

**“LONG LIVE ANARCHISM” AND ITS SOUTHERN DISCONTENT:
SOUTH-VERTING THE “TRANS-” OF RADICAL TRANSNATIONAL
KNOWLEDGE IN IL RISVEGLIO**

**“VIVA O ANARQUISMO” E A SUA DISSENSÃO SULISTA: SUL-
VERTENDO O “TRANS-” DO CONHECIMENTO RADICAL
TRANSNACIONAL EM IL RISVEGLIO**

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ABSTRACT:

This study proposes the re-orienting of the radical transnational politics exchanged in the first anti-fascist and anarchist newspaper *Il Risveglio*, produced in 1927 in Australia. It combines a critical analysis of its transnational and translocal political imaginaries with an examination of the linkages of its “trans” of gender, race, class and imperial relations to unsettle its responses to the historical, Italian based southern discontent. It argues that its focus on the social question and the predominance of northern-based responses to women’s equality and the racialisation of migrants effaces and negates the lives of diaspora from the southern regions. This negation also intersects with its support for the formation of a white working class and negation of Indigenous sovereign ontologies and epistemologies in the settler colony of Australia. This paper demonstrates that the effacement of the southern discontent is re-configured across varied and relational systems of radical diasporic knowledge.

KEYWORDS:

Anarchism, Southern Italy, Australia, Discontent, Diaspora.

RESUMO:

Este estudo propõe reorientar as posturas políticas, radicais e transnacionais, compartilhadas através do primeiro jornal antifascista e anarquista *Il Risveglio*, publicado em 1927 na Austrália. O presente trabalho combina uma análise crítica dos seus imaginários políticos transnacionais e translocais, com uma investigação sobre as conexões do seu prefixo “trans-”, referido a gênero, raça, classe e relações imperiais, com as dissensões históricas baseadas no Sul da Itália. Argumentamos que o foco de *Il Risveglio* na questão social e a predominância de respostas norte-cêntricas a questões como igualdade para as mulheres e a racialização dos migrantes, silencia e nega as trajetórias diaspóricas oriundas das regiões meridionais da Itália. Esta negação também intersecta o apoio à formação de uma classe trabalhadora branca e a negação de ontologias e epistemologias de soberania indígena dentro do espaço colonial australiano. Este trabalho demonstra que o silenciamento da dissensão sulista é reconfigurado transversalmente através de vários sistemas relacionais de conhecimento radical

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diaspórico.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:

Anarquismo, Itália do Sul, Austrália, Dissensão, Diáspora.

Guglielmo's unique history *Living The Revolution* (2010), on the activism of radical Italian migrant women in the US, starts by recounting how these diasporic women directly or indirectly, have been part of the uprising since the unification and formation of the Kingdom of Italy. It recalls how the national uprising of 1892 was started by a group of women in the southern city of Palermo who were joined by neighbouring collectives and eventually formed the "fascio delle lavoratrici" (union of women workers) with over 1,000 members. This agitation and the violent attempts to quash it, spread over time from the South to the North with industrial workers joining peasants as they were chanting "...Long Live Anarchy! Long Live Social Revolution" (GUGLIELMO, 2010, p.11). Guglielmo however, is also clear that these organized socialist and anarchist eruptions arrived

after years of Brigantaggio, a form of guerrilla warfare that erupted in the southern regions of Calabria, Apulia, Molise, Campania and Sicily after the unification of Italy. Although driven by varied social and political concerns, they are especially known for rejecting the ruling of the Piedmontese and working with peasants in armed resistance against the state and the new class of landowners (GUGLIELMO, 2010, p.33). This historicizing of the political ruptures within the south that ground anarchism and radical migrant women in the US, partake in what I would argue is the unfinishable transnational imaginary of diaspora that animates a South-verting to the heterogeneous political/s of the south!

It is the south-verting of the radical-political writing by way of an unfinishable transnational imaginary that is the focus of this paper. I propose here a critical re-orienting of a radical, western transnational and

diasporic politics exchanged in the newspaper *Il Risveglio* in 1927 in Australia. More specifically due to limited capacity to access all its editions, I focus on the analysis of the articles from 1 August 1927, that is translated and investigated by state authorities with the view to shutting down the newspaper. This circulates amongst Italian-Australian diaspora as part of establishing international opposition to the spread of Italian Fascism and exposes of the violence of the Regime. This newspaper as I demonstrate is defined by way of a prevalent transnational and translocal anti-fascist political imaginaries that seemingly disrupt the legitimacy of fascism and the coherence of capitalism and sovereign governance by the state, the family, religion, nationalism, patriotism and racial hatred. The newspaper's imaginary, however, remains silent on the question of women's equality and grounds its social question in ways that continue the historical effacement of the southern discontent. The newspaper

circulates a northern and insular form of knowledge that effaces Imperial and racial knowledge that legitimates the white possessiveness of the settler state in Australia and negates Indigenous sovereign struggles and the racial embodiments of southern Italian diaspora (FABER, 2009, p.7; CRESCIANI, 1979).

