the PAM requires the imposition of some constraints on them to specify the precise position of each movement in the matrix. Without imposing boundaries, one cannot identify a network as a unit of analysis. In an open and abundant setting, where a scarcity of scarcity rules, liberty and constraint

are not necessarily inconsistent since a certain kind of constraint “enables while disabling” (Hooker, 2011, p. 33). It enables by disabling unjust constraints imposed from above and replacing them with self-imposed constraints. In a world of abundance, self-imposed constraint brings freedom into life.

Construction of the PAM requests, following previous discussion, that social movements impose two main constraints on themselves: first, a movement should reveal its antisystem programme with its inclusion/exclusion rules. Additionally, a movement must be self-reflective by ensuring openness for assessment of its action’s antisystemic impact in relation to their declared programmes—this regularly takes place when planning coordinated actions with other movements or in ex-post evaluation of why and how their actions succeeded or failed.

When completed, the programme-action matrix enables identification of the most convenient coalitions for movements to make. Antisystem coalitions arise as the building blocks for establishment of Antisystem structures.

3.1 Programme-action matrix

Organising social movements into the programme-action matrix (Table IV.1) requires situating each movement into the appropriate field of the matrix, at the intersection of its relevant row and column. The rows represent three main antisystem programme domains (reformist, revolutionary, and autonomist), while the columns represent how movements contribute to the realisation of antisystem goals with their actions in the same three domains; by improving the system, by replacing it with another system or by abandoning it. Cross-sectioned fields of the matrix in this way organise different movements, according to their programme-action footprints, into nine unique antisystem configurations.

Only three basic types of social movements, reformist, revolutionary and autonomist display no programme-action inconsistency. As internally consistent antisystemic pillars, these movements are located on the negative diagonal of the PAM (fields 1-1, 2-2, and 3-3 in Table IV.1). Internal consistency gives these movements a strong sense of centrality, so that, self-sufficient as they perceive themselves to be, they cannot connect all dissimilar movements into a working antisystem structure unless these movements surrender their diverse programme and operational character to those of ‘consistent’ movements.

The movements in field 1-1 declare reform programmes and also consistently achieve reformist impacts on the system. Clearly, they do not contain anything radically antisystemic. Despite this, reformist movements need to be included into the PAM since it is evident that some reformist movements achieve effects that actually do contribute to radical changes (in fields 1-2 and 1-3). Furthermore, certain movements with radical programmes eventually achieve merely reformist impacts (2-1 and 3-1).

Movements situated below the negative diagonal of the PAM are more radical in their programmes and more critical in diagnosing failures of the System than they are at effectively contributing to the achievement of antisystemic objectives through their operation. The opposite holds true for movements situated above the negative diagonal of the PAM.

Obviously, non-diagonally placed movements are partly compatible. Their dissimilarity is only weak. The oppositions between diagonally located movements are of a significantly different nature than those between non-diagonal ones. The former are categorically distinctive. Non-diagonal movements, on the other hand, cannot be categorical due to their inconsistent programme-action

footprints. As a result, they remain to a certain extent open for cooperation and for more structured interaction with other movements.

Those pairs of movements that are symmetrically located relative to the negative diagonal display the best cooperative potential because they are inversely similar, which exhibit the exact opposite programme-action footprint of inconsistencies: e.g. revolutionary-reformists (2-1) with reformist-revolutionaries (1-2) in PAM, Table IV.1.

Table IV.1: Programme-action matrix of antisystem movements

Action (Impact) Programme	1 Reformist	2 Revolutionary	3 Autonomist
1 Reformist	1-1 Reformist in programme and in impact	1-2 Reformist in programme, Revolutionary in impact	1-3 Reformist in programme, Autonomist in impact
2 Revolutionary	2-1 Revolutionary in programme, Reformist in impact	2-2 Revolutionary in programme and in impact	2-3 Revolutionary in programme, Autonomist in impact
3 Autonomist	3-1 Autonomist in programme, Reformist in impact	3-2 Autonomist in programme but Revolutionary in impact	3-3 Autonomist in programme and in impact

Source: Author.

Three pairs of movements with inversely similar programme-action inconsistencies form three complementary overlaps that enable three hybrid antisystem coalitions—the participatory coalition (between 1-2 and 2-1), the communitarian coalition (between 1-3 and 3-1), and the militant coalition (between 3-2 and 2-3).

Three coalitions initiate three independent but correlated routes of antisystem structuring: Quasi-antisystemic, Semi-antisystemic, and Ortho-antisystemic. The successful establishment of three coalitions resolves the first part of the organisation problem, but it does not yet emerge as antisystem structure. Diagonally located movements in the PAM (reformist, revolutionary, and autonomist) are not original parts of Antisystem structure, even though they are not excluded from it. Reformists (in 1-1) are not present because they are essentially not antisystemic. Revolutionaries let it pass because they build their own structure, which is of different nature. Autonomists also stay beside because they do not need hierarchical structure to accomplish their main goals.

Only when three coalitions form meta-overlaps can social movements establish a fully-fledged antisystem structure that is finally capable of fully developing all antisystem functions—central among them is to impose its own exclusion rules as a prerequisite for developing sustainable alternatives to the System.

