

**Politics 190D: Early Socialist and Anarchist Thought  
Summer Session I, 2016**

University of California, Santa Cruz  
Social Sciences 2, Room 171 (Tues/Thurs 1:00-4:30 pm)

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**Course Description and Goals**

The overall goal of this course in political theory is to present and engage students with the diverse perspectives, theories, and ideological sympathies broadly identified as socialist and anarchist. Though spanning in time from the 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries the overwhelming focus of this course is in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, chosen both for the relevance of Marx's influence and interactions with his contemporaries, the activity of the Workers' International, and the enduring influence on political thought now of the events and thought of the so-called 'century of revolutions.' Students should exit the class with a well-rounded understanding of major currents in the canons of socialism and anarchism, as well as access to vast secondary literatures (preparing them for engagement with current trends in theory as well).

**Guiding Questions**

1. What are the variety of theories, tactics, and political sympathies of what are often lumped together as socialism and/or anarchism? How heterogeneous are these perspectives?
2. Are these traditions of the left best understood as ideologies or as critiques of ideologies?
3. What are the ways in which leftist writings of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century continue to influence politics and theory into the present?
4. How are violence and non-violence presented and thought through in radical leftist thought?
5. How did events of the 19<sup>th</sup> century shape the political thought of the time?
6. In what ways are 'canonical' socialist and anarchist thought enduringly relevant or not?
7. How are issues of identity tied to anti-capitalism in socialist and anarchist thought?
8. What are the connections between a predominant economic form and the expressions of free identity?
9. What are the continuities or discontinuities between individualism and collectivism?
10. What is the role of the state (if any) in radical social change, and why might this have been so hotly debated in the 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century?

**Grading & Best Practices**

Grades for this course will be determined through these factors:

Annotated bibliography (10%)  
Two Response Papers (20%)  
Final 10-15 page paper (50%)  
Class participation (20%)

Grading guidelines for the papers and for class participation will be posted on ecommons. Included in the class participation grade will be active engagement in our class meetings. This includes respectful and thoughtful debate, raising questions related to the material, and/or attending office hours. You must come to class caught up on your reading. Proper preparation is a necessity for high quality discussions, as well as for high quality grades. In addition, you must also come prepared with a short, 1-page response to the readings, on two weeks of your own choosing. On the weeks indicated, you will bring outlines, introductions, and partial drafts of your final paper in lieu of these discussion papers. In other words, we will be working on the final paper throughout the quarter, but you should never have two written assignments due on the same day, unless by choice. These response papers should be typed and placed on the front desk prior to the beginning of each that chosen class meeting. Class discussion should address these responses and other questions surrounding the readings and lectures.

### **Summer Session Students with Disabilities**

If you qualify for classroom accommodations because of a disability, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me as soon as possible, preferably within the first week of the Summer Session. Contact DRC by phone at [831-459-2089](tel:831-459-2089) or by email at [drc@ucsc.edu](mailto:drc@ucsc.edu) for more information.

### **Citation in Papers:**

You may utilize either MLA or Chicago style citation formats. Please make sure that whichever format you decide to use, you use consistently and correctly. Failure to cite correctly constitutes plagiarism.

### **Academic Integrity & Unauthorized Sale of Course Notes:**

Familiarize yourself with the University's principles, policies, and procedures regarding breaches of academic integrity. These can be found on the "academic integrity" website at: [http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic\\_integrity/undergraduate\\_students/](http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic_integrity/undergraduate_students/). If you are unsure about anything that you read on this website, or what is acceptable or not acceptable in completing assignments for this course, please ask me. If you cheat, I will have no choice but to report you and impose the academic penalty of failure in the class. While I encourage you to collaborate with each other, including sharing notes if you choose to do so, you may not sell your notes to anyone whether another student or a company. Please see the message of the Interim Vice Provost and Dean of Undergraduate Education for more information: <http://news.ucsc.edu/2010/11/course-notes-notehall.html>

### **Assigned Texts**

The reading schedule for this course is both rigorous and manageable. In addition to essays accessible on ecommons, the following texts are required for this course. I recommend purchase of the texts, which are available at the Bay Tree Bookstore, but they are also available on reserve at McHenry Library. Please note, the dates listed below are for these specific edition dates, not the original date of publication. Though I strongly recommend these editions for a variety of

reasons, older editions (excluding the Morris text) of these books are certainly acceptable for our purposes. Prices indicated are for preferred editions.

Bakunin, Michael. 1970. *God and the State*. USA: Dover Publications.  
(ISBN: 0-486-22483-X). \$8 New, <\$2.50 Used. **\*\*This is also available widely free online.**

Bakunin, Michael. 1990. *Statism and Anarchy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
(ISBN: 0-521-36973-8). \$39.99 New, <\$20 Used

Bellamy, Edward. 1982. *Looking Backward*. New York: Penguin Books.  
(ISBN: 0-14-039018-9). <\$1 Used, or the Dover Thrift edition (ISBN 978-0486290386)  
@ \$4 New.

