



Radical Social Theory: An Appraisal, A Critique, and an Overcoming

Radical Social Theory: An Appraisal, A Critique, and an Overcoming

*GRACIELA MONTEAGUDO, AARON MCBRYAR, SHEMON SALAM, SVATI
BIRLA, ELI BONDAR, ALEX COATS, ARTEMIS DUFFY, ASHLEY EVERSON,
MANUEL GARCIA, MATTHEW HEWETT, DOUG HORNSTEIN, CHRIS
KENNEDY, ELLA KHOROV, NELLIE MARSHALL-TORRES, ARNO NOACK,
EMILY PARKER, EMILY VAN REGENMORTER, LERITZA RUIZ, AND
LUCIA SOLORZANO*

UMASS AMHERST LIBRARIES
AMHERST, MA



Radical Social Theory: An Appraisal, A Critique, and an Overcoming by Graciela Monteagudo is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/), except where otherwise noted.

Contents

Title and Authors	ix
Copyright and License	x
Dedication	1
Introduction	2
 <u>Chapter One - Liberalism and Eurocentrism</u>	
Notes on Jean Jacques Rousseau	7
The Social Contract (excerpts)	10
Jean-Jacques Rousseau	
Notes on Eurocentrism	19
Lecture: Liberalism and Eurocentrism, Jean Jacques Rousseau	22
Main Elements of Liberalism	23
Liberalism and Eurocentrism Exercises	24
Shirley Temple A Kid 'in' Africa: An Illustrated Summary and Critique	25
Readings and Resources	29
 <u>Chapter Two - Early Liberal Feminism</u>	
Notes on Olympe de Gouges	33
The Declaration of the Rights of Women	35
Olympe de Gouges	
Lecture: Early Liberal Feminism, Olympe De Gouges	38
Olympe de Gouges Exercises	39
Main Contributions De Gouges	42
Readings and Resources	43
 <u>Chapter Three - Communism, Karl Marx</u>	
Notes on Karl Marx	47
The Communist Manifesto	49
Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels	
Lecture: Communism, Karl Marx, Part 1	60
Lecture: Communism, Karl Marx - Part 2	61
Basic Definitions of Marxian Concepts	62
Main Elements of Marxism	66

Marx Exercises	67
Readings and Resources	69

Chapter Four - Anarcho-Communism, Pyotr Kropotkin

Notes on Kropotkin	73
The Conquest of Bread	77
Peter Kropotkin	
Lecture: Anarcho-Communism, Pyotr Kropotkin	83
"The Conquest of Bread" Exercises	84
Main Elements of Anarcho-Communism	86
Readings and Resources	87

Chapter Five - Death of the Western God

Notes on Friedrich Nietzsche	91
Thus Spoke Zarathustra (excerpt)	95
Friedrich Nietzsche	
Lecture: Death of the Western God, Friedrich Nietzsche	102
Basic Definitions of Nietzsche's Main Concepts	103
Nietzsche Exercises	104
Readings and Resources	106

Chapter Six - Black Self-Determination and Self-Defense

Notes on Malcolm X	109
The Ballot or the Bullet Speech	113
Lecture: Black Self-Determination and Self-Defense, Malcolm X	114
The 10-Point Program of the Black Panther Party	115
Malcolm X Exercises	117
The Ten Point Program and Platform of the Black Student Unions	121
Readings and Resources	125

Chapter Seven - Love and Executions

Notes on The Cuban Revolution	129
Notes on Che Guevara	131
Lecture: Love and Guns, Che Guevara	133
Love and Guns (Che Guevara) Exercises	134
Readings and Resources	136
Che Guevara Basic Definitions of Main Concepts	137

Chapter Eight - Feminism is for Everybody

Notes on bell hooks	141
Lecture: Feminism is for Everybody, bell hooks	144
Trayvon Martin news video	145
bell hooks Exercises	147
bell hooks Takeaway	149
Readings and Resources	150

Chapter Nine - Cultures, Queerness, and Ethnicity

Notes on Gloria Anzaldúa	153
Lecture: Cultures, Queerness, and Ethnicity, Gloria Anzaldúa	155
La Conciencia de la Mestiza Exercises	156
Gloria Anzaldua Takeaways	158
Readings and Resources	159

Chapter Ten - Postmodern, Postcolonial Revolution

Notes on the Zapatistas	163
Lecture: Postmodern, Postcolonial Revolution, The Zapatistas	169
The Zapatistas Exercise	170
Zapatistas Takeaways	172
Readings and Resources	174

Chapter Eleven - Angela Davis

Black Feminism - Angela Davis	177
Lecture: Angela Davis	178
Angela Davis Exercises	179
Text Assigned	180
Notes on Angela Davis	181

Chapter Twelve - Frantz Fanon

Frantz Fanon	187
Notes on Frantz Fanon	188
Videolecture: Frantz Fanon	193
Frantz Fanon Exercises	194

Chapter Thirteen: Final Exercises

Final Exercise #1: "The diverse"	197
Final Exercise #2: "Somos Una Gente: Sisterhood and Brotherhood"	199
Final Exercise #3: <i>Contrasting Power Structures</i>	202
Final Exercise #4: "Symbolism: Communicating Outside the Box"	205
Final Exercise #5: "Marxism, Feminism, and Black Liberation"	208
Final Exercise #6: "Creating and Becoming"	211
Final Exercise #7: "Feminisms"	214
Final Exercise #8: "Born in Chains: 'Freedom' in Liberalism and Marxism"	217
Final Exercise #9: "Changing the History of Change"	220
Final Exercise #10: "Future Feminisms"	224
Final Exercise #11: "Self-Defense, Autonomy, and Revolution"	227

Chapter Fourteen - Example Final Exams

Final Exam: <i>Contrasting Power Structures</i>	233
Final Exam: <i>Creating and Becoming</i>	234
Final Exam: <i>US Statues Coming Down</i>	236
Final Exam: <i>Black Feminisms, Reproductive Rights and the Women's Movement</i>	237
Final Exam: <i>Marxism, Feminism, and Black Liberation</i>	239
Final Exam: <i>Somos Una Gente: Sisterhood and Brotherhood</i>	240

Title and Authors

Radical Social Theory:
An Appraisal, A Critique, and an Overcoming

Graciela Monteagudo

with

Aaron McBryar

Shemon Salam

Swati Birla

Doug Hornstein

Matthew Hewett

Ashley Everson

Manuel García

Eli Bondar

Arno Noack

Alex Coats

Chris Kennedy

Artemis Duffy

Ella Khorov

Nellie Marshall-Torres

Emily Parker

Emily Van Regenmorter

Leritza Ruiz

Lucia Solorzano

Copyright and License

Published in the United States of America by

[UMass Amherst Libraries](#)

154 Hicks Way Amherst, MA 01003

© 2019 Graciela Monteagudo, Aaron McBryar, Shemon Salam, Swati Birla, Doug Hornstein, Matthew Hewett, Ashley Everson, Manuel García, Eli Bondar, Arno Noack, Alex Coats, Chris Kennedy, Artemis Duffy, Ella Khorov, Nellie Marshall-Torres, Emily Parker, Emily Van Regenmorter, Leritza Ruiz, Lucia Solorzano.

Some rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, for commercial purposes, without the prior permission in writing of the author, or as expressly permitted by law, by license or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization.



This is an open access publication, available online and distributed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International](#) except where otherwise noted.

You are free to:

- **Share** – copy and redistribute the material in any medium or format
- **Adapt** – remix, transform, and build upon the material for educational purposes ONLY. These materials may not be adapted for commercial use.

The licensor cannot revoke these freedoms as long as you follow the license terms.

Under the following terms:

- **Attribution** – You must give [appropriate credit](#), provide a link to the license, and [indicate if changes were made](#). You may do so in any reasonable manner, but not in any way that suggests the licensor endorses you or your use.
- **NonCommercial** – You may not use the material for [commercial purposes](#).
- **No additional restrictions** – You may not apply legal terms or [technological measures](#) that legally restrict others from doing anything the license permits.

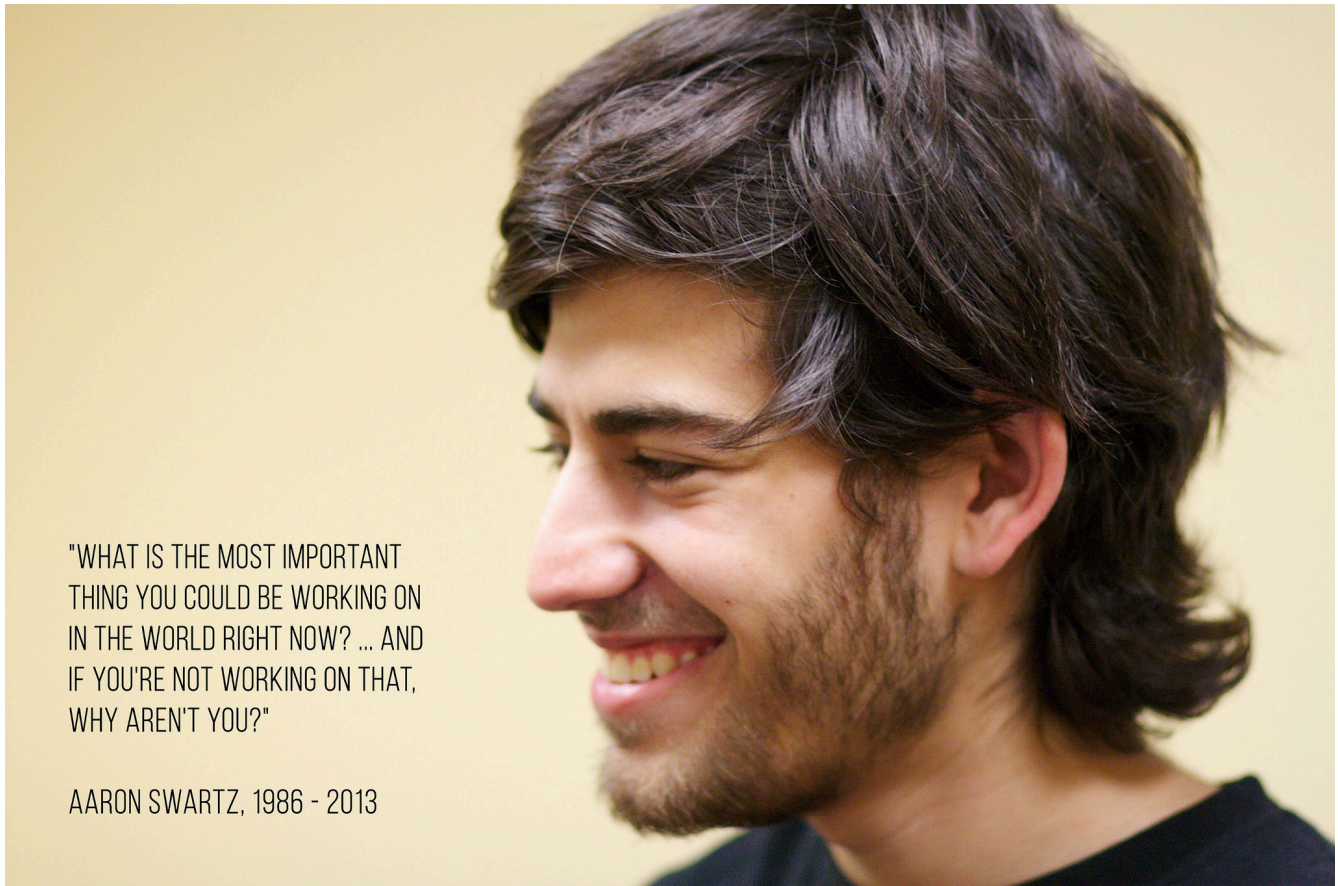
Notices:

You do not have to comply with the license for elements of the material in the public domain or where your use is permitted by an applicable [exception or limitation](#).

No warranties are given. The license may not give you all of the permissions necessary for your intended use. For example, other rights such as [publicity, privacy, or moral rights](#) may limit how you use the material.

Dedication

This course, to which this book assists, is dedicated to Aaron Swartz (1986-2014).



Aaron Swartz

Aaron Swartz was a young man who struggled for freedom of access to knowledges, especially those disseminated through the internet. In 2013, he committed suicide, as he was threatened by the FBI with 30 years in jail for downloading and freely distributing academic journal articles from an MIT server.

Media Attributions

- [Aaron Swartz](#) © [Sons of Piracy](#) is licensed under a [CC BY-NC \(Attribution NonCommercial\)](#) license

Introduction

As this book is finalized, the United States is on fire. With the failure of the American socio-economic system to sufficiently prepare and respond to the Coronavirus pandemic, tensions grew, culminating in an explosion after the murder of George Floyd. The US experienced a what authors have described as a Black-led multi-racial working-class rebellion against racism and systemic oppression <https://illwilleditions.com/the-rise-of-black-counter-insurgency/>, which in some cities sedimented into autonomous spaces reclaimed from the state and capitalism. This has arguably been the most significant social movement to emerge in the United States since Black Power in the late 1960s. While the [Capital Hill Organized Protest](#) (CHOP) autonomous zone in Seattle and the Occupation of New York's City Hall (OCH) have already been evicted by the police, these movements have built on people's experiences and capacity to theorize beyond the moment, offering glimpses of a better world free of racism, classism, and patriarchal exploitation. In this text, we explore the intellectual foundations of social movements that, similar to CHOP and OCH, were organized by workers defending themselves and their families from capitalism, and by Brown and Black people's revolts against patriarchy, colonization and slavery. We offer you this book as a framework for thinking of today's rebellions and the autonomous spaces created within them, theorized through the lenses of radical thinkers.

Our focus is the history of social thought in the West, studied through a decolonial critique. Most of the readings assigned are primary sources, texts written by people who were living and writing at the time of the events addressed. The ideas expressed in these readings are the result of thinkers analyzing complex social processes, allowing for people to contemplate and create new ways of living that pushed the world into uncharted territories. Some of the thinkers we will engage with were considered perverts or godless, and several were executed, jailed, banned, committed, or sent into exile. Regardless, their theories contributed to movements that sparked momentous changes across the globe, with their effects still felt in our lives today.

In this course, we will interpret Jean Jacques Rousseau's version of the Social Contract through the writings of women and workers who were excluded from it. We will read the writings of Olympe de Gouges, Karl Marx, Piotr Kropotkin and others. We also think about the connections between liberalism and colonialism, searching for the roots of racism in the social contract and beyond. We will examine these connections through Anibal Quijano's conception of Eurocentrism, the racist disease that privileges the European experience and permeates not only liberal authors but also European Marxists and Anarchists. We then study the writings and speeches of Che Guevara, Malcolm X, Gloria Anzaldua, and bell hooks, exploring their multiple connections, diverse scenarios of oppression, and revolutionary paths that emerged as a result of local resistances and global insurrections against structures of domination. We complete our course of study by reading texts written by the Zapatista movement. By taking over lands in Chiapas, Mexico in 1994, they not only created an autonomous zone through which they control three quarters of the state, but also gave rise to the anti-corporate Globalization movement in Europe and the USA. These movements sowed the seeds that gave rise to experiences such as CHOP and OCH.

Whenever possible, we share the original texts, but if copyright issues prevent us from doing so, we share the bibliographical reference. While we love our reading list, we are also proud of the Team Based Learning (TBL) exercises that STPEC graduates, undergraduate instructors and I have created throughout the years to help students from different majors access radical social theories. TBL is an invitation to learn in a group by exploring each other's texts and videos. TBL privileges learning through social and intellectual interaction, rather than solely by listening or reading. Thus, my lectures are short, just snippets of what these authors can help us learn, as we explore together their times and thoughts through Open Educational Resources (OER).

The Open Educational Resources collected in this book were created and assembled through a joint effort by the students and faculty in the Social Thought and Political Economy (STPEC) Program at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. STPEC students and faculty are interested in exploring the structural causes of poverty, the racial, sexual, and gender dimensions of capitalism, the role of gender and sex in productive and reproductive labor, and the connection between liberalism, colonialism, and racism.

Partially funded by the Office of the Provost and Libraries' Open Education Initiative (OEI) and The Center for Teaching and Learning (CFTL), this text is the main resource for Introduction to Radical Social Theory, STPEC 189, a one hundred level General Education course taken by over 200 hundred students per year. Both in their names and mine, we would like to thank the academic programs and the people who made this book possible, most especially: Jeremy Smith and Erin Jerome at the Libraries, the CFTL, and Matt Hewett, a STPEC graduate who generously volunteered his editing work.

I hope that you find these TBL exercises useful to bridge radical theory with contemporary issues of racism, sexism, and other social maladies mushrooming under neoliberal capitalism.

Graciela Monteagudo,
Shutesbury, USA, July 2020

CHAPTER ONE - LIBERALISM AND EUROCENTRISM



A screenshot from the television series *Game of Thrones* picturing Daenerys Targaryen being carried and celebrated as the savior for having just freed enslaved People of Color in the fictional city of Yunkai.

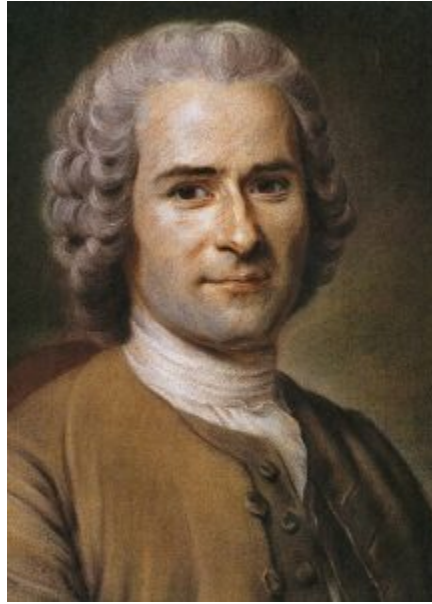
“Eurocentrism is quite simply the colonizer’s model of the world.”

– J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizer’s Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*

Media Attributions

- Mhysa (Season 3, Episode 10) [TV Series Episode] In D.Benioff & D. B. Weiss (Executive Producers), *Game of Thrones*. Home Box Office (HBO); Television 360; Grok! Studio; Generator Entertainment; Bighead Littlehead © Benioff, D., & Weiss, D.B. (Writers). Nutter, D. (Director) is licensed under a [All Rights Reserved](#) license

Notes on Jean Jacques Rousseau



"Portrait of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)" by Maurice Quentin de la Tour. Pastel on Paper.

Life in Paris

Of modest origins, Rousseau was a composer who could not succeed in that field. Although still composing, he engaged in philosophy and received awards for his works. He became a best-selling banned author. The *Social Contract* and *Emile* sold very well, but caused major scandals. Both books were burned in public and Rousseau was sent into exile.

Later Days...

Banned, he nevertheless settled in the south of France in 1767, and was allowed to return to Paris in 1770. He became paranoid and spent his final days in seclusion, fearing the world in general and even his closest friends...

Influence

He died in 1778 just as the French Revolution was beginning. After his death, his ideas were taken up by the French liberal radical Jacobins, as well as employed by American philosophers/poets Ralph Waldo Emerson and Thoreau. Among his most ardent critics were his contemporary Voltaire and, much later, Karl Popper and Hannah Arendt.

Social Contract, basis of liberalism

- Concerned with the relationship of the state and the individual

- Believes that society is based upon some implicit contract
- The contract delivers us from “prior state of nature”
- The contract implies that the ruler is the people’s agent, not their master
- People empower the state by their contract with the ruler
- The citizens give the state (and society) complete control over themselves and their (individual) possessions
- People give up independent interest by giving up authority to the state to enforce the collective interest of society
- If the ruler or laws act other than in the interests of the whole of society, then the contract becomes void
- Rousseau is one of the thinkers to establish the philosophical foundations of liberalism, the political philosophy that guides Western democracies. See [Main Elements of Liberalism](#) in this book

State of Nature

- Before people lived in societies, their activities were largely dominated by unreflective pursuits of their own individual welfare
- The principle concern of people was self-preservation
- There were no rights or moral relations to be respected
- Cooperation was impossible
- In this environment, human character cannot develop, and people cannot rise above their base instincts
- Rousseau places non-Western people in the state of nature and refers to them as “savages.”

Liberalism, Gender oppression, Imperialism, and Eurocentrism

- The Social Contract left women more or less in the same subjugated position they had during Medieval Ages
- While Liberalism was progressive at the time in that it maintained that people were governed by themselves, and not by god appointed kings, it also claimed that BIPOC (Black and Indigenous People of Color) were less developed than Whites and in need of disciplining.
- Eurocentrism (See [Notes on Eurocentrism in this book](#)) is an ideology that supported the imperial actions of the European nations that ransacked resources in the “colonies” to enrich their own nations, and enslaved BIPOC for the profit of White plantation owners.
- Eurocentrism conveniently privileged the experience of White Europeans as superior to the practices of BIPOC. Rousseau’s “good savage,” was presented as in need of a helping hand to achieve full humanity through White civilizationary practices, which in many cases meant outright slaughter of millions of BIPOC throughout the non-Western world.

Media Attributions

- [Jean Jacques Rousseau \(painted_portrait\)](#) © Maurice Quentin de La Tour is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

The Social Contract (excerpts)

JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU

On the Social Contract
or
Principles of Political Right

Translated by
Ian Johnston
Vancouver Island University
Nanaimo, British Columbia
Second Revised Edition 2018

An HTML version of this text is available online at the following site:

<https://perma.cc/9B53-TXJ9>

Translator's Note

This translation is based upon the 1762 French edition of *Du Contrat social*. Rousseau's additions to that text in a later edition (1782) are given in the footnotes.

Footnotes from Rousseau's text begin with the phrase [*Rousseau's note*]; those supplied by the translator begin with the phrase [*Translator's note*]. The quotations in languages other than French that Rousseau has inserted into his text have been translated into English within the text, and the original words have been included in a footnote.

This text may be freely (i.e., without permission and without charge) used by teachers, students, and members of the general public, who may also edit the text to suit their purposes and distribute it in printed or electronic form. However, no commercial publication or distribution of it is allowed without written permission of the translator. Please contact the translator for details (at ian.johnston@viu.ca).

On the Social Contract
or
the Principles of Political Right
by

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Citizen of Geneva
Let us speak of the laws of an equal federation. (*Aeneid* XI)
Table of Contents
Preface
Book I

Which examines how people pass from the state of nature into the civil state and what are the essential conditions of the social pact.

On The Social Contract

Preface

This small treatise is part of a more extensive work that I carried out earlier, without having taken into account my own powers, and that I abandoned a long time ago. Of the various parts one could extract from what it was, this is the most significant, and to me it seemed the least unworthy of being offered to the public. The rest no longer exists.

Book One

I wish to explore whether in the civil order, if one takes men as they are and laws as they might be, there can be some sure and legitimate rule of administration. In this search, I will attempt always to unite what right permits with what interest prescribes, so that there will be no division of justice and utility.

I launch my undertaking without demonstrating the importance of my subject. People will ask me if, writing on politics, I am a prince or a lawgiver. My answer is that I am neither, and that is the reason I am writing on politics. If I were a prince or a lawgiver, I would not waste my time talking about what must be done. I would do it, or remain silent.

Since I was born a citizen of a free state and a member of the sovereign, no matter how weak the influence of my voice on public affairs may be, the right to vote on such issues is enough to impose on me the duty to instruct myself about them. And every time I meditate on governments, I am happy that in my research I always find new reasons to love the government of my country!

Chapter 1

Subject of This First Book

Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains. Someone who believes he is the master of others does not escape being more enslaved than they. How did this transformation come about? I do not know. What can render it legitimate? This question I believe I can resolve.

If I were to consider nothing but power and the effects that follow from it, I would say: as long as a people is compelled to obey and does obey, it is doing well; as soon as it can throw off its yoke and does shake it off, it is doing even better, for by recovering its liberty through the same right that robbed the people of it, either it is justified in taking it back or those who deprived the populace of freedom had no justification for doing so. But the social order is a sacred right that serves as the foundation for all the others. This right, however, does not come from nature and is thus founded on conventions. It is a matter of knowing what these conventions are. Before coming to that, I ought to establish what I have just asserted.

Chapter 2

On the First Societies

The oldest of all societies and the only natural one is that of the family. Even there, the children remain linked to the father only as long as they need him for their self-preservation. As soon as this need ends, the natural bond dissolves. Once the children are free of the obedience they owed their father and the father is free of the care he owed his children, they all return equally to independence. If they continue to remain united, this is no longer natural but voluntary, and the family maintains itself only by convention.

This common liberty is a consequence of the nature of man. His first law is to look after his own preservation, his first

cares are those he owes himself, and as soon as he reaches the age of reason, since he is the sole judge of the means appropriate to preserving himself, he thereby becomes his own master.

Thus, the family is, if you will, the first model of political societies. The leader is viewed as the father, and the people as the children. Since they are all born equal and free, they do not alienate their freedom except for their own advantage. The only difference is that in the family the love of the father for his children repays him for the care he takes of them, and that in the state the pleasure of commanding replaces this love, which the leader does not feel for his people.

Grotius denies that all human power is established for the benefit of those who are governed. He cites slavery as an example. His most characteristic style of reasoning is always to establish right by fact. One could use a more logical method, but not one more favorable to tyrants.

Thus, according to Grotius, it is unclear whether the human race belongs to a hundred men or whether these hundred men belong to the human race, and in his whole work he seems to incline towards the former opinion. That is also Hobbes's sentiment. And in this way, the human race is divided into herds of cattle, each of which has its chief, who guards it in order to devour it.

As a shepherd has a nature superior to that of his flock, so the shepherds of men, who are their leaders, also possess a nature superior to that of their peoples. The emperor Caligula, according to what Philo reports, reasoned this way, and from this analogy came to the appropriate conclusion that either kings were gods or the people were beasts.

Caligula's reasoning is the same as the arguments in Hobbes and Grotius. Before all of them, Aristotle had also claimed that men are not naturally equal, but that some are born for slavery and others for dominion.

Aristotle was correct, but he took the effect for the cause. All men born into slavery are born for slavery. Nothing is more certain. Slaves lose everything in their chains, even the desire to escape them. They love their servitude, just as Ulysses' companions loved their brutish condition. So then if there are slaves by nature, that is because there have been slaves against nature. Force made the first slaves; their cowardice has kept them so.

I have not said anything about king Adam or about emperor Noah, father of three great monarchs who divided up the universe among them, as did the children of Saturn, whom some have claimed they recognize in Noah's sons. I hope that people will find my moderation agreeable, for since I am a direct descendant of one of these princes—perhaps of the oldest branch—how do I know that with a verification of titles, I might not find myself the legitimate king of the human race? Whatever the case, one cannot deny that Adam was the sovereign of the world, just as Robinson [Crusoe] was of his island, as long as he was the sole inhabitant. And this empire had the advantage that in it, the monarch was secure upon his throne, and had to fear neither rebellions, nor wars, nor conspirators.

Chapter 3

On the Right of the Strongest

The strongest is never strong enough to be master all the time, unless he transforms his power into right and obedience into duty. From that comes the right of the strongest, a right which, although apparently intended ironically, is truly established in principle. But are we never to receive an explanation of this phrase? Force is physical power. I do not see what morality can result from its effects. To yield to force is an act of necessity, not of will, at most an act of prudence. In what sense can that be a duty?

Let us assume for a moment this alleged right. I maintain that the result of such a right is nothing but inexplicable nonsense. For as soon as it is force that creates right, the effect changes with the cause. Every force that is more powerful than the first inherits its right. Once we can disobey with impunity, we can do so legitimately, and since the strongest is always right, it is simply a matter of making ourselves the strongest. But what kind of right perishes when force ends? If we must obey because of force, we have no need to obey because it is our duty, and if we are no longer forced to obey, we have no obligation to do so. One can see, therefore, that this word *right* adds nothing to *force*. Here it signifies nothing at all.

Obey those in power. If that means yield to force, it is a good precept, but superfluous. I reply that it will never be violated. All power comes from God—that I concede—but all sickness comes from Him as well. Does that mean we are forbidden to summon the doctor? If a brigand surprises me in a part of the forest, am I not merely compelled by force to surrender my purse, but also in conscience obliged to give it to him, when I could withhold it? For in the end, the pistol he holds is also a power.

So let us agree that force does not create right, and that we are obliged to obey only legitimate powers. Thus, we inevitably return to my original question.

Chapter 4 On Slavery

Since no man has a natural authority over his fellow man and since force creates no right, therefore conventions remain as the basis of all legitimate authority among human beings.

If a particular individual can alienate his liberty, Grotius says, and make himself the slave of a master, why could not an entire people alienate its liberty and make itself subject to a king? In this question there are a number of ambiguous words that require an explanation, but let us restrict ourselves to that word *alienate*. To alienate means to give or to sell. Now, a man who makes himself the slave of someone else is not giving but selling himself, at least for his subsistence. But why does a people sell itself? A king, far from providing his subjects their subsistence, derives his own only from them, and, according to Rabelais, a king does not live on a pittance. So, do subjects surrender their persons on condition that their goods will also be taken away? I do not see what they have left to preserve.

Some will say that the despot assures his subjects civil tranquility. That may be so, but what do they gain from that, if the wars that his ambition draws them into, if his insatiable greed and the humiliating demands of his ministers bring them more desolation than their own quarrels would have done? What do they gain from it, if this tranquility is itself one of their miseries? People also live peacefully in dungeons. Is that enough to make them a good place to live? The Greeks imprisoned in the cave of Cyclops lived there peacefully, while waiting for their turn to be devoured.

To say that a man gives himself gratuitously is to make an absurd and inconceivable claim. Such an act is illegitimate and void, for the sole reason that the man who does it is not in his right mind. To say the same thing about an entire people is to assume a population of madmen. Madness creates no rights.