The concept of transnationalism that I apply here is derived from the way this newspaper is part of global networks that exchange anti-fascist and abstracted radical and diasporic anarchist thinking. The transnational political imaginary produced by its exchanges opens a focus on what Hirsch and Van Der Walt define as the "supranational in its connections and multidirectional flows of the ideas, people, finances" across geopolitical spaces by countering and going beyond a politics oriented by national and state sovereignty (2010, p.xxxii). This also configures a translocal diasporic politics that localize anarchist political

imaginary through a politics of emotion that re-orient diasporic communities against the immorality of fascists in Australia. This translocal politics is also shown to circulate a hate politics in Australian that disrupts the affective sentimentality of nationalism, patriotism and racial hatred. The transnational political imaginary is derived from known and unknown male radical journalists, social commentators, political activists and philosophers that were translated in Italian and circulated by ways of transnational networks that moved across Australia, Italy, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, France, Argentina, Egypt, Hungary to name a few (CRESCIANI, 1979; HIRSCH & VAN DER WALT 2010; FABER, 2009). These supranational movements are oriented by the historical criminalisation, illegality and persecution of its exponents including their forced exiles, escapees but also their ongoing travels, diasporiticization, international collaborations

and exchanges between organic and non-organic transnational and translocal formations (KINNA 2012; NEWMAN, 2015; BERMAN, 2017). These are activists that counter the historical criminalisation of Communists and Anarchists across geo-political spaces, including the censoring of Italian based and diasporic press by Italian fascism and Australian Government (TOSCO, 2002, p.226; PALOMBO, 2015). They circulate what Berman (2017) also calls a “critical optic” that opposes and works to destabilize modern capitalism, fascism, and liberal states governance and its interdependence to other sovereign institutions such as the law and religion and begins to consider women’s emancipation.

In the second part of the paper, taking a cue from Jessica Berman’s (2017) recently posed the question if “the Trans in Transnational is the Trans in Transgender?” and combine the initial focus on a whole encompassing category of trans-

nationalism to the analysis of the unfinishable combinatorial workings of the hyphenated prefix “trans-“ of gender, race and nation (STRYKER e CURRAH, 2014). As proposed by transgender studies theorists Stryker, Currah and Moore (2008), these crossings and movements open the whole encompassing notions of transnationalism and translocalism to the explicit relationality of the linkages and intersectionalities of “trans-” that also resist foreclosure by attachment to any single suffix (RUNYON, n.d.; STRYKER, CURRAH & MOORE, 2008, p.11). Following this thinking Pugliese also in the “Transmediterranean: Diasporas, Histories, Geopolitical spaces” (2010) draws from the “figure of trans” of transmediterranean to reject and unsettle the imperial and limiting conceptualisations of the histories, cultures and politics of the Mediterranean. The “trans” is a figure that for Pugliese signifies the power of transversal movements that cut across and problematizes authorised borders and opens up systems of relations bet-

ween otherwise disparate subjects (p.12). Reconfigurations of power through these crossings do not necessarily defy policed borders but create the possibility of alliances between and across transmediterranean communities in ways that transform what remains violently in place. Borrowing from the focus on the hyphenated prefix of “trans-“, I combine the analysis of transnational and translocal knowledge with the examination of the combinatorial workings of the “trans-“ of gender, race and Imperial relations. By opening up the analysis to the “trans-“ linkages and movements of *Il Risveglio's* political imaginaries, this essay re-orientes the significance of its radical, abstracted and non-dominant diasporic knowledge and unsettles its grounding on the effacement of the southern discontent. These “trans-“ relations demonstrate the predominance of a northern-based response to women’s equality that effaces southern women’s concerns. It also problematizes the ways its commitment to dismantle racial hatred, patriotism

and nationalism re-configure an insular imaginary that naturalizes hierarchies of nation, race, whiteness and Imperialism that produce the dominance of a white working class and negate Indigenous sovereign ontologies and epistemologies. This negation intersects with a northern anarchist knowledge that effaces of the raciality shaping diaspora from southern regions of Italy in Australia. In this sense, this paper demonstrates that the effacement of the southern discontent is re-configured across the varied and relational system of radical, non-dominant diasporic knowledge.

Il Risveglio introduces transnational news that works to align readers against the failures of fascism. This was set up as part of the Lega Anti-fascista that brought together 300 communists and anarchists, largely Italian-Australian diaspora to oppose the spread of Italian Fascism and expose the violence of the Regime. This is in fact often named as the first antifascist publication in Australia with

prevalent anarchist undertones (FABER, 2009, p.7; CRESCIANI, 1979) that in line with its purposes, it was edited by Italian born migrants Giovanni Antico, the secretary of the Italian section of the Communist Party of Australia and experienced anarchist activists Francesco Carmagnola and Isidor Bertazon (CRESCIANI, 1979; FABER 2009, pp. 5-6; ABIUSO, 1991). This newspaper is visibly publishing supranational anti-fascist news that is in opposition to the fascist state and exposes its hierarchical and oppressive social and moral relations (NEWMAN, 2010; BAKUNIN, 1848 cited in BEIRNE, 1990, p. 7). In the edition of the newspaper held by Australian authorities, from 1 August 1927, the editors Carmagnola and Bertazzoni's writing introduce this news with direct and accusatory headlines such as "The Kingdom of Slavery", "The Shamelessness Continues" and "The Vile Fascist Lies" that orient diasporic readers to the immorality attributed to the fascist state (IL RISVEGLIO, 1//08/1927, p.3; p.4). The articles signify the

fascist state as running unscrupulous adventures, economic failures, enslaving workers, political deception, persecution of organized labour and killings of leftist politicians and activists.