Participatory coalition

Participatory coalition arises in an overlap between reformist and revolutionary movements. Some revolutionary movements generate only reformist achievements (1-2), such as nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). They usually focus on identification of the systemic exclusion of members of

certain minorities or vulnerable groups, but strive only for their fuller inclusion into the System. They do not principally attack the foundations of systemic exclusion, and usually do not importantly contribute to the abolishment of exclusion for other excluded groups that are not covered by their narrow and shallow reformist programme.

Symmetrically dissimilar movements are located in 2-1. These movements generate revolutionary changes to the System despite their reformist agenda. This is, for instance, the case in some international nongovernmental organisations, which participate in institutions of global governance because their stance is reformist, aimed at changing the system (of global governance) from the inside. However, by achieving international agreements on various issues of general concern, such as climate change or human rights, they can exert strong pressure on national governments to change their practices in the concerned areas toward the common good. This does not necessarily contradict previous claims that reformism is impotent in generating radical change since the relation between contradictions in a given example is no longer horizontal but vertical. The international level of governance increasingly defines conditions for operation at national level.

A coalition between the two types of inconsistent movements can considerably strengthen the capabilities of both. Movements in 2-1 can resolve the deficit of radicalism in their actions. In a coalition with international NGOs, local NGOs can obtain a denationalised perspective on their efforts, and so form partnerships in the international arena (Rossiter, 2006), on which they can capitalise at home with increased potential for exerting more consistent pressure on official institutions of the System to change.

On the other hand, an international nongovernmental organisation can, through a coalition with 2-1, link to local struggles about concrete instances of discrimination and exclusion. With a re-localisation (Rossiter, 2006) of its actions, it obtains a seal of legitimacy for its operation on the international stage. When it lacks localised legitimacy, it may also lose local support for its actions. Greenpeace, an international network of environmental organisations, for instance, came under harsh criticism in 2014 for its “thoughtless, insensitive, illegal, irresponsible and absolutely pre-meditated” (Collins, 2014, par. 8) action following a publicity stunt within the Nazca lines, a UN World Heritage Site in Peru, the purpose of which was to send a message to the delegates of UN climate talks in Lima. Greenpeace activists entered the restricted area and lay down banners. In doing so they tracked multiple footprints and damaged both the line itself and the area surrounding it. Similarly, international humanitarian organisations sometimes face criticism for patronising local populations and for their inattentive approach in resolving specific local problems.

The main antisystemic potential of participatory coalitions lies in their capacity for a broad mobilisation of followers and resources—knowledge, solidarity, legitimacy, media, money, and labour needed for accomplishing antisystemic goals. They are indispensable for the opening of public spaces and for the preparation of grounds for mass collective action. However, they are compromised by their close collaboration with the System. These movements rely on the systemic mechanisms of participatory democracy and are willing to work with the System on its terms and on its terrain. They not only submit to the operational rules of the System but also often use government grants to finance their core operations. As a result, their achievements are usually only quasi-antisystemic, not profound in antisystemic terms.

Communitarian coalition

A communitarian antisystem coalition arises from cooperation between reformist and autonomist social movements. Movements in 3-1 of the PAM are distinctive for declaring an autonomous antisystem programme, while in practice producing only reformist achievements. They are

autonomous in the sense that they accomplish their actions without depending on official institutions or on the official global market. Instead of asking the state for solutions, they develop communal alternatives themselves and bring them to life.

Examples of autonomist projects in 3-1 are spread across most diverse issues that are relevant for their members. They can be found in collaborative productions (such as food co-ops, communal kindergartens, legal support, community libraries), in citizen-led initiatives set up by local community members themselves (such as car-sharing, waste recycling, child support, mediation for the resolution of conflicts), in the establishment of social centres, alternative theatres, urban gardening or self-managed parks. These projects can achieve considerable changes in local practices in specific matters of concern by complementing or even substituting dysfunctional governmental services or markets with autonomous self-governed alternatives.

Their potential for producing an antisystemic impact remains, nevertheless, largely untapped since they usually operate on a small scale. They usually do not have a contact and do not complement one another and up-scale their practices. These remain local experiments, often “nothing more than little, temporary islands reserved for a concerned middle class and a selective urban creative milieu” (Auerbach, in Bialski, 2015, sec. 2) who can afford to invest their spare time and resources into an autonomous provision of public goods. The critical question is whether such experiments, when not asking radical questions about exclusion from the System, “really address larger structural issues like poverty and uneven distribution” (Hilbrand, Richter, in Bialski, 2015, sec. 4) of wealth, to what extent they are sustainable, and how much they really contribute to broader structural change.

The critical questions are whether such experiments really address larger structural issues such as poverty and uneven distribution

Coworking may be another example of the inconsistent antisystemic practice that is typical of the social movements situated in 3-1. Coworking is a new form of social infrastructure that enables collaboration between professionals, ideas, and places (Bialski, 2015), largely applied by precarious creative workers—designers, software engineers, architects or journalists. As a community-based approach, coworking organises the complementary practices of operations alongside one another in flexible, shared, and mutually empowering work settings that can successfully compete with the corporate or bureaucratic organisation of creative work. However, the potential antisystemic impact of coworking cannot materialise as long as its results are not absorbed by antisystem communities, instead of by institutions of the System, such as big marketing agencies, the mainstream media, or institutional culture.