Goldman, Emma. 1969. *Anarchism and Other Essays*. USA: Dover Publications.  
(ISBN: 0-486-22484-8). \$10 New, <\$1 Used

Kropotkin, Peter. 1995. *The Conquest of Bread and Other Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN: 0-521-45990-7). \$31.73 New, <\$5

Morris, William. 1993. *News from Nowhere and Other Writings*. New York: Penguin Books.  
(ISBN: 978-0-14-043330-2). **\*\*This edition only please.** \$15 New, \$3-4 Used

Perkins-Gilman, Charlotte. 2009. *The Yellow Wallpaper, Herland, and Selected Writings*. New York: Penguin Books.  
(ISBN: 978-0-14-310585-5). \$10 New, \$4 Used

Stirner, Max. 1995. *The Ego and its Own*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
(ISBN: 978-0-521-45647-0). \$35 New, \$18 Used

## **Reading Schedule**

Week 1: Socialism & Anarchism Before Marx.

What were leftist, liberal, and utopian thinkers imagining a post-capitalist/post-exchange economy would look like? How did earlier thinkers influence Marx and his contemporaries? What are the ways in which liberalism conceived of property, and how did this influence their opponents?

June 21: Fourier, Charles. Phalanx readings (selections on ecommons)  
Locke, John. *The Second Treatise on Government*  
(pp. 2-18, 26-42, 56-65 on ecommons) Chapters 1-5, 7-10, & 15-17.

June 23: Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph. *What is Property?*  
(Chapters IV pp. 151-222 on ecommons)  
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Social Contract* (pp. 1-28 on ecommons)  
*Discourse on Inequality* (pp. 23-37 on ecommons)  
---Guest talk "On Liberalism & Anarchism"

\*Recommended: Wilson, Peter Lanborn. *Pirate Utopias*.

## Week 2: Stirner and Marx's Critique

How does Stirner present the individual and how does Marx respond? What are the grounds upon which Marx critiques Stirner and other young Hegelians? How does Marx outline the materialist conception of history, and how radical of a shift in critique was this move? What is a materialist critique of ideology? What is the importance of class (and class struggle) in this conception of history?

June 28: Stirner, Max. *The Ego and Its Own*. pp. 5-129, 141-263, 270-319.

June 30: \*\*\*Annotated Bibliography Due

Marx, Karl. *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.

(selections on ecommons)

*German Ideology* (selections on ecommons)

--Guest talk on "Black Radicalism, Illegality, and the Lumpen-proletariat Question"

\*Recommended: Debs, Eugene V. (selections on ecommons)

Morris, William. "How I Became a Socialist."

Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*.

## Week 3: Bakunin & Kropotkin

What were the key differences in the anarchist conception of organization, political action, and tactics different from socialist ideals? How were they similar? What are the major tensions between Bakunin's and Kropotkin's conceptions of the role of the state and Marx's? What are the potential advantages and disadvantages of mobilizing the state as an anti-capitalist institution? How does the concept of living *well* versus simple survival influence anarchist and socialist imaginaries of a post-capitalist world?

July 5: \*\*\*Outline/Introductory Page Due

Bakunin *Statism and Anarchy* (entire, pp. 3-217), *God and the State* (entire, pp. 9-86).

Aristotle, *The Politics* (Books 1, 3, and 7 on ecommons)

July 7: Kropotkin, Peter. *The Conquest of Bread* (entire, pp. 4-199), and *Mutual Aid* (selections on ecommons).

Michel, Louise. *1871 Writings* (2 selections on ecommons)

\*Recommended: Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*

Bookchin, Murray. *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm*

## Week 4: Comparative Socialist Utopias

How does Romanticism come to be a major influence on leftist political thought towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century? How does more traditional utopianism come to influence socialism in this century? What are the advantages and disadvantages of utilizing fiction as a site of radical theorizing? What were key distinctions in imagined post-capitalist futures as either industrial or agrarian?

July 12: \*\*\*Partial Draft Due

Bellamy, Edward. *Looking Backward*. (entire, pp. 35-234)

Morris, William. "A Review of *Looking Backward*," pp. 353-358.

July 14: Morris, William. *News from Nowhere* (entire) and "The Hopes of Civilization." pp. 41-228 & 307-328.

\*Recommended: Wells, H.G. *A Modern Utopia*

Week 5: Gender and Feminism in Socialism and Anarchism

How are gender relations conceived of as an important site for class liberation? What are the connections, tensions, and inter-sectionality of identity markers such as race, class, and gender? What are the differences between socialist feminism and anarchist feminism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century?

July 19: Early Feminist Socialists

Marx, Eleanor. (selections on ecommons)

Perkins Gilman, Charlotte. *Herland* (entire, pp. 1-143) & *Women and Economics* (selections on ecommons)

Kollantai, Alexandra. *Make Way for Winged Eros* (ecommons)

\*Recommended: Marcuse, Herbert. *Eros and Civilization*.

Davis, Angela. *Women, Race, and Class*.

July 21: Later Feminist Radicals

Goldman, Emma. *Anarchism* (entire, pp. 41-271).

Parsons, Lucy. Selected essays & speeches (ecommons)

\*Recommended: Berkman, Alexander. *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*.

Luxenberg, Rosa. (selections on ecommons)

\*\*\*Final Paper due the final day of class.\*\*\*