The transnational exchanges of anti-fascist news are also re-shaped by a translocal diasporic imaginary. This imaginary is circulated within a moral language that takes part in what Ahmed (2004) calls a politics of emotions. This politics orients and “align[s] individuals with communities – or bodily space with social space” through the very intensity of emotional attachments” (2004, p. 119). More directly, this affective orientation is especially important as it is part of building a translocal diasporic response to the ways the Italian consular staff in 1927 is spreading fascism in Australia by resourcing the establishment of various fascist and pro-fascist diasporic clubs and newspapers around Australia (see PALOMBO, 2015; CRESCIANI, 1980). So, this affective politics works to provoke and publicly ridicule the

Italian authorities by adopting a language that shames fascist subjects and activities in Australia and orients diaspora to distancing themselves from immoral activities of the Regime in Italy and Australia, as Bertazzon writes in the August edition: “I propose to unmask to the very bottom the famous lies which the various lackeys of the sanguinary Benito spread among the blockhead priest followers and lurid shirts that is to say Italian Colonial who are in the large cities” (IL RISVEGLIO, 1/8/ 1927, p.5).

The intensity of this provocation continues with the distribution of the first edition at the *Rinascenza* in Sydney, a space defined by Cresciani as *filo-fascist* (CRESCIANI, 1980). In this sense, it is also not surprising that these provocations created a response from Italian authorities in Australia and their demand that the newspaper is shut down, a topic to which I will return to later on. So its anti-fascism is shaped by a translocal imaginary that evokes a politics of emotion thatre-

-orient diasporic communities against the immorality of fascists in Australia.

The transnational Anarchist undertones of the newspaper varied in its modalities. Cresciani sums up the prevalence of Anarchism throughout *Il Risveglio* editions and argues that it:

...did not leave any doubt in the minds of its readers the Editors' intention. In the second issue dated August 1927, Bertazzon clearly stated that 'to arrive at the new order it is necessary to devote all our physical and intellectual forces in order that the proletariat is well prepared to surmount every obstacle which may be in our path...to triumphantly reach our goal, that is Anarchy! The third issue, printed after the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, had spread across its front page the heading 'Long live Anarchy. By the Anarchists they will be avenged!' (CRESCIANI, 1979).

The transnational anarchist imaginary poses the fundamentals of the "social question" as based on the creation of a revolutionary proletariat against private ownership and the reconstruction of the

social partly by demolishing the state as a form of governance (MALATESTA, 1922; MALATESTA, 2015; CORRÉA, 2014; NEWMAN, 2012). It especially grounds its opposition to institutions such as the state but also the law, which are described by Errico Malatesta as part of an interdependent system of domination that includes the economy, the political/juridical/military and cultural ideological that in this newspaper are shown to support the racial-political of the state (CORRÉA, 2014). For Bakunin, the law, in particular, is "the antithesis of human freedom" and a protector of sovereign institutions (BAKUNIN, 1873 in BEIRNE, 1990, p.6-7; NEWMAN, 2015, pp-38-39). This, for example, participates in the international protests to raise awareness and support for Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti who stand accused of murder and are sentenced to death after being denied a retrial. This is part of a range of articles based on the legal proceedings

that are exchanged across North American and Western European cities but also Tokyo, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Johannesburg and of course Sydney that work to expose the crimes and murders of law against Italian anarchists (VANZETTI, 1927, pp. 11-12; FABER, 2009, p.5; FRANKFURTER, 1922).

A broader humanism of anarchism has also circulated by way of abstracted, western and radical writing that has oriented readers to a discussion of freedom, equality, and emancipation. Reflective essays and extracts from known male social commentators and philosophers such as Bakunin's "La Menzogna di Dio" or "The Lie of God" written in 1871, that propose the emancipation of individuals by way of refusal to participate to name a few in religious interference (IL RISVEGLIO, 1/8/ 1927, p.2). Similarly, the re-publishing of the translated extract "Free Love" written by social critic and Zionist Max Simon Nordau part of his book "Conventional

Lies of Our Civilisation" (1883) proposes to free love from the oppressive confining of the marriage institution (IL RISVEGLIO, 1/8/1927, p. 10). In this article, both women and men are encouraged to disentangle themselves from marriages of convenience that had been normalized by state, religious and legal institutions. In line with the anarchist focus on ethical values, this moralizes all those that want to gain from these types of marriages as calculative and dishonest people and argues that by comparison, female prostitutes are performing an honest economic form of survival. Although this is not stated in the articles, these are re-imaginings of different relations of power that propose to free populations from state, religious and legal interference and restrictive moral values are published at a time when Fascism was also introducing state surveillance in everyday living of populations by posing restrictions over marriages and divorce, reproduction, and familial relations. These

are changes that the Vatican also supports especially after entering into a formal agreement with Mussolini in 1929 (HECKERT & CLEMINSON, 2011, p. 3; PASSERINI, 1987).

I pose here on the question of women's equality. The extract "Free Love" written by social critic and Zionist Max Simon Nordau is part of the book "Conventional Lies of Our Civilisation" (1883) which proposes to free love from the oppressive confining of the marriage contract. This extract, in fact, excludes the section from the original text that opposes gender equality. Nordea's writing supports the social emancipation of marriage but opposes women's equality as it postulates women as inherently biologically inferior and dependent on man's superior abilities. Arguably, this opposition is partly omitted from the newspaper due to the growing transnational support from anarchists for women's equality. A support that, however, remains invisible in Australian diasporic anarchist

newspapers until 1930. This newspaper, however, locks women into generalist male imaginaries of either oppression or freedom that are grounded upon a biological binarism that sets up female and male bodies as equally enslaved and capable of free themselves from the materialist social-economic conditions and by so doing, as noted by US radical diasporic feminists, it ignores women and maintains patriarchal relations (MOYA, 2012; BENCIVENNI, 2011; GUGLIELMO, 2010). Its analysis remains abstracted and minimally responsive to the historical question of radical diasporic feminist thought and concerns over the social conditions of Italian-Australian diaspora.