Inversely similar to 3-1 are social movements 1-3 in the PAM. They are nominally reformists but nevertheless achieve autonomous outcomes. Some available examples include social movements that develop mechanisms of local exchange that are supplementary to official ones by application of systemic instruments in an antisystemic way, such as parallel local currencies, time banks, online gift-based exchange, and reuse networks or mutual banks, which lend money with almost zero interest through virtual currencies. Alternative exchange strategies give rise to networks that become increasingly autonomous from the System. As long as exchanges take place inside the antisystem network with virtual currencies, it may be impossible to track them and regulate them from the outside, which secures independence from the System.

The antisystemic impact of parallel exchange schemes decisively depends on the content of exchange—if it is antisystemic (ethical, healthy, ecological, empowering...) or not—such as in the case of trading with ordinary market goods in customer reward schemes in supermarkets or those offered to ‘frequent flyers’ by airline carriers. Unless arising as part of the liberating efforts against

the System and embedded in the resolution of community needs, local exchange schemes would not be able to activate their antisystem potential because the social content required to nurture them would not exist.

Local ecofood production is a useful case in point. Ecofarmers have requested the separation of ecofood production (the Antisystem) from industrial production (the System) for decades. With the introduction of strict ecoregulation in the EU, their demands are largely met, with eco products strictly distinguished and separated from non-eco products. However, a radical impact is largely absent because ecofarmers are inconsistently antisystemic. They often produce crops in old-fashioned industrial ways, repeating some of the conventional industry's problematic features such as monocultural mass production or employment of poorly paid labour. In particular, they do not really mind if their crops and products end up on supermarket shelves only as a complement and not as a replacement for nonecologically produced food.

The placing of eco products on supermarket shelves cannot translate into liberating effects. What is required from an antisystem point of view is not only antisystemic production of ecofood but also antisystemic distribution of ecofood (such as by sharing among families, neighbours, or with the underprivileged), antisystemic exchange (in local currency or barter trade) and even antisystemic consumption of food, in moderation and diversity for the maintenance of good health. The antisystem character of ecofood will materialise only when ecofood is integrally antisystemic, in all phases of its socio-economic circulation. To engage in antisystemic trade, eco-farmers (3-1) would then need to bring their products into a fair trade market or swap them in local exchange schemes as provided by movements in 1-3.

Only when movements in 3-1 and 1-3 converge in the communitarian coalition their achievements can accumulate in the antisystem sector. Only in this way can its practices act prefiguratively. The concept of prefiguration refers to the idea that the political practices and outcomes developed by the movement are an integral part of the movement's aims (Maeckelbergh, 2012). Social movements will never achieve their antisystemic ends unless their everyday actions are themselves a model for the world they wish to create (Graeber, 2013). Their practices and outcomes must be, to cite German polymath Gottfried Leibniz from *The Monadology* (1714, para. 22) "pregnant with the future." This was already an imperative for Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), who wrote that movements must create "not only the ideas but also the facts of the future" (1871, Sec. 2).

Contrary to the participatory correlate, the communitarian coalition relies on its own capabilities and constructs its own social reality that for the most part does not overlap with the System, and in several respects is superior to it. Their achievements are then considerably more radical than the achievements of a participatory coalition. Despite this, the communitarian coalition can produce only semi-antisystemic effects because it does not directly subvert the System. Communitarians do not fundamentally challenge the System but complement it by improving it from the outside. At its best, it can establish itself merely as a parallel by rendering the System increasingly unnecessary. The communitarian correlate brings to the surface a real alternative to the System, but it cannot defend movements against its repressive inclusivism.

Militant coalition

The third antisystem coalition shapes in cooperation between the revolutionaries and the autonomists. Some social movements forward an autonomous programme with revolutionary means (3-2 in the PAM). An example is Hardt-Negri's (2004) the urban multitude. 'The multitude' means a

plurality⁷ that is the opposite of a unity of the 'people' (Virno, 2004). The multitude is a form that occupies a middle-ground between the individual and the collective, allowing "for the political-social existence of the many seen as being many" (Virno, 2004, p. 25). It consists of a great number of antisystem agents who together pursue a variety of antisystemic goals. Their constitution as the multitude assures that incommensurable differences can exist within a society, and that the political subject can nonetheless act in a connected way without first being unified (Hardt, Negri, 2004).

The urban multitude does not possess a clear positive antisystemic programme nor a spatial focus. It demonstrates distinctive global orientation, which manifest in its concerns for freedom, human rights wherever in the world it occurs. The urban multitude is nomadic in character for its high international connectedness and mobility that institute it as a mobile collectivity (Hardt, Negri, 2004).

The actions of the multitude accordingly unfold as contradictory forms. Many times they come about as festivals of resistance, in which protest action accompanies music, speeches, food, drink, and film, similar to the labour camps in the nineteenth century or the rock concerts of the 1960s. They claim they are engaging in a politics of creative chaos. Their anger is expressed in soft ways, such as the illegal occupation of public places, the organisation of protest sittings in city halls, camping, organising marches, or creating resistance-related art performances.