Even if each man were able to alienate himself, he cannot alienate his children. They are born human beings and free. Their liberty belongs to them. They alone have the right to dispose of it. No one else has that right. Before they reach the age of reason, the father can stipulate in their name the conditions for their preservation, for their well-being, but he cannot give them away irrevocably and unconditionally. For such a gift is contrary to the ends of nature and goes beyond the rights of paternity. Thus, for an arbitrary government to be legitimate, in every generation the people would have to have the power to accept or reject it. But then this government would no longer be arbitrary.

To renounce one's liberty is to renounce one's quality as a man, the rights of humanity, and even his duties. There is no possible compensation for someone who surrenders everything. Such a renunciation is incompatible with the nature of man, and to remove all liberty from someone's will is to remove all morality from his actions. Finally, it is an empty and contradictory convention to stipulate, on the one hand, an absolute authority and, on the other, an unlimited obedience. Is it not clear that we have no obligations towards someone from whom we have the right to demand everything? And does this condition alone, where there is no equivalence or exchange, not involve nullifying the act? For what right would my slave have against me, since all he possesses belongs to me? Now that his right is mine, this right I have against myself is meaningless.

Grotius and others derive from warfare another origin for the alleged right of slavery. Since the victor, according to them, has the right to kill the vanquished, the latter can purchase his life back at the expense of his liberty, and this convention is all the more legitimate because it is profitable to both parties.

But it is clear that this alleged right to kill the vanquished in no way results from the state of war. Given the simple fact that human beings living in their original independence have no sufficiently constant relations among themselves to constitute either a state of peace or a state of war, they are not naturally enemies. What constitutes war is a relationship between things and not between men, and since a state of war cannot arise from simple personal relationships, but only from relationships involving property, a private war or a war of man against man cannot exist, either in the state of nature, where there is no definite property, or in the social state, where everything is under the authority of laws.

Individual fights, duels, and confrontations are not acts that establish a state, and as far as private wars are concerned, authorized by the ordinances of Louis IX, king of France, and suspended by the peace of God, these are abuses of feudal government, an absurd system if ever there was one, contrary to the principles of natural right and to all good politics.

Hence, war is not a relation between one man and another, but between one state and another. In war individuals

are enemies only by accident, not as men, nor even as citizens, but as soldiers; not as members of their homeland, but as its defenders. Finally, each state can have as its enemies only other states and not other men, for between things with such different natures we can establish no true relationship.

This principle even complies with the established maxims of all times and with the constant practice of all civilized peoples. Declarations of war are warnings, not so much to those in power as to their subjects. A foreigner—whether king, individual, or people—who steals, kills, or detains the subjects without declaring war on the prince is not an enemy but a brigand. Even in the middle of a war, a just prince in a hostile country rightly seizes everything that belongs to the public, but he respects the persons and the goods of individuals. He respects the rights on which his own are founded. Since the end of war is the destruction of the enemy state, one has a right to kill its defenders as long as they bear arms. But as soon as they lay down their weapons and surrender, thus ceasing to be enemies or tools of the enemy, they return to being simply men, and one no longer has a right to their lives. Sometimes one can kill a state without killing a single one of its members, and war grants no right that is not essential to its purpose. These principles are not those of Grotius, nor are they founded on the authority of poets. But they do derive from the nature of things and are based upon reason.

As far as the right of conquest is concerned, that has no foundation other than the law of the strongest. If war does not give the victor the right to massacre the vanquished, this right that he does not have cannot be the basis of his right to enslave them. One has the right to kill an enemy only when one cannot make him a slave. Hence, the right to make someone a slave does not stem from the right to kill him. It is thus an iniquitous exchange to make him purchase his life, to which one has no right, at the price of his liberty. Is it not clear that by establishing the right of life and death on the right of slavery, and the right of slavery on the right of life and death, one falls into a vicious circle?

Even assuming this terrible right to kill everyone, I claim that someone enslaved in war or a conquered people is bound by nothing at all where their master is concerned, other than to obey him as much as they are forced to do so. By accepting an equivalent for his life, the victor has not done him a favor, for instead of killing him without profit, he has killed him for his own use. And thus, it is far from the case that he has acquired any authority over him that is not linked to force, and the state of war continues between them as before. The very relationship between them is the effect of war, and using the right of war does not presuppose any treaty of peace. They have established a convention. That may well be so. But this convention, far from destroying the state of war, assumes its continuation.

Thus, however one examines the issue, the right of slavery is non-existent, not only because it is illegitimate, but also because it is absurd and signifies nothing. The words *slavery* and *right* are contradictory and mutually exclusive. Whether one man is speaking to another or one man is speaking to a people, the following statement will always be equally absurd: “I am making an agreement with you entirely at your expense and entirely to my advantage, which I will observe as long as it pleases me, and you will observe it as long as it pleases me.”

Chapter 5

That It is Always Necessary to Go Back to a First Agreement

Even if I were to concede everything I have refuted up to this point, the apologists for despotism would not have advanced their cause any further. There will always be a great difference between subduing a multitude and governing a society. If scattered individuals were successively enslaved to one man, no matter how many there might be, I still see nothing there but a master and slaves. I do not see a people and its leader. It is, if you will, an aggregation, but not an association. There is in it no public good and no body politic. Even if that man had enslaved half the world, he is still merely an individual. His interest, separate from the interest of the others, is always merely a private interest. If this same man happens to die, after he is gone his empire remains scattered and disconnected, as an oak tree, once fire has consumed it, collapses and dissolves into a heap of ashes.

A people, Grotius says, can give itself to a king. According to him, therefore, a people is a people before it gives itself to a king. This gift is itself a civil act. It assumes a public deliberation. Hence, before examining the act by which a people chooses a king, it would be good to examine the act by which a people becomes a people. For since this act is necessarily prior to the former, it is the true foundation of society.

In fact, if there were no previous agreement, unless the election was unanimous, how would there

be an obligation for the minority to submit to the choice of the majority? Where would the hundred people who want

a master acquire the right to vote on behalf of the ten who do not? The law of majority vote is itself established by convention and presupposes unanimity on at least one occasion.

Chapter 6

On the Social Compact

I assume that men have reached the stage where the obstacles harmful to their preservation in a state of nature are winning out, because these obstacles resist the forces that each individual can employ in order to maintain himself in this condition. At that point, this primitive state can no longer continue, and the human race would die out if it did not change its way of life.

Now, since men are incapable of creating new forces but only of uniting and directing existing ones, they have no way of preserving themselves other than to form by aggregation a sum of their forces, something that could prevail over that resistance, then to bring these forces to bear by a single motive power and to make them work in concert.

This sum of forces cannot arise except through several people combining together. But since the power and liberty of each man are the principal instruments of his preservation, how will he commit them to others without harming himself and without neglecting the care he owes himself? If we apply this difficulty to my subject, we can define it in these terms:

“To find a form of association that defends and protects with full communal force the person and the possessions of each member and in which each person, by uniting with all, nevertheless obeys only himself and remains as free as before.” Such is the fundamental problem to which the social contract provides the solution.

The clauses of this contract are determined by the nature of the act in such a way that the least modification renders them empty and ineffectual. As a result, even though they perhaps have never been formally stated, they are the same everywhere and are tacitly admitted and recognized everywhere, until the moment when, once the social pact has been violated, each person then returns to his original rights and resumes his natural liberty, losing the conventional freedom for which he renounced it.

These clauses, properly understood, all come down to one, that is, the total alienation of each member of the association, along with all his rights, to the entire community. For, first of all, since each person gives himself entirely, the condition is equal for all, and since the condition is the same for everyone, no one has an interest in making it burdensome for the others.

Furthermore, because the alienation is made without reservation, the union is as perfect as it can be, and no member of the association has any further demands. For, given that there would be no shared superior who could decide between particular members and the public, if individuals retained certain rights, each one would, on some point, be his own judge and would soon claim to be that in all things. The state of nature would remain, and the association would necessarily become tyrannical or pointless.

Finally, since each person gives himself to everyone, he gives himself to no one, and since there is no member of the association over whom he does not acquire the same right that he grants that person over himself, he gains the equivalent of everything he loses, as well as more power to preserve what he has.

If then we remove from the social pact what is not part of its essence, we will find that it is reduced to the following terms: *Each one of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will, and as a body we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole.*

This act of association immediately replaces the individual personality of each member of the contract with a moral and collective body composed of as many members as there are voices in the assembly. From this same act, the assembly acquires its unity, its common self, its life, and its will. The public person produced in this way by the union of all the others in earlier days took the name of *city* and now bears the name of *republic* or *body politic*. It is called the *state* by its members when it is passive, the *sovereign* when it is active, and a *power* when it is being compared to others like itself. So far as the members of the association are concerned, they take on collectively the name of *people*, calling themselves, as individuals, *citizens*, since they are participants in the sovereign authority, and *subjects*, since they submit to the laws of the state. These terms, however, are often confused and taken for one another. It is sufficient to know how to distinguish them when they are used with complete precision.

Chapter 7

On the Sovereign

We see in this formulation that the act of association contains a reciprocal commitment between the public and the individual, and that, by making a contract with himself, so to speak, each individual finds himself bound in a double relationship: that is, as a member of the sovereign towards each individual, and, as a member of the state, towards the sovereign. However, we cannot apply here that principle of civil law that no person is bound by commitments made to himself, for there is a significant difference between having an obligation to oneself and having an obligation to a whole of which one is a part.

We must also observe that public deliberations that can impose obligations on all subjects to the sovereign, given the two different relationships under which each citizen-subject is regarded, cannot, for the opposite reason, impose obligations on the sovereign to itself and thus that it is contrary to the nature of the body politic for the sovereign to impose a law on itself that it cannot break. Since the sovereign can view itself in terms of only one single relationship, it is then in the position of a particular individual making a contract with himself. From that we see that there is not and cannot be any sort of fundamental law imposing obligations on the body of the people, not even the social contract. That does not mean that this body cannot properly enter into undertakings with other political bodies concerning matters that do not violate this contract, for as far as foreigners are concerned, the body politic becomes a single entity, an individual.

But since the body politic or the sovereign derives its being only from the sanctity of the contract, it can never commit itself, even towards foreigners, to anything that violates this original act, for instance, by alienating some part of itself or by submitting itself to another sovereign. To violate the act by which it exists would be to annihilate itself, and what is nothing produces nothing.

As soon as this multitude is thus unified into a body, one cannot offend against one of its members without attacking the body; still less can one harm the body without its members feeling the effects. Thus, obligation and interest require the two contracting parties equally to provide mutual help to one another, and in this double relationship the same people should seek to combine all the advantages that depend on it.

Now, since the sovereign is composed only of individuals who make it up, it does not have and cannot have an interest contrary to theirs. Therefore, the sovereign power has no need to give its subjects a guarantee, because it is impossible that the body would want to harm all its members, and later on we shall see that it cannot harm any particular individual. From the very fact that it exists, the sovereign is always everything it ought to be.

However, it is not the same for the subjects with regard to the sovereign, since, despite their common interest, the sovereign would have no guarantee of their commitments unless it found ways of assuring itself of their loyalty.

In fact, each individual, as a man, can have a particular will at odds with or different from the general will that he has as a citizen. His particular interest can speak to him in an entirely different way from the common interest. His absolute and naturally independent existence can lead him to look on what he owes the common cause as a gratuitous contribution, the loss of which will be less injurious to the others than the payment is onerous to him, and by viewing the moral person who constitutes the state as a notional being, because he is not a man, he may want to enjoy the rights of a citizen without being willing to fulfill the duties of a subject, an injustice whose progress would lead to the ruin of the body politic.

Therefore, to ensure that the social pact is not an empty formula, it tacitly includes this commitment, which alone can give force to the others: whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be constrained to do so by the entire body. This simply means that he will be forced to be free. For that is the condition which, by giving each citizen to his native land, protects him from all personal dependency, a condition that makes the artifice and the working of the political machine, and which alone confers legitimacy on civil commitments—which would otherwise be absurd, tyrannical, and subject to the most enormous abuses.

Chapter 8

On the Civil State

This transition from the state of nature to the civil state produces in man a very remarkable change, by substituting justice for instinct in his conduct and by giving his actions a moral quality they previously lacked. Only then, when the voice of duty takes over from physical impulses and right takes the place of appetite does a man, who up to that point has

considered only himself, see himself compelled to act on other principles and to consult his reason before listening to his inclinations. Although in this state he deprives himself of several of the advantages he derives from nature, those he gains in return are so great that his faculties are stimulated and developed, his ideas grow more extensive, his sentiments are ennobled, and his whole soul is uplifted, so much so that, if the abuses of this new condition did not often degrade him below the condition he left, he ought never to stop blessing the happy moment that tore him away from it forever, and that changed him from a stupid and limited animal into an intelligent being and a man.

Let us reduce this balance sheet to terms we can easily compare. Through the social contract, man loses his natural liberty and an unlimited right to everything which tempts him and which he is able to reach. What he wins is civil liberty and the ownership of everything he possesses. In order not to be mistaken about these compensations, we must make a clear distinction between natural liberty, which has no limits other than the powers of the individual, and *civil liberty*, which is limited by the general will, and between *possession*, which is merely a result of force or the right of the first occupant, and *property*, which can be founded only on a positive title.

To the preceding we could add to those things a man acquires in the civil state moral liberty, which alone makes him truly master of himself. For following the impulses of mere appetite is slavery, while obeying the law that one has set down for oneself is liberty. But I have already said too much on this topic, and the philosophical meaning of the word *liberty* is not part of my subject here.

Chapter 9 On Real Property

Each member of the community gives himself to it at the moment it is formed, just as he presently is, his person and all his powers, a part of which is the goods he possesses. This does not mean that through this act of changing hands, possession changes its nature and becomes property in the hands of the sovereign. However, since the forces of the city are incomparably greater than those of an individual, public possession is also, in fact, stronger and more irrevocable, without being more legitimate, at least from the point of view of foreigners. For where its members are concerned, the state is master of all their goods thanks to the social contract, which within the state serves as the basis for all rights. However, where other powers are concerned, the state is master only by the right of the first occupant, which it derives from particular individuals.

Although the right of the first occupant is more real than the right of the strongest, it does not become a true right until after the establishment of the right of property. Every man by nature has a right to everything that is necessary to him, but the positive act that makes him the owner of some goods excludes him from all the rest. Once his share is determined, he should limit himself to that; he has no further right with respect to the community. That is why the right of the first occupant—so weak in the state of nature—is respected by everyone in civil society. In this right, a person is respecting not so much what belongs to other people, as what does not belong to him.

Generally speaking, in order to authorize the right of first occupant over any territory, the following conditions must apply: first, this territory must not yet be inhabited by anyone; second, one must occupy only as much land as one requires to subsist; third, one must take possession of the land, not by an empty ceremony, but by toil and cultivation, the only sign of ownership which, when legal titles are not available, should be respected by others.

In fact, by according the right of first occupant to need and labor, are we not extending this right as far as it can go? Is it possible to assign this right without limits? Will it be sufficient to place one's foot on some common land in order to claim immediately that one is its master? Will it be sufficient to have the power to push other men aside for a moment in order to remove from them the right ever to return there? How can a man or a people seize an immense territory and take it away from the entire human race other than by a punishable usurpation, since such an act deprives the rest of humanity of the habitable places and the food that nature gives them in common? When Nuñez Balboa, standing on the seashore, took possession of the South Sea and all of South America in the name of the crown of Castille, was that enough to dispossess all the inhabitants there and to exclude from the region all the princes of the world? If so, it is quite pointless to multiply these ceremonies, and the Catholic king in his private rooms merely has to take possession all at once of the entire universe, provided he later removes from his empire what was possessed first by other princes.

We can conceive how the unified and contiguous lands of particular individuals become public territory and how the right of sovereignty, by extending from the subjects to the land they occupy, becomes at once real and personal. This

process makes those who possess the land more heavily dependent and turns even their own forces into guarantees of their fidelity. This advantage does not seem to have been fully perceived by ancient monarchs, who called themselves only kings of the Persians, Scythians, or Macedonians, apparently considering themselves rulers of men rather than masters of countries. Today's rulers are more astute and call themselves kings of France, Spain, England, and so on. By thus holding the land, they are quite confident of holding its inhabitants.

What is significant about this alienation is that, by taking the goods of individuals, the community, far from depriving them, merely assures them of legitimate possession, for it changes usurpation into a genuine right and enjoyment into ownership. Thus, given that the possessors are considered agents of the public good and that their rights are respected by all the members of the state and maintained with all their forces against foreigners, these owners, by a surrender advantageous to the public and even more so to themselves, have, so to speak, acquired everything that they have given up. This paradox is easily explained by the distinction between the rights that the sovereign and the owner have over the same resources, as we will see later.

It can also happen that men begin to unite before they possess anything and then later take over a territory sufficient for all, which they enjoy in common or which they divide up among themselves, either equally or according to proportions determined by the sovereign. However this acquisition is accomplished, the right of each particular individual over his own land is always subordinate to the right of the community over everything, without which there would be no strength in the social bond and no real force in the exercise of the sovereignty.

I will end this chapter and this book with a comment that should serve as the foundation for the entire social system: instead of destroying natural equality, the fundamental pact, by contrast, substitutes for the physical inequalities which nature could have established among men a moral and legitimate equality, and people who could be unequal in power or intelligence all become equal by convention and by right.

End of Book 1

The addresses where these texts are available is as follows:

<https://perma.cc/NCD6-D5KB>

<https://perma.cc/9B53-TXJ9>

Notes on Eurocentrism

Eurocentrism



The Rhodes Colossus: Caricature of Cecil John Rhodes, after he announced plans for a telegraph line and railroad from Cape Town to Cairo

Definition

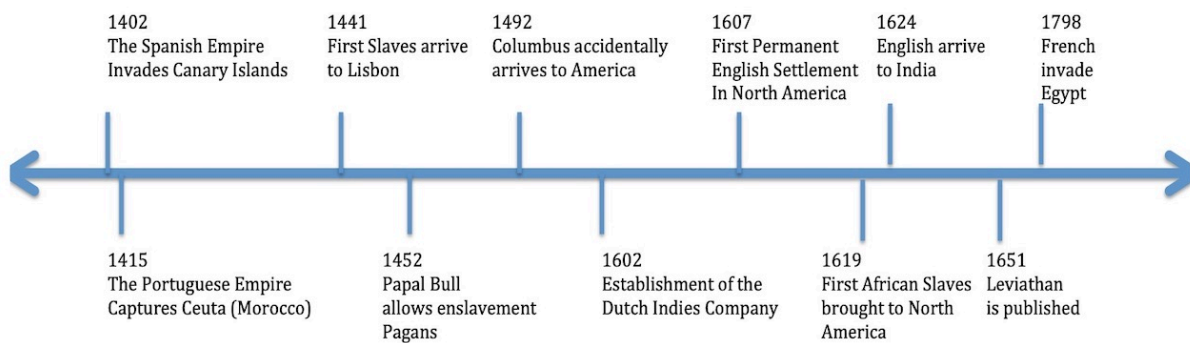
- World view that privileges the trajectory of Europe over the trajectory of BIPOC
- Progress envisioned as control of nature in pursuit of profit
- Characterizes BIPOC, non-Europeans as inferior to Whites
- Places BIPOC in a mythical state of nature. Rousseau's "Savage"
- Refers to colonization of BIPOC as a "White Man's Burden" to save the "savages" from themselves and "help" them to "progress"

Eurocentric Myths

- Human civilization is seen as a trajectory that departed from a state of nature and culminated in Europe. All other experiences are deemed as "pre-civilized" or "primitive" or "underdeveloped"

- The differences between Europe and non-Europe are naturalized, and racialized, that is, blamed on the “race” of BIPOC. This racialization constitutes an erasure of past atrocities committed by imperial armies and the Catholic Church. Racializing and normalizing these differences allows Europe to hide the results of Europe’s imperialism and colonization. It hides how European countries depleted non-Western areas of their wealth and their people, through the forced extraction of natural resources and the enslavement of their population.

European Colonization Timeline



European Colonization Timeline by Graciela Monteagudo

Part One Video Lecture



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:

<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialtheory/?p=178>

Media Attributions

- [Punch Rhodes Colossus](#) © Edward Linley Sambourne is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- Timeline of European Colonization © Graciela Monteagudo is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Lecture: Liberalism and Eurocentrism, Jean Jacques Rousseau



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocalththeory/?p=1297>

Main Elements of Liberalism

Main Elements of Liberalism

- Elected government
- Separation of church and state
- State protects access to private property
- Collective production, individual appropriation of surplus value by corporations
- Hierarchization by class, ethnic-race, gender, sexuality, able-bodiedness
- Self-sufficiency/self-reliance, basic needs not provided by the state, individuals have to rely on their ability to sell their labor power to corporations which are not required to guarantee employment

Liberalism and Eurocentrism Exercises

Liberalism and Eurocentrism

1. What are the main ideas behind the social contract?
2. How does Rousseau characterize the state of nature?
3. How does Rousseau describe the so-called “savage”?
4. Define Eurocentrism in your own words.
5. What is the connection between Imperialism and Eurocentrism?
6. See Shirley Temple Exercise in this chapter.

Shirley Temple A Kid 'in' Africa: An Illustrated Summary and Critique

Exercise

The following images and texts are a narrated series of stills from *Kid 'in' Africa* starring Shirley Temple.

- Please review them and, using concrete examples, explain how this film exemplifies Eurocentric ideologies.
- Include in your analysis not only racism and colonialism, but the role of patriarchy and speciesism in these scenes.



Kid 'In' Africa starring Shirley Temple as Madame Cradlebait is a short American comedy film produced in 1933. The film shows colonized Black children as porters, a group of Black children depicted as "cannibals," a White girl who leads an expedition, and a White boy, Tarzan.



Temple marches in followed by a line of porters trailing behind her. They pause so the camera can focus in on the cargo labeled "Madam Cradlebait Missionary. Cannibal Taming Expedition. Civilize the Cannibals or Bust."



Temple comes to a halt, rests her hand on her hips, and wipes her forehead as if she has been working hard. She points her finger at the ground and all of the porters immediately sit on the ground following her command.



The "cannibals" emerge out of the jungle with their teeth bared and their bodies covered in mock tribal markings. They are pictured here peeking over the bushes at Shirley Temple and the porters.



Upon seeing the "cannibals" emerge from the bushes, Shirley Temple shrieks "cannibals!". She then draws a gun out of her holster and points it at them.



One of the porters comes up to Temple and suggests they all flee the scene. Shirley Temple says "No, these cannibals must be civilized!"



The "cannibals" run around shaking salt on the heads of the sleeping porters accompanying Shirley Temple.



Shirley is seen inside the cooking pot shouting for help. She appears to have been captured by the “cannibals.” One of the “cannibals” is wearing a chef hat and stirring the pot with a spoon.



Then enters the young White boy mimicking Tarzan. He beckons an elephant and rides into the scene to save Shirley Temple. Upon seeing him standing there with his arms crossed, all the “cannibals” flee the scene screaming.



Shirley Temple steps out of the pot, grabs Tarzan’s hand and says “Oh goodie, now you can help me civilize these terrible cannibals. We’ll have a civilized city– right here in the jungle.”

Media Attributions

- Screen-Shot-2019-04-08-at-12.20.43-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- Screen-Shot-2019-04-25-at-4.28.40-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

- Screen-Shot-2019-04-08-at-12.21.56-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- Screen-Shot-2019-04-08-at-12.22.20-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- Screen-Shot-2019-04-25-at-4.30.12-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- Screen-Shot-2019-04-08-at-12.22.53-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- Screen-Shot-2019-04-08-at-12.25.48-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- Screen-Shot-2019-04-08-at-12.27.41-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- Screen-Shot-2019-04-08-at-12.31.06-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- Screen-Shot-2019-04-08-at-12.31.53-PM is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Readings and Resources

Readings and Resources

Rousseau, Jean Jacques. 1762. The Social Contract. <http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/pdfs/rousseau1762book1.pdf>, accessed February 16, 2014.

CHAPTER TWO - EARLY LIBERAL FEMINISM

Olympe de Gouges



18th Century Painted Portrait of Olympe de Gouges
by Alexandre Kucharski

Media Attributions

- [Olympe De Gouge](#) © Alexandre Kucharsk is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Notes on Olympe de Gouges



Olympe de Gouges 1748- 1793

Early Life

- Born with the name Marie Gouze
- Middle-class family. Her father was a butcher and her mother was the daughter of a cloth merchant.
- Believed she was the illegitimate daughter of a nobleman
- Forced into a marriage of convenience. Her husband died one year after the birth of her only son.
- Moves to Paris, changes name and meets a wealthy lover. Other lovers followed
- Very well connected with Paris' intellectual revolutionary scene

Abolitionist- Feminist

- In 1784, De Gouges wrote *Zamore and Mirza* against slavery and later "Black Market"
- Wrote about and advocated for "free love"
- Wrote the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen, in response to the Declaration of the Rights of Man

Jacobins and Girondins

- Close with Girondins, opposed Jacobins
- Against execution of Louis XVI
- Her friends are guillotined
- De Gouges calls for a plebiscite. She includes constitutional monarchy among options

- She condemns “The Terror”
- She is executed in 1793

“Oh women! Women, when will you cease to be blind? What advantages have you gathered in the Revolution?” – Olympe De Gouges

Media Attributions

- [Olympe De Gouge](#) © Alexandre Kucharsk is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

The Declaration of the Rights of Women

OLYMPE DE GOUGES

Preamble

Mothers, daughters, sisters, female representatives of the nation ask to be constituted as a national assembly. Considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt for the rights of woman are the sole causes of public misfortunes and governmental corruption, they have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural inalienable, and sacred rights of woman: so that by being constantly present to all the members of the social body this declaration may always remind them of their rights and duties; so that by being liable at every moment to comparison with the aim of any and all political institutions the acts of women's and men's powers may be the more fully respected; and so that by being founded henceforward on simple and incontestable principles the demands of the citizenesses may always tend toward maintaining the constitution, good morals, and the general welfare.

In consequence, the sex that is superior in beauty as in courage, needed in maternal sufferings, recognizes and declares, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of woman and the citizeness.

1. Woman is born free and remains equal to man in rights. Social distinctions may be based only on common utility.
2. The purpose of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible¹ rights of woman and man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and especially resistance to oppression.
3. The principle of all sovereignty rests essentially in the nation, which is but the reuniting of woman and man. No body and no individual may exercise authority which does not emanate expressly from the nation.
4. Liberty and justice consist in restoring all that belongs to another; hence the exercise of the natural rights of woman has no other limits than those that the perpetual tyranny of man opposes to them; these limits must be reformed according to the laws of nature and reason.
5. The laws of nature and reason prohibit all actions which are injurious to society. No hindrance should be put in the way of anything not prohibited by these wise and divine laws, nor may anyone be forced to do what they do not require.
6. The law should be the expression of the general will. All citizenesses and citizens should take part, in person or by their representatives, in its formation. It must be the same for everyone. All citizenesses and citizens, being equal in its eyes, should be equally admissible to all public dignities, offices and employments, according to their ability, and with no other distinction than that of their virtues and talents.
7. No woman is exempted; she is indicted, arrested, and detained in the cases determined by the law. Women like men obey this rigorous law.
8. Only strictly and obviously necessary punishments should be established by the law, and no one may be punished except by virtue of a law established and promulgated before the time of the offense, and legally applied to women.
9. Any woman being declared guilty, all rigor is exercised by the law.
10. No one should be disturbed for his fundamental opinions; woman has the right to mount the scaffold, so she should have the right equally to mount the rostrum, provided that these manifestations do not trouble public order as established by law.
11. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of woman, since this liberty assures the recognition of children by their fathers. Every citizeness may therefore say freely, I am the

1. Imprescriptible- adj. (of rights) unable to be taken away by prescription or by lapse of time

mother of your child; a barbarous prejudice [against unmarried women having children] should not force her to hide the truth, so long as responsibility is accepted for any abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law [women are not allowed to lie about the paternity of their children].

12. The safeguard of the rights of woman and the citizeness required public powers. These powers are instituted for the advantage of all and not for the private benefit of those to whom they are entrusted.
13. The maintenance of public authority and for expenses of administration, taxation of women and men is equal; she takes part in all forced labor service, in all painful tasks; she must therefore have the same proportion in the distribution of places, employments, offices, dignities, and in industry.
14. The citizenesses and citizens have the right, by themselves or through their representatives, to have demonstrated to them the necessity of public taxes. The citizenesses can only agree to them upon admission of an equal division, not only in wealth, but also in the public administration, and to determine the means of apportionment, assessment, and collection, and the duration of the taxes.
15. The mass of women, joining with men in paying taxes, have the right to hold accountable every public agent of the administration.
16. Any society in which the guarantee of rights is not assured or the separation of powers not settled has no constitution. The constitution is null and void if the majority of individuals composing the nation has not cooperated in its drafting.
17. Property belongs to both sexes whether united or separated; it is for each of them an inviolable² and sacred right, and no one may be deprived of it as a true patrimony of nature, except when public necessity, certified by law, obviously requires it, and then on condition of a just compensation in advance.

Postscript

Women, wake up; the tocsin³ of reason sounds throughout the universe; recognize your rights. The powerful empire of nature is no longer surrounded by prejudice, fanaticism, superstition, and lies. The torch of truth has dispersed all the clouds of folly and usurpation. Enslaved man has multiplied his force and needs you to break his chains. Having become free, he has become unjust toward his companion. Oh women! Women, when will you cease to be blind? What advantages have you gathered in the Revolution? A scorn more marked, a disdain more conspicuous. During the centuries of corruption you only reigned over the weakness of men. Your empire is destroyed; what is left to you then? Firm belief in the injustices of men. The reclaiming of your patrimony founded on the wise decrees of nature; why should you fear such a beautiful enterprise? . . . Whatever the barriers set up against you, it is in your power to overcome them; you only have to want it. Let us pass now to the appalling account of what you have been in society; and since national education is an issue at this moment, let us see if our wise legislators will think sanely about the education of women.