So far, the pairing of an all-inclusive category of transnationalism with gender remains elusive on radical feminist transnational politics. It is here in fact, that I shift focus to a critical analysis of the combinatorial workings and movements of the hyphenated category of "trans-" of gender and diaspora (STRIKER,

CURRAH & MOORE, 2008) to open this discussion to other radical diasporic knowledge of women's inequalities. Following Stryker, Currah and Moore this analysis of the linkages of the "trans-" of gender demonstrate how this crosses and unsettles the naturalised masculinism and biological binarism of transnational radical diasporic thought present in *Il Risveglio*. In this sense, I define the hyphenated:

... "Trans-"...[as] the capillary space of connection and circulation between the macro- and micro-political registers through which the lives of bodies become enmeshed in the lives of nations, states, and capital-formations, while "-gender" becomes one of the several sets of variable techniques or temporal practices (such as race or class) through which bodies are made to live (2008, p.14).

The "trans-" relations of gender connect to the radical diasporic movement in the US and its re-alignment of gender. In fact, my starting point is the article by the Italo-American diaspora Celestino Lalli (1930) "Religione, La Patria, La Famiglia e Gli Anarchici" which

was published in *La Riscossa* (1929-31), after the closure of *Il Risveglio*. This article is also re-published from the US-based transnational anarchist and anti-fascist newspaper *L'Adunata Dei Refrettari* (*The Gathering of the Disobedient*). The analysis of the movements and linkages of the "trans-" relations of gender within this writing demonstrate that diasporic feminism combines its knowledge with the social question and by so doing produces a focus on the social inequalities that shape women's lives. This combination unsettles the coherence of the biologism of sexed categories that also circulated in *Il Risveglio*. As Lalli writes it is male "tyranny" and violence within the family, religious and state interference, and economic dependence that shape women's lives:

We want the family to be emancipated from any prejudice and violence ...we do not want marriage to be contaminated by a deceitful promise of love... we do not want the woman to live under the tyranny of man and of the civil and ecclesiastical law... We can achieve this when the

economic conditions have mutated so that the woman can be elevated socially, morally and intellectually at the same level as the man (LA RISCOSSA, 15/12/1930, p. 2).

This article is not-centring its attacks on fascism. On the contrary of Nordeau's article, the "trans-" relations of gender open to the ways this writing combines freedom with achieving both women's equality and the emancipation of the traditional patriarchal family. Although this does not question directly the biological binarism that differentiates and inferiorize female bodies, its seeking of freedom from social institutions and male tyranny begins to unsettle the coherence of sexed categories. So the move to the "trans" relations of gender in *La Riscossa* demonstrate how its knowledge in the 1930 moves to discuss a social revolution that includes the dismantling of women's oppression.

The "trans-"ons of gender of Lalli's article connect to *L'Adunata Dei Refrettari (The Gathering of the Disobedient)* (1922-1971) and US diasporic

radical feminism. This circulates in Australia and is in fact part of a series of transnational and more local US based newspapers including the earlier publication *La Questione Sociale (The Social Question (1895-1908))*. Both newspapers combined anarchist writing on the social question with diasporic anarchist feminist calls for women's emancipation (GUGLIELMO, 2010, pp.224-225). In the 1920s, in *L'Adunata*, published feminist writing as news stories, letters and essays largely from unknown sources. Guglielmo sums up diasporic writing and feminist anarchists called upon women in the movement to freedom by:

... oppos[ing] fascism as they would any systematic pervasive form of domination. A letter from one woman in Philadelphia typified much of the writing with her dramatic call for women to refuse acquiescence to patriarchy...A distinctly anarchist feminist perspective also infused many essays that continued to critique male comrades: "men should know" wrote another woman, "that humanity cannot elevate itself if women are not elevated and that the emancipation

of the proletariat cannot move forward without the emancipation of women (GUGLIELMO, 2010, pp.224-225).

The combinatorial workings of “trans-“ relations of gender partly demonstrate that Lalli’s evocation of male “tyranny” and his demanding of women’s equality in 1930 is connecting with these diasporic radical feminist concerns. What is also accentuated, however, is that Lalli’s writing connects more clearly with the earlier writing of the “sovversive” published in *La Questione Sociale* from the 1890s. Lalli’s article in effect evokes their feminist concerns with oppressive social institutions like the family structure, education and the hierarchy of the Church. The “sovversive” describe women as being inflicted by economic dependency and by their exploitation within capitalism and family violence. In this writing, there is an outright rejection of biological inferiority and the positing of women as being forcibly and socially deprived of intellectual pursuits by man. Maria Rosa, for example, wrote that

“sister-workers...men are... the cause of our weakness, our underdeveloped intellect because they restrict our instructions and ignore us” (GUGLIELMO, 2010, p.156). Significantly, the “trans-“ relations of gender also demonstrate that the sovversive link to a movement that re-naturalizes biological binarism by way of a maternal feminism that re-defines motherhood, not as a form of oppression, but as a political site for raising women’s consciousness and enacting revolutionary education with children (GUGLIELMO, 2010, pp.162-65; p.385; BENCIVENNI, p.89, 2011; CANNISTRARO & MEYER, 2003 p. 179). The combinatorial workings of the “trans-“ of gender clearly demonstrates that Lalli’s writing is shaped by a US-based diasporic radical feminism that extends the social question to include the social construction of femininity within anarchist political imaginaries.