On the other pole of the multitude's spectre of forms of action, is open violence that often occurs in parallel to festivals of resistance as part of the same protest action. Militant movements are renowned for engaging in street fighting with rocks, bottles, and Molotov cocktails, destroying the property of banks, damaging government buildings, outlets for multinational corporations or video-surveillance cameras, building barricades in the streets, and defending themselves against the assertiveness of the police.⁸

There are many prominent examples of the multitude's militancy: the violent protests against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund summit in Berlin (in 1988), the protest during the World Trade Organisation Ministerial Conference in Seattle (in 1999), the protest against the G8 Summit of the largest Western industrial nations and Russia in Genoa (in 2001), or the protest during the meeting of the European Council in Cancun (in 2003). One of the most notorious violent groups among the urban multitude in Germany is 'der Schwarze Block' (The Black Block), renowned for violent May Day demonstrations in Berlin-Kreuzberg and for demonstrations during the meeting of the group of the largest world economies, the G20, in Hamburg (in 2017). Another example of the multitude's militancy are the 'eco-terrorists' of the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, who have already sunk several illegal whaling or fishing vessels.⁹

The counterparts to movements located in 3-2 are revolutionary movements that prevalingly achieve autonomous goals (2-3 in the PAM). Some of them are renowned for pursuing the strategy of Changing the world without taking power as Holloway (2004) wrote about the Zapatistas, the Maya Indians from Chiapas, Mexico (similar to other location-based rural movements in Latin America, such as the Argentinean Piqueteros or the Colombian Cocaleros). The Zapatistas revolted in 1994

⁷ Neopythagorean Nicomachus of Gerasa (the second century CE) divided things into those which are continuous and thus have magnitude, and those which are discontinuous and thus have multitude. Multitude is capable of infinite extension and magnitude admits an infinitude of divisions.

⁸ Wikipedia, #Black block; X 2016.

⁹ Wikipedia, #Direct action; X 2016.

against the NAFTA free trade agreement between Mexico and the USA that sought the complete enclosure of common-pool resources and goods, which were vital for the livelihood of indigenous communities. Through the Zapatista uprising, the natives reclaimed their land and resources. They replaced the federal government's institutions with the Juntas de Buen Gobierno for managing communal affairs through a participatory organisation based on direct democracy. In this way, autonomous municipalities have been fulfilling their antisystem visions already for more than two decades (White et al., in Stoborod, Swan, 2014). They achieved this in the shell of the old system—within the Mexican state but outside of Mexican law.

Two types of militant movements in the PAM are independent but complementary through their antisystemic deficits. Slavoj Žižek warned activists in the first Occupy camp in Zuccotti Park to go beyond enjoyment and carnival, “not to fall in love with themselves” (Sarahana, 2011, par. 5). He expressed doubts about festivals of resistance as a method of protest, emphasising that movements are in this way frozen in utopian mind-sets; they enjoy the protest carnival rather than tackling the more difficult developmental task (Sarahana, 2011), not only against the system but, first and foremost, among one another. They savour their oppression and in doing so maintain the binary status quo of the oppressed and the oppressor, rather than working to create a better society (Western, in Stoborod, Swan, 2014). Similarly, while the violent protests of the urban multitude may effectively release some of the movements' frustration and occasionally obstruct certain functions of the System, it rarely contributes substantially to the creation of a better society.

Nomadic movements in 3-2 could learn localised autonomous practices from 2-3, such as their consensual method of coordination and ways of governing everyday life in autonomous communities. Despite the apparent obscurity of an uprising of indigenous Mayan peasants in a poor region of Mexico, their use of novel organisational techniques disseminates globally, making this movement a major source of inspiration and organisational ideas (Maeckelbergh, 2012). The Zapatista uprising has had an enormous impact in Western cities, in which Holloway (2005) sees an emergence of Zapatismo Urbano as a hybrid antisystemic form between the urban and the rural multitude.

On the other hand, the coalition is also fruitful for movements in 2-3 because it allows the extension of their local perspective to the struggles that are taking place in the global antisystem arena (3-2). Territorial movements are sedentary and often cut off from the wider antisystem background, and so are at risk of taking a too narrow view of their antisystemic mission. The former informal leader of the Zapatistas, due to his covered face known by the nickname Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, diagnosed the internal dangers of the Zapatista movement, which flagrantly contradict their principles: patriarchy and militarism (Nail, 2010). Women could previously not even refuse an arranged marriage, nor could they occupy positions of leadership in the Zapatista organisation. Similarly, the relationship between the political-military structure of the movement and the movement's autonomous governance was also contradictory amid maintaining tensions between the hierarchical and horizontal organisational cultures. The Zapatista's use of national Mexican symbols, the national flag, and the playing of the national anthem has also found little resonance with the urban multitude, which tends not to be nationalist but globalist (Holloway, 2005).