Women have done more harm than good. Constraint and dissimulation have been their lot. What force has taken from them, ruse returned to them; they have had recourse to all the resources of their charms, and the most irreproachable man has not resisted them. Poison, the sword, women controlled everything; they ordered up crimes as much as virtues. For centuries, the French government, especially, depended on the nocturnal administration of women; officials kept no secrets from their indiscretion; ambassadorial posts, military commands, the ministry, the presidency [of a court], the papacy, the college of cardinals, in short everything that characterizes the folly of men, profane and sacred, has been submitted to the cupidity and ambition of this sex formerly considered despicable and respected, and since the revolution, respectable and despised. . . .

Under the former regime, everyone was vicious, everyone guilty. . . . A woman only had to be beautiful and amiable;

2. Inviolable- adj. Never to be broken, infringed, or dishonored
3. Tocsin- n. An alarm, bell, or signal

when she possessed these two advantages, she saw a hundred fortunes at her feet. . . . The most indecent woman could make herself respectable with gold; the commerce of women [prostitution was a kind of industry amongst the highest classes, which henceforth will enjoy no more credit. If it still did, the Revolution would be lost, and in the new situation we would still be corrupted. Can reason hide the fact that every other road to fortune is closed to a woman bought by a man, bought like a slave from the coasts of Africa? The difference between them is great; this is known. The slave [that is, the woman] commands her master, but if the master gives her her freedom without compensation and at an age when the slave has lost all her charms, what does this unfortunate woman become? The plaything of disdain; even the doors of charity are closed to her; she is poor and old, they say; why did she not know how to make her fortune?

Other examples even more touching can be provided to reason. A young woman without experience, seduced by the man she loves, abandons her parents to follow him; the ingrate leaves her after a few years and the older she will have grown with him; the more his inconsistency will be inhuman. If she has children, he will still abandon her. If he is rich, he will believe himself excused from sharing his fortune with his noble victims. If some engagement ties him to his duties, he will violate it while counting on support from the law. If he is married, every other obligation loses its force. What laws then remain to be passed that would eradicate vice down to its roots? That of equally dividing [family] fortunes between men and women and of public administration of their goods. It is easy to imagine that a woman born of a rich family would gain much from the equal division of property [between children]. But what about the woman born in a poor family with merit and virtues; what is her lot? Poverty and opprobrium⁴. If she does not excel in music or painting, she cannot be admitted to any public function, even if she is fully qualified. . . .

Marriage is the tomb of confidence and love. A married woman can give bastards to her husband with impunity⁵, and even the family fortune which does not belong to them. An unmarried woman has only a feeble right: ancient and inhuman laws refuse her the right to the name and goods of her children's father; now new laws have been made in this matter. If giving my sex an honorable and just consistency is considered to be at this time paradoxical on my part and an attempt at the impossible, I leave the future men the glory of dealing with this matter; but while waiting, we can prepare the way with national education, with the restoration of morals and with conjugal agreements.

Form for a Social Contract between Man and Woman

We, _____ and _____, moved by our own will, unite for the length of our lives and for the duration of our mutual inclinations under the following conditions: We intend and wish to make our wealth communal property, while reserving the right to divide it in favor of our children and of those for whom we might have a special inclination, mutually recognizing that our goods belong directly to our children, from whatever bed they come [legitimate or not], and that all of them without distinction have the right to bear the name of the fathers and mothers who have acknowledged them, and we impose on ourselves the obligation of subscribing to the law that punishes any rejection of one's own blood [refusing to acknowledge an illegitimate child]. We likewise obligate ourselves, in the case of a separation, to divide our fortune equally and to set aside the portion the law designates for our children. In the case of a perfect union, the one who dies first will give up half his property in favor of the children; and if there are no children, the survivor will inherit by right, unless the dying person has disposed of his half of the common property in favor of someone he judges appropriate/ [She then goes on to defend her contract against the inevitable objections of "hypocrites, prudes, the clergy, and all the hellish gang."]

4. Opprobrium- n. Harsh criticism or censure; or the public disgrace arising from someone's shameful conduct
5. Impunity- n. Exempt from punishment or freedom from the consequences of an action

Lecture: Early Liberal Feminism, Olympe De Gouges



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialetheory/?p=1264>

Olympe de Gouges Exercises

Olympe de Gouges

1. Identify the social institutions that stand against de Gouges' idea of sexual freedom.
2. Reread the paragraph that starts with "Women, wake up; the tocsin of reason sounds throughout the universe; recognize your rights." What is the connection between liberalism and its emphasis on reason and freedom. How does de Gouges use these tropes to advance her agenda?
3. How would de Gouges react to the current state of women in society?
4. Choose one of the following questions, or combine them, to create a short presentation for the class. Please find video clips, news stories, pictures, memes or some other media to help illustrate your answer. Be prepared to share them with the class.
5. How would Olympe de Gouges analyze marriage equality today, given that folk of the same sex can get married? Use quotes from her text to support your answer.
6. What changes to our current gender arrangements would need to be in place for a Western society to achieve sexual freedom?

Part Three. Watch this video:



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:

<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialtheory/?p=41>

1. The video is showing us a reversal of gender roles, to help us de-naturalize patriarchal oppression. Identify the different oppressive situations that this man goes through when forced to live “like a woman.”
2. The video has a number of problems, including that it attaches positive images only to white people. How do depictions of women of color compare to the depiction of white women?
3. The video implies that women who cover their hair are forced to do so. Why is this a shallow Western critique of non-Western women ways? How is this connected with French police forcing women to remove their Burkinis when sunbathing at the beach?



Emancipation Beach. ©Contemporary Bart. Used with permission from the artist.

Media Attributions

- [Emancipation Beach](#) © [Contemporary Bart](#) is licensed under a [All Rights Reserved](#) license

Main Contributions De Gouges

De Gouges Main Contributions

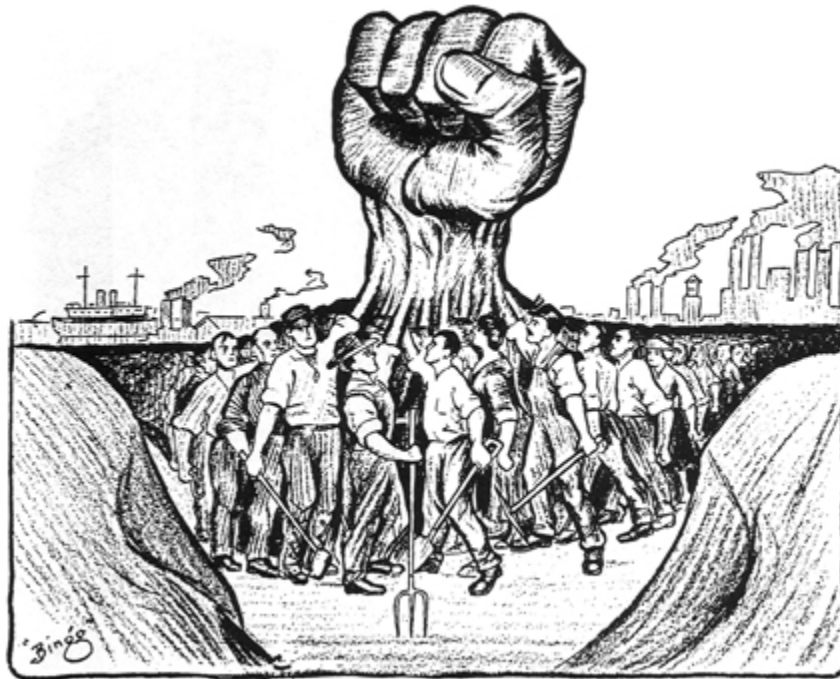
- Critiqued the Social Contract from the perspective of women
- Proposed reasonable divorce laws to protect women and children from penury
- Advocated sexual freedom
- Advocated for a more equal society
- Called for intelligent taxation plans to enable wealth to be more fairly divided
- Called for a form of a welfare state
- Wrote against slavery and the death penalty

Readings and Resources

Readings and Resources

- Cole, John and Olympe de Gouges. [1791] 2011. *Between the Queen and the Cabby: Olympe de Gouges's Rights of woman*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- [Revolutionary Feminist Olympe De Gouges in the Race for a Place in France's Pantheon](#) by Agnes Poirier
- [Children Hurt Women's Paychecks But Not Men's \(Even in Scandinavia\)](#) by Claire Cain Miller

CHAPTER THREE - COMMUNISM, KARL MARX



Solidarity, June 30, 1917. The Hand That Will Rule the World—One Big Union.

“The Hand That Will Rule the World— One Big Union” by Ralph Chaplin

“Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it.”

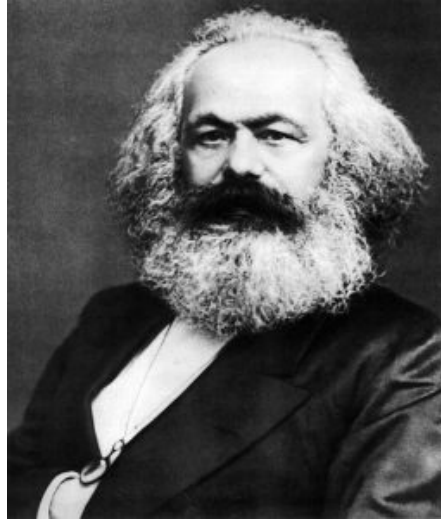
Karl Marx, Thesis on Feuerbach, 1845

Media Attributions

- [The Hand That Will Rule The World– One Big Union](#) © Ralph Chaplin is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Notes on Karl Marx

Karl Marx: Prussian Philosopher, Organizer, Economist Sociologist, etc. 1818-1883



Portrait of Karl Marx by John Jabez Edwin Maya

Early Life

- Born to a wealthy middle-class family
- Of Jewish origin, his father converted to Lutheranism to escape persecution
- Marx studied as a lawyer and philosopher at the University of Bonn and the University of Berlin
- While employed at a newspaper, he began to work on a non-idealist theory of history (later this becomes historical materialism)

Adult Life

- Moved to Paris in early 1840 and met Friedrich Engels
- In 1849, following the defeat of revolutions across Europe, he was forced into exile because his political ideas were not well received by authorities.
- His theory is strongly influenced by the Paris Commune of 1871, Proudhon, Fourier, as well as by Hegel, Ricardo, and Adam Smith
- Ended his days in brutal poverty in London, UK
- He was not able to successfully establish a strong workers party, but his ideas influenced labor and workers movements and continue to do so

Dialectic Materialism

1. State of Nature: freedom and poverty (thesis)
2. Liberal Civil Society: wealth and lack of freedom (antithesis)
3. Communist Society: freedom and wealth (synthesis)

Legacy

- Political
- Economic
- Philosophical
- Artistic
- Marx's thinking is at the base of all modern and postmodern theory

The Communist Manifesto

Marx writes the text when the Communist League commissions him to.

- He bases his text on a manuscript by Engels
- Second most published manuscript in the Western World
- A call to arms
- The claim that socialism is inevitable is more political than “scientific”

Media Attributions

- [Karl Marx](#) © John Jabez Edwin Mayal is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

The Communist Manifesto

KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS

Preamble

A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where is the opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact:

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European powers to be itself a power.

II. It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London and sketched the following manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

I. Bourgeois and Proletarians

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other – Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, in which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were

pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class; division of labour between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labour in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacturer no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry; the place of the industrial middle class by industrial millionaires, the leaders of the whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the medieval commune*: here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany); there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France); afterwards, in the period of manufacturing proper, serving either the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, cornerstone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors", and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment". It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom – Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage labourers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigour in the Middle Ages, which reactionaries so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exoduses of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilised ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised the means of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments, and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier, and one customs-tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground – what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted in it, and the economic and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society, with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeois and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the

existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises, a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises, there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity – the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons – the modern working class – the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed – a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery, and to the division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labour, is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by the increase of the work exacted in a given time or by increased speed of machinery, etc.

Modern Industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overlooker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labour of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no longer any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class – the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants – all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large

capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operative of one trade, in one locality, against the individual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage, the labourers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeois. Thus, the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

But with the development of industry, the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The increasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon, the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there, the contest breaks out into riots.

Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry, and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletariat, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and, consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus, the ten- hours' bill in England was carried.

Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all time with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles, it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling class are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the progress of dissolution going on within the

ruling class, in fact within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of Modern Industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance, they are revolutionary, they are only so in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The “dangerous class”, [lumpenproletariat] the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of the old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the condition of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industry labour, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

All the preceding classes that got the upper hand sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of the feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the process of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential conditions for the existence and for the sway of the bourgeois class is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labour. Wage-labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by the revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

II. Proletariats and Communists

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to the other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of communism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the groundwork of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean the modern bourgeois private property?

But does wage-labour create any property for the labourer? Not a bit. It creates capital, i.e., that kind of property which exploits wage-labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage-labour for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is

based on the antagonism of capital and wage labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal, but a social status in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

Capital is therefore not only personal; it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

Let us now take wage-labour.

The average price of wage-labour is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in Communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other “brave words” of our bourgeois about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the Communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labour can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolised, i.e., from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois property, into capital, from that moment, you say, individuality vanishes.

You must, therefore, confess that by “individual” you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriations.

It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property, all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology: that there can no longer be any wage-labour when there is no longer any capital.

All objections urged against the Communistic mode of producing and appropriating material products, have, in the same way, been urged against the Communistic mode of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to

the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law, &c. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of property – historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production – this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition [Aufhebung] of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form, this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

But, you say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention direct or indirect, of society, by means of schools, &c.? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parents and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all the family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each other's wives.

Bourgeois marriage is, in reality, a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women. For the rest, it is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, i.e., of prostitution both public and private.

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonism between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another will also be put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conception, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of the ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express that fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to rationalist ideas, feudal

society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical, and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, viz., the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involved the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will, of course, be different in different countries.

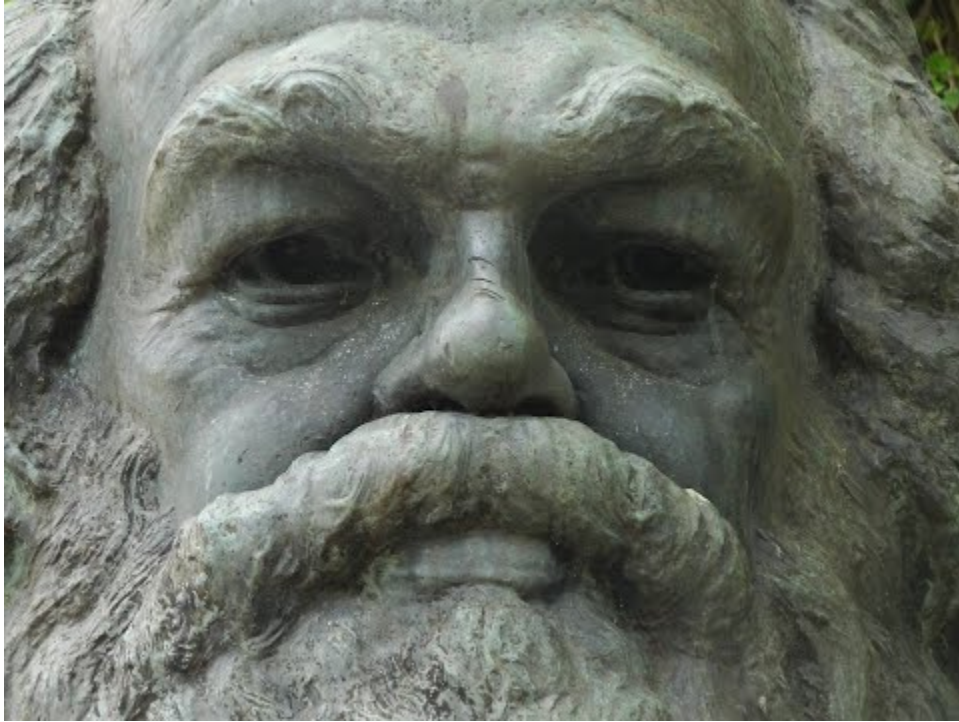
Nevertheless, in most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, &c, &c.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

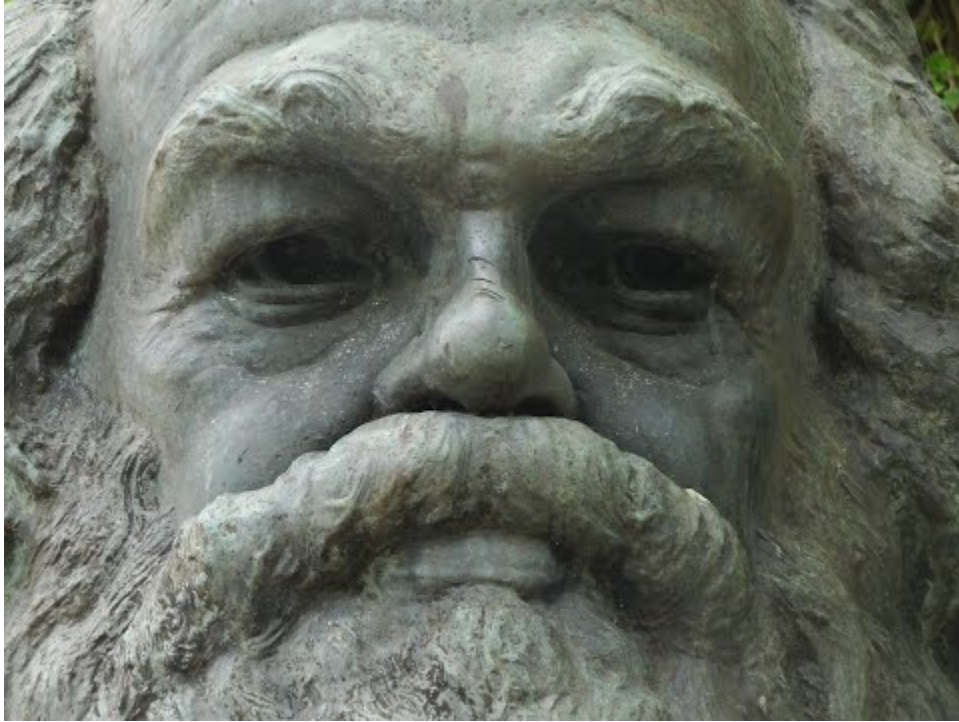
In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

Lecture: Communism, Karl Marx, Part 1



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocalththeory/?p=1271>

Lecture: Communism, Karl Marx - Part 2



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocalththeory/?p=1274>

Basic Definitions of Marxian Concepts

Basic Definitions of Marxian Concepts

There are many ways to understand the concepts listed below. The definitions have been contested time and again by Marxian scholars. These are basic definitions that I hope will help students encountering these terms for the first time.

Means of Production: What humans use to create a product or value (tools, raw materials, factories, mines, land, computers, rental buildings, etc.)

Relations of production and reproduction: Relations that people hold while producing and reproducing their lives. We produce when we make the stuff that we need to live, or to have fun. We reproduce while engaging in the tasks needed to keep our bodies and ourselves well. Under capitalism, most of us work for somebody else, or for a corporation, who own means of production. We produce something as workers, from Facebook adds to chairs. We are workers, o proletariats, in relation to the bourgeois who own the means of production, that is, Facebook or a factory that makes chairs. Reproductive relations, on the other hand, happen in the realm of education, healthcare, and the domestic. Most of us rely on a woman, or a low-paid worker to reproduce our lives (eat, be clothed, clean, have children, have fun, get an education, access health care, etc.). Under capitalism, these two, inextricably intertwined realms of production and reproduction are brutally and artificially separated from each other.

Class: A group that is structured around individual's role in regard to the means of production. See "Classic Class roles" below. The bourgeoisie own the means of production, workers sell their labor, produce value, and are compensated with wages. The wages are less than what the worker made. There is something discounted, a surplus value that is kept by the owner of the means of production.

Classic class roles: The bourgeoisie, who appropriate surplus (definition below) and proletariat, who sell their labor-power (capacity to work) and produces surplus. Not to be confused with class in a sociological sense, as in a person working at a factory being working class and a person working as a lawyer being middle class. For Marx there are only two main classes, the bourgeoisie, who own the means of production and the proletariat who work for them. The proletariat includes everybody who does not own the means of production. Even high paid workers in the tech industry are considered proletariats.

Mode of production: capitalism, feudalism, communism are the main modes of production analyzed by Marx. One mode is distinguished from the other according to who produces value and who appropriates value. Under capitalism, the worker produces value and the corporations (capitalists) appropriate that. By accumulating the wealth produced by the proletariats, corporations can run the world, against the best interests of the proletariats. Think of climate change. Think of the US response (or lack thereof) to the COVID-19 crisis.

Base (aka as Economic Base): the social relations in which we engage to create and produce materials for the market. Under capitalism, workers labor for the owners of means of production (corporations).

Superstructure: space of production of cultural processes, cultural products, institutions (legal, social, political), religions, etc.

Proletariats: those who have nothing to sell but their labor-power (their capacity to work).

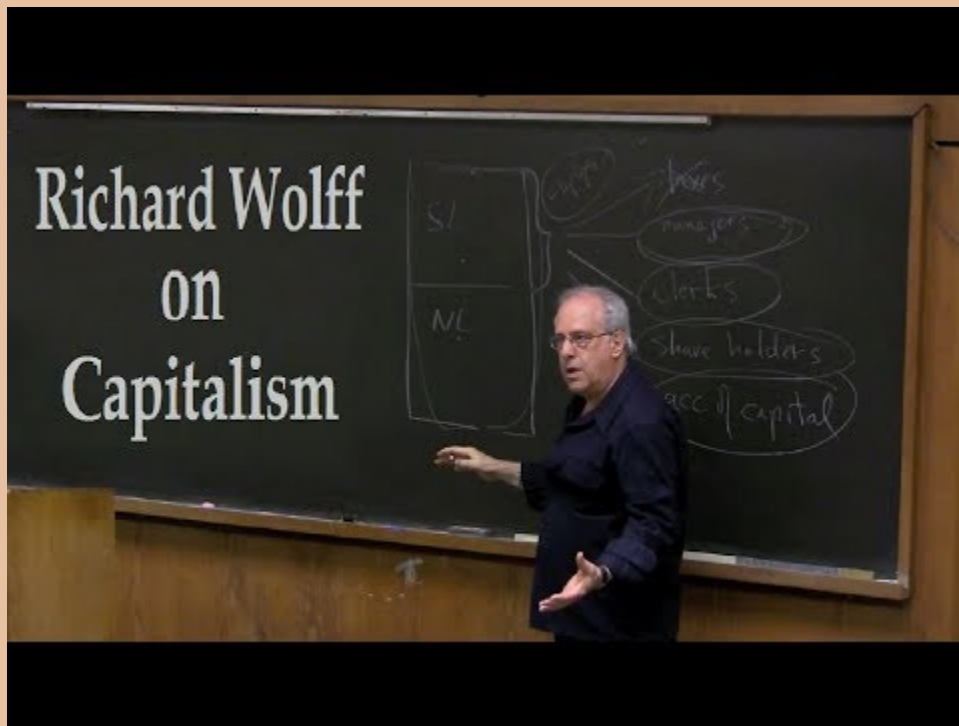
Bourgeois: owners of the means of production who sell commodities produced by the proletariat).

Class Struggle: Social strife over access to material and discursive resources. As social class struggle against each other over their vested interests, society moves forward. Capitalism arises out of the struggle of the bourgeois against the nobles, who were making it difficult for the capitalist to increase their profit. This struggle led to the French and other bourgeois revolutions. Under capitalism, proletariats struggle against capitalists over appropriation of surplus value. The interest of capitalists and workers are fundamentally contrary. Contemporary class struggles include for example, global outsourcing of labor to discipline the local workforce. Workers respond with strikes, rallies, and occupations.

Rule of the Proletariat: (aka dictatorship of the proletariat) Bourgeois (liberal) state does not represent workers, who need to rule themselves. Unclear what Marx meant by dictatorship of the proletariat as he depicted liberal democracy as dictatorship of capital.

Surplus value: the proletariat (producer) makes commodities that are sold by the owner of the factory in the market. The producer receives not the full value of the commodity sold, but only what they need to reproduce themselves (wage). Surplus value is at the base of capitalist profit. All workers at corporations lose surplus value to their employers, regardless of how high their salaries are. There are ongoing debates in contemporary Marxist theory on whether reproductive work (giving birth, raising children, cleaning, educating, healing) should be understood as part of the production of that surplus value or not.

Professor Richard Wolff explains Surplus Value



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:

<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialtheory/?p=113>

Alienation: European peasants lost access to their own, collective means of production when they were expelled from the commons by the forces of capitalism toward the end of the Medieval Ages. Forced to work in factories, they had to sell their labor as they could no longer sustain themselves. Marx regarded labor as our life activity and as part of our human essence, concluding that when humans are forced to sell away our control over our own labor, our life-activity, we lose our essence. In his view, this explains the spiritual maladies at the base of capitalist societies.

Ideology: Ideas, conceptions, consciousness, all that is said, imagined, conceived. Includes politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics, etc. “The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production.” (Marx-Engels, *The Civil War in France*).

Private Property: Not to be confused with possessions, private property is used by Marx to describe the private ownership of means of production. If we own our home, it is our possession. If we own more than one house and we rent the second one, this second house is private property. This house or apartment produces value that the landlord appropriates, the rent money that the landlord extracts from their tenants.

Expropriation: Worker take-over of means of production. Because workers produce everything and are only paid a portion of the value they actually create, when they take-over factories during revolutions or at times of social strife, this action is described as an expropriation of the surplus value accumulated in the factory as a result of generations of workers’ surplus being appropriated by the capitalist or bourgeois class. Check out how

Raúl Godoy explains the issue. He is a worker at Zanón (today FASINPAT), a formerly bankrupted ceramics factory in Argentina, now recovered by its workers.



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialtheory/?p=113>

Godoy was part of an insurrectionary movement against neoliberal anti corporate globalization. When Argentina's economy tanked in the year 2001, after following economic plans imposed by International Financial Institutions, mostly the IMF, many owners of corporations proceeded to fraudulently bankrupt their business in order to cash on their investment and move that money elsewhere. Many workers tried to stop them from doing this by taking over the factories they were working at, starting production and commercialization on their own. The clip ends with Naomi Klein asking Mr. Zanón if he was going to get his factory back. In response, he smiled, confidently. He did not. Over twenty years later, the workers are still operating this factory, taking home a decent salary. There are over 10,000 people working at recovered factories in Argentina today.

Main Elements of Marxism

Main Elements of Marxism

- There are only two important classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie
- There should not be private ownership of the means of production because production is collective
- The state should control the means of production and the appropriation of surplus value
- Government should be in the hands of the working class
- Abolition of church and the capitalist state
- To each according to their needs, from each according to their abilities
- All basic needs covered by the state with some hierarchization of salaries
- Single currency controlled by the state
- Marx is not concerned with class in the sociological sense, i.e, middle classes, working class, upper class. While Marx's theory was strongly based on the suffering of the working class during the Industrial Revolution in Europe, his theory does not focus on differential in income, but rather explains how the accumulation of surplus value makes the worker poorer, the more the worker produces. The worker cannot keep the surplus value they produce. Corporations harvest it and in this way they accumulate wealth. This wealth is later used to influence, for example, presidential campaigns through so called "super-packs," or by funding lobbyist that can influence lawmakers in Congress.
- Materialist philosophers do not think that ideas drive society. They think that our economic activity influences the way we think and what we can accomplish as a society. As a materialist philosopher, Marx thought that we needed a revolution to abolish capitalism and create a different kind of mode of production. He envisioned socialism as a first step toward communism.

Marx Exercises

Marx

Part 1

How is capitalism different since Marx and Engels published the Communist Manifesto? How is capitalism the same? Explain changes, if any, to the appropriation of surplus value. Refer to the course material: Basic definitions of Marxist terminology.

Part 2

It has been said that Marx admired capitalism. At the same time, Marx delivered a demolishing blow to the basis of the capitalist mode of production. Find quotes from the Communist Manifesto (or other works by Marx) that show his admiration and his condemnation of capitalism.

Part 3

In the *Second Chapter of the Communist Manifesto*, what does Marx mean by private property? What kind of property does he think should be abolished and why? Finally, drawing on the first chapter, how does this connect with his ultimate goal of a society without classes?

Part 4

The setting is a cotton T shirt factory in Virginia. The factory buys cotton and linen cloth and workers are employed to make T-shirts. Discuss the following:

- a) According to Marx, who is generating value and how?
- b) How are profit and surplus value connected?
- c) What mechanisms do workers use to minimize the extraction of surplus value and take home more money?

e) Why would this corporation open another T-shirt making factory in Dhaka, Bangladesh? How would it affect the factory workers in Virginia?

Part 5

A – Mary at Facebook, makes 150,000 a year, full benefits (retirement funds, health care, gym membership, etc)

B – John at McDonalds, makes minimum wage, no benefits

C – Eli at The Workers Coop, makes 30,000 a year, no benefits

Of the three people above, who has surplus value extracted?

Readings and Resources

- Marx, Kark and Frederick Engels [1848] 2008 The Communist Manifesto. London: Pluto Press.
- [Das Kapital in 1 Minute](#)
- Crisis in capitalism, animation of a lecture by David Harvey's.