Lalli’s writing, however, is also oriented by an earlier northern-based diasporic radical feminism of *La Questione*

Sociale and seemingly a more individualised anti-fascist radical feminism of the 1920s of *L'Adunata*. The analysis of the combinatorial workings of “trans-” relations of gender, show that the early diasporic radical feminist writing from Paterson in New Jersey shows that this work gives visibility to known and less known views of activists who are often identified as from the Northern regions of Italy including Maria Roda, Bellalma Forzato, Ersilia Grandi, Alba, Ninfa Baronio, Ernestina Cravello, Maria Barbieri, Alba Genisio, Titi, Virginia Buongiorno to name a few (CANNISTRARO & MEYER, 2003, p.134; GUGLIELMO, 2010, pp. 139-140; BENCIVENNI, p.89, 2011). Whilst it is unclear if all these feminist writers were from the Northern regions of Italy and how they conceptualized their shared northern origins, their concentrated visibility is partly due to the chain migration of northern radical activists in this specific area of the US. (GUGLIELMO, 2010, p.145). Yet, as it has been

noted, in the US there is a high presence of diasporic women from the southern regions of Italy and as noted by Guglielmo (2010) the Sicilian anarchist circle also actively pursued women’s emancipation. So, this early circulation of diasporic feminist writing is one that in the pursuit of the relation between the social question and gender, voluntarily or non-voluntarily, effaces questions from southern diasporic radical feminist women. In the 1920s however, in *L'Adunata*, there are no clear traces of a prevalence of northern writers. This is published in New York where there is no clear concentration of northern Italian feminist anarchist activists. But also significantly, the background of the diasporic radical feminist writers remains largely unmarked and individualised in the newspaper. Thus, remaining elusive on the southern question.

What this analysis of “trans-” relations alerts us to is the effacement of the southern radical diaspora

in the transnational pursuit of the social question. This effacement, however, is not exclusive to the diasporic anarchist feminists of the 1890s as this is connected to the “trans-” relations of gender with the social question itself and the ways it is re-calibrated by anarchist thought including by the southern Italian Malatesta. *The Social Question* and the *L'Adunata*, in fact, had close bonds with Malatesta who travelled in the US to escape authorities and edited the *Social Question* in 1898 (RICHARDS, 2015; GUGLIELMO, 2010; CANNISTRARO & MEYER, 2003). As Toda demonstrates, Malatesta who has lived under the Bourbonic rule and seen its falling, in the 1860s comes to share spaces in Naples with supporters of both Mazzini and Bakunin. In short, Mazzinian supporters were seeking to create a republican federation that opposed the Piedmont led the Italian Kingdom by way of class collaboration, whilst Bakunian sympathizers were arguing against the Church, the centralized State and social

privileges (...proletariat [as] victims of capitalism) (TODA, 1988, pp.5-6). Malatesta who is a supporter of Mazzini, also recalls this period as marked by his great opposition to Garibaldi as one that did not liberate Italy from the monarchy and that he fought against Garibaldi also “as a man from the South” (cited in NETTLAU, 1924). In 1872, with the support of Bakunin and the Paris Commune, Malatesta turns from republicanism to anarchism and within few months begins publishing “The Social Question”. The Internationalist language of this and future work which comes to circulate transnationally is one that is abstracted from the specifics of the southern discontent and is re-calibrated towards drafting *Anarchia* which is concerned with disrupting all oppressive social relations created by the formation of every government:

Anarchists, including this writer, have used the word State, and still do, to mean the sum total of the political, legislative, judiciary, military and financial institutions through which

the management of their own affairs, the control over their personal behaviour, the responsibility for their personal safety, are taken away from the people and entrusted to others who, by usurpation or delegation, are vested with the powers to make the laws for everything and everybody, and to oblige the people to observe them, if need be, by the use of collective force (MALATESTA, 1891).

This comes to circulate transnationally as an abstracted, universalist and internationalist radical writing that stands against “the sum total of the political, legislative, judiciary, military and financial institutions”. It is this seeking to disrupt the “sum total” of oppressive social relations that shifts the focus away from a politics based on the southern discontent itself that informed somewhat his formative years.

What is also lost from this analysis and is not visible in this or other related writing including in *Il Risveglio*, is the embodiment of the southern discontent within the direct actions of Malatesta. I would argue that it is not accidental

that after joining the anarchists Malatesta organizes a siege in the southern part of Italy. In 1877 Malatesta and Cafiero are the two leading southern anarchists of the *Matese Band* that is made up by 30 revolutionaries recruited across Italy and Russia. They are recruited to conduct a siege and occupy the towns in the Benevento province “as part of communicating to the widest audience as possible that the Italian Workers Association was seeking social justice” (WHELEHAN, 2012, p.65). The siege not only follows the Brigandaggio’s tactics of “making actions and reactions not clear” to state armies but more symbolically, it is organised “not far from the scene of the Pontenlandolfo massacre” an area that is known for having fiercely resisted the Piedmontese troops by civil unrest and for subsequently becoming a site where the locals came to be massacred (WHELEHAN, 2012, p.65). Pernicone also makes the point that the Matese area is selected precisely because it