The militant coalition's main purpose is neither to improve the System (as a participatory correlate) nor to substitute it (as a communitarian coalition), but to fight its assaults on antisystem movements. The militant coalition is characteristic as ortho-antisystemic. Its operation diverts an important part of the antisystemic potential away from the implementation of positive visions. The militant coalition, the same as communitarian and participatory coalitions, is indispensable for the antisystem project but, as fatally deficient, it cannot achieve its main aspirations alone.

3.2 Antisystem structure

The establishment of three antisystem coalitions is necessary but not a sufficient achievement in resolving the organisation problem of social movements. As long as coalitions operate separately from one another, they cannot form the Antisystem as a structured opposition to the System. Each coalition is indispensable because it accomplishes one vital part of the antisystemic project, but simultaneously suffers antisystemic deficits in comparison with other crucial contributions. The participatory coalition is indispensable for its mobilisation potential, but its antisystemic achievements are not fundamental. The communitarian coalition establishes sustainable communal alternatives to the System, but does not directly challenge systemic exclusion. The militant coalition defends achieved communal autonomy from external threats but also produces enormous friction, which averts movements away from building positive alternatives.

The three antisystem coalitions are, again, complementary exactly through their antisystemic void. Void arises as a premium guideline to resolving the antisystem's organisational problem of connecting and structuring actions. Only when coalitions achieve meta-overlap, a coalition of coalitions, can they organise an antisystem structure. This is a hierarchy with three (meso sub)levels: at the lowest level, the networks of individual social movements order into the PAM. At the middle level, three coalitions arise, while the highest level emerges through an overlap among the three coalitions.

Antisystem structure is not an ordinary, top-down, linear and fixed hierarchy. Its inhabitants are not dependent parts, but smaller wholes comprised of individual (networks of) social movements that already exist as independent self-governed totalities. The elements of Antisystem structure are already ordered entities pursuing certain holistic goals, 'particularist universals' (Wallerstein, 2006b) or 'concrete universals' (Blair et al., 2002) inside their specific situations. Antisystem structure is possible only as a meta-structure, a larger structure of smaller structures of coalitions that consist of even smaller self-governing wholes. Antisystem structure is then a structure of structures of wholes. Analogously, Bookchin (2005) wrote about the social movement as 'a commune of communes'. Gustav Landauer called antisystem structure "a league of leagues of leagues; a commonwealth of commonwealths of commonwealths; a republic of republics of republics" (1978, pp. 125-6). The antisystem structure of social irrationality arises as an embedded structure, characterised by scale invariant organisation of social movements' coalitions as fractals of social chaos.

Due to the self-governing nature of movements, the antisystem structure cannot impose on them as an instrument of leadership. It can only have a very limited scope of operation that is helpful as a framework for administering interaction (Malatesta, in Parker et al., 2014) between movements, such as in the management of important information (membership, historical records, ...) and in accomplishing standard operational procedures such as coordination, facilitating decision-making processes, and carrying out the technical planning of physical work.

Specific antisystemic meta-structure can exist as a temporary setup. It materialises only when it is necessary to accomplish the tasks of specific actions. Once established, the embedded structure remains flexible and can often be re-negotiated (Reedy, 2014) and reshaped to adapt to internal dynamics and to protect itself from external or internal subversion. When it completes the tasks, the structure dissolves to reappear in a modified set-up somewhere else. In between, large-scale antisystem structures exist only as potential. It would then be more appropriate to observe antisystem structures as popping in and out of existence from the omnipresent antisystemic potential. None of its manifestations are permanent, but all of them do form some sort of networked

continuity so that the Antisystem structure is always present and must always be accounted for by the System as very much alive.

A historical example of antisystemic structure at meso level between radically heterogeneous coalitions may be found in the organisation of medieval cities in Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The city was an antisystemic unit in relation to ruling feudal and church aristocracy. As vividly presented in Kropotkin (1902), the cities consisted of a double federation: of all householders united into small territorial unions—the street, the parish, the section—and of individuals united by oath into guilds according to their professions. Another prominent example of an operational antisystem meta-structure is the Paris Commune (1871), which integrated self-governing territorial assemblies with self-governing assemblies resulting from elections in workplaces. A further example is Nabat (ukr., Набат), an anarchist organisation that came to prominence in Ukraine during the Russian revolution, when it succeeded to connect syndicalism and collectivism with individualism.¹⁰ Spanish revolutionaries in the 1930s established the coordination in Confederación Nacional del Trabajo that linked very diverse antisystem movements and worked successfully with over one million members. The antifascist Liberation Fronts aimed at establishing transideological alliances in several European countries during the Second World War, such as the Osvobodilna Fronta in Slovenia. In a more recent example, a coalition between WikiLeaks, Anonymous and local protestors had very real repercussions in the Arab Spring—in Tunisia, and in Egypt.

The antisystem structure is instrumental in relation to achieving antisystemic goals. The most prominent goal of the structure is the implementation of a very specific type of inclusiveness and a new type of sociality only for the excluded. Yet its mission is not to eliminate exclusion from political life. Just the opposite is true! Like any other structure, the Antisystem structure can accomplish its mission only as hegemony, a mechanism of exclusion (Balibar, 2007). Social exclusion is primarily targeted against the asocial practices of the System, as previously discussed, but it must, consistently with its core social mission, also extend to alienate all antisocial contributions to antisystemic goals.