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocaltheory/?p=202>

Advanced, recommended reading

- Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies by Kevin B. Anderson (book)
Anderson analyzes the later Marx. During his last years, Marx changed his views on the non-Western World and its development.

CHAPTER FOUR - ANARCHO-COMMUNISM, PYOTR KROPOTKIN



"Pyotr Kropotkin" by Koroesu

"Variety is life; uniformity is death."

– Pyotr Kropotkin

Media Attributions

- ["Peter Kropotkin" by Koroesu](#) © [Koroesu](#) is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Notes on Kropotkin



Prince Kropotkin 1842- 1921

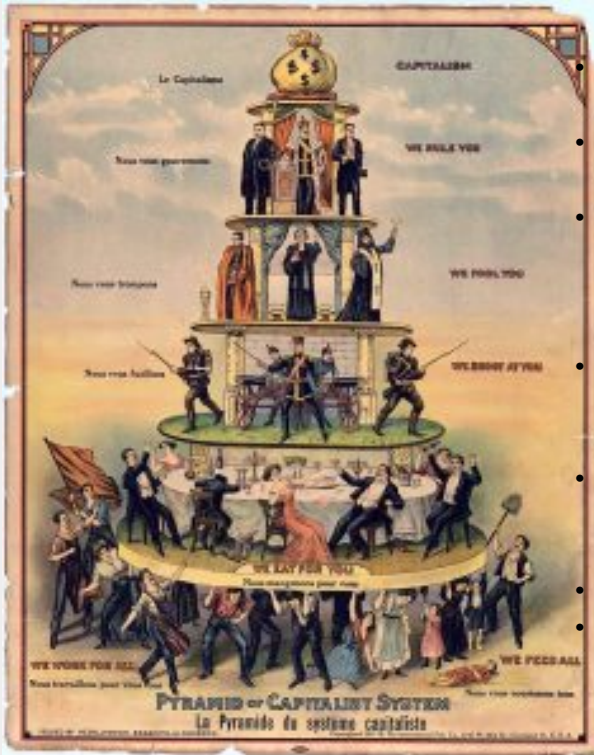
Biography

- Descendent from an ancient line of Russian princes
- Influenced by liberal ideas, became a Cossack (noble cavalymen) and moved to Siberia. Was horrified by the penal system
- 1865: Read anarchist Joseph Proudhon's work
- 1866: Resigned from Cossacks in protest over the execution of prisoners
- 1871: Devoted himself to science, Russian Geographical Society.
- 1872: Reads Bakunin, meets with Russian exiles, declares himself an anarchist
- 1874: Arrested by the Tsar, but escapes two years later
- 1876- 1886: Founded a newspaper, was arrested in France, exiled to London
- In London he starts writing his most important books

Critique of the Soviet Union

- 1917: Returns to Russia after the Tsar is deposed. He arrives before the Bolshevik Revolution
- Retires to write.
- In 1920, he writes a letter to Lenin, advising him against taking the route of violence and authoritarianism. <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/petr-kropotkin-letter-to-lenin>
- 1921: Kropotkin's funeral was a large anti-Bolshevik demonstration

"Everywhere you will find that the wealth of the wealthy springs from the poverty of the poor." – Kropotkin



"Pyramid of the Capitalist System" critiques capitalism, namely the wealth disparity and exploitation of labor.

Anarcho- Communism: Kropotkin Style

- Mutual Aid rather than competition (based on observations of the "natural" world)
- Human beings are naturally sociable, government is unnecessary
- The abolition of private property dissolves inequality of income and gives place to the free distribution of goods and services, rather than trying to determine individual contributions.
- In Anarcho-Communist communities, workers have access to goods and services to cover their needs through a "free distribution warehouse"
- Socially necessary labor is the time that it takes people in general to make something. It cannot be commodified (converted into \$)
- Cooperation is the motor that moves humanity
- Kropotkin advocated for small communities that controlled the means of production (land, machines, tools) in a collective warehouse

Differences with Liberals

- The state is not a place for the common good, it is an institution that protects private property and

those that hold it

- The "social contract" does not protect the poor. The poor were not invited to sign it. They were forced by poverty
- Against wage labor. In support of worker control of the means of production
- Against Laissez-faire capitalism

Differences with Marx

- Kropotkin thought that humankind was, by nature, into cooperation and mutual support. In contrast, Marx thinks that all of us are the product of our times, circumstances, and most importantly, how we go about producing and reproducing our lives.
- Marx believed that humanity progressed through stages, the same stages that the European tribes had gone through. This progress was the result of class struggle. He focuses on the constant fight between the bourgeois and the proletariat over the appropriation of surplus value. Kropotkin thought that humanity resembled the world of the insects, where ants, for example, cooperate with each other in support of their communities. He believed it was a cooperation among the workers that moved the

world forward, not class struggle.

- As a tradition toward a fully communist society, Marx believed that there could be some stratification in the first stages of the new world. Both in the Soviet Union and Cuba, for example, workers received salaries, which were not all the same. In contrast, Kropotkin claims that everybody who works should be able to have all of their needs and desires fulfilled by a warehouse, an institution that holds all the wealth of the community and distribute it according to needs. The Zapatistas in Chiapas are organized around Kropotkin's model of the warehouse.
- While Marx is only interested in expropriating private property, Kropotkin believes everybody should be equal in communist societies, otherwise, it is hard for everybody to sacrifice and pull together. Everything there is belongs to a communal warehouse. Marx, on the other hand, emphasized private property expropriation over expropriation of personal possessions because he was interested in the workers being able to control the wealth they produced and could not enjoy. He points out that the wealth produced by the worker is often, through politics dominated by private contributions, used against the workers themselves.
- For Marx, progress was closely linked with domination of nature (technology, machines), as it was for the bourgeois that he so much criticized and reluctantly admired. We do not see that in Kropotkin. Marx's conception of progress, linked with domination of nature, has been criticized as ecologically blind. In general, anarchists, even contemporary ones, privilege nature and communities over industry and profit.
- Marx sought a new human, while Kropotkin sought to establish social relations that would liberate the human we already are. Marx maintained that the workers would have to create a state to control the newly dispossessed bourgeois, while Kropotkin thought we should create communities free of capitalism.
- Marxism, in general, advocates for the takeover of the bourgeois state, the liberal democracies of the western world. Kropotkin-style anarchists, on the other hand, advocate for federations of small communities with control of government from below by frequent rotation. We will see a living, highly successful example of this style of governance when we study the indigenous Mayan communities that organize with the Zapatistas, in Chapter 10.

Part Four Video Lecture

Media Attributions

- [Peter Kropotkin](#) © [Koroesu](#)
- [Pyramid of Capitalist System \(1911\)](#) © Nedeljkovich, Brashich, and Kuharich is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

The Conquest of Bread

PETER KROPOTKIN

Chapter IV

It is told of Rothschild that, seeing his fortune threatened by the Revolution of 1848, he hit upon the following stratagem: "I am quite willing to admit," said he, "that my fortune has been accumulated at the expense of others, but if it were divided to-morrow among the millions of Europe, the share of each would only amount to five shillings. Very well, then, I undertake to render to each his five shillings if he asks me for it."

Having given due publicity to his promise, our millionaire proceeded as usual to stroll quietly through the streets of Frankfort. Three or four passers-by asked for their five shillings, which he disbursed with a sardonic smile. His stratagem succeeded, and the family of the millionaire is still in possession of its wealth.

It is in much the same fashion that the shrewd heads among the middle classes reason when they say, "Ah, Expropriation! I know what that means. You take all the overcoats and lay them in a heap, and every one is free to help himself and fight for the best."

But such jests are irrelevant as well as flippant. What we want is not a redistribution of overcoats, although it must be said that even in such a case, the shivering folk would see advantage in it. Nor do we want to divide up the wealth of the Rothschilds. What we do want is so to arrange things that every human being born into the world shall be ensured the opportunity in the first instance of learning some useful occupation, and of becoming skilled in it; next, that he shall be free to work at his trade without asking leave of master or owner, and without handing over to landlord or capitalist the lion's share of what he produces. As to the wealth held by the Rothschilds or the Vanderbilts, it will serve us to organize our system of communal production.

The day when the labourer may till the ground without paying away half of what he produces, the day when the machines necessary to prepare the soil for rich harvests are at the free disposal of the cultivators, the day when the worker in the factory produces for the community and not the monopolist—that day will see the workers clothed and fed, and there will be no more Rothschilds or other exploiters.

No one will then have to sell his working power for a wage that only represents a fraction of what he produces.

"So far so good," say our critics, "but you will have Rothschilds coming in from outside. How are you to prevent a person from amassing millions in China and then settling amongst you? How are you going to prevent such a one from surrounding himself with lackeys and wage-slaves—from exploiting them and enriching himself at their expense?"

"You cannot bring about a revolution all over the world at the same time. Well, then, are you going to establish custom-houses on your frontiers to search all who enter your country and confiscate the money they bring with them?—Anarchist policemen firing on travellers would be a fine spectacle!"

But at the root of this argument there is a great error. Those who propound it have never paused to inquire whence come the fortunes of the rich. A little thought would, however, suffice to show them that these fortunes have their beginnings in the poverty of the poor. When there are no longer any destitute there will no longer be any rich to exploit them.

Let us glance for a moment at the Middle Ages, when great fortunes began to spring up.

A feudal baron seizes on a fertile valley. But as long as the fertile valley is empty of folk our baron is not rich. His land brings him in nothing; he might as well possess a property in the moon.

What does our baron do to enrich himself? He looks out for peasants—for poor peasants!

If every peasant-farmer had a piece of land, free from rent and taxes, if he had in addition the tools and the stock necessary for farm labour, who would plough the lands of the baron? Everyone would look after his own. But there are thousands of destitute persons ruined by wars, or drought, or pestilence. They have neither horse nor plough. (Iron was costly in the Middle Ages, and a draughthorse still more so.)

All these destitute creatures are trying to better their condition. One day they see on the road at the confines of our baron's estate a notice-board indicating by certain signs adapted to their comprehension that the labourer who is willing to settle on this estate will receive the tools and materials to build his cottage and sow his fields, and a portion of land rent free for a certain number of years. The number of years is represented by so many crosses on the sign-board, and the peasant understands the meaning of these crosses.

So the poor wretches swarm over the baron's lands, making roads, draining marshes, building villages. In nine years he begins to tax them. Five years later he increases the rent. Then he doubles it. The peasant accepts these new conditions because he cannot find better ones elsewhere; and little by little, with the aid of laws made by the barons, the poverty of the peasant becomes the source of the landlord's wealth. And it is not only the lord of the manor who preys upon him. A whole host of usurers swoop down upon the villages, multiplying as the wretchedness of the peasants increases. That is how things went in the Middle Ages. And to-day is it not still the same thing? If there were free lands which the peasant could cultivate if he pleased, would he pay £50 to some "shabby of a duke" for condescending to sell him a scrap? Would he burden himself with a lease which absorbed a third of the produce? Would he—on the métayer system—consent to give the half of his harvest to the landowner?

But he has nothing. So he will accept any conditions, if only he can keep body and soul together, while he tills the soil and enriches the landlord.

So in the nineteenth century, just as in the Middle Ages, the poverty of the peasant is a source of wealth to the landed proprietor.

II

The landlord owes his riches to the poverty of the peasants, and the wealth of the capitalist comes from the same source.

Take the case of a citizen of the middle class, who somehow or other finds himself in possession of £20,000. He could, of course, spend his money at the rate of £2,000 a year, a mere bagatelle in these days of fantastic, senseless luxury. But then he would have nothing left at the end of ten years. So, being a "practical person," he prefers to keep his fortune intact, and win for himself a snug little annual income as well.

This is very easy in our society, for the good reason that the towns and villages swarm with workers who have not the wherewithal to live for a month, or even a fortnight. So our worthy citizen starts a factory. The banks hasten to lend him another £20,000, especially if he has a reputation for "business ability"; and with this round sum he can command the labour of five hundred hands.

If all the men and women in the country-side had their daily bread sure and their daily needs already satisfied, who would work for our capitalist at a wage of half a crown a day, while the commodities one produces in a day sell in the market for a crown or more?

Unhappily—we know it all too well—the poor quarters of our towns and the neighbouring villages are full of needy wretches, whose children clamour for bread. So, before the factory is well finished, the workers hasten to offer themselves. Where a hundred are required three hundred besiege the doors, and from the time his mill is started the owner, if he only has average business capacities, will clear £40 a year out of each mill-hand he employs.

He is thus able to lay by a snug little fortune; and if he chooses a lucrative trade and has "business talents" he will soon increase his income by doubling the number of the men he exploits.

So he becomes a personage of importance. He can afford to give dinners to others personages—to the local magnates, the civic, legal, and political dignitaries. With his money he can "marry money"; by and by he may pick and choose places for his children, and later on perhaps get something good from the Government—a contract for the army or for the police. His gold breeds gold; till at last a war, or even a rumour of war, or a speculation on the Stock Exchange, gives him his great opportunity.

Nine-tenths of the great fortunes made in the United States are (as Henry George has shown in this "Social Problems") the result of knavery on a large scale, assisted by the State. In Europe, nine-tenths of the fortunes made in our monarchies and republics have the same origin. There are not two ways of becoming a millionaire.

This is the secret of wealth; find the starving and destitute, pay them half a crown, and make them produce five

shillings worth in the day, amass a fortune by these means, and then increase it by some lucky hit, made with the help of the State.

Need we go on to speak of small fortunes attributed by the economists to forethought and frugality, when we know that mere saving in itself brings in nothing, so long as the pence saved are not used to exploit the famishing?

Take a shoemaker, for instance. Grant that his work is well paid, that he has plenty of custom, and that by dint of strict frugality he contrives to lay by from eighteen pence to two shillings a day, perhaps two pounds a month.

Grant that our shoemaker is never ill, that he does not half starve himself, in spite of his passion for economy; that he does not marry or that he has no children; that he does not die of consumption; suppose anything and everything you please!

Well, at the age of fifty he will not have scraped together £800; and he will not have enough to live on during his old age, when he is past work. Assuredly this is not how great fortunes are made. But suppose our shoemaker, as soon as he has laid by a few pence, thriftily conveys them to the savings bank, and that the savings bank lends them to the capitalist who is just about to “employ labour,” i.e. to exploit the poor. Then our shoemaker takes an apprentice, the child of some poor wretch, who will think himself lucky if in five years time his son has learned the trade and is able to earn his living.

Meanwhile our shoemaker does not lose by him, and if trade is brisk he soon takes a second, and then a third apprentice. By and by he will take two or three working men—poor wretches, thankful to receive half a crown a day for work that is worth five shillings, and if our shoemaker is “in luck,” that is to say, if he is keen enough and mean enough, his working men and apprentices will bring him in nearly one pound a day, over and above the product of his own toil. He can then enlarge his business. He will gradually become rich, and no longer have any need to stint himself in the necessities of life. He will leave a snug little fortune to his son.

That is what people call “being economical and having frugal, temperate habits.” At bottom it is nothing more nor less than grinding the face of the poor.

Commerce seems an exception to this rule. “Such a man,” we are told, “buys tea in China, brings it to France, and realizes a profit of thirty per cent on his original outlay. He has exploited nobody.”

Nevertheless the case is analogous. If our merchant had carried his bales on his back, well and good! In early medieval times that was exactly how foreign trade was conducted, and so no one reached such giddy heights of fortune as in our days. Very few and very hardly earned were the gold coins which the medieval merchant gained from a long and dangerous voyage. It was less the love of money than the thirst of travel and adventure that inspired his undertakings.

Nowadays the method is simpler. A merchant who has some capital need not stir from his desk to become wealthy. He telegraphs to an agent telling him to buy a hundred tons of tea; he freights a ship, and in a few weeks, in three months if it is a sailing ship, the vessel brings him his cargo. He does not even take the risks of the voyage, for his tea and his vessel are insured, and if he has expended four thousand pounds he will receive more than five thousand; that is to say, if he has not attempted to speculate in some novel commodities, in which case he runs a chance of either doubling his fortune or losing it altogether.

Now, how could he find men willing to cross the sea, to travel to China and back, to endure hardship and slavish toil and to risk their lives for a miserable pittance? How could he find dock labourers willing to load and unload his ships for “starvation wages”? How? Because they are needy and starving. Go to the seaports, visit the cook-shops and taverns on the quays, and look at these men who have come to hire themselves, crowding round the dock-gates, which they besiege from early dawn, hoping to be allowed to work on the vessels. Look at these sailors, happy to be hired for a long voyage, after weeks and months of waiting. All their lives long they have gone to the sea in ships, and they will sail in others still, until they have perished in the waves.

Enter their homes, look at their wives and children in rags, living one knows not how till the father’s return, and you will have the answer to the question. Multiply examples, choose them where you will, consider the origin of all fortunes, large or small, whether arising out of commerce, finance, manufactures, or the land. Everywhere you will find that the wealth of the wealthy springs from the poverty of the poor. This is why an anarchist society need not fear the advent of a Rothschild who would settle in its midst. If every member of the community knows that after a few hours of productive toil he will have a right to all the pleasures that civilization procures, and to those deeper sources of enjoyment which art and science offer to all who seek them, he will not sell his strength for a starvation wage. No one will volunteer to

work for the enrichment of your Rothschild. His golden guineas will be only so many pieces of metal—useful for various purposes, but incapable of breeding more.

In answering the above objection we have at the same time indicated the scope of Expropriation. It must apply to everything that enables any man—be he financier, mill-owner, or landlord—to appropriate the product of others' toil. Our formula is simple and comprehensive.

We do not want to rob any one of his coat, but we wish to give to the workers all those things the lack of which makes them fall an easy prey to the exploiter, and we will do our utmost that none shall lack aught, that not a single man shall be forced to sell the strength of his right arm to obtain a bare subsistence for himself and his babes. This is what we mean when we talk of Expropriation; this will be our duty during the Revolution, for whose coming we look, not two hundred years hence, but soon, very soon.

III

The ideas of Anarchism in general and of Expropriation in particular find much more sympathy than we are apt to imagine among men of independent character, and those for whom idleness is not the supreme ideal. "Still," our friends often warn us, "take care you do not go too far! Humanity cannot be changed in a day, so do not be in too great a hurry with your schemes of Expropriation and Anarchy, or you will be in danger of achieving no permanent result."

Now, what we fear with regard to Expropriation is exactly the contrary. We are afraid of not going far enough, of carrying out Expropriation on too small a scale to be lasting. We would not have the revolutionary impulse arrested in mid-career, to exhaust itself in half measures, which would content no one, and while producing a tremendous confusion in society, and stopping its customary activities, would have no vital power—would merely spread general discontent and inevitably prepare the way for the triumph of reaction.

There are, in fact, in a modern State established relations which it is practically impossible to modify if one attacks them only in detail. There are wheels within wheels in our economic organization—the machinery is so complex and interdependent that no one part can be modified without disturbing the whole. This becomes clear as soon as an attempt is made to expropriate anything.

Let us suppose that in a certain country a limited form of expropriation is effected. For example, that, as it has been suggested more than once, only the property of the great landlords is socialized, whilst the factories are left untouched; or that, in a certain city, house property is taken over by the Commune, but everything else is left in private ownership; or that, in some manufacturing centre, the factories are communalized, but the land is not interfered with.

The same result would follow in each case—a terrible shattering of the industrial system, without the means of reorganizing it on new lines. Industry and finance would be at a deadlock, yet a return to the first principles of justice would not have been achieved, and society would find itself powerless to construct a harmonious whole.

If agriculture could free itself from great landowners, while industry still remained the bondslave of the capitalist, the merchant, and the banker, nothing would be accomplished. The peasant suffers to-day not only in having to pay rent to the landlord; he is oppressed on all hands by existing conditions. He is exploited by the tradesman, who makes him pay half a crown for a spade which, measured by the labour spent on it, is not worth more than sixpence. He is taxed by the State, which cannot do without its formidable hierarchy of officials, and finds it necessary to maintain an expensive army, because the traders of all nations are perpetually fighting for the markets, and any day a little quarrel arising from the exploitation of some part of Asia or Africa may result in war.

Then again the peasant suffers from the depopulation of country places: the young people are attracted to the large manufacturing towns by the bait of high wages paid temporarily by the producers of articles of luxury, or by the attractions of a more stirring life. The artificial protection of industry, the industrial exploitation of foreign countries, the prevalence of stock-jobbing, the difficulty of improving the soil and the machinery of production—all these agencies combine nowadays to work against agriculture, which is burdened not only by rent, but by the whole complex of conditions in a society based on exploitation. Thus, even if the expropriation of land were accomplished, and every one were free to till the soil and cultivate it to the best advantage, without paying rent, agriculture, even though it should enjoy—which can by no means be taken for granted—a momentary prosperity, would soon fall back into the slough in which it finds itself to-day. The whole thing would have to be begun over again, with increased difficulties.

The same holds true of industry. Take the converse case: instead of turning the agricultural labourers into peasant-

proprietors, make over the factories to those who work in them. Abolish the master-manufacturers, but leave the landlord his land, the banker his money, the merchant his Exchange, maintain the swarm of idlers who live on the toil of the workmen, the thousand and one middlemen, the State with its numberless officials, and industry would come to a standstill. Finding no purchasers in the mass of peasants who would remain poor; not possessing the raw material, and unable to export their produce, partly on account of the stoppage of trade, and still more so because industries spread all over the world, the manufacturers would feel unable to struggle, and thousands of workers would be thrown upon the streets. These starving crowds would be ready and willing to submit to the first schemer who came to exploit them; they would even consent to return to the old slavery, if only under promise of work.

Or, finally, suppose you oust the landowners, and hand over the mills and factories to the worker, without interfering with the swarm of middlemen who drain the product of our manufacturers, and speculate in corn and flour, meat and groceries, in our great centres of commerce. Then, as soon as exchange is arrested, the great cities are left without bread, and others find no buyers for their articles of luxury, a terrible counter-revolution will take place—a counter-revolution treading upon the slain, sweeping the towns and villages with shot and shell; there would be proscriptions, panic, flight, tend all the terrors of the guillotine, as it was in France in 1815, 1848, and 1871.

All is interdependent in a civilized society; it is impossible to reform any one thing without altering the whole. Therefore, on the day we strike at private property, under any one of its forms, territorial or industrial, we shall be obliged to attack them all. The very success of the Revolution will demand it.

Besides, we could not, if we would, confine ourselves to a partial expropriation. Once the principle of the “Divine Right of Property” is shaken, no amount of theorizing will prevent its overthrow, here by the slaves of the toil, there by the slaves of the machine.

If a great town, Paris for example, were to confine itself to taking possession of the dwelling houses or the factories, it would be forced also to deny the right of the bankers to levy upon the Commune a tax amounting to £2,000,000 in the form of interest for former loans. The great city would be obliged to put itself in touch with the rural districts, and its influence would inevitably urge the peasants to free themselves from the landowner. It would be necessary to communalize the railways, that the citizens might get food and work, and lastly, to prevent the waste of supplies, and to guard against the trust of corn-speculators, like those to whom the Commune of 1793 fell a prey, it would have to place in the hands of the City the work of stocking its warehouses with commodities, and apportioning the produce.

Nevertheless, some Socialists still seek to establish a distinction. “Of course,” they say, “the soil, the mines, the mills, and manufactures must be expropriated, these are the instruments of production, and it is right we should consider them public property. But articles of consumption—food, clothes, and dwellings—should remain private property.”

Popular common sense has got the better of this subtle distinction. We are not savages who can live in the woods, without other shelter than the branches. The civilized man needs a roof, a room, a hearth, and a bed. It is true that the bed, the room, and the house is a home of idleness for the non-producer. But for the worker, a room, properly heated and lighted, is as much an instrument of production as the tool or the machine. It is the place where the nerves and sinews gather strength for the work of the morrow. The rest of the workman is the daily repairing of the machine.

The same argument applies even more obviously to food. The so-called economists of whom we speak would hardly deny that the coal burnt in a machine is as necessary to production as the raw material itself. How then can food, without which the human machine could do no work, be excluded from the list of things indispensable to the producer? Can this be a relic of religious metaphysics? The rich man’s feast is indeed a matter of luxury, but the food of the worker is just as much a part of production as the fuel burnt by the steam-engine.

The same with clothing. If the economists who draw this distinction between articles of production and of consumption dressed themselves in the fashion of New Guinea, we could understand their objection. But men who could not write a word without a shirt on their back are not in a position to draw such a hard and fast line between their shirt and their pen. And though the dainty gowns of their dames must certainly rank as objects of luxury, there is nevertheless a certain quantity of linen, cotton, and woollen stuff which is a necessity of life to the producer. The shirt and shoes in which he goes to his work, his cap and the jacket he slips on after the day’s toil is over, these are as necessary to him as the hammer to the anvil.

Whether we like it or not, this is what the people mean by a revolution. As soon as they have made a clean sweep of

the Government, they will seek first of all to ensure to themselves decent dwellings and sufficient food and clothes—free of capitalist rent.



And the people will be right. The methods of the people will be much more in accordance with science than those of the economists who draw so many distinctions between instruments of production and articles of consumption. The people understand that this is just the point where the Revolution ought to begin; and they will lay the foundations of the only economic science worthy the name—a science which might be called “The Study of the Needs of Humanity, and of the Economic Means to satisfy them.”

Lecture: Anarcho-Communism, Pyotr Kropotkin



DIFFERENCES WITH LIBERALS

- The state is not a space for the common good, it is an institution that protects private property and those who hold it
- The "social contract" does not protect the poor, the poor were not asked to sign it
- Against wage labor, for worker control of the means of production
- Against laissez faire capitalism



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialetheory/?p=1277>

"The Conquest of Bread" Exercises

The Conquest of Bread

Part One

Keeping it Anarcho-Communist

Kropotkin claims that the poor did not sign the social contract, that they were forced into “civilization,” in his view, to become slaves to the state that protects the private property of the bourgeois (corporations). How does his view of how civilization, the state, and capitalism connect with his argument that an anarcho-communist society will be able to avoid the resurgence of greed and capitalism by abolishing poverty? How does his concept of the warehouse connect with the abolition of poverty and the resurgence of capitalism?

Part Two

Explain the concept of expropriation

- a. What should be expropriated?
- b. Why?
- c. How does “expropriation” connect with “surplus value”?

Part Three

Are there any elements of Eurocentrism in Kropotkin’s text? If so, cite them.

Part Four

Kropotkin asserts that humanity evolved through cooperation rather than through competition. This is quite different from Marx, who asserted that history progressed through class struggle, the eternal fight between those who owned the means of production (the bourgeois) and those who worked for the bourgeois (the

proletariat). Produce examples of recent events that emphasize cooperation among humans, not state led or corporate funded, leading to a better world.

Part Five

Check out these examples of workplaces and communities free of individual appropriation of surplus value. Summarize how they are organized around issues of decision-making, salaries paid, etc.

Recovered Factories in Argentina

<https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/argentina-recovered-factory-movement>

Valley Alliance of Worker Co-operatives

<http://valleyworker.coop/our-co-op-identity/>

Cooperation Jackson

<https://cooperationjackson.org/>

Landless Workers' Movement

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Landless_Workers%27_Movement

The Okupa Movement

<http://suitelife.com/blog/barcelona-real-estate/okupa-movement-barcelona/>

The ZAD (Zone to Defend)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zone_to_Defend

Main Elements of Anarcho-Communism

Main Elements of Anarcho-Communism

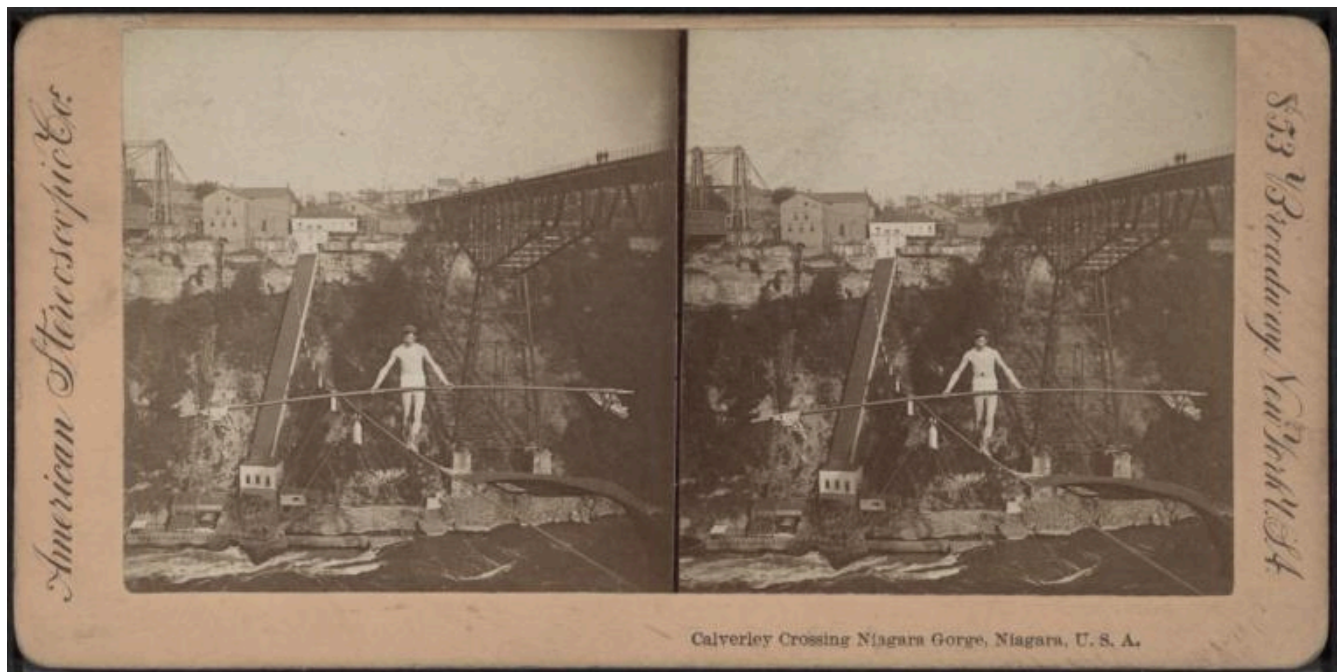
- No private ownership of the means of production
- Small communities organized through direct democracy control means of production
- Collective production, appropriation of surplus value by the community
- Government rotates frequently among a diversity of community members, all representatives can be recalled immediately by the community
- To each according to their needs, from each according to their abilities
- Free access to goods and services (Kropotkin's warehouse)
- No use of currency (money)

Readings and Resources

Readings and Resources

- Kropotkin, Pyotr Alexeyevich. 1892. "Expropriation". In *The Conquest of Bread*. http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/anarchist_archives/kropotkin/conquest/ch4.html, accessed July 31 2015.
- [Statement on Evolutionism and Creationism](#) by American Anthropological Association
- [Kropotkin, Peter \(1842-1921\)](#) by George Woodcock
- [Peter Alekseyevich Kropotkin](#) by Martin A. Miller and Paul Avrich

CHAPTER FIVE - DEATH OF THE WESTERN GOD



“I want to teach men the sense of their existence, which is the Overman, the lightning out of the dark cloud—man.”

– Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*

Media Attributions

- [calverley-crossing-niagara-gorge-niagara-usa-crossing-the-gorge-on-a-tightrope-e44102](#) © American Stereoscopic Co. is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Notes on Friedrich Nietzsche

Friedrich Nietzsche (Prussian Philosopher 1844-1900)



A portrait of Nietzsche

- **Encouraging Words from an Influential Philosopher:**

- Michel Foucault said of Nietzsche: “The only valid tribute to thought such as Nietzsche’s is precisely to use it, to deform it, to make it groan and protest.”

Highlights of Nietzsche

- Greek and Roman philologist
- Department Chair at age of 24 of Classical Philology at the University of Basel
- Anti-feminist
- Mental Collapse at age 48
- Died at age 56, probably of brain cancer
- Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche re-works his writings and unpublished notes to make them appear as antisemitic and nationalist

Early Life

- Born in Prussia in 1844. Friedrich’s father is a Lutheran Pastor and former teacher, while his mother is a homemaker. His father dies when he is 5 years old.
- Attended prestigious schools, was interested in religious and classical studies
- Studied theology and philosophy at the University of Bonn. Denounces his faith and abandons theological studies after one semester
- He focuses on his study of philosophy after abandoning theology

Theoretical Influences

- Greek philosophers
- Immanuel Kant
- John Stuart Mill
- Arthur Schopenhauer
- Baruch Spinoza
- Richard Wagner (later distances himself due to Wagner's Christianity, "German Culture," and antisemitism)

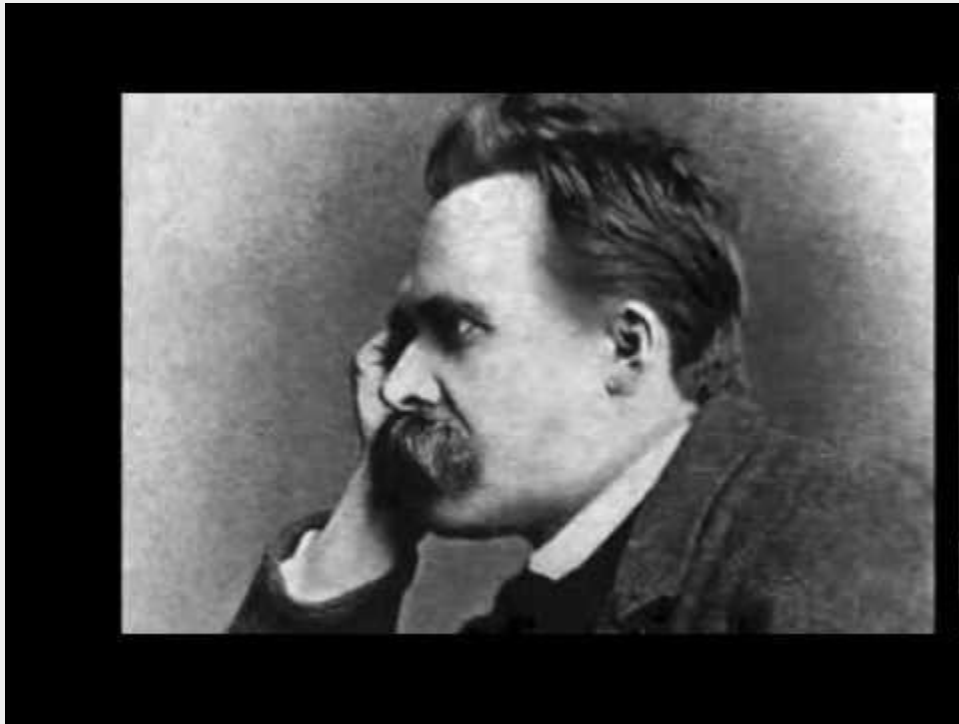


Faravahar by Furfur

Later Life

- With failing health, he continues to work independently, funded by his pension and friends
- Some claim syphilis was cause of ill-health but modern scholarship suggests brain cancer and other illnesses
- This so called "Nazi" requested his citizenship (Prussian) be removed. He remained stateless until his death and claimed he was of Polish noble birth ("Slav")

The Tightrope Walker



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialetheory/?p=146>

Critique of Modernity

- Inexorable spread of decadence
- Flaccid reign of the last man (opposite of the Overman)
- Twilight of the idols
- Modernity has made man unmotivated and uncreative. The will to nothing looms in the horizon (as opposed to the will to power)

Overman (Überman)

- Willing to risk it all to enhance humanity
- The “last man” desires comfort, incapable of creating anything
- Overman creates their own set of values with happiness and pleasure now, with a purpose for humanity

Against Herd Values of Christianity

- Will to power to creatively influence the thought of others over generations
- Their existence and power live on after their death

Main Concepts

- God is Dead
- Perspectivism
- Will to Power
- Slave-Master
- Body

Nietzsche Video Lecture

Media Attributions

- [Nietzsche Olde 08](#) © Hans Olde is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- [Faravahar](#) © [Furfur](#) is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Thus Spoke Zarathustra (excerpt)

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

Prologue

1

When Zarathustra was thirty years old, he left his home and the lake of his home, and went into the mountains. There he enjoyed his spirit and his solitude, and for ten years did not weary of it. But at last his heart changed,—and rising one morning with the rosy dawn, he went before the sun, and spake thus unto it:

Thou great star! What would be thy happiness if thou hadst not those for whom thou shinest!

For ten years hast thou climbed hither unto my cave: thou wouldst have wearied of thy light and of the journey, had it not been for me, mine eagle, and my serpent.

But we awaited thee every morning, took from thee thine overflow, and blessed thee for it.

Lo! I am weary of my wisdom, like the bee that hath gathered too much honey; I need hands outstretched to take it.

I would fain bestow and distribute, until the wise have once more become joyous in their folly, and the poor happy in their riches.

Therefore must I descend into the deep: as thou doest in the evening, when thou goest behind the sea, and givest light also to the nether-world, thou exuberant star!

Like thee must I *go down*, as men say, to whom I shall descend.

Bless me, then, thou tranquil eye, that canst behold even the greatest happiness without envy!

Bless the cup that is about to overflow, that the water may flow golden out of it, and carry everywhere the reflection of thy bliss!

Lo! This cup is again going to empty itself, and Zarathustra is again going to be a man.

Thus began Zarathustra's down-going.

2

Zarathustra went down the mountain alone, no one meeting him. When he entered the forest, however, there suddenly stood before him an old man, who had left his holy cot to seek roots. And thus spake the old man to Zarathustra:

"No stranger to me is this wanderer: many years ago passed he by. Zarathustra he was called; but he hath altered.

Then thou carriest thine ashes into the mountains: wilt thou now carry thy fire into the valleys? Fearest thou not the incendiary's doom?

Yea, I recognise Zarathustra. Pure is his eye, and no loathing lurketh about his mouth. Goeth he not along like a dancer?

Altered is Zarathustra; a child hath Zarathustra become; an awakened one is Zarathustra: what wilt thou do in the land of the sleepers?

As in the sea hast thou lived in solitude, and it hath borne thee up. Alas, wilt thou now go ashore? Alas, wilt thou again drag thy body thyself?"

Zarathustra answered: "I love mankind."

"Why," said the saint, "did I go into the forest and the desert? Was it not because I loved men far too well?

Now I love God: men, I do not love. Man is a thing too imperfect for me. Love to man would be fatal to me."

Zarathustra answered: "What spake I of love! I am bringing gifts unto men."

"Give them nothing," said the saint. "Take rather part of their load, and carry it along with them—that will be most agreeable unto them: if only it be agreeable unto thee!

If, however, thou wilt give unto them, give them no more than an alms, and let them also beg for it!"

"No," replied Zarathustra, "I give no alms. I am not poor enough for that."

The saint laughed at Zarathustra, and spake thus: "Then see to it that they accept thy treasures! They are distrustful of anchorites, and do not believe that we come with gifts.

The fall of our footsteps ringeth too hollow through their streets. And just as at night, when they are in bed and hear a man abroad long before sunrise, so they ask themselves concerning us: Where goeth the thief?

Go not to men, but stay in the forest! Go rather to the animals! Why not be like me—a bear amongst bears, a bird amongst birds?”

“And what doeth the saint in the forest?” asked Zarathustra.

The saint answered: “I make hymns and sing them; and in making hymns I laugh and weep and mumble: thus do I praise God.

With singing, weeping, laughing, and mumbling do I praise the God who is my God. But what dost thou bring us as a gift?”

When Zarathustra had heard these words, he bowed to the saint and said: “What should I have to give thee! Let me rather hurry hence lest I take aught away from thee!”—And thus they parted from one another, the old man and Zarathustra, laughing like schoolboys.

When Zarathustra was alone, however, he said to his heart: “Could it be possible! This old saint in the forest hath not yet heard of it, that *God is dead!*”

3

When Zarathustra arrived at the nearest town which adjoineth the forest, he found many people assembled in the market-place; for it had been announced that a rope-dancer would give a performance. And Zarathustra spake thus unto the people:

I teach you the Overman. Man is something that is to be surpassed. What have ye done to surpass man?

All beings hitherto have created something beyond themselves: and ye want to be the ebb of that great tide, and would rather go back to the beast than surpass man?

What is the ape to man? A laughing-stock, a thing of shame. And just the same shall man be to the Overman: a laughing-stock, a thing of shame.

Ye have made your way from the worm to man, and much within you is still worm. Once were ye apes, and even yet man is more of an ape than any of the apes.

Even the wisest among you is only a disharmony and hybrid of plant and phantom. But do I bid you become phantoms or plants?

Lo, I teach you the Overman!

The Overman is the meaning of the earth. Let your will say: The Overman *shall be* the meaning of the earth!

I conjure you, my brethren, *remain true to the earth*, and believe not those who speak unto you of superearthly hopes! Poisoners are they, whether they know it or not.

Despisers of life are they, decaying ones and poisoned ones themselves, of whom the earth is weary: so away with them!

Once blasphemy against God was the greatest blasphemy; but God died, and therewith also those blasphemers. To blaspheme the earth is now the dreadfulest sin, and to rate the heart of the unknowable higher than the meaning of the earth!

Once the soul looked contemptuously on the body, and then that contempt was the supreme thing:—the soul wished the body meagre, ghastly, and famished. Thus it thought to escape from the body and the earth.

Oh, that soul was itself meagre, ghastly, and famished; and cruelty was the delight of that soul!

But ye, also, my brethren, tell me: What doth your body say about your soul? Is your soul not poverty and pollution and wretched self-complacency?

Verily, a polluted stream is man. One must be a sea, to receive a polluted stream without becoming impure.

Lo, I teach you the Overman: he is that sea; in him can your great contempt be submerged.

What is the greatest thing ye can experience? It is the hour of great contempt. The hour in which even your happiness becometh loathsome unto you, and so also your reason and virtue.

The hour when ye say: “What good is my happiness! It is poverty and pollution and wretched self-complacency. But my happiness should justify existence itself!”

The hour when ye say: "What good is my reason! Doth it long for knowledge as the lion for his food? It is poverty and pollution and wretched self-complacency!"

The hour when ye say: "What good is my virtue! As yet it hath not made me passionate. How weary I am of my good and my bad! It is all poverty and pollution and wretched self-complacency!"

The hour when ye say: "What good is my justice! I do not see that I am fervour and fuel. The just, however, are fervour and fuel!"

The hour when we say: "What good is my pity! Is not pity the cross on which he is nailed who loveth man? But my pity is not a crucifixion."

Have ye ever spoken thus? Have ye ever cried thus? Ah! would that I had heard you crying thus!

It is not your sin—it is your self-satisfaction that crieth unto heaven; your very sparingness in sin crieth unto heaven!

Where is the lightning to lick you with its tongue? Where is the frenzy with which ye should be inoculated?

Lo, I teach you the Overman: he is that lightning, he is that frenzy!—

When Zarathustra had thus spoken, one of the people called out: "We have now heard enough of the rope-dancer; it is time now for us to see him!" And all the people laughed at Zarathustra. But the rope-dancer, who thought the words applied to him, began his performance.

4

Zarathustra, however, looked at the people and wondered. Then he spake thus:

Man is a rope stretched between the animal and the Overman—a rope over an abyss.

A dangerous crossing, a dangerous wayfaring, a dangerous looking-back, a dangerous trembling and halting.

What is great in man is that he is a bridge and not a goal: what is lovable in man is that he is an *over-going* and a *down-going*.

I love those that know not how to live except as down-goers, for they are the over-goers.

I love the great despisers, because they are the great adorers, and arrows of longing for the other shore.

I love those who do not first seek a reason beyond the stars for going down and being sacrifices, but sacrifice themselves to the earth, that the earth of the Overman may hereafter arrive.

I love him who liveth in order to know, and seeketh to know in order that the Overman may hereafter live. Thus seeketh he his own down-going.

I love him who laboureth and inventeth, that he may build the house for the Overman, and prepare for him earth, animal, and plant: for thus seeketh he his own down-going.

I love him who loveth his virtue: for virtue is the will to down-going, and an arrow of longing.

I love him who reserveth no share of spirit for himself, but wanteth to be wholly the spirit of his virtue: thus walketh he as spirit over the bridge.

I love him who maketh his virtue his inclination and destiny: thus, for the sake of his virtue, he is willing to live on, or live no more.

I love him who desireth not too many virtues. One virtue is more of a virtue than two, because it is more of a knot for one's destiny to cling to.

I love him whose soul is lavish, who wanteth no thanks and doth not give back: for he always bestoweth, and desireth not to keep for himself.

I love him who is ashamed when the dice fall in his favour, and who then asketh: "Am I a dishonest player?"—for he is willing to succumb.

I love him who scattereth golden words in advance of his deeds, and always doeth more than he promiseth: for he seeketh his own down-going.

I love him who justifieth the future ones, and redeemeth the past ones: for he is willing to succumb through the present ones.

I love him who chasteneth his God, because he loveth his God: for he must succumb through the wrath of his God.

I love him whose soul is deep even in the wounding, and may succumb through a small matter: thus goeth he willingly over the bridge.

I love him whose soul is so overfull that he forgetteth himself, and all things are in him: thus all things become his down-going.

I love him who is of a free spirit and a free heart: thus is his head only the bowels of his heart; his heart, however, causeth his down-going.

I love all who are like heavy drops falling one by one out of the dark cloud that lowereth over man: they herald the coming of the lightning, and succumb as heralds.

Lo, I am a herald of the lightning, and a heavy drop out of the cloud: the lightning, however, is the Overman.—

5

When Zarathustra had spoken these words, he again looked at the people, and was silent. “There they stand,” said he to his heart; “there they laugh: they understand me not; I am not the mouth for these ears.

Must one first batter their ears, that they may learn to hear with their eyes? Must one clatter like kettledrums and penitential preachers? Or do they only believe the stammerer?

They have something whereof they are proud. What do they call it, that which maketh them proud? Culture, they call it; it distinguisheth them from the goatherds.

They dislike, therefore, to hear of ‘contempt’ of themselves. So I will appeal to their pride.

I will speak unto them of the most contemptible thing: that, however, is *the last man!*”

And thus spake Zarathustra unto the people:

It is time for man to fix his goal. It is time for man to plant the germ of his highest hope.

Still is his soil rich enough for it. But that soil will one day be poor and exhausted, and no lofty tree will any longer be able to grow thereon.

Alas! there cometh the time when man will no longer launch the arrow of his longing beyond man—and the string of his bow will have unlearned to whizz!

I tell you: one must still have chaos in one, to give birth to a dancing star. I tell you: ye have still chaos in you.

Alas! There cometh the time when man will no longer give birth to any star. Alas! There cometh the time of the most despicable man, who can no longer despise himself.

Lo! I show you *the last man*.

“What is love? What is creation? What is longing? What is a star?”—so asketh the last man and blinketh.

The earth hath then become small, and on it there hoppeth the last man who maketh everything small. His species is ineradicable like that of the ground-flea; the last man liveth longest.

“We have discovered happiness”—say the last men, and blink thereby.

They have left the regions where it is hard to live; for they need warmth. One still loveth one’s neighbour and rubbeth against him; for one needeth warmth.

Turning ill and being distrustful, they consider sinful: they walk warily. He is a fool who still stumbleth over stones or men!

A little poison now and then: that maketh pleasant dreams. And much poison at last for a pleasant death.

One still worketh, for work is a pastime. But one is careful lest the pastime should hurt one.

One no longer becometh poor or rich; both are too burdensome. Who still wanteth to rule? Who still wanteth to obey? Both are too burdensome.

No shepherd, and one herd! Every one wanteth the same; every one is equal: he who hath other sentiments goeth voluntarily into the madhouse.

“Formerly all the world was insane,”—say the subtlest of them, and blink thereby.

They are clever and know all that hath happened: so there is no end to their raillery. People still fall out, but are soon reconciled—otherwise it spoileth their stomachs.

They have their little pleasures for the day, and their little pleasures for the night, but they have a regard for health.

“We have discovered happiness,”—say the last men, and blink thereby.—

And here ended the first discourse of Zarathustra, which is also called “The Prologue”: for at this point the shouting and mirth of the multitude interrupted him. “Give us this last man, O Zarathustra,”—they called out—“make us into

these last men! Then will we make thee a present of the Overman!" And all the people exulted and smacked their lips. Zarathustra, however, turned sad, and said to his heart:

"They understand me not: I am not the mouth for these ears.

Too long, perhaps, have I lived in the mountains; too much have I hearkened unto the brooks and trees: now do I speak unto them as unto the goatherds.

Calm is my soul, and clear, like the mountains in the morning. But they think me cold, and a mocker with terrible jests. And now do they look at me and laugh: and while they laugh they hate me too. There is ice in their laughter."

6

Then, however, something happened which made every mouth mute and every eye fixed. In the meantime, of course, the rope-dancer had commenced his performance: he had come out at a little door, and was going along the rope which was stretched between two towers, so that it hung above the market-place and the people. When he was just midway across, the little door opened once more, and a gaudily-dressed fellow like a buffoon sprang out, and went rapidly after the first one. "Go on, halt-foot," cried his frightful voice, "go on, lazy-bones, interloper, sallow-face!—lest I tickle thee with my heel! What dost thou here between the towers? In the tower is the place for thee, thou shouldst be locked up; to one better than thyself thou blockest the way!"—And with every word he came nearer and nearer the first one. When, however, he was but a step behind, there happened the frightful thing which made every mouth mute and every eye fixed—he uttered a yell like a devil, and jumped over the other who was in his way. The latter, however, when he thus saw his rival triumph, lost at the same time his head and his footing on the rope; he threw his pole away, and shot downwards faster than it, like an eddy of arms and legs, into the depth. The market-place and the people were like the sea when the storm cometh on: they all flew apart and in disorder, especially where the body was about to fall.

Zarathustra, however, remained standing, and just beside him fell the body, badly injured and disfigured, but not yet dead. After a while consciousness returned to the shattered man, and he saw Zarathustra kneeling beside him. "What art thou doing there?" said he at last, "I knew long ago that the devil would trip me up. Now he draggeth me to hell: wilt thou prevent him?"

"On mine honour, my friend," answered Zarathustra, "there is nothing of all that whereof thou speakest: there is no devil and no hell. Thy soul will be dead even sooner than thy body: fear, therefore, nothing any more!"

The man looked up distrustfully. "If thou speakest the truth," said he, "I lose nothing when I lose my life. I am not much more than an animal which hath been taught to dance by blows and scanty fare."

"Not at all," said Zarathustra, "thou hast made danger thy calling; therein there is nothing contemptible. Now thou perishest by thy calling: therefore will I bury thee with mine own hands."

When Zarathustra had said this the dying one did not reply further; but he moved his hand as if he sought the hand of Zarathustra in gratitude.

7

Meanwhile the evening came on, and the market-place veiled itself in gloom. Then the people dispersed, for even curiosity and terror become fatigued. Zarathustra, however, still sat beside the dead man on the ground, absorbed in thought: so he forgot the time. But at last it became night, and a cold wind blew upon the lonely one. Then arose Zarathustra and said to his heart:

Verily, a fine catch of fish hath Zarathustra made to-day! It is not a man he hath caught, but a corpse.

Sombre is human life, and as yet without meaning: a buffoon may be fateful to it.

I want to teach men the sense of their existence, which is the Overman, the lightning out of the dark cloud—man.

But still am I far from them, and my sense speaketh not unto their sense. To men I am still something between a fool and a corpse.

Gloomy is the night, gloomy are the ways of Zarathustra. Come, thou cold and stiff companion! I carry thee to the place where I shall bury thee with mine own hands.

8

When Zarathustra had said this to his heart, he put the corpse upon his shoulders and set out on his way. Yet had he not gone a hundred steps, when there stole a man up to him and whispered in his ear—and lo! he that spake was the buffoon from the tower. "Leave this town, O Zarathustra," said he, "there are too many here who hate thee. The good

and just hate thee, and call thee their enemy and despiser; the believers in the orthodox belief hate thee, and call thee a danger to the multitude. It was thy good fortune to be laughed at: and verily thou spakest like a buffoon. It was thy good fortune to associate with the dead dog; by so humiliating thyself thou hast saved thy life today. Depart, however, from this town,—or tomorrow I shall jump over thee, a living man over a dead one.” And when he had said this, the buffoon vanished; Zarathustra, however, went on through the dark streets.

At the gate of the town the grave-diggers met him: they shone their torch on his face, and, recognising Zarathustra, they sorely derided him. “Zarathustra is carrying away the dead dog: a fine thing that Zarathustra hath turned a grave-digger! For our hands are too cleanly for that roast. Will Zarathustra steal the bite from the devil? Well then, good luck to the repast! If only the devil is not a better thief than Zarathustra!—he will steal them both, he will eat them both!” And they laughed among themselves, and put their heads together.

Zarathustra made no answer thereto, but went on his way. When he had gone on for two hours, past forests and swamps, he had heard too much of the hungry howling of the wolves, and he himself became hungry. So he halted at a lonely house in which a light was burning.

“Hunger attacketh me,” said Zarathustra, “like a robber. Among forests and swamps my hunger attacketh me, and late in the night.

“Strange humours hath my hunger. Often it cometh to me only after a repast, and all day it hath failed to come: where hath it been?”

And thereupon Zarathustra knocked at the door of the house. An old man appeared, who carried a light, and asked: “Who cometh unto me and my bad sleep?”

“A living man and a dead one,” said Zarathustra. “Give me something to eat and drink, I forgot it during the day. He that feedeth the hungry refresheth his own soul, saith wisdom.”

The old man withdrew, but came back immediately and offered Zarathustra bread and wine. “A bad country for the hungry,” said he; “that is why I live here. Animal and man come unto me, the anchorite. But bid thy companion eat and drink also, he is wearier than thou.” Zarathustra answered: “My companion is dead; I shall hardly be able to persuade him to eat.” “That doth not concern me,” said the old man sullenly; “he that knocketh at my door must take what I offer him. Eat, and fare ye well!”—

Thereafter Zarathustra again went on for two hours, trusting to the path and the light of the stars: for he was an experienced night-walker, and liked to look into the face of all that slept. When the morning dawned, however, Zarathustra found himself in a thick forest, and no path was any longer visible. He then put the dead man in a hollow tree at his head—for he wanted to protect him from the wolves—and laid himself down on the ground and moss. And immediately he fell asleep, tired in body, but with a tranquil soul.

9

Long slept Zarathustra; and not only the rosy dawn passed over his head, but also the morning. At last, however, his eyes opened, and amazedly he gazed into the forest and the stillness, amazedly he gazed into himself. Then he arose quickly, like a seafarer who all at once seeth the land; and he shouted for joy: for he saw a new truth. And he spake thus to his heart:

A light hath dawned upon me: I need companions—living ones; not dead companions and corpses, which I carry with me where I will.

But I need living companions, who will follow me because they want to follow themselves—and to the place where I will. A light hath dawned upon me. Not to the people is Zarathustra to speak, but to companions! Zarathustra shall not be the herd’s herdsman and hound!

To allure many from the herd—for that purpose have I come. The people and the herd must be angry with me: a robber shall Zarathustra be called by the herdsmen.

Herdsmen, I say, but they call themselves the good and just. Herdsmen, I say, but they call themselves the believers in the orthodox belief.

Behold the good and just! Whom do they hate most? Him who breaketh up their tables of values, the breaker, the lawbreaker:—he, however, is the creator.

Behold the believers of all beliefs! Whom do they hate most? Him who breaketh up their tables of values, the breaker, the law-breaker—he, however, is the creator.

Companions, the creator seeketh, not corpses—and not herds or believers either. Fellow-creators the creator seeketh—those who grave new values on new tables.

Companions, the creator seeketh, and fellow-reapers: for everything is ripe for the harvest with him. But he lacketh the hundred sickles: so he plucketh the ears of corn and is vexed.

Companions, the creator seeketh, and such as know how to whet their sickles. Destroyers, will they be called, and despisers of good and evil. But they are the reapers and rejoicers.

Fellow-creators, Zarathustra seeketh; fellow-reapers and fellow-rejoicers, Zarathustra seeketh: what hath he to do with herds and herdsmen and corpses!

And thou, my first companion, rest in peace! Well have I buried thee in thy hollow tree; well have I hid thee from the wolves.

But I part from thee; the time hath arrived. 'Twixt rosy dawn and rosy dawn there came unto me a new truth.

I am not to be a herdsman, I am not to be a grave-digger. Not any more will I discourse unto the people; for the last time have I spoken unto the dead.

With the creators, the reapers, and the rejoicers will I associate: the rainbow will I show them, and all the stairs to the Overman.

To the lone-dwellers will I sing my song, and to the twain-dwellers; and unto him who hath still ears for the unheard, will I make the heart heavy with my happiness.

I make for my goal, I follow my course; over the loitering and tardy will I leap. Thus let my on-going be their down-going!

10

This had Zarathustra said to his heart when the sun stood at noon-tide. Then he looked inquiringly aloft,—for he heard above him the sharp call of a bird. And behold! An eagle swept through the air in wide circles, and on it hung a serpent, not like a prey, but like a friend: for it kept itself coiled round the eagle's neck.

“They are mine animals,” said Zarathustra, and rejoiced in his heart.

“The proudest animal under the sun, and the wisest animal under the sun,— they have come out to reconnoitre.

They want to know whether Zarathustra still liveth. Verily, do I still live?

More dangerous have I found it among men than among animals; in dangerous paths goeth Zarathustra. Let mine animals lead me!

When Zarathustra had said this, he remembered the words of the saint in the forest. Then he sighed and spake thus to his heart:

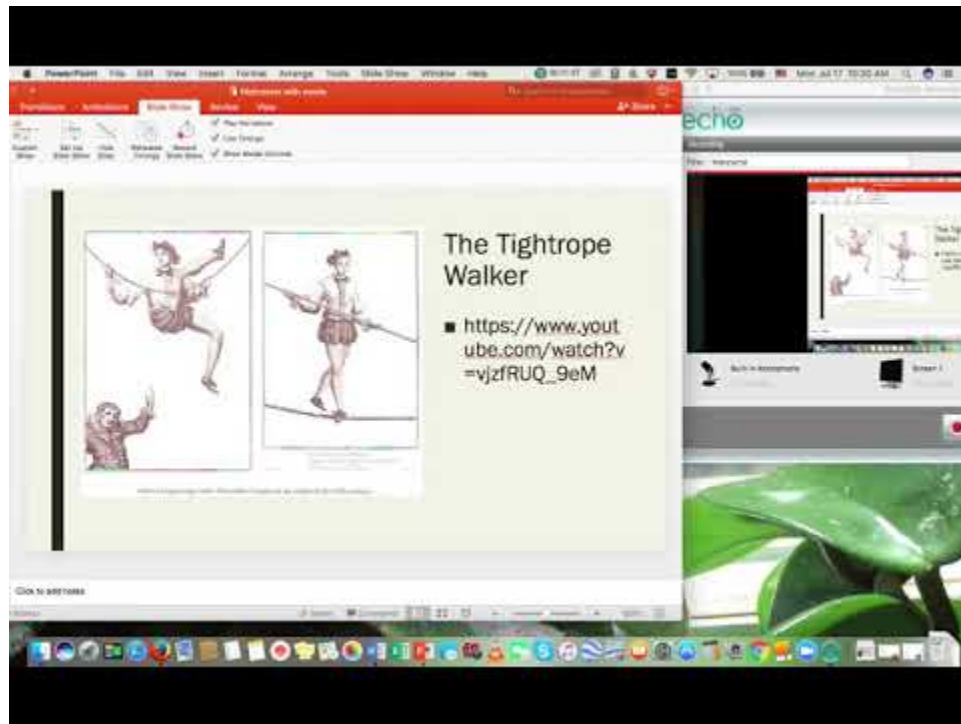
“Would that I were wiser! Would that I were wise from the very heart, like my serpent!