provides the rugged terrain and a warlike population whose combativeness they hope to rekindle (PERNICONE, 1993, 119). So, I ask here isn't this rekindling part of the pursuit of social justice for southern populations that Malatesta knows have been "oppressed" by the introduction of a northern-based form of governance and its laws? After all, the memories of the "massacres", including the killings, raping, robbing and the burning of the two cities of Pontelandolfo & Casalduni by the Piedmontese armed forces on August 14, 1861, are still raw at the time of this siege (FRASCELLA, 2016). What follows however during and after this short-lived siege, is a forceful response from the Italian state and its armies and the criminalisation, displacement and exile of Malatesta and all members of the Matese Band. So, this becomes another moment when the explicit attempts to bring together the social question with the southern discontent is brutally opposed by the state. Yet, this is also a moment that is

evacuated from Malatesta and future transnational anarchist writing that is shaped by the anarchist social question. The seeking to disrupt the "total sum" of oppressive social relations of the social question removes focus from the violent social relations that have shaped the southern discontent and informed Malatesta's direct action.

I will finish with the analysis of an article the Workers of Queensland written by the editor Carmagnola as part of his attempt to localize transnational anarcho-syndicalism and create a unified proletarian class against capitalism and the state. Responding to racist attacks by media against Italian-Australian diasporic workers, the translocal imaginary shapes the social question by seeking the social emancipation of local workers and the creation of a unified proletariat that gives up nation, nationalism, patriotism and racial hatred. Similarly, to anti-fascist articles, this translocal political imaginary

is deployed in the paper again by way of what Ahmed (2014) calls a politics of emotions that aligns “painful and hateful sentiments” with nationalism, patriotism, and racial hatred. As Carmagnola states:

...the writer of these lines has long overcome the concept of Nation [homeland], and has embraced a more noble and bigger ideal, that unite [man!] from all over the world and therefore is not affected by localism... my mode of thinking will encounter opposition from those used to look at things from the obfuscated lenses of the hateful sentiment of nationalism that teaches man [sic!] to hate those of another nation...What is the cause of these painful sentiments? Because I am only speaking about Italian and Australian workers, I would say that the cause of this sickness resides with both of them as they have not been able to free themselves from the stupidity of racial hatred inculcated in their minds by false education...this [racial hatred] foremost divides while they should be uniting against the common enemy of capitalism (IL RISVEGLIO, 1/8/1927, pp.1-2).

This translocal imaginary exchange “odious” and

“hateful” sentiments that align nationalism, patriotism, and racial hatred as the hateful objects requiring disruption and rejection (AHMED, 2014). These negative attachments work to prevent the binding of Italian and Australian workers to the production of hate itself and to align workers with anarchism. So, negative sentiments are proposed as limiting the teaching of “people of one nation...to hate those of another” and “racial hatred” (AHMED, 2014; CARMAGNOLA, 1927, p.1). This politics of emotions then delineates the translocal framework for an anti-capitalist struggle that links the affective sentimentality of nationalism, patriotism and racial hatred to hate politics. (NEWMAN, 2010; 2015; FABER, 2009).

This sentimental translocal imaginary also conjures up an insular political imaginary that evokes the formation of a white proletariat. I move here to combine the concept of translocal with an analysis of the linkages of the “trans”

of race, state and empire to open and problematize the ramification of this political insularity. Carmagnola's translocal imaginary infers the rejection of what Perera calls as the insular imaginary that locks the political into the insularity of the state and sovereign politics (PERERA, 2009, p.1). In fact, opposition to state sovereignty and its recourse to nationalism as the framework for the political order is central to the social question (NEWMAN, 2010; 2015; FABER, 2009). For Perera however, the insularity of nation is grounded upon a British Imperial and racial geo-political imaginary that is reconfigured in different contexts, affiliations, and attachments that negate Indigenous sovereign ontologies and epistemologies and are premised on a subject that is racialized, white and imperial (PERERA, 2009, p.162; MORETON-ROBINSON, 2015). Carmagnola's translocal writing, on the other hand, is shaped as well as enacting "trans-" relations of race, state and empire that re-ground the

settler colonial state. These combinatorial workings of "trans" are shaped by linkages with the anarchist concepts of racial hatred and racial prejudice that define them as tools of governance that imprint hierarchical, and oppressive relations that workers are urged to cut adrift from as part of their emancipation (BAKUNIN, 1873; MALATESTA, 1914; NEWMAN, 2015). This "trans-" orientation part of Carmagnola's writing diminishes race to a political fact, that is to a temporal and after-event strategy of the state (DA SILVA, 2009, p.233). This significance closes off the linkages to the productive power of the racial that has constituted the state and its workers as part of an Imperial and settler colonial order that dis-avow that which signifies "other"-wise (DA SILVA, 2007, p.xiii). Overall, these "trans" linkages of race, state and empire negate Imperial and settler colonial relations and reconfigure an insular imaginary that evokes the formation of a white proletariat (ROEDIGER, 2000).

This insular translocal imaginary remains within the horizons of an imperial, racial arsenal that reconfigure a white proletariat (ROEDIGER, 2000). The newspaper circulates an insular imaginary that creates a working-class compact by unifying emancipated Italian workers with Australian workers in ways that enacts what Moreton-Robinson calls the exclusive white possessiveness over political subjectivity and sovereignty. In effect, this translocal class politics retains whiteness a privileged and exclusive form of property sanctioned by law (MORETON-ROBINSON, 2004, p. 5; ROEDIGER, 2000). As Carmagnola writes:

Oh! [Italian] Comradeworkers of North Queensland! Let us destroy in ourselves that brutal egoism which renders us slaves to ourselves. Let us free ourselves of prejudices and superstitions and let us unite ourselves with the Australian workers in the struggle against the masters who oppress and exploit us. Let us remember the words of that great one [Marx] who said that the emancipation of the proletariat cannot but

be the work of the workers themselves (IL RISVEGLIO, 1/8/1927, p.1).