The first instance of antisystemic exclusion of those who are also excluded from the System is directed against antisocial militancy. The militancy of social movements is not due to intrinsic aggressiveness. For them, violence is not legitimate unless it eliminates a still greater evil. Social movements believe in peace at any price except at the price of their autonomy. Every authentic democratic community should have the capacity to apply ‘*ius resistentiae*’, the right of people to resist everything that threatens the primacy of the individual and community before the System (Virno, 2004). The militancy of social movements occurs as an answer to the structural violence of the System against society (Goldman, 1961); consequently, antisystem violence is always retroactive. It has the positive motivation of defending freedom—especially for victims and the inferior. There must then be a distinction between the use of violence by oppressed people against oppressors and their servants, and the use of violence for the repression of freedoms (Chomsky, 1967).

From this principal position, social movements structurally exclude all movements against the System that are founded on hate or promote violence as a primary tactic or goal (Blee, Creasa, 2010), such as terrorism or organised crime. Social movements especially exclude all forms of violence against unarmed and nonaggressive persons, including religious or ethnic violence, fundamentalism, racism, sexism, and violence against the defeated. The prominent anarchist Errico Malatesta (in Richards,

¹⁰ Wikipedia, #Synthesis anarchism; X 2016.

1993) wrote, after the October Revolution in Russia, that if the gallows on the main square were a precondition for victory, he would have preferred the revolution to fail.

In addition to excluding antisocial violence, the PAM does not absorb all those antisystem initiatives that reject collective action by cancelling the very prospects for organisation of social movements and reconstructing collectivity on new grounds. Bookchin (2005) outlined that some postmodern movements are more antisocial than they are antisystemic, such as life-style anarchism, nihilism, antirationalism, antitechnologism, neosituationism, cultural terrorism, and neoprimitivism, among others. The radical postmodern relativism of the individual sees nothing but fragmentation and disconnectedness, to the point that it repudiates the importance of the large-scale community, and even resists any idea of collective spirit and qualitative differences (Zerzan, 2004). Protagonists are often more oriented toward achieving their own 'self-realisation' than accomplishing basic social change.¹¹ For them, history and civilisation consist of nothing but a descent from primality from which humanity has fallen into the inauthenticity of present civilisation (Bookchin, 2005). "Never in any previous civilisation have the great metaphysical preoccupations, the fundamental questions of being and the meaning of life, seemed so utterly remote and pointless" (Jameson, in Zerzan, 2004, p. 18). Here we find no resistance to power; on the contrary, we face the glorification of powerlessness, by which autonomy becomes a myth (Kirinić, 2003). For Bookchin (2005), these antisystemic contributions are antithetical to the development of serious organisations, to a radical politics, to a committed social movement, to theoretical coherence, and to programmatic relevance.

The PAM likewise excludes all those antisystem groups that oppose the understanding that society is complex, resting on incommensurable and plural contradictions. This is characteristic for some far right-wing antisystem movements. They do not fight for the rights denied to oppressed groups by the majority, but act on behalf of relatively privileged groups with the goal of preserving, restoring, and expanding the rights and privileges of those groups (McVeigh, in Dietrich, 2011). They oppose, for instance, affirmative action and undocumented migration, the antiabortion/prolife movement, and universal basic health care, among other issues (Dietrich, 2011).

Finally, among doubly excluded movements are those that aim to transform social order not through struggles between social structures, but rather through reasserting simplicity by submitting themselves to the word of spiritual authority as do some New Age groups and religious movements.

¹¹ Bookchin's (2005) determination to deny radical individualism any direct role in the development of an Antisystem structure seems justified and does not really differ from proclaimed self-exclusion of individualists from antisystemic structures. Yet, exclusion from PAM should not deny individualism thoroughly antisystemic importance. Radical individualism assures that every collective project or achievement of a social movement is always reflected and scrutinized externally, from an individualist stance, for breaching individual freedom in antisystem struggles, or for betraying antisystem ideals.

Besides, social movements themselves are vehicles for personal, cultural and political transformation (Halcli, in Browning et al., 2000), which is relevant in complex conditions where a small contribution as the act of every individual agent can have a far-reaching impact. Personal transformation has indeed become one of the most important aspects of political change in times when "the political is made personal, and the personal is made political" (Sitrin, 2014). For Robert Dahl (2000, in *On Democracy*), antisystem individualism and antisystem collectivity must learn to persist as 'a symbiotic antagonism'.

Antisystem structure obviously enforces its own modality of exclusion. Yet, exclusion is now set against exclusion, not against atypical difference. The antisystemic exclusion only completes a cycle of exclusion between the System and society. Antisystem structure imposes itself as a 'counterpower' or 'dual power' parallel to the System, with unstructured society situated in the middle between them. Society is no longer antagonised against the System, so that antisystem conflict also dissolves. Decoupling civil society from the nation state (Trenz, 2008) creates a completely new situation, which lays ground for a radically different type of sociality.

The new situation establishes grounds for the mesoscopic ordering of society as an antipostmodern entity.