But I am asking the impossible. Therefore do I ask my pride to go always with my wisdom!

And if my wisdom should some day forsake me:—alas! it loveth to fly away!—may my pride then fly with my folly!”

Thus began Zarathustra's down-going.

Lecture: Death of the Western God, Friedrich Nietzsche



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialtheory/?p=1280>

Basic Definitions of Nietzsche's Main Concepts

Basic Definitions of Nietzsche's Main Concepts

God is dead: Death of the Western god, its meanings and values. By announcing the death of god, Nietzsche allows us to open our thinking to a diversity of new ideas, new ways of relating to each other, to the earth, and to People of Color, Non-Western people colonized by Western armies and Christianity

Perspectivism: Can be interpreted as “no set of values is superior to other set of values.” Perspectivism precedes the postmodern concept that truth is a social construction built through a multiplicity of perspectives in the context of complex power dynamics

Will to Power: Humans are driven to fulfill their own will, not by an aim at happiness or a survival instinct

Slave-Master: Humanity has changed for the worse. Greeks admired fierce masters. Christianity taught us to envision the meek sheep as a positive, to develop a slave mentality. Nietzsche calls us to overcome the slave/master dynamic, overcome both victimization and victimizing others, to be strong, free standing individuals in our communities. This is the ideal of the Overman (see definition below).

Overman: No other-worldliness, a body in this world, not a slave, not a master, a new person with new values to overcome nihilism after the death of [the Western] god, humans as a project, a constant struggle to overcome the flaccid, complacent, destruction of the environment and of the self, last man of modernity (Christianity), the weak sheep, who follow the herd. The concept of the overman is important for those who struggle for social change as they strive for a world without oppression.

Body: One body, against separation of soul and body, against the Cartesian idea that our mind is separate from our body. Strongly against the idea that we will transcend our bodies after death to ascend to heaven. We can achieve happiness on this earth.

Nietzsche Exercises

Nietzsche

Part One

1. Explain the tightrope metaphor. What are the two ends? What holds the tightrope together? What is the significance of this?

Part Two

1. Zarathustra walks down the mountain because he thinks he needs to communicate his recently acquired knowledge to others. What arguments can you make to support the notion that a person who has acquired a certain knowledge has an obligation to preach that truth to others? Do you know of any recent examples of people who got into trouble for speaking truth to power?

Part Three

1. The police are, according to Marx, part of the armed forces of the capitalist state. In his view, as well as in Kropotkin's, they protect property, the means of production, rather than people. We saw this clearly in the murder of George Floyd (GF), where the police killed a black man they were arresting following a call from a store clerk who claimed GF had paid for cigarettes with a counterfeit bill (fake money). For both Marx and Kropotkin, the police represent the interests of the bourgeois, the 1% that own means of production under capitalism by amassing wealth through the extraction of surplus value. George Floyd, a Black man, a worker, was murdered for the sake of the sanctity of money, a key element of the capitalist economy. As his brother asked "“Is that what a Black man is worth? Twenty dollars?”
https://www.democracynow.org/2020/6/11/philonise_floyd_capitol_hill
2. Taking into account Nietzsche's call to speak truth to power, what is the role of a white person regarding police brutality? Why do white people have to stand up towards police brutality against People of Color?

Part Four

1. How does Nietzsche's *God is Dead* connect with a non-Eurocentric perspective? Why is this important?

Part Five

1. Nietzsche is writing about a new consciousness or a new way of being, which he characterizes as the "overman," not a god, or animal, slave or master, the overman is the constant struggle of humanity to create moral values against nihilism, for better, stronger communities. In his view, Christianity has transformed us into weak sheep, who follow the herd. We are the last man, the flaccid man who self-indulges and cannot think independently. How does this new subjectivity, this overman fit into the conception of a new world -or society- in Marx's socialism and Kropotkin's anarcho-communism?

Part Six

Create a short presentation following the prompts below.

1. What would the world look like if there were no masters and no slaves?
2. How would we relate to each other?
3. How would institutions of political and social life be different?
4. How about personal relations? Family connections? The University?
5. Would this model be in agreement with Marx's or Kropotkin's notion of social organization? Find quotes from Nietzsche and other authors that help you support your claim.

Readings and Resources

Additional Reading and Resources

- Nietzsche, Frederick[1883]1966. “Prologue”. In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. New York: Penguin Books.
- [Friedrich Nietzsche](#) by Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy
- Advanced Reading: [Reading Theory: Nietzsche's Style](#) by FUCK THEORY

CHAPTER SIX - BLACK SELF-DETERMINATION AND SELF-DEFENSE



Malcolm X, March 1964

“Concerning nonviolence, it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks.”

Malcolm X

Media Attributions

- [Malcolm X in March 1964](#) © Ed Ford, World Telegram staff photographer is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Notes on Malcolm X

Malcolm X



Malcolm X, March 1964 by Ed Ford, World Telegram staff photographer.

Early Life

- Born to a family with 8 other children in Nebraska
- Malcolm's mother was a homemaker and his father was a Baptist minister and supporter of Marcus Garvey
- Father killed by White Supremacists, when Malcolm was very young
- Mother committed to a mental institution. The children were raised in different foster homes and orphanages

Young Adult

- Graduated from Junior High top of his class
- X had a dream of becoming a lawyer but a teacher told him it was "no realistic goal for a n--"
- Dropped out of school at age 15
 - Eventually became coordinator of several narcotics, prostitution and gambling rings
 - Sentenced in Boston to 10 years in jail on burglary charges—served 7 years

Jail Time

- Educated himself in jail
- His brother Reginald talked to him about Islam and the Nation of Islam (NOI)
- Elijah Muhammad believed in a nation-state for African-Americans
- Paroled in 1952, becomes a devoted follower of the NOI and changes his name to X

His Time with NOI

- Appointed Minister and National Spokesman
- Opened sections in Detroit, Michigan and Harlem
- Through his work, the organization grows from 500 members in 1952 to 30,000 in 1963
- Infiltrated and bugged by the FBI
- Marries Betty X and together they have six children (but twins born after his death)

Nation's Teachings

- Black people are the original people of the world
- White people are "devils"

- Blacks are superior to whites
- The end of the white race is imminent
- Complete separation of black people. US state as transition to definite return to Africa

Issues with NOI

- Chicken coming home to roost statement in response to JFK assassination
- Malcolm is suspended for 90 days – no public speeches
- Elijah Mohammad's sex life and illegitimate children
- Jealousy by NOI over Malcolm X's fame and media attraction

Post NOI

- Mosque, Inc.
- Organization of Afro-American Unity (Pan African)
- Forges more connections with civil rights activists (including MLK Jr.)
- The Ballot or the Bullet
- Sunni Muslim
- Pilgrimage to Mecca
- Islam as a way to overcome racism

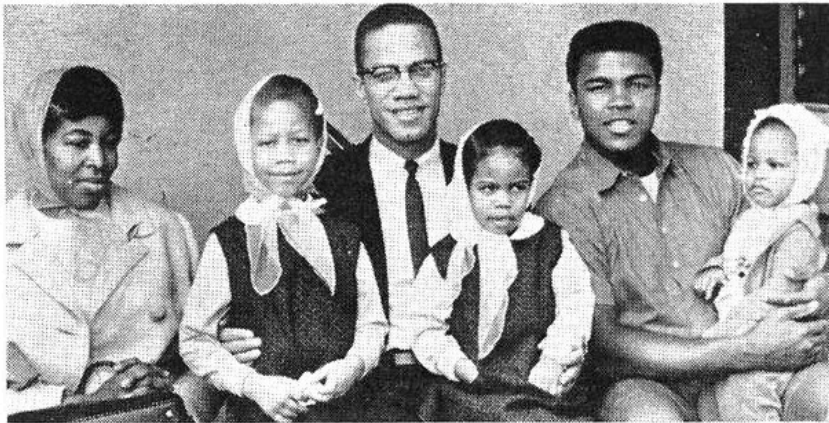
Appreciation Throughout Africa

- Malcolm X is invited to join governments of Egypt (Nasser), Algeria (Ben Bella), and Ghana (Kwame Nkrumah)

Malcolm X's Intellectual Changes

- After visiting Africa, he no longer thinks that white and black people cannot collaborate to end racism
- Envisions Islam as a way to end racism
- Sticks to the idea of "by whatever means necessary"

Death Threats and Attempts Against His Life



❏ **Clay's Guests:** Black Muslim spokesman Malcolm X (c) and his family visit Cassius Clay's training camp in Miami, Fla., during couple's sixth wedding anniversary. The family are: Mrs. Betty X, Attilah, Qubilah and Ilyasah. Clay attends Muslim meetings.

- Both Elijah Muhammad and Louis Farrakhan (Boston) made public threats against his life
- His house was burned, and another house was bombed
- When giving a speech at the Organization of Afro-American Unity in Manhattan's Audubon Ballroom, X was rushed and gunned down

Theories Around Who Assassinated Him

- FBI (COINTELPRO): John Ali, national secretary of the Nation of Islam, was identified as an undercover FBI agent. He exacerbated tensions with Muhammad
- Ali met with one of the convicted killers the night before the assassination

Malcolm X is Influential to Many Organizations, Namely The Black Panther Party

- 10,000 members and newspaper circulation of 250,000 (1969)
- Acquired celebrity status
- Free Breakfast for Children Program influenced by Maoist doctrine of serving the people
- Medical Clinics
- Free legal aids and bussing-to-prison programs
- Armed Citizen's Patrol
- BPP Ten Point Program: Land, Bread, Housing, Education, Clothing, Justice and Peace

[The Ballot or the Bullet](#)



Fred Hampton by Jacob Anikulapo



A protester participating in a Minnesota rally following the shooting and murder of Philando Castile by a St. Anthony Police officer.

Media Attributions

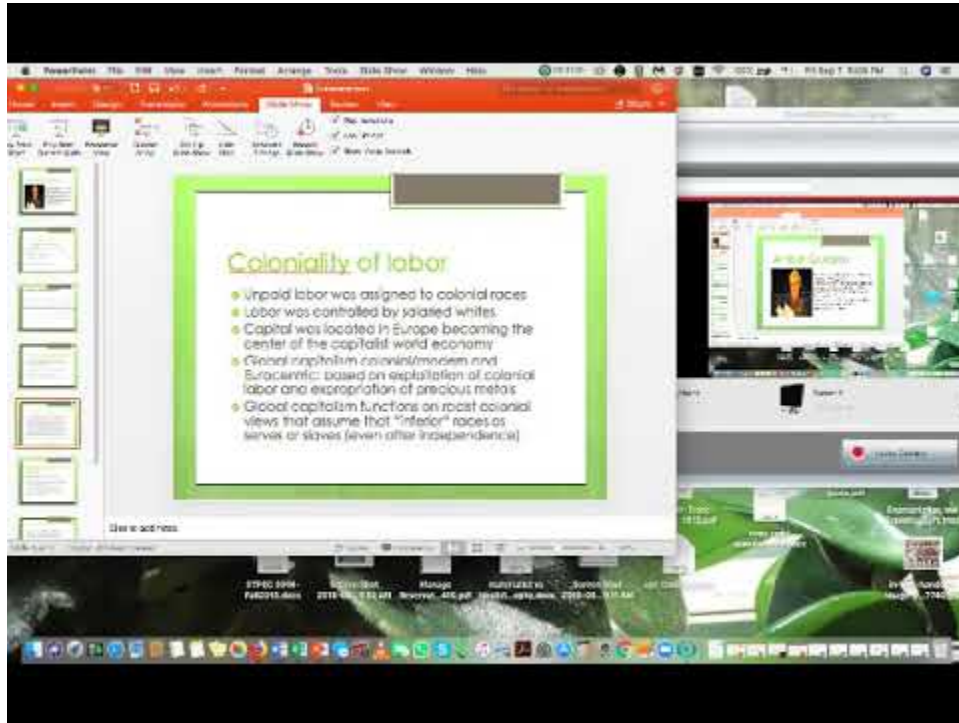
- [Malcolm X in March 1964](#) © Ed Ford, World Telegram staff photographer is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license
- [Malcolm X and Family Visit Cassius Clay at Training Camp – Jet Magazine, February 13, 1964](#) © [Vieilles Annonces](#) is licensed under a [CC BY-NC \(Attribution NonCommercial\)](#) license
- [Fred Hampton](#) © [Jacob Anikulapo](#) is licensed under a [CC BY-NC-SA \(Attribution NonCommercial ShareAlike\)](#) license
- [“Am I next?” – Justice for Philando Castile](#) © [Tony Webster](#) is licensed under a [CC BY-SA \(Attribution ShareAlike\)](#) license

The Ballot or the Bullet Speech



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialetheory/?p=1493>

Lecture: Black Self-Determination and Self-Defense, Malcolm X



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:

<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocalththeory/?p=1283>

The 10-Point Program of the Black Panther Party

The Black Panthers: Ten Point Program

1. We Want Freedom. We Want Power To Determine The Destiny Of Our Black Community.

We believe that Black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We Want Full Employment For Our People

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the White American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We Want An End To The Robbery By The Capitalists of Our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us, and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We Want Decent Housing Fit For The Shelter of Human Beings.

We believe that if the White Landlords will not give decent housing to our Black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We Want Education For Our People That Exposes The True Nature Of This Decadent American Society. We Want Education That Teaches Us Our True History And Our Role In The Present-Day Society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We Want All Black Men To Be Exempt From Military Service.

We believe that Black People should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the White racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We Want An Immediate End to Police Brutality And Murder of Black People.

We believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing Black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We Want Freedom For All Black Men Held In Federal, State, County and City Prisons and Jails.

We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We Want All Black People When Brought To Trial To Be Tried In Court By A Jury Of Their Peer Group Or People From Their Black Communities, As Defined By The Constitution Of The United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the

court will be forced to select a jury from the Black community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and are being, tried by all-White juries that have no understanding of the “average reasoning man” of the Black community.

10. We Want Land, Bread, Housing Education, Clothing, Justice And Peace.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect of the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whoever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the rights of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Malcolm X Exercises

Malcolm X

Part One: Elements of Liberalism, Marxism, or Anarchism in Malcolm X's Thinking

Supplemental reading: watch this video where Malcolm X talks about economics:



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocalththeory/?p=71>

1. Do you find elements of liberalism, Marxism, and/or Anarchism in this video?

Part Two: Elements of Violence and Self-Defense in Malcolm X's thinking

Watch this short interview of Malcolm X after he returns from Mecca:



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocietytheory/?p=71>

Excerpt from the full documentary film *Malcolm X* (1972). Perl, A. and Worth, M (Producers), & Perl, A. (Director). (1972). *Malcolm X* [Motion Picture]. United States: Warner Bros.

1. Kidnapped and enslaved, still living today under White Supremacy and police brutality, were Black people ever asked to sign the Social Contract?
2. Is X's call for the Black community to defend itself still valid today?
3. To answer the following questions, please listen, read and compare Malcolm X's speech below and the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party.



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocietytheory/?p=71>

Malcolm X interview on Self-Determination and Self-Defense

[1966 10 Point Program](#) put forth by the Black Panther Party (BPP)

1. Both Malcolm X and the BPP seem to believe that simply asking the government to respect Black people in the U.S will not be enough. Why do they think this and what do they advocate for instead?
2. In addition to arming themselves and policing the police, practices popularly associated with the BPP—the BPP established free breakfast programs, health clinics, daycare centers, and many other services for people in their communities. How can these community programs be seen as an extension of Malcolm X's philosophy of Black people protecting themselves?
3. Malcolm X says that “in areas of this country where the government has proven either its inability or its unwillingness to protect the lives and property of our people, then it's only fair to expect us to do whatever is necessary to protect ourselves.” Consider Ferguson, MO, 2014, where Mike Brown, an unarmed young Black man, was killed by a white police officer.



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocalththeory/?p=71>

4. Mike Brown's killing was not a unique situation, and we have seen similar incidents throughout the country in many other predominantly Black low income communities in the US today. Taking this situation of extreme police brutality against the Black community into account, explain the burning down of the Third Precinct of the Minneapolis Police Department in the context of the protests over the murder of George Floyd by the police in 2020. See below for a first hand account of the actions.
5. <https://crimethinc.com/2020/06/10/the-siege-of-the-third-precinct-in-minneapolis-an-account-and-analysis>

The Ten Point Program and Platform of the Black Student Unions

This Ten Point Program is clearly inspired by, and modeled after, the Black Panther Ten-Point Program and was published in *The Black Panther*, the party's official newspaper. This document attests to the influence and empowerment that spread throughout the black community from the work and presence of the Black Panther Party (see scan of original document below).

TEN POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.

We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of schools, the schools would become more functional.

8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgement or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the schools' authority.

9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.

We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice-principal, and white students that have no understanding of the “average reasoning man” of the Black Community.

10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms, pursuing invariable the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES

Ten Point Program of the Black Student Unions. (1969). 10 Point Program. Courtesy of UMass Amherst Special Collections and University Archives.

Media Attributions

- 10 Point Program and Platform of the Black Student Unions is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Readings and Resources

Readings and Resources

- The Ferguson Syllabus,

<http://bit.ly/FergusonSyllabus>

and

<https://sociologistsforjustice.org/ferguson-syllabus/>

- The Baltimore Syllabus https://docs.google.com/document/d/1B_oyOyu_tAwOVq5MY1oJL3orN6ps04O82JxWxnkGpho/edit#
- X, Malcolm. 1992 . February 1965: The Final Speeches. Steve Clark, ed. New York: Pathfinder Press.
- [Les Crane Interviews Malcolm X](#) (December 2, 1964)
- [Malcolm X](#) by New World Encyclopedia
- [Platform for the Movement for Black Lives](#)
- Newton, Huey. 1966. Black Panther Party Ten Point Program. <https://www.marxists.org/history/usa/workers/black-panthers/1966/10/15.htm>, January 18 2016.
- The Black Panthers, Vanguard of the Revolution, 1 hr 54 mins, 2015, available in Kanopi
- Whose Streets, An Unflinching Look into the Ferguson Uprising, 102 mins, 2017, available in Kanopi

CHAPTER SEVEN - LOVE AND EXECUTIONS



*Che Guevara in his iconic olive-green military garb
(June 2, 1959)*

“Let me say, at the risk of seeming ridiculous, that the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love”

– Ernesto Che Guevara

Media Attributions

- [Che Guevara in his trademark olive-green military fatigues, June 2, 1959 Cuba.](#) © Unknown is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Notes on The Cuban Revolution

The Cuban Revolution 1959

Background

- **1492:** Cuba is claimed by Spain, following Columbus' conquest
- **1526:** Import of Slaves
- **1868-78:** Wars of independence, truce
- **1886:** Slavery abolished
- **1895-98:** Jose Marti leads a second war of independence; US declares war on Spain.
- **May 19, 1895:** Marti dies in military action
- **1898:** US defeats Spain, Spain signs treaty ceding Cuba to the US

US Economic Interest in Cuba

- By **1860**, Cuba was devoted to growing sugar, having to import all other goods. Cuba was particularly dependent on the United States, which bought 82 percent of its sugar.
- In **1895**, American capital flows into Cuba, mostly sugar, tobacco and mining. Politically under Spanish control, dependent on US commerce
- **1902:** Cuba independent country, but Platt Amendment keeps the island under US protection and gives the US the right to intervene in Cuban affairs
- Cuba considered key to the Caribbean and continued commerce with the US
- US capital displaced local capital and almost 90 percent of the economy was in US hands, as was its commerce
- During Batista's dictatorship (**1933-59**), Cuba also becomes a brothel and gambling site for US citizens (The Godfather 2, Boardwalk Empire)

Failed Governments and Dictators

- **1912:** US forced return to Cuba to help put down protests against discrimination of black people
- **1933:** Machado overthrown in a coup led by Sergeant Fulgencio Batista
- **1953:** Fidel Castro leads an unsuccessful revolt against the Batista regime. Jail time and exile in Mexico
- **1956:** Castro lands in eastern Cuba from Mexico and takes to the Sierra Maestra mountains where, aided by Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Cienfuegos, Raul Castro, he wages a guerrilla war
- **1958:** The US withdraws military aid to Batista

Organization of Revolution

- **1954:** Ernesto "Che" Guevara arrives in Mexico City
- **1955:** Castro exiles to Mexico after being released from jail over the failed takeover of Moncada army barracks
- **1955:** Raul and Fidel are introduced to Guevara
- **1956:** Fidel, Raul, Guevara, Camilo Cienfuegos and 78 insurgents board their ship Granma

Voyage and Landing (1956)

- The Granma needed repairs that could not be completed due to safety issues
- The boat exceeded capacity by 60 people, leaked, and used up too much oil, one of them went overboard and had to be rescued, and other issues
- They arrived later than planned, to the wrong spot, and two days after popular attacks against federal buildings that was meant to distract authorities during their landing
- Spotted and attacked by Batista's army, out of the original 80 people, less than 20 made it to the Sierra Maestra

Ongoing Actions in the Jungle and Cities

- As the "barbudos" (bearded people) gain positions in the jungle, actions were taken by university students and unions
- **1957:** students unsuccessfully attack government
- **1957:** Cuban leader, Frank Pais, is killed by government while organizing Batista overthrow
- **1958:** Castro's Movement, 25 of July, organizes a fairly successful general strike
- **1959:** General strike opens Havana to the "barbudos" and to the women involved in the revolution

USA Involvement

- Not a socialist revolution at the beginning (treacherous bourgeoisie, Socialism and Man)
- **1961:** Bay of Pigs radicalizes Cubans
- CIA Assassination attempts
- Ongoing Embargo

Notes on Che Guevara

Ernesto “Che” Guevara 1928-1967



Che Guevara in his trademark olive-green military fatigues, June 2, 1959 Cuba. Author Unknown.

Early Life

- Born to an upper-middle class family of leftist leanings
- Had Asthma, but played rugby still. Attended medical school
- “Che” is fairly intellectual for a Latino (CIA report)
- In 1948, traveled Latin America in a motorcycle, further radicalized by what he sees
- Returns home and gets his Medical Doctor degree
- Arrives in Mexico in 1954, after resisting CIA-organized bloody coup against democratically elected Guatemalan President Arbenz

The Cuban Period

- Meets Raúl and Fidel Castro in 1955 in Mexico
- Joins the Granma expedition in 1956

Sierra Maestra

- Guevara, initially admitted because of his medical skills, soon becomes Commander of an insurgent column
- Beloved commander, he was also a ruthless executioner of informants, rapists, deserters and other who put the insurgency at risk
- Took the town of Santa Clara with numbers against him 10 to 1
- First Commander to enter Havana January 1959

Cuba and Beyond

- Serves under different capacities in the revolutionary government, including Minister of Finances
- Increasingly disillusioned with USSR, leaves Cuba in 1965 to help with Congo's insurrection. Inspired his writing, *Create Two, Three, Many Vietnams* (link in "Additional Reading and Writing section at end of Chapter)
- Arrives in La Paz, Bolivia in 1966
- Sets up a guerrilla in a bad location, following disagreements with Bolivian CP
- In 1967, Bolivian army execute Guevara at La Higuera (CIA and CP involvement)

Legacy

- "New Man"
- Guerrilla tactics
- Critique of Soviet Union
- Proletarian Internationalism
- World Revolution (*Create Two, Three, Many Vietnams*)

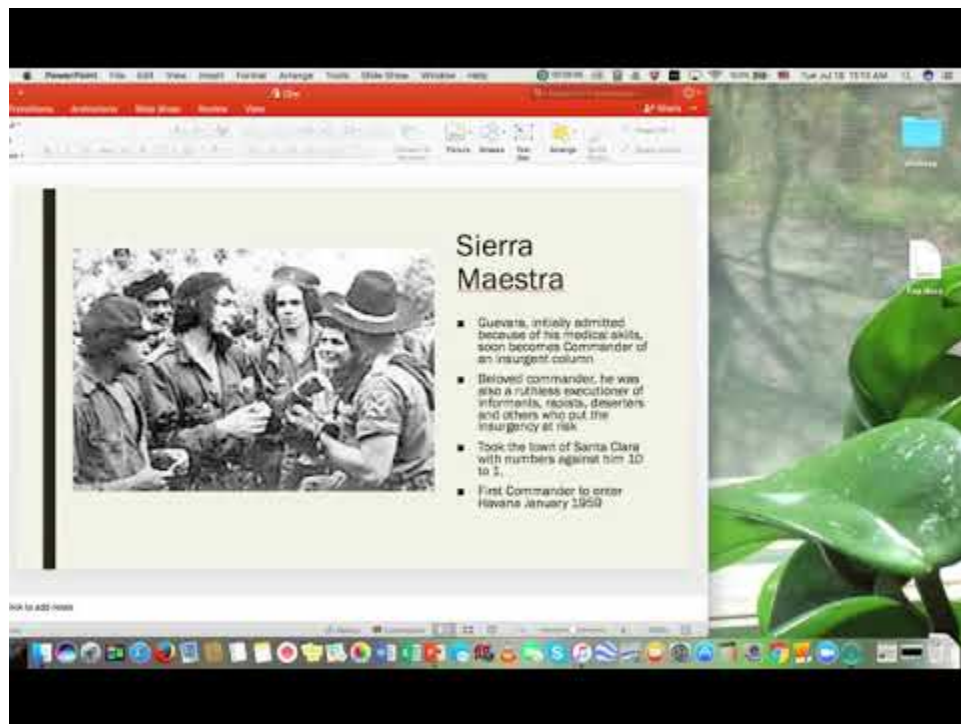
Main Concepts

- Alienation
- Surplus value
- Bourgeois Art as escape
- Vanguardism and Masses
- Egalitarianism
- Self-sacrifice

Media Attributions

- [Che Guevara in his trademark olive-green military fatigues, June 2, 1959 Cuba](#). © Unknown is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Lecture: Love and Guns, Che Guevara



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocalththeory/?p=1287>

Love and Guns (Che Guevara) Exercises

Love and Guns (Che Guevara)

Part One

1. Under “invisible laws of capitalism,” Guevara alludes to the law of value and the misery and depravity behind the rise of “one Rockefeller.” We interpret his text to reference Marx’s concept of “surplus value.”

After reading about surplus value, how do you explain Guevara’s text? And what are your thoughts on this?

Part Two

2. Guevara’s philosophy is materialist, as he follows Marx’s materialist philosophy. How does he connect a new material foundation of society with a new man and a new woman? How does art under socialism connect with materialism?

Part Three

3. We sometimes hear people in the U.S talk about how social change might never happen or might take a long time (longer than their lives).

“Direct propaganda is carried out by those entrusted with explaining the inevitability of class society, either through some theory of divine origin or a mechanical theory of natural law. This lulls the masses, since they see themselves as being oppressed by an evil against which it is impossible to struggle”.

Do you think Guevara might have a point? Explain how this might apply or not to the political situation in the United States.

Part Four

4. Guevara himself, and the Cuban Revolutionaries in general, were known for public execution of those who were (sometimes summarily) judged as counterrevolutionaries. In lieu of this fact, how to you explain this phrase:

“At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love”.

5. Is Guevara’s “New Man” a slave, a master, or Nietzsche’s “Over Man”? Explain why and use quotes from Guevara and Nietzsche to support your argument.

Readings and Resources

- [“Message to the Tricontinental”](#) by Ernesto Che Guevara
- [“Socialism and Man in Cuba”](#) by Ernesto Che Guevara
- [“Che Guevara”](#) by New World Encyclopedia

Che Guevara Basic Definitions of Main Concepts

Che Guevara

Vanguards and Masses. Guevara thought that an educated group of people should lead the masses out of capitalism. As a materialist (see Basic Definitions of Marxian Concepts) he understood that consciousness is a result of the way we produce our lives. The vanguard, who sacrifices for the masses, listens, and synchs to their needs, embodies the new person that will be born out of socialism. This vanguard educates the masses into getting rid of individualism and working toward the common good.

Imperialism. Guevara elaborated theory and a course of action to defeat the US imperialism in the Americas. He was ultimately captured, tortured, and executed in Bolivia by a CIA organized operation with the Bolivian military. The forces of imperialism put an end to his body, but galvanized millions of youth around the Americas who took up his struggle against imperialism in the late sixties and seventies. To stop this thread to US commercial interests abroad, the US government supported military coups throughout the region to put down governments and social movements that constituted a threat to US imperial interests. Masses of people were exterminated.

Class. Guevara, like Marx, was not concerned with differences among people who work for the means of production (what sociologists call lower/working, middle, or upper classes) but with the ownership of the means of production. Cuba expropriated the means of production from their bourgeois, they were not aiming at equality among different kinds of workers, but rather at not having corporations that, in their view, expropriate the workers surplus value and use it against them through government, laws, state agencies, etc.

CHAPTER EIGHT - FEMINISM IS FOR EVERYBODY



The Transfeminist Symbol

“Feminists are made, not born. One does not become an advocate of feminist politics simply by having the privilege of having been born female. Like all political positions one becomes a believer in fem politics through choice and action.”