This translocal imaginary re-deploys the figure of the “Australian workers” that nativizes British diaspora as the self-determined white sovereign occupier of the land and worker of the cane fields. Also, the article’s call to Italian cane cutters to emancipate by giving up racial prejudice against Australian workers, solicits the constitution of a self-determining white working class that historically has already forcefully infiltrated the land, sugar industry and plantations and negated Indigenous sovereignties and supported restrictions and deportation against non-white labour (PALOMBO, 2015). As Affeldt (2014) demonstrates the sugar industry by this stage had been grounded upon a forceful struggle over the control of land, appropriation, and dispersal of Indigenous populations by white colonial settlers, authorities and the Native Police. This continues with the control of the

availability of Indigenous labour by introducing South Sea Islanders as workers and negating that Indigenous workers have been employed intermittently in sugar mills, cane fields, and farms, albeit often under exploitative conditions. This negation and exclusion expanded in the 1920s as the introduction of the sugar workers' award see the refusal to pay award wages to Indigenous workers and increasingly employing white Europeans (AFFELDT, 2014). Faber in this regard also alludes to the white possessive power of this insular translocal imaginary when summing up the newspaper *L'Avanguardia Libertaria* (1930-32) as writing a labor history that supported the White Australia Policy and "dismissed" Indigenous populations as a "dying race" a racial trope that negates their sovereign presence and work (2009, p.5). Thus, reiterating that this writing configures an insular anarchist imaginary on the white worker (ROEDIGER, 2000).

The constitution of a white working class destabilizes the radical, anti-sovereign relations that Bakunin's and Malatesta's writing implied. Bakunin work on Imperialism and Indigenous and national liberation struggles had acknowledged the pre-existing rights of "nationality groups" to political and cultural self-determination (CIPKO, 1990). As he stated, "I will always champion the cause of oppressed nationalities struggling to liberate themselves from the domination of the State" (BAKUNIN cited in CIPKO 1990). Interestingly Errico Malatesta's in his "Towards Anarchism" less directly also hints to the imposition of the modern state and laws on "minorities" when he states: "There is in every country a government which, with brutal force, imposes its laws on all; it compels all to be subjected to exploitation and to maintain, whether they like it or not, the existing institutions. It forbids the minority groups to actuate their ideas (1899)".

What must also be

noted is that these political concerns over minorities and Indigenous liberation struggles are enmeshed in the localized struggles against racial and settler colonial governance by the labour movement of other settler colonies including Egypt and South Africa (HIRSCH & VAN DER WALT, 2010). So, it is specifically within the Australian context that anarchism remains locked in a critique of national and state sovereignty that negates settler colonialism and Indigenous struggles.

Carmagnola's translocal writing in "Workers' United" in effect effaces the configuration of racial differences that scripted Indigenous populations and Italian-Australian diaspora. Its focus on uniting workers affirms a self-determining white, European working class in ways that are dismissive of the countless violence brought on both Indigenous but also Italian-Australian diasporic workers. The article continues to hold Italian diasporic subjects responsible for failing to form

comradeship with Australian workers. As Carmagnola states:

Why are we Italians looked upon so favourably by employers all over the world? Because we are ignorant and because we allow ourselves to be exploited more than others...[Italians] came with greed to amass money... The majority...these...misers cannot unite with Australian workers in the struggles against capitalism...(IL RISVEGLIO, 1/8/1927, pp.1-2).

Through this direct address, the Italia diaspora is effectively scolded for not engaging with unions. It further encourages union engagement in ways that efface the violent reality that bio-politically governed everyday relations between Australian and Italian-Australian workers. This article diminishes white workers deployment of the racial as a forceful political, symbolic tool that re-inscribes the "Olive Peril" of the 1920s. Racially distinguished as undesirable, unassimilable, violent, criminal and non-white Southern Europeans, Southern Italian diasporic bodies are subjected to attacks in streets and

even bombed in their homes precisely by self-identified white “Australian workers” (PALOMBO, 2015; DALSENO, 1994; ALAFACI, 1999). In this case, this forceful white sovereignty is not configured by the state, but by what Mbembe calls a “heteronomous organization of territorial rights and claims” exercised by individuals and organized labour and unions (MBEMBE, 2003, p.31). They demand and enact the physical elimination of racialized Southern Europeans and Southern Italian workers (PALOMBO, 2015). By effacing racial differences, this article actively forgets the impact of the forceful violence exercised by white workers on diasporic subjects and communities categorized as Southern Europeans and Southern Italians.