4 Oscillation in the middle

The Italian philosopher Pasquale Pasquino (1991) saw antisystem conflict as mere shadow-play, 'a theatrum politicum' in which the battle between good and bad is hidden behind the veil of conflict between society and the state. The original conflict in society is not antisystem conflict but social conflict. Social conflict proceeds from unresolvable disagreements among members or groups about the understanding and implementation of their distinctive visions of what is good or just.

Social conflict between members is completely different from antisystem conflict. Antisystem conflict is about defending freedom against imposed order. It emerges only when the System directly interferes in the internal affairs of society, into its self-organising autonomy. The System authorises itself to take sides when addressing the inner contradictions of society. Not only with its regulatory, executive, and repressive machinery, but more importantly with its oversimplified mentality, which fails to reproduce the original complexity of social life.

For instance, the conflict between capital and labour translated from social to antisystemic conflict immediately when the state entered the conflict on the side of the interests of capital, in this way prioritising an individualist and materialist vision of society, like in many liberal English-speaking countries. Analogously, in East-European varieties of non-democratic socialism during the second half of the twentieth century, the state involved itself in conflict on the side of labour to prioritise social equality, and a relatively high level of social rights and collective goods. In the socio-democratic welfare states of Continental Western Europe, the System has alternated its generosity between capital and labour by oscillating from meeting the demands of one group to meeting the demands of the other, in accordance with the changing outcomes of reformist political struggles between capital and labour.

In all three varieties of antisystem conflict, one must face an essentially perverse situation. Not only does the System rather freely interfere in social contradictions, it also takes sides by choosing which part of society and which group interest it serves, and consequently, which groups must be included as excluded.

The structure is not necessarily antagonistic to unstructured society. Society accepts structure as an instrument for the organisation of large-scale collective actions. Society is not categorically antisystemic and not inherently hostile to structuring, just as an aspiration for communal and personal autonomy is not antagonistic to antisystemic organisation and leadership. The problem arises only when society becomes subjected to the System instead of the System and structures in general being instrumental to society.

Antagonism is a specific form of confrontation of disagreements for the hegemonic imposition of rigid structures (Shinko, 2008). Antagonism is a relation between two structures. The System

structure is originally antagonistic to the Antisystem structure, not to unstructured society. With the establishment of Antisystem structure, the nature of the relationship between the System and society fundamentally changes. The standard antisystem conflict decomposes into two independent forms and two dissimilar logics of social confrontation.

If the conflict between society and the System is related to a struggle between good and bad, then the implications of establishing the Antisystem structure can be illustratively summarised. The original Antisystem conflict between good and bad is now decomposed into a battle between bad and bad (between the System's structure and the Antisystem's structure), and into the social conflict between citizens that takes place between those who pursue different aspects of a good; battles, therefore, between good and good.

Deconstruction of the conflict between society and the System is a crucial achievement because it finally leaves society in its natural, mesoscopic condition. Social contradictions can now reveal themselves in their original form as agonistic confrontations between friendly opponents (Mouffe, 2000). Agon is an ancient Greek word, describing a relation between, for instance, competitors at athletic games—opponents who respect one another in noble efforts to win a fair and regularly recurring game.

The deantagonisation of social relations should free enormous potential for cooperative undertakings among members of society searching for a middle-ground between different manifestations of the good. When mesoscopic intervention deconstructs political shadow-play, unstructured society becomes visible in its original condition as situated between competitive structural offers. When members of society decide to undertake collective action, they can freely choose between competing and contradictory structural offers, depending how well they serve their needs. Members choose different structural offers for different situations, which means they also need to possess the freedom to oscillate smoothly between opposing structural offers (Figure IV.1).

When the systemic forces of inclusive exclusion become too suppressive, increasingly large parts of society swing from the System's structure to the Antisystem's structure as is currently occurring. Some social movements choose approaches that differ from revolutionary confrontation with the System. Instead of only attacking the System from the outside, excluded members respond with the evacuation of places of power (Negri, Hardt, 2000). Desertion means non-participation and non-collaboration with the institutions and projects of the system (Negri, Hardt, 2000). More positively, antisystem movements choose non-collaboration in all occasions when they cannot impose conditions for cooperation that protect or even strengthen their autonomy against the System. Yet, they can often impose their conditions due to their characteristic creativity, innovations, and transformative effects.

As society swings away from the official system structure, the legitimacy and functionality of systemic arrangements sharply diminish. The secession of plebeians generates an under-pressure, a vacuum, within the official system, which threatens it from the inside with implosion. Desertion causes an existential threat that forces the System to deal with internal contradictions on its own (Camatte, 1973). The System primarily needs to figure out how to change vertical ordering to become less exclusive for the radically different forms of sociality by which social life organically unfolds.

Mouffe (2000) is in disagreement with Negri and Hardt as well as with Virno. She doubts the effectiveness of desertion from the System in comparison with a participatory strategy that achieves social change through institution of the System. She properly asserts that every antisystemic strategy needs to have double momentum, both as disarticulation of the old hegemony and as articulation of

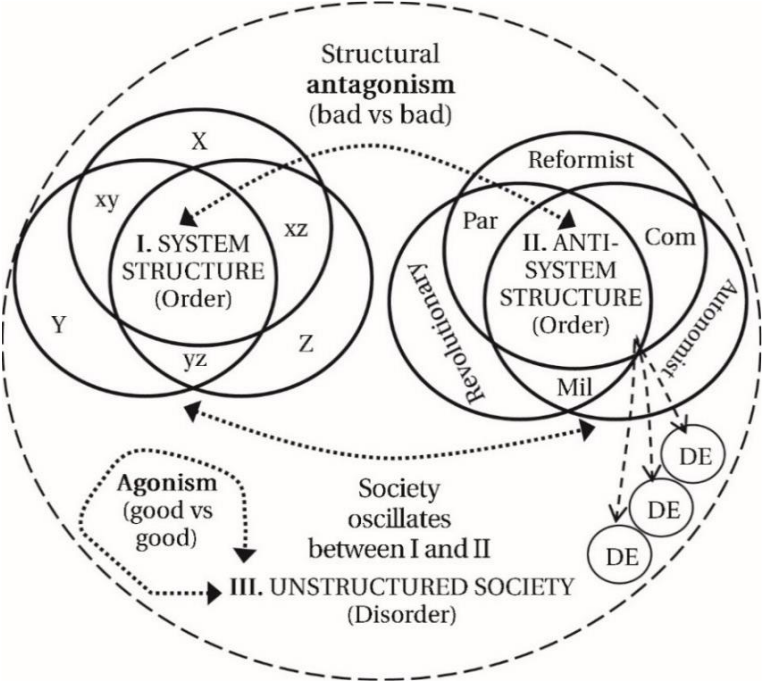
a new hegemony. And the latter, in her view, cannot be achieved by desertion from the hegemony of the official system. She seems to overlook the historical fact that the new hegemony must, of course, be an antisystemic hegemony on Mons Sacer, not a reformed systemic hegemony in Rome.

A swing of society in the opposite direction (Figure IV.1) from the Antisystem's to the System's structure would normally occur when the hegemony of the System becomes less exclusive so that some groups cease to feel marginalised.

Many may decide to swing toward the System when their existential circumstances change. Maybe they are in need of some special system services, which are not provided by the Antisystem structure, or merely for the sake of pursuing profane goals in part of their life, such as enhancing social status (many protagonists of the antisystem eventually find work in official institutions of the system), or for accumulating material wealth beyond that which is required for sustainably and healthily securing basic needs. For some it is not uncommon to migrate between the System and the Antisystem on a daily basis. Many students and their professors swing like the tide between University in the morning and radical politics in the evening.

Organisations evolve differentiated internal structures, formal and informal, in response to complex situations (Mukherjee, 2015). Complex conditions suggest that the organisation of society oscillates at the middle between its antagonist structural offers (Touraine, 1992) with dissimilar inclusion-exclusion rules. Antagonist structures serve society as its alternative socio-metabolic regimes (Fischer-Kowalski, Rotmans, 2009). Each structural offer nevertheless operates internally as an agonistic set up between its incommensurable constituents (not emphasised in Figure IV.1).

Figure IV.1: Mesoscopic concept of complex society



Source: Author.

Legend:

X, Y, Z = Horizontal domains of social complexity;

DE = Double excluded, from the System structure and from the Antisystem structure;

Coalitions: Par = Participatory, Com = Communitarian, Mil = Military.

Successful deconstruction of the antisystem conflict by establishing an Antisystem structure evokes the ancient practice of ostrakismos. In antipostmodern societies, freedom to exclude must be secured equally for all in order to assure that the power of krátos in demokratia (Rossiter, 2006) is distributed among mesoscopic political agents in a balanced way. Freedom of exclusion assures that political subjects now face one another as excluded, instead of as included in the excluded. What establishes democracy as democratic is not an absence of hegemonic politics, krátos, but equalised hegemonic potential to exclude incommensurable differences at the meso level of their confrontation, enabling everybody to protect its characteristic pattern of blindness against the ignorance of all others. The pattern of society's structural unconscious becomes visible precisely at irrational frontiers, where ignorance meets ignorance, where different aspects of void intersect.

Despite demanding extensive exclusion, the mesoscopic ordering does not threaten to increase overall exclusion in society. It only aspires to reshape the exclusion map. Accordingly, the System needs to decrease its presently high level of exclusion in its ordering structures. The Antisystem, on the other hand, needs to boost its presently meagre exclusionary powers further, until broad autonomy and self-governance is secured for all those, individually and collectively, who want to pursue it. However, antisystemic exclusion brings inclusion of the excluded. With a progressive implementation of mesoscopic strategy, the overall level of exclusion should decrease together with an increasingly evaluative comprehension of complex social matters that replaces bias with void.

More holistic understanding will not lead complex society to less uncertainty, easier governability, and more robust stability. Quite the contrary, one needs to understand holistic achievements in a transformative context as precursors to forthcoming radical change, beyond the edge of chaos towards a bifurcation point of no return! Mesoscopic reasoning only prepares the grounds for a final decision by connecting the synergetic forces of social transformation.