– bell hooks, *Feminism is for Everybody*

Media Attributions

- [Transfeminist_clean](#) © Kaldari is licensed under a [Public Domain](#) license

Notes on bell hooks

bell hooks 1952-Present



"bell hooks at the New School discussing transgressive sexual practice" by Alex Lozupone (Tduk)

Early Life

- Born to a working class family in Hopkinsville, Kentucky
- Attended first racially segregated schools and later integrated. Wrote about difficulties to adapt to integrated schools: a "white" environment

Adult Life

- 1976 English professor and senior lecturer in Ethnic Studies at the University of Southern California
- Writes her name in lower keys to honor her



young bell hooks

grandmother (Bell Hooks) and emphasize importance of what is written, not the writer

- Taught at Yale, Oberlin, Berea and other universities
- PhD in 1983

What is Feminism?

- Feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression

What is Sexism?

- Sexism is both discrimination based on gender and the attitudes, stereotypes, and cultural elements that promote this discrimination
- “...all sexist thinking and action is the problem, whether those who perpetuate it are female or male, child or adult.” bell hooks

What is Patriarchy?

- Patriarchy is **one** form of social stratification via a power/dominance hierarchy- an ancient and ongoing social system **based on traditions of elitism (a ranking of inferiorities) and its privileges**
- Women-only households are not necessarily free of patriarchal values

Feminism is Not Against...

Men. It is against male-dominated processes.

A World of Equals

- A feminist revolution alone will not create such a world; we need to end racism, class elitism, and imperialism
- (also ableism, transphobia, body shaming, ageism, and other instances of oppression)

“Christian Values” Keep Women at Home, Consciousness- Raising Groups Did the Opposite

- Even as women are part of the working population, they are still envisioned as mothers and housewives
- Consciousness Raising Groups (CRG) served as spaces for reflection, mobilization, and coordination of feminist actions
- Anti-hierarchal spaces: all women’s voices needed to be heard, and planted the seeds for Women Studies programs
- As CRGs disappeared, feminism became increasingly liberal and white. Corporate feminism.

Power is a Relation That Traverses All Human Relations

- Hooks calls to overcome master/slave relations even within groups that live in a



People at the 2017 Women's March demanding respect for paid and unpaid care work disproportionately done by femme people.

situation of brutal oppression

Evolution of Feminism

- From anger at men, feminism moved to understand that male dominated process can be upheld by women as well. Focus on “gender justice”
- “Sisterhood” had to acknowledge that there were class and racial differences amongst women, and that some women oppressed other women
- White liberal women (almost) won gender equality in the workforce in a white supremacist environment: many women of color and revolutionary women think that women will not achieve equality under present white supremacist capitalist patriarchy
- Gradually, feminism lost its revolutionary edge: conservative and liberal feminists were content with their acquired freedoms, as their higher income allowed them to exploit other women to do “women’s” jobs

A Call for Alliances

- Sisterhood, acknowledging differences
- Intersectionality (not mentioned by name, but presented as implicit methodology)
- Men, White Women, everybody needs to be involved in raising all women’s status
- Move away from victimization to struggle with all and for all (Nietzsche)
- Against binary identity politics

Media Attributions

- [bell hooks at the New School discussing transgressive sexual practice](#) © Alex Lozupone (Tduk) is licensed under a [CC BY-SA \(Attribution ShareAlike\)](#) license
- [bell hooks](#) © Montikamoss is licensed under a [CC BY-SA \(Attribution ShareAlike\)](#) license
- [Women’s March](#) © [Alan Greig](#) is licensed under a [CC BY-NC-SA \(Attribution NonCommercial ShareAlike\)](#) license

Lecture: Feminism is for Everybody, bell hooks



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialetheory/?p=1289>

Trayvon Martin news video



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:

<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialtheory/?p=119>

"Jasmine Rand, Attorney for Trayvon Martin Family, Interviewed about Case on Democracy Now!" by Democracy Now!



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocalththeory/?p=119>

"bell hooks and Laverne Cox in a Public Dialogue at the New School" by The New School

bell hooks Exercises

bell hooks

Part One

Explain why men can be feminists and women can be sexist and uphold male domination.

Part Two

Hooks is very interested in media representations of womanhood/femininity, feminism, and patriarchy. Provide one contemporary media representation of these concepts and explain how the example you chose affects popular understandings of the concept which it represents.

Part Three

Read the following:

[The Black Feminist's Guide to the Racist Sh*t That Too Many White Feminists Say](#) by Maisha Z. Johnson

Cite at least four common phrases used by White feminists that offend or disempower Black feminists. Explain why these phrases, concepts, or ideas are indeed offensive.

Part Four

Read this short, early piece on the murder of Trayvon Martin. The article was written a month after his murder. Later, and after a lot of pressure and street protests, George Zimmerman was brought to trial only to be declared innocent under Florida's "stand your ground" laws.

[Walking While Black: The Killing of Trayvon Martin](#) by Amy Goodman

Read bell hook's text below and answer the questions that follow:

"White supremacy has taught him that all people of color are threats irrespective of their behavior. Capitalism has taught him that, at all costs, his property can and must be protected.

Patriarchy has taught him that his masculinity has to be proved by the willingness to conquer fear through aggression; that it would be unmanly to ask questions before taking action. Mass media then brings us the news of this in a newspeak manner that sounds almost jocular and celebratory, as though no tragedy has happened, as though the sacrifice of a young life was necessary to uphold property values and white patriarchal honor. Viewers are encouraged to feel sympathy for the white male homeowner who made a mistake. The fact that this mistake led to the violent death of an innocent young man does not register; the narrative is worded in a manner that encourages viewers to identify with the one who made the mistake by doing what we are led to feel we might all do to 'protect our property at all costs from any sense of perceived threat.' This is what the worship of death looks like."

hooks, bell. *All About Love: New Visions*. New York: William Morrow, 2000. Print.

1. Explain and evaluate hooks' argument as to how multiple systems of oppression -including capitalism, patriarchy, and masculinity- played a role in the murder of Trayvon Martin.
2. According to hooks, how does the media shape the way we think about what happens when a black person is killed by police and vigilantes? How could an alternative (feminist) media inform viewers differently?
3. Present the information in some interesting form such as Powerpoint, short video, poetry, spoken word or something else.

bell hooks Takeaway

bell hooks

- Emphasizing capitalism at the root of sexism, racism, and other forms of oppression, bell hooks tackled all axes of oppression/resistance under her call for feminism.
- White Supremacist Capitalist Patriarchy is not rooted in our bodies or genetics, it is rather the result of racist social practices inherent to capitalism.
- A feminist revolution alone will not create such a world; we need to end racism, class elitism, and imperialism
- Hooks calls to overcome master/slave relations even within groups that live in a situation of brutal oppression
- Men, White Women, everybody needs to be involved in raising all women's status
- Move away from victimization to struggle with all and for all (Nietzsche)
- Stands against binary identity politics

Readings and Resources

Readings and Resources

- hooks, bell. 2000. *Feminism is for Everybody*. Cambridge: South End Press.
- [The Black Feminist's Guide to the Racist Sh*t That Too Many White Feminists Say](#) by Maisha Z. Johnson

CHAPTER NINE - CULTURES, QUEERNESS, AND ETHNICITY



Gloria Anzaldúa

“Until I am free to write bilingually and to switch codes without having always to translate, while I still have to speak English or Spanish when I would rather speak Spanglish, and as long as I have to accommodate the English speakers rather than having them accommodate me, my tongue will be illegitimate. I will no longer be made to feel ashamed of existing. I will have my voice: Indian, Spanish, white. I will have my serpent’s tongue – my woman’s voice, my sexual voice, my poet’s voice. I will overcome the tradition of silence.”

-Gloria Anzaldúa

Media Attributions

- [Gloria Anzaldúa](#) © [K. Kendall](#) is licensed under a [CC BY \(Attribution\)](#) license

Notes on Gloria Anzaldúa



"Gloria Anzaldúa" by K. Kendall

Gloria Anzaldúa 1942-2004

Life

- Born to a ranch owner in Texas, worked the fields throughout high school
- Indigenous, Basque and Spanish descent
- Endocrinology issues led to menstruate at a few months old and to an early hysterectomy- "I was born queer"
- B.A in English, Art, and Secondary Education from Pan American University
- M.A. in English and Education from the University of Texas at Austin

Professional Career

- Non-tenure track positions at San Francisco State University, the University of California, Santa Cruz and Florida Atlantic University
- Co-editor (with Cherrie Moraga) of *This Bridge Called My Back*
- National Endowment for the Arts Fiction Award 1991
- Post-humously awarded PhD from UC Santa Cruz 2005

Theoretical Contributions: New Mestiza

- **Borderland** subjectivity/ **Nepantilism**: torn between ways – mental state of the mestiza who speaks multiple tongues and is the result of multiple ethnicities
- **Divergent Thinking**: Challenges Western binary thinking
- Multiracial or **multiethnic**
- Believes in, embraces and promotes **multisexuality** – professes her love freely
- **Queerness** connected with Mestiza and Indigenous soul
- Counterstance is step toward liberation, but not a way of life. Either **live in two shores or abandon "white" culture**

Death

Anzaldúa died at 62 from complications of diabetes.

The Border



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocietytheory/?p=256>

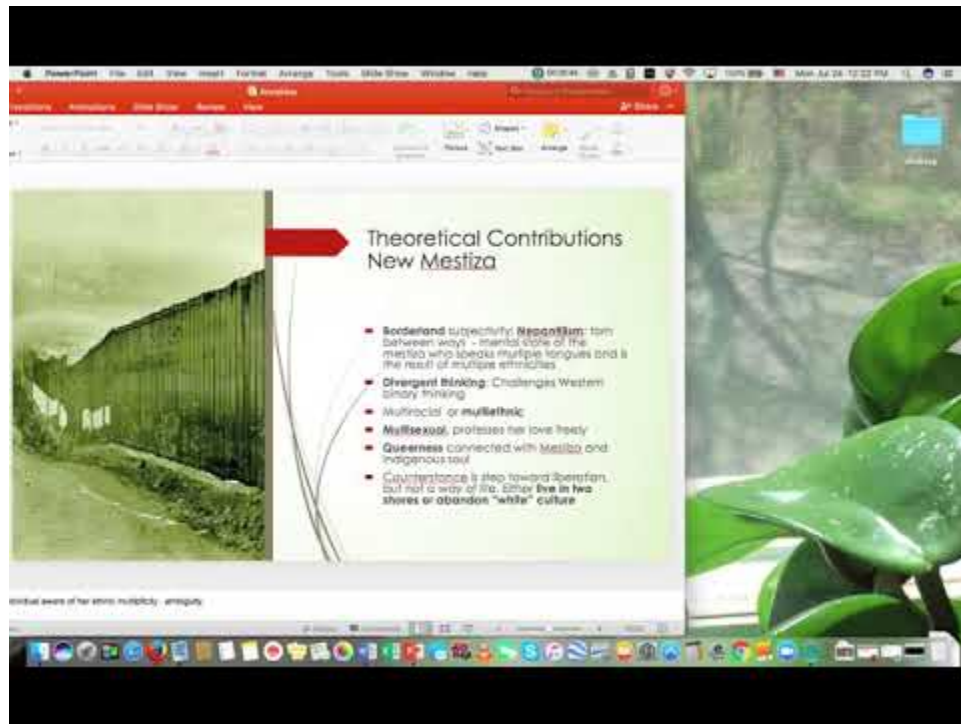
“Borderlands/La Frontera” by ThirdWorldThirdSpace https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c2jvSN_-JS4

Part Nine Video Lecture

Media Attributions

- [Gloria Anzaldúa](#) © [K. Kendall](#) is licensed under a [CC BY \(Attribution\)](#) license

Lecture: Cultures, Queerness, and Ethnicity, Gloria Anzaldúa



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialtheory/?p=1292>

La Conciencia de la Mestiza Exercises

La Conciencia de la Mestiza

Part One

1. Is the concept of Mestiza one of inclusion or exclusion? Read the first paragraph of “La Conciencia,” cite, and explain.
2. Why does Anzaldúa claim that defiance and/or counter stance “... is not a way of life” (423)? What does she argue for instead?

Part Two

1. Explain this passage: “A massive uprooting of dualistic thinking in the individual and collective consciousness is the beginning of a long struggle, but one that could, in our best hopes, bring us to the end of rape, of violence, or war” (424).
2. Why is Anzaldúa connecting dualistic (or binary) thinking with rape, violence, and war? Explain and cite from text.

Part Three

Why does Anzaldúa write in English while also using words in Spanish? Find two sections from the text where Anzaldúa writes in Spanish, then translate them using Google Translator or another translation engine. Explain what your process of going from one language to another was like. Why is she choosing to write those specific words in Spanish, while she writes others in English? Be prepared to present your response to the class.

Part Four

How does the “mestiza” create a new consciousness? Why does “rigidity mean death” for the mestiza and why does Anzaldúa emphasize the creative and dynamic character of this process? Refer to pages 423-424.

Part Five

On page 426-427 under Anzaldúa calls for alliance across axes of oppression/resistance (gender, sexuality, ethnicity and others). What are her demands? Do not miss her demands for reparations. Explain in detail and quote from text.

Gloria Anzaldua Takeaways

Gloria Anzaldua Key Takeaways

- Anzaldúa is not calling for all of us to “just get along”
- She wants Whites to acknowledge the pain and damage they have caused to BIPOC
- She calls for reparations.
- She does not want to assimilate to White culture. Instead, she strives for recognition that we are all “mixed race,” for everybody to respect her ethnicity, gender fluidity, and sexual orientation as a Mestiza and queer. She also wants reparations for the Mexican and indigenous lands lost to the US, as well as for abuses suffered through a long history of racism.
- Anzaldúa calls on White US people to understand and accept the Mestiza and calls on her own people to end discrimination based on sexual orientation. She is queer, that is, she emphasizes not only issues of sexuality, such as identifying as gay or lesbian, but embraces a sexuality that knows no boundaries (borders). Anzaldúa professed love for a tree (talk about a tree hugger!). Queer is different from LGBTQ. See the short explanation here. <https://www.zedbooks.net/blog/posts/lgbt-and-queer-whats-the-difference/>
- Anzaldúa’s philosophy echoes Nietzsche’s analysis of the slave/master dynamics. The slave is dominated by the master, but the master needs the slave to be a master. The slave is forced or lured into a power relation from which the slave can only exit by figuratively or physically killing the master, or by walking away from that relationship of power. Anzaldúa says that there are two ways in which Mestizas can move forward, either “live in two shores, that is the Mestiza way of living both in White and People of Color’s cultures) or abandon “white” culture,” that is, walk out of the slave-master dynamic.

Readings and Resources

Readings and Resources

- Anzaldúa, Gloria. 2006. La Conciencia de la Mestiza: Towards a new Consciousness. In *Theorizing Feminisms*. Elizabeth Hackett and Sally Haslanger, eds. Pp. 422-430. New York: Oxford University Press
- [Gloria Anzaldua](#) by the University of Minnesota
- [The Life and Work of Gloria Anzaldúa: An Intellectual Biography](#) by Elizabeth Ann Dahms, University of Kentucky.
- [Lecture: How to Tame a Wild Tongue](#) by Anthony Gonzales (video)

CHAPTER TEN - POSTMODERN, POSTCOLONIAL REVOLUTION



Members of the Zapatistas linking arms

“We are sorry for the inconvenience, but this is a revolution.”

– Subcomandante Marcos

Media Attributions

- [Filas zapatistas](#) © [Jerónimo Díaz](#) is licensed under a [CC BY-NC \(Attribution NonCommercial\)](#) license

Notes on the Zapatistas

Zapatista: Peace with Dignity and Respect

For Everybody, Everything For Us, Nothing

January 1, 1994

- After 10 years of organizing underground, the Zapatistas took over several towns in Chiapas,, including San Cristobal de Las Casas, Ocosingo, Las Margaritas, Huixtán, Oshuc, Rancho Nuevo, Altamirano and Chanal.
- They liberated prisoners and set fire to police station and army garrisons
- The insurrection was scheduled for January 1, 1994, the day that the NAFTA (free) trade agreements came into effect
- Sent emails to almost every progressive activist in the world. Key to avoid heavier repression

January 2-12, 1994

- The National Army moves in with helicopters and heavy artillery
- The Zapatistas retreat to the jungle and suffer heavy losses
- Liberation Theology Bishop, Samuel Ruiz, negotiates a cease fire
- Zapatistas retain liberated land

1995

- The army breaks the cease fire and attacks the Zapatista villages
- Villages were abandoned and people moved into the jungle
- Military could not seize main leaders
- EZLN intensifies international campaign and starts organizing Encuentros in the Jungle (PGA)

2000

- Zapatistas implement 32 autonomous zones within Chiapas, with no government support and some international NGO support
- Zapatistas write The 6th Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle, calling for a broad global coalition, to the left and from the ground up

Chiapas in Context

- Largest indigenous population in Mexico
- High rates of congenital malnutrition, and infant and adult mortality
- High rate of illiteracy

- Life expectancy in indigenous communities 44 years (vs. National Average of 70)
- 159 babies die over 1,000 in Chiapas (vs. Mexico: 45/1000)
- Half of the population malnourished, girls more affected

Autonomist Movements Not Aimed at State Power

- The state abandoned indigenous people. In return, indigenous people abandoned the state
- Indigenous people created autonomous communities through self-governance and popular participation
- Lead by Obeying
- Slave/master challenged. Perspectivism upheld (long decision-making process with the whole community)

First Postmodern, Postcolonial Revolution

- Marxism meets the “overperson” (Nietzsche)
- Indigenous people hold a community-oriented subjectivity (identity)
- Result of the symbiosis of indigenous cultures and Postcultural Marxist praxis
- Post-structural Marxism is about “overdetermination” and diversity (adaptation of Marx)
- A diversity of ways of being in the world

Liberation Theology

- Bartolomé de Las Casas
- Liberation Theology

Zapatistas, Solidarity and the Economy: Surplus Value Stays in the Community



A mural in a cooperative business and community space owned by the Zapatista community.

- Co-created the Anti-Corporate Globalization Movement
- Support of Western Activists against state repression
- Zapatista workshops outside of capitalist relations of production
- Support for the solidarity economy projects

Important Concepts

- Walking Questioning – answers reproduce power domination
- From the grass up and to the left
- Alliances with all oppressed by “bad government”

Women’s Revolutionary Law (1994) – Individual/Collective Tensions

- Women, regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation, have the right to participate in the revolutionary struggle in any way that their desire and capacity determine.
- Women have the right to work and receive a fair salary.
- Women have the right to decide the number of children they have and care for.
- Women have the right to participate in the matters of the community and hold office if they are free and democratically elected.
- Women and their children have the right to healthcare and nutrition.
- Women have the right to an education.
- Women have the right to choose their partner and are not obliged to enter into marriage.
- Women have the right to be free of violence from both relatives and strangers.



Mujeres Zapatista

Juntas of Good Government: Chiapas Today

- Members of the government belong to the indigenous communities, campesinos, who toil the land
- They rotate every two weeks
- Men and women are part of it
- Established to diminish the EZLN army's power and to better distribute and organize international aid
- They drink Coca-Cola (oh, no!)
- Still the object of aggressions by government agents and by paramilitary. A teacher was killed when defending a Zapatista school in 2014.



Translation: "Stop the aggression against the Zapatista community".

Part Eleven Video Lecture



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialetheory/?p=271>

“The Zapatista Uprising (20 Years Later)” by Vice.

Women Revolutionary Law

Seventh: Women have the right to choose their partner and are not obliged to enter into marriage.

Eighth: Women have the right to be free of violence from both relative and stranger. Rape and attempted rape will be severely punished.

Ninth: Women will be able to occupy positions of leadership in the

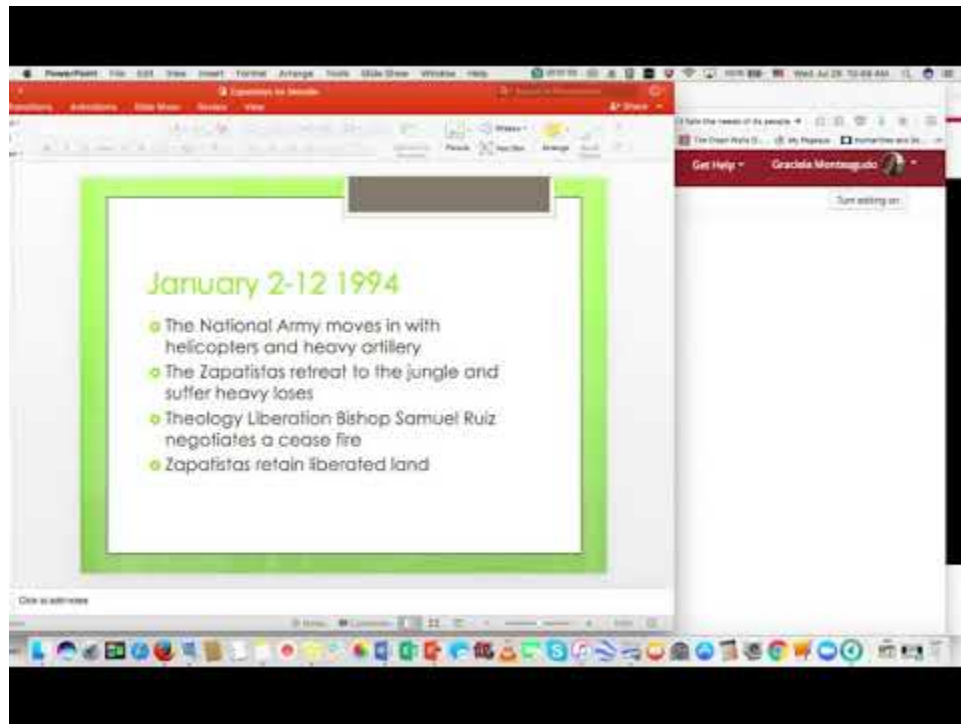
A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialetheory/?p=271>

“EZLN Women Revolutionary Law” by thalial

Media Attributions

- [Cooperativa zapatista](#) © Darij & Ana is licensed under a [CC BY \(Attribution\)](#) license
- [Mujeres Zapatista](#) © [Visual Research](#) is licensed under a [CC BY-NC \(Attribution NonCommercial\)](#) license
- [Alto a las agresiones contra las comunidades zapatistas](#) © [Centro de Medios Libres](#) is licensed under a [CC BY-NC \(Attribution NonCommercial\)](#) license

Lecture: Postmodern, Postcolonial Revolution, The Zapatistas



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocaltheory/?p=1295>

The Zapatistas Exercise

The Zapatistas

To answer the following questions, carefully assess the [Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle](#).

Part One

- a. What do the Zapatistas fight for?
- b. Why did they take over those towns?
- c. What compelled them to “set aside fire and [take] up the word”?
- d. How do they define “civil society”?
- e. Assess how their definition of whom they fight for translated into the fact that the government could not make them disappear.
- f. Explain the strategy behind the “Encuentros Intergalácticos”.
- g. “The Zapatistas are soldiers so that there will not be any soldiers.” Explain this in connection with the Juntas de Buen Gobierno (Good Government Juntas)
- h. How did they make “another world is possible” a reality?

Part Two

- a. Assess how their definition of whom they fight for translated into the fact that the government could not make them disappear.
- b. Compare “lead by obeying” to Che’s notion of vanguardism. See “Indigenous People and Autonomy” in the Additional Readings and Resources section of this chapter.

Part Three

“In other words, we are inviting the unregistered political and social organizations of the left, and those persons who lay claim to the left and who do not belong to registered political parties, to meet with us, at the

time, place, and manner in which we shall propose at the proper time, to organize a national campaign, visiting all possible corners of our Patria, in order to listen to and organize the world of our people. It is like a campaign, then, but very otherly, because it is not electoral.”

What is the connection between this passage and the Zapatistas’ autonomy? Why are they specifying unregistered political parties? What is the connection between political parties and state power? To respond to this, look at “Indigenous People and Autonomy” and Graciela’s encyclopedia entry “Autonomist Social Movements” in the Additional Reading and Resources section of this chapter.

Part Four

How do the Zapatistas define capitalism and neoliberalism?

Part Five

” We are inviting all indigenous, workers, campesinos, teachers, students, housewives, neighbors, small businesspersons, small shop owners, micro-businesspersons, pensioners, handicapped persons, religious men and women, scientists, artists, intellectuals, young persons, women, old persons, homosexuals and lesbians, boys and girls– to participate, whether individually or collectively, directly with the Zapatistas in this NATIONAL CAMPAIGN for building another way of doing politics, for a program of national struggle of the left, and for a new Constitution.”

What is your analysis of this call? Explain its importance and compare it to the organizing strategies of Kropotkin, Marx and Guevara, who call on the working class (proletariat) to defeat the bourgeois or corporations.

Part Six

With the failure of the American socio-economic system to sufficiently prepare and respond to the Coronavirus pandemic, tensions grew, culminating in an explosion after the murder of George Floyd. The US experienced a Black-led multi-racial working-class rebellion against racism and systemic oppression, which in some cities sedimented into autonomous spaces reclaimed from the state and capitalism. While both the Capital Hill Organized Protest (CHOP) autonomous zone in Seattle and the Occupation of New York’s City Hall (OCH) have already been evicted by the police, these movements have built on the Zapatista and other experiences, offering glimpses of a better world free of racism, classism, and patriarchal exploitation. Read the article below and cite the characteristics of CHOP aligned with Zapatista practices. Explain their connection to Kropotkin’s theory, especially his idea of the warehouse, as opposed to wages to cover human needs and desires.

<https://www.leftvoice.org/seattle-police-shut-down-chop>

Zapatistas Takeaways

Zapatistas

- The Zapatistas call on diverse groups of people from across the world to build a world where many worlds fit, including those who identify with diverse sexual orientations. Zapatistas call on those “to the left and from below,” a broad coalition of peasants, LGBTQIA, small business owners, the indigenous, and many others who suffer under bad governments. They would not exclude tree lovers (Anzaldúa).
- The Zapatistas engage in non-binary thinking when they practice “govern by obeying,” and “walking questioning.” This way of thinking is different from Vanguardism, that opposes proletariat ideology versus bourgeois ideology (binary and dialectic).
- Zapatistas support indigenous women within the Zapatista communities (Women Revolutionary Law). The women were oppressed by patriarchal structures imposed by the colonizer on the Mayan communities. The Zapatistas supported to become autonomous within their own communities.
- The Zapatistas ran their last electoral campaign with an indigenous woman as their candidate. They affirm their feminisms as a way to engage in a struggle to end class (in the Marxist sense, see Important Marxian Concepts), imperialism (as describe by the Che Guevara in Create One, Two, Three, Many Vietnams), and colonization.
- **Govern Obeying** An example of govern obeying, one of the rules of the Zapatista political philosophy of governance is that of the process that led to the creation and approval of the Women Revolutionary Law. Although initially not everybody agreed on the need to produce changes to the way women were allowed to live their lives, the leadership introduced the idea of women’s rights, and worked with the women to gain acceptance for that idea. That is the leadership part of the equation of govern obeying. There is a need for governance which the leaders take on, but not by imposing women’s rights on the communities but rather by working things out with the women so that the women are empowered to work on that change themselves. They support the women against oppressive patriarchal practices. In this way, they exert governance by obeying the empowered women. In contrast, Guevara’s vanguard knew what was best for the working class of Cuba and imposed that knowledge and the practices that derived from those knowledges through a dictatorship of the proletariat.
- **Zapatista subjectivity.** The Zapatistas’s subjectivity is not built around national pride for being Mexican. Instead, they uphold a complex subjectivity as they are Mayan descents (14 different ethnicities) that organize autonomously from the Mexican state. In fact, they have created their own territories within one of the biggest states of Mexico, Chiapas. They created this territory because they are conscious that the Mexican state has abandoned them. Their subjectivities are built around being indigenous of different backgrounds, and around the influence that they have experienced from a specific branch of the Catholic Church, and from the intellectuals, artists, and activists from around the world who support their communities and interact with them. These transformations were made possible by the encounter of indigenous people with organizers who had educated themselves in Marxism, Anarchism, Autonomism,

and other radical theories and practices for social change. It is from this complex, global and local interaction that the Zapatistas have built their autonomous subjectivities.

Readings and Resources

Additional Reading and Resources

- Marcos, Subcomandante and Žiga Vodovnik. 2004. *Ya basta!: Ten Years of the Zapatista Uprising*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.
- [Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle](#)
- Monteagudo, Graciela. 2012. Autonomist Social Movements. In *Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Globalization*, online
- [Why We Still Love the Zapatistas](#) by Leonidas Oikonomakis
Quick history and analysis of strengths. The article also answers critiques. Highly recommended reading
- [Zapatista Women Revolutionary Law](#) as published by the EZLN in the Mexican Awakener
- *Indigenous Peoples and Autonomy: Insights for a Global Age* edited by Mario Blaser, Ravi de Costa, Deborah McGregor, and William D. Coleman
Particularly interesting stuff on page 227, where the concepts of “lead by obeying” and “walking questioning” are addressed. Excerpt available on Google Books
- *Dissident Women Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas* edited by Shannon Speed, R. Aída Hernández Castillo, and Lynn M. Stephen
Particularly, Chapter two, titled “Indigenous Women and Zapatismo, New Horizons of Visibility”.
- [Monty Python Explains Occupy Wall Street in 3 Minutes](#)
- [Zapatista \(1/5\)](#) by Anarcho82Insurgent
Summarized as “A documentary about the Zapatista’s struggle in the Chiapas region of southern Mexico.” Good for context.

CHAPTER ELEVEN - ANGELA DAVIS



Media Attributions

- 8636336479_fle02cee2c_o

Black Feminism - Angela Davis

Lecture: Angela Davis



A YouTube element has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view it online here:
<http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocietytheory/?p=1735>

Angela Davis Exercises

- Exercises

- List some of the examples Davis cites of forceful sterilization of Black and Indigenous Women of Color (BIWOC).
- While DeGouges naturalizes procreation and the role of women in reproducing ourselves, Davis instead amasses evidence on how the state disposes of “non-desirable” bodies by forced sterilizations of BIWOC. Explain how it was racist of white women to not listen to BIWOC on the issue of reproductive rights. Explain the racism inherent in the situation and come up with concrete examples of anti-racist ways in which this issue could have been addressed

Text Assigned

The Historical Context: Racism, Birth Control and Reproductive Rights
Author(s): Angela Davis
Source: *Race, Poverty & the Environment*, Summer 1993, Vol. 4, No. 2, Special Issue: POPULATION & IMMIGRATION (Summer 1993), pp. 21-23

Published by: Reimagine!

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/41554117>

Notes on Angela Davis

Angela Davis

1944

Angela Davis is a philosopher, author, academic, activist, and a key public intellectual of the Black Power Movement. Her persecution at the hands of – and resistance to – US law enforcement and the FBI made her a global figure of anti-racist struggle. Davis since continued her work as an educator and a high-profile member of the Communist Party USA (CP). During her later career, she became a leading author and organizer in the prison abolition movement and is no longer involved with the CP.

Education

- PhD in Philosophy from Humboldt University, East Germany
- Studied with Herbert Marcuse at the Frankfurt School
- 1969: hired as acting Assistant Professor in the Philosophy department at UCLA
- 1991-2008 Professor and chair of Feminist Studies Department UC Santa Cruz

Persecution

- 1969-1970 fired at the urging of President Reagan by UCLA's Board of Regents. Officially, her firing was built on the justification of "inflammatory language" against police officers. Unofficially, she was fired for her membership in the CP USA and for her association with the Black Panther Party.
- In 1970, she was accused of and arrested for aggravated kidnapping and first-degree murder of a California judge.
- She fled jail expecting further repression and was later re-arrested, leading to a worldwide campaign for her freedom. The FBI placed her on the list of 10 most wanted fugitives.
- Davis was acquitted in 1972 and declared free of all charges in 1980.

Activism

- Member of the Che-Lumumba Club, the all-black branch of the CP USA and a major public intellectual supporting the Black Panther Party.

- Nominated in 1980 and 1984 as candidate for Vice President of the United States for the CP.
- Co-founded Critical Resistance (1997), an organization working to abolish the prison-industrial complex.

Critical Resistance

- Writes and conducts research to expose the continuity between contemporary mass incarceration and Jim Crow laws of racial apartheid.
- Emphasizes how violence underlies day to day life for Black people.

“Racism, Birth Control, and Reproductive Rights”

- Speaks to white second-wave feminists perpetuating white supremacist institutions, practices, and attitudes regarding reproduction, birth, and motherhood.
- Calls attention to widespread, systematic sterilization abuse in the U.S. against Black, indigenous, Puerto Rican, Chicana, and poor women. Racist public policies stigmatize, deride and declare these groups as undesirable and “unfit” for reproduction.
- Aggregates data to demonstrate the systematic (that is not accidental) nature of unwanted and uninformed mass sterilization, pointing to widespread use of “racist eugenic practices directed at brown and black bodies.”
- Declares that the denial of reproductive rights is genocidal violence.

The situation has not changed significantly since the time at which Davis was writing. Women in ICE detentions today are denouncing forced sterilizations. Today, women in ICE detention facilities have come forward with their own accounts of unwanted and uninformed sterilization. Although only a few have come forward, hundreds have likely been subject to these sterilizations. It is also true, for example, that when a Black woman in the US goes to give birth, the possibilities of the baby surviving the birth – if the doctor is black – are much, much higher than if the doctor is white. Infant mortality rates for Black babies, meanwhile, are high.

Type your textbox content here.

Type your textbox content
here.

CHAPTER TWELVE - FRANTZ FANON

Frantz Fanon



Media Attributions

- [frantz-fanon.detail](#)

Notes on Frantz Fanon

Franz Fanon
1925 – 1961

“It is not because the Indo-Chinese has discovered a culture of his own that he is in revolt. It is simply because it was in more than one way becoming impossible for him to breathe.” (Black Skin/White Masks)

Franz Fanon was the first person from a colonized country whose own, original social theories were subsequently accepted by and within the white, Western academy. Fanon’s ideas exposing and exploring the negative psychological effects of colonization pre-date and in many ways establish the basis for decolonial theory and the intersection of Marxism and post-colonial studies.

With Fanon, we witness a major shift in the perspective of cultural and social studies called **the post-colonial turn**. Until that point, the colonized subject was approached by European authors as an object of analysis and appeared within the European intellectual imagination primarily as a victim. Fanon, as the first post-colonial subject speaking in the Western academy, reflects *on his own position* and explores what it implies and means *for him*. Fanon was also highly influential over many of his contemporaries, including Jean-Paul Sartre, Marxism, Lacan, and Aimé Césaire. His political legacy includes Steven Biko in South Africa, Che Guevara in Cuba, the Black Panthers, and Paolo Freire.

Early life

- Born in 1925 on the Caribbean Island of Martinique, a former French colony.
- In high school, he studies with Aimé Césaire, a leading author of the Negritude and non-aligned movements.
- Leaves Martinique in 1943 to fight in the Second World War; studies psychiatry at the University of Leon, where he is exposed to Marxist and existentialist thinkers like Jean-Paul Sartre.
- Authored plays and political essays.
- Married a white Frenchwoman, writes about his position, in his own words as “a Black man fucking a white woman”.

Revolutionary Life

- Appointed head of the Psychiatry Department in Algeria, where he de-segregated the psychiatric wards and practiced socio-therapy to reconnect patients to their own cultural backgrounds.
- Practicing in Algeria, he witnessed the devastating mental health effects of police torture and violence for Arab people.
- Fanon realized that through this violence French colonizers tried to obliterate the humanity of the Algerians. You can physically remove the French colonizer from Algeria, but the colonizer remains inside you.
- Became an early supporter of the Algerian resistance, joined the [Front de Libération Nationale](#) (FLN) in 1954. He wrote books and pamphlets supporting the FLN and the revolutionary anti-colonial struggle.
- Appointed ambassador to Ghana by the Provisional Algerian Army. In this role, Fanon established a crucial Southern supply route for arms, a decisive advantage in the war effort.

Death in the United States

- Fanon fell ill with leukemia shortly after completing “The Wretched of the Earth”. He was transferred to the National Institute of Health (NIH) in Maryland, where he died shortly after his arrival.
- Fanon’s body was returned to Algeria, where he was buried with honors by the Algerian National Army of Liberation.
- Less than a year later, the FLN finally secured Algerian independence from the French.

The Algerian Revolution (1954-1957)

- Algeria was a French colony since 1834-1962. Today 90% of the population is Muslim.
- In the 1950s, they started a Guerrilla War through the FLN (National Liberation Front)
- In 1962, the FLN won independence, overcoming brutalities, torture, massacres and other atrocities at the hands of the French.
- The world-renowned film “The Battle of Algiers” recounts the events of the Algerian War of Independence in the capital city of Algiers.
- The Algerian government constituted an important part of the non-aligned movement, those who would not take sides in the Cold War, refusing to position themselves as client states of either the United States and the Soviet Union.
- In 1988, the Spring of Algiers ends single party rule. The government responds by massacring 300 citizens.
- In 1989, a new constitution is adopted, over 50 political parties are freed along with the press.
- In 1999, the Islamic Salvation Front wins the election, which is subsequently cancelled by the Army.
- From 1999-2009, the Algerian government is in a state of civil war with armed religious conservatives.
- From 2007 until present, religious conservative armed groups remain active in public life.

The trajectory from the Algerian Revolution to the development of an oppressive regime raises important questions about the power, state violence, post-colonization, racism, and the nature of revolution itself. How is it that many revolutionary movements in the Third World – so full of the promise and hope of liberation for people oppressed by western powers – become oppressive regimes themselves?

Part of the answer lies in the huge economic problems created by the economic isolation of non-aligned countries by both the USA and Soviet Union. Instead of allowing for decentralized, autonomous economic activities such as at the neighborhood level, non-aligned governments chose to centralize and consolidate power.

Black Skin / White Masks

In “Black Skin/White Masks,” Fanon develops a psychoanalytic paradigm to explain the consequences of colonialism and racialized subjectivity, also using elements of Marxism, existentialism, and phenomenology. The main thesis is that white cultural values get “under the skin”. As the Black man incorporates cultural values that are not his own (in Fanon’s language), he is alienated from himself. “Black” in this case encompasses not merely one’s appearance, but also one’s language and speech. Being Black, or being a person of color, including your speech, affects how people view and understand you, your intelligence, your subjectivity, and your status as a human being in the world.

“Black Skin/White Masks” becomes a central text in contemporary postcolonial studies. Feminists have criticized Fanon’s analysis for painting a simplistic and vilifying portrait of Black and colonized women complicit in colonization, failing to account for colonized women’s agency.

Main Concept: A New Humanism

Fanon advances “humanism” redefined as the end of the white, male subject. Humanism, the idea that we are all one people and that all human beings are equal, is a central concept in liberalism and thus ends up embedded in colonialism.

Historically, humanism has been used to colonize people of color, reinforcing the colonial supposition that certain people are unable to achieve a fuller humanity because they are weighed down by backward culture, religions, and so forth.

Fanon calls for a “new humanism” predicated upon a formal repudiation of the degraded European form, as European humanists “never stop talking of man yet massacres him at every one of its street corners, at every corner of the World” (The Wretched of the Earth). Fanon’s call, in other words, is to humanize humanism. In “The Wretched of the Earth”, he writes:

“I am a man, and in this sense the Peloponnesian War is as much mine as the invention of the compass. Face to face with the white man, the Negro has a past to legitimate, a vengeance to exact; face to face with the Negro, the contemporary white man feels the need to recall the times of cannibalism.” (225)

When the Black man looks at the white man, he feels the need to take revenge over the fact that this white man views him as a cannibal. He also writes:

“I find myself suddenly in the world and I recognize that I have one right alone: that of demanding human behavior from the other” (229)

“I am not the slave of the Slavery that dehumanized my ancestors.” (230)

“The Negro is not. Any more than the white man” (231)

Nowadays, Fanon’s project has been replaced by the acknowledgement that our social positionality and embodied experiences – as being Black, white, a woman, queer, etc. – are inextricable from our interactions with others.

Gayatri Spivak writes that there is an affinity between the imperialist subject – the person of color presented as needy, in need of colonization – and the subject of humanism. That Black subject, lacking in humanity, and the subject in need of enlightenment to humanism, are one in the same.

Main Concept: Racism

Fanon defines racism a way to establish who is human and not-human and therefore reproduce structures of domination that are useful for imperialist practices. Postcolonial scholar Ramon Grosfoguel describes this conception in the following way:

“Racism is a global hierarchy of superiority and inferiority over the line of what is human, that has been politically produced and reproduced as a structure of domination over centuries by the imperialist, Eurocentric, Christian-centric, capitalist, patriarchal, modern colonial system.”

In other words, Fanon’s take on racism is open and allows for different expressions of racism, including expressions

based not only on skin color, but on language, culture, and religion. For example, if we bomb Iran and say that we are bombing them because they are such brutal criminals, that their only interest is to hurt white American people because white Americans are free – that's a way of coding racism. The implication is that we must kill human beings to preserve the more-human humans: white Americans. It is also using Eurocentrism by using European experiences and values to measure and judge others, rather than their own.

For Fanon, racism is the way all of this achieved. Capitalism is only able to develop in Europe because of the resources stolen through massacres, famines, and wars from people living in colonized places.

Main Concept: Zones of being and non-being

"There is a zone of non-being, an extraordinarily sterile and arid region, an utterly naked declivity where an authentic upheaval can be born." (8)

Subjects located above the human line live in what Fanon calls the "being zone". Meanwhile, subjects that considered below this line live in the zone of non-being.

From this division of being and nonbeing, one can understand that, for example, gender or sexual oppressions are lived differently in two zones. We can talk about, being white, but also white women. Both zones are non-homogeneous and stratified (Grosfoguel).

Language as a tool of colonization

There is a hierarchy of languages. The Black person speaks an "inferior" French, called Creole, which is denied the respect of designation as a distinct language.

"A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language." (18)

In a world where a dialect is considered the mere variation of a central, standard and correct "language", Black speech variations like Creole are portrayed as "dialects", rather as authentic languages, which "express and imply" worlds of their own.

Hierarchies also exist through language. White people assume a Creole or "dialect"-speaking, or non-native speaker are simple-minded because they don't have the same skills in the particular language of the colonizer. For example, Native American children being forced not to speak their language in the schools which were designed to kill the "indian" in them. In the Antilles, "The language spoken officially is French; teachers keep a close watch over the children to make sure they do not use Creole." (228)

Main Concept: Alienation

Pursues a different conception of alienation than Marx, explores racism as a factor of alienation. For the extremely oppressed, life itself is struggle. Regardless of whether that fight is successful or not, by fighting itself, you reaffirm your life and existence.

"I do not carry innocence to the point of believing that appeals to reason or to respect for human dignity can alter reality. For the Negro who works on a sugar plantation in Le Robert, there is only one solution: to fight. He will embark on this struggle and he will pursue it, not as the result of a Marxist or idealistic analysis but quite simply because he cannot conceive of life otherwise than in the form of a battle against exploitation, misery, and hunger."

“The Black man wants to be like the white man. For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white. Long ago, the black man admitted the unarguable superiority of the white man, and all his efforts are aimed at achieving a white existence.” (228)

The only way this problem can be eliminated is by destroying the white man, that is destroying the designations of “black” and “white” and moving toward a new humanism.

Videolecture: Frantz Fanon

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TA0D95HBWJM>

Frantz Fanon Exercises

Exercises

- How has colonization affected Black people, according to Fanon?
- Why is, according to Fanon violence necessary to overthrow the colonial oppressor?
- What link can be established between the black skin/white mask concept, colonization, and violent revolt?
- Does colonial exploitation, torture, massacres and other repressive methodologies used against Black and Brown people justify their violent uprising? If so, why? If not, why not?
- Authors who agree with Fanon's analysis state that Blacks who descent from Africans who were brought to the US as slaves are a colonized population, who were never asked to sign the Social Contract. Rather, the contract was on them. Is there a connection between this process of colonization and the destruction of property that we saw this summer at the protests over racialized police brutality?

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: FINAL EXERCISES

Final Exercise #I: "The diverse"

The diverse

Throughout this semester, we have focused on the issue of social change and power. We have presented different ways in which people think we should organize for social change, and the consequences that these diverse ways of organizing have for people's everyday lives. We have looked at issues that connect the West with certain ways of thinking, and we have critiqued, also, how those ways of thinking impact the worlds that we create. In this exercise we are asking you to compare different strategies for social change and connect them with your own experiences.

Prompts for Final Exercise. Please address the three items.

- a. Make a connection between Anzaldúa, and the Zapatista 6th Declaration of the Lacandón Jungle with Nietzsche's notions of perspectivism, slave/master dynamics and the "overman".
- b. Explain what they have in common **using quotes** from the different texts provided in class. Explain these quotes.
- c. Explain how these ideas for social change connect with your life and your vision for a better world

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps.

- a. Re-read (enhanced) definitions of Nietzsche's concepts in Moodle
- b. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of Anzaldúa and the Zapatista's Sixth Declaration
- c. Watch (again) the Power Points for Anzaldúa, the Zapatistas, and Nietzsche
- d. Check out the many secondary sources, videos, suggested readings, websites, etc., for each of the authors/social movements above. Some of those might be of great help and inspiration
- e. Have an awesome discussion
- f. Make an **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below
- g. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number
- h. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #2: "Somos Una Gente: Sisterhood and Brotherhood"

Somos Una Gente: Sisterhood and Brotherhood

Introduction

Why and how do people get together for social change? What makes a sister a sister and a brother a brother? How have different thinkers and organizers assessed the potentials for unity and diversity? What do sisterhoods and brotherhoods look like in non-capitalist spaces for social change, as in the Zapatistas?

Prompts for exercise. Please address all items

- a. Compare bell hooks' discussion of sisterhood with Malcolm X's discussion of brotherhood. How are they similar, how are they different?
- b. How does each author deal with difference (race, class, gender, sexualorientation, etc.) within the context of a concept meant to unite (sisterhood & brotherhood)?
- c. How do their approaches relate to intersectionality and Anzaldua's call for the uprooting of binary thinking?
- d. Relate your analysis of sisterhood/brotherhood to the struggle of the Zapatistas and explain the strengths and limits of these concepts in contemporary struggles to affect radical social change.

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps

- a. Re-read PowerPoint "Malcolm X", Class 6, "bell hooks," Class 8, "Anzaldúa," Class 9, "Zapatistas," Class 10, in Moodle.
- b. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of "Self-Determination, Self-Defense," Class 6, "Feminism is for Everybody," Class 8, "La conciencia....," Class 9, "In Moodle.
- c. Read the "Zapatista Women Revolutionary Law" and "Indigenous Women and Zapatismo," Class 10 in Moodle.
- d. Look up terms in "Definitions of Sexuality and Gender," and in "Intersectionality 101," Class 8 in Moodle
- e. Have an awesome discussion

- f. Make an **eleven-minute** long presentation in any of the formats suggested below
- g. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number.
- h. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #3: *Contrasting Power Structures*

Contrasting Power Structures

Introduction

Throughout this semester, we have focused on the issue of social change and power. We have presented different ways in which people think we should organize for social change, and the consequences that these diverse ways of organizing have for people's everyday lives. We have looked at issues that connect the West with certain ways of thinking, and we have critiqued, also, how those ways of thinking impact the worlds that we create. In this exercise we are asking you to contrast these different ways of creating and sustaining power.

Prompts for Final Exercise. Please address all items.

- a. How is the Zapatista practice of “govern-obeying” different from Che Guevara’s “Vanguardism”?
- b. What were Che’s arguments for Vanguardism? How does he connect the need for “Vanguardism” to the relationship between Cuba and global capitalism?
- c. In the face of global capitalism, and other forms of oppression, what are the strengths and the limitations of each?
- d. How is “Vanguardism” connected with binary thinking? How is “govern-obeying” an example of Anzaldúa’s divergent thinking?
- e. How do these power structures connect with your ideas for social change?

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps.

- a. Re-read PPs on the history of Cuba.
- b. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of “Man and Socialism in Cuba” and the Sixth Declaration of Lacandón Jungle (II. –Where We Are Now)
- c. Watch (again) the PPs uploaded for Che, Anzaldúa, and the Zapatistas
- d. Look at secondary sources in Moodle for Che, Zapatistas and Anzaldúa
- e. Have an awesome discussion
- f. Make a **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below
- g. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number

- h. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #4: "Symbolism: Communicating Outside the Box"

Symbolism: Communicating Outside the Box

Introduction

Many of the thinkers we have read this semester have very radical ideas. Conceiving and communicating such ideas is often difficult precisely because they are so radical, i.e., outside the box. Symbolic devices like metaphor, simile, and allegory can be very useful when trying to communicate 'outside the box' ideas. In the texts we read, both Nietzsche and Anzaldúa use these devices often.

Prompts for Final Exercise. Please address all items

Choose three symbols (utilized in metaphor, simile, or allegory) that are common to both text. These can be general or specific. For each symbol find *at least* one passage from each text in which the author employs that symbol. You can choose from but are not limited to the following options:

- body or bodies of water
- light and darkness (shadow)
- serpent and eagle
- Earth/earth
- bridge or tightrope
- a sacrifice
- evolution
- food
- being lost
- underground; cave or pit
-

For each pair of passages,

- Identify and explain what idea each author is trying to communicate through the symbol.
- Explain how and why the device being used is either effective

or ineffective.

Compare the idease being communicated by Nietzsche and Anzaldúa.

- What are the strengths and limitations of symbolism in communicating revolutionary ideas, modes of thought, and ways of being? What other forms/devices of communication would (or do) lend themselves to such a process?
- Find an example of other forms/devices of communication that lend themselves to communicate radical ideas and share it as part of your presentation.

Steps to Create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps.

- a. Re-read PowerPoint “Nietzsche,” Moodle, Class5and “Anzaldúa,” class 9.
- b. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of “Thus Spoke...”and “La Conciencia...”
- c. Look up terms and concepts in “Main Concepts,”Class 5, “God is Dead!” in Moodle.
- d. Have an awesome discussion
- e. Make an **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below
- f. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number.
- g. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author’s concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #5: "Marxism, Feminism, and Black Liberation"

Marxism, Feminism, and Black Liberation

Introduction

Marxism, the political philosophy coined by Marx in the 1800s, had a powerful influence on many social movements, including the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party, also deriving inspiration from Malcolm X, put together a 10-point platform, with issues and proposals that still hold true today. While a strong manifesto highlighting the many problems that plague their community, the 10-point program did not specifically address the issue of Black women. The Black Lives Matter movement, on the other hand, has addressed these issues, as they address police and economic violence against their communities.

Prompts for exercise. Please address all items

- a. How does the Black Panther Party (BPP) adapt Marxism to the struggle for Black liberation in the U.S.? What does the BPP take (or not take) from Marx and what does it add and why?
- b. Drawing from hooks and the concept of intersectionality, explain how bell hooks would have enhanced the political platform of the BPP to include a feminist and/or queer analysis (which both Marx and the BPP lack).
- c. Related hooks' enhanced (feminist/queer) platform of the BPP to that of the Black Lives Matter Movement (BLM) Platform. How are they similar, how are they different?
- d. What are the theoretical and practical implications of hooks' analysis for the current movement for Black liberation in the U.S.?

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps

- a. Re-read Notes on "Marx," "bell hooks,"
- b. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of "The Communist Manifesto," and "Feminism is for Everybody,"
- c. Look up terms in "Basic Definitions of Marxist Terminology" – "Definitions of Sexuality and Gender,"

and in “Intersectionality 101.”

- d. Have an awesome discussion
- e. Make a **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below
- f. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number
- g. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author’s concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #6: "Creating and Becoming"

Creating and Becoming

Introduction

Several thinkers we have read this semester write about a new consciousness or a new way of being. Anzaldúa theorizes on alien/mestiza/borderlands consciousness, Guevara on the new man and the new woman, Nietzsche on the overman. As you define these concepts, explain how these new subjectivities (or identities) are created, that is to say, how do we become a mestiza consciousness, a new man/woman, or the overman? In doing so, make connections between these concepts and processes.

Prompts for exercise. Please address all items

- a. What qualifies these subjectivities as 'new' and what does each seek to overcome, transform, and/or metamorphose?
- b. Are these processes individual, collective, or both?
- c. How do they affect social change?
- d. How do these new subjectivities fit into conceptions of a 'new' world/society in Marx's socialism, Kropotkin's anarcho-communalism, and the Zapatistas' autonomism?
- e. Drawing from your analysis, explain your own vision for a new way of being.

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps

- a. Re-read PowerPoint "Marx," Moodle, Class 3, "Nietzsche," Class 5, "Ernesto 'Che' Guevara," Class 7, "bell hooks," Class 8, "Anzaldúa," Class 9, in Moodle.
- b. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of "The Communist Manifesto," Class 3, "Thus Spoke..." Class 5, "Socialism and Man," Class 7, "Feminism is for Everybody," Class 8, "La Conciencia..." in Moodle.
- c. Look up terms in "Basic Definitions of Marxist Terminology" –Class 3, "Main Concepts," Class 5, "Definitions of Sexuality and Gender," and in "Intersectionality 101," class 8 in Moodle
- d. Have an awesome discussion
- e. Make a **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below

- f. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number.
- g. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #7: "Feminisms"

Feminisms

Introduction

When we talk about feminisms with an “s” at the end, we are trying to convey the notion that there are many ways in which people have thought about issues that concern oppression of those who self-identify as women. In class, we have looked at the works of Olympe de Gouges, bell hooks, and Gloria Anzaldúa, three women who analyze this issue from different perspectives and with a different theoretical framework. In this exercise, we are asking that you compare, contrast, and connect the feminisms of Olympe de Gouges, bell hooks, and Gloria Anzaldúa.

Prompts for Final Exercise. Please address all items

- a. Find an example of liberalism in de Gouges.
- b. Explain why this is a liberal notion
- c. Explain how the feminism of hooks and/or Anzaldúa responds to such ideas/instances.
- d. How are their feminisms different from that of de Gouges? Find specific quotes to contrast their thinking.
- e. Relate the theoretical feminisms of bell and Anzaldúa to the practical feminisms of the Zapatistas.
- f. How do the Zapatistas' feminisms relate to “La conciencia de la mestiza” and hooks' call for consciousness-raising?
- g. What is specifically innovative, if anything, in the Zapatista's proposals and practices?
- h. Are there items in the Zapatista feminist practices that are specific to their situation? Why would specific issues and solutions be important for the Zapatista construction of a gender balanced society?

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps.

- a. Re-read PowerPoint “de Gouges,” “Anzaldúa,” “bell hooks,” and “Zapatistas,” and “bell hooks”
- b. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of “Feminism is for everybody,” “La Conciencia...,” “Rights of Woman,” “Indigenous Women and Zapatismo,” and “Zapatista Women Revolutionary Law.”
- c. Read “Indigenous Women and Zapatismo,”

- d. Look up terms and concepts in “Definitions of Gender and Sexuality,”
- e. Have an awesome discussion
- f. Make an **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below
- g. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number.
- h. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author’s concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #8: "Born in Chains: 'Freedom' in Liberalism and Marxism"

Born in Chains: 'Freedom' in Liberalism and Marxism

Introduction

Freedom has been and remains a powerful political ideal. Marx, Rousseau, and de Gouge, revolutionaries of their day, use 'freedom' in the argument for a new society. Examine the ways in which each writer utilizes 'freedom' in the assigned texts while paying attention to the context in which the word and ideal is deployed. After doing so address all of the following prompts/questions.

Prompts for Final Exercise. Please address all items.

- a. What does each writer believe freedom is **and** is not and what material circumstances does each believe are required to guarantee such 'freedom(s)'
- b. In *Rights of Woman*, de Gouge also speaks of 'freedom.' What does she believe 'freedom' is, and how does her conception relate to that of Rousseau and Marx? Do Rousseau or Marx speak about women in relation to 'freedom'? If so, provide an example and quote from the text and explain what it means.
- c. Having compared the 'freedoms' of Rousseau, Marx, and de Gouge, consider and explain how each relates to **either** the master-slave relation or the concept of morality (and/or the tightrope walker) in Nietzsche.
- d. How is the political ideal of 'freedom' used today? Provide some examples and relate them to your analysis.
- e. what does freedom mean to you and how does your conception of the ideal compare to that of the thinkers mentioned above?
- f. What implications does your conception of freedom have for current movements for social change?

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps.

- a. Re-read PowerPoints "Rousseau," class 1 in Moodle, Olympe de Gouges, Moodle, Class 2, "Marx," Moodle, Class 3, "Nietzsche," Moodle, Class 5

- b. Re-read "Short Intro to Liberalism" class 1 in Moodle
- c. Re-read "The Social Contract," class 1, in Moodle
- d. Re-read "Rights of Woman," class 1, in Moodle
- e. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of "The Communist Manifesto"
- f. Re-read "Basic Definitions of Marxist Terminology" –Class 3, "Workers of the World Unite!" in Moodle
- g. Re-read your underlined texts in "Thus Spoke..." in Moodle, Class 5
- h. Re-Read "Main Concepts," in Moodle, Class 5
- i. Have an awesome discussion
- j. Make an **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below
- k. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number.
- l. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #9: "Changing the History of Change"

Changing the History of Change

Introduction

Most of humanity has been living under capitalism for centuries now. Our subjectivities -or identities- have been formed through this mode of production for a long time. This long term engagement with a certain way of living and producing our lives leads us to believe that capitalism is the natural, expected consequence of humanity evolving from medieval ages with its kings and lords, to our modern world with elected presidents and elites that rule us. The concept that explains this process is "naturalization," that is, acceptance of capitalism and its way of life without questioning the origins of this formation.

Naturalization makes it difficult for us to understand that all social formations are historical, that is, they were different in the past, and they will probably be different in the future. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx fights against this naturalization process and attempts to demystify capitalism and its origins. We are often led to believe that capitalism developed naturally out of mercantilism and humanity's natural penchant for trade, but Marx argues that what separates social epochs is not a peaceful, gradual transition but rather a violent, revolutionary upheaval.

Prompts for Final Exercise. Please address all items.

Using the Manifesto and the "Basic Definitions of Marxist Terminology" on Moodle, examine and explain Marx's conception of history (historical materialism). In doing so, address all of the following prompts/questions:

- a. Using the following quote, explain how is Marx's conception of history (historical materialism) different from the conception of history which maintains historical change is driven by 'great ideas' (idealism)? How does this difference impact our way of understanding society?

"Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted in it, and the economic and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society, with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer

who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeois and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises, a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises, there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity – the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation, had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.”

- b. Explain how, historically, class struggle has factored into the change of different modes of production and such as ancient slavery, feudalism and capitalism. Explain also how each of these modes of production are distinct from one another. Use the Marxian concept of mode of production for this.
- c. In what ways was capitalism ‘revolutionary’ in Marx’s times? How and why have class antagonisms changed under capitalism, and what are the implication of such changes?
- d. Marx thinks that class struggle explains change and progress in history. In his view, change does not stem from ideas alone. Has examining Marx’s historical materialism changed