Carmagnola and the other editors of this paper share the same common ground of the early diasporic feminists in the US: their arrival from the Northern regions of Italy. Similarly to these radical

writers, *Il Risveglio* effaces the racial politics that shaped the south and southerners both in Italy and Australia. In the settler terrain of Australia, this equates the northern regions of Italy with whiteness. These editors are embodied within a racial schema of whiteness that in the colonial settler context gives preference and privilege to their arrivals. In Queensland especially, it is agriculturalists from Northern Italian regions of Piedmont that are carefully selected and recruited to replace the South Sea Islander workers under the auspices of implementing the White Australian policy. The Ferry Report of 1925, also favours Northern Italians as genetically and culturally assimilable subjects, while it categorizes Southern Italian workers from Sicily as the “swarthier” subjects involved *en masse* in illegal or disloyal activities (PALOMBO, 2015) lowering the working conditions of white workers (FERRY REPORT 1925, p. 14). Most importantly, as Pugliese as demonstrated this racial knowledge is

grounded upon a transnational onto-epistemology of raciality that solidifies in Italy itself after the Northern-led colonial occupation of the Southern regions of Italy under the guise of “National Unification.” (PUGLIESE, 2002; PALOMBO, 2015). In these accounts, Southern Italians are perceived, in da Silva’s (2007) terms, as affectable and miscegenated populations generated by their inferior cultural, religious, sexual and geospatial domains. In the nineteenth century, the “science of man” developed in the work of Cesare Lombroso (1841-1936), Guglielmo Ferrero (1871-1942), Alfredo Niceforo (1876-1960), Giuseppe Sergi (1841-1936) and Enrico Ferri (1856-1929), especially, contributed to existing European onto-epistemological knowledge by affiliating southern populations to “blood mixing” relations with Greeks, Romans, Normans, African and Arabs (PALOMBO, 2015). The so-called “Southernists” effectively argued that inter-racial sexual relations had given shape to “a region that is a

priori condemned to perpetual inferiority” (GUGLIELMO, 2010, p. 83). This racialised perception of the inter-racial relations of southern populations is one that will come to mark migrants overall but especially women from southern regions migrating to Australia in terms of in terms of their capacity to contribute to the hetero normative white nation (PALOMBO, 2015). The point here, however, is that Il Risveglio effaces the racial politics that shaped both the south of Italy and southern Italians.

The closure of Il Risveglio

The production and reading of diasporic and transnational newspapers in the post-War World One period is regulated by the *Publication of Newspapers in Foreign Languages Regulations Act 1921* (Cwlth) that replaces the restrictions of martial law. Following a similar logic used in War World one, under their categorization as in “foreign language,” these papers are profiled as necessitating direct state approval “by the Prime Minis-

ter or of some person there to authorized by the Prime Minister” and be subjected to any conditions, including a translation in the English language for that matter and use force to seize any copies of the newspaper (Statutory Rule, Publication of Newspapers in Foreign Languages Regulations Act 1921). This Act is part of an arsenal of raciality that ethnicizes diasporic cultural productions as “foreign” in the sense of embodying unbreakable blood (or biological) affiliations to foreign radical politics. It combines a “drive to expel socialism and communism from Australia” with the elimination of diasporic “radical socialists, Bolsheviks, Wobblies, pacifists, trade unionists, Sinn Feiners and anarchists” (FISCHER 1989, p. 48; FISCHER N. 2002, pp. 224-225; DUTTON, 2002, p.106; BEAUMONT, 2013, p.550). The *Publication of Newspapers in Foreign Languages Act* through ethnic profiling continues this propensity to annihilate diasporic political powers.

The politics circulating within *Il Risveglio* is kept

under constant surveillance by the Australian authorities. This as with other Anarchist newspapers became the subject of intensive investigations and creation of files, and by 1932 they were all shut down. In 1927 the Italian Consular-General Grossardi writes that Italian Australian anti-fascist activities of *The Risveglio* are subversive, violent and criminal in nature and demands its closure precisely because they opposed the sovereignty of the Italian Fascist state (ITALIAN PUBLICATIONS, CIB Director, Correspondence Canberra 4 December 1929). *Il Risveglio* was then posited in the investigative file as of “extremist character,” “inciting class warfare, Bolshevism, anarchy, violence and political murders” (1927 cited in CRESCIANI 1980, p. 102). What functions here, is a recourse to a state-based form of collaboration between Italian Fascist authorities and Australian state against the circulation of the ant-sovereign state politics espoused by the diasporic newspapers of the left. The Attorney General’s

Department collects and supports this condemnation of the newspaper declaring that the paper has not been registered and recommends recourse to the *Newspapers In Foreign Languages Regulations Act* (1921) (Cmwlth) with the aim of shutting it down.

Conclusion

In this paper, I begin the south-verting of *Il Risveglio*. The combined examination of the explicit relationality of the linkages of “trans-” to gender, race and empire with the analysis of transnational and translocal political imaginaries, problematize and unsettle the effacement of the southern discontent. This effacement is shown to be re-configured by transnational and translocal knowledge and by their “trans” relations with abstracted, totalising, insular and northern-based political imaginaries produced across geo-political spaces that come to circulate in *Il Risveglio*. These imaginaries are shown to be grounded upon the anarchist social question in ways that shift the focus from historical

political discontents in the south and produces abstracted, and totalising social concerns with political governance and economic inequalities. Most poignantly, this linkage to the social question is central to the writings of northern radical diaspora including early feminists, that is produced in the US and Australia. This writing seemingly effaces southern women’s concerns and negates the racialisation of southern Italian diasporic workers. In Australia, this effacement intersects with the ways the newspaper re-configures insular “trans” relations of race, empire, class and whiteness that legitimate settler colonialism and produce an exclusive white working class that negates Indigenous sovereign struggles. Therefore, this paper argues that the effacement of the southern discontent is re-configured by the radical political imaginaries that circulate in *Il Risveglio*. These imaginaries are connecting relationally to varied totalising, insular and northern-based knowledge that

form and move across various geopolitical spaces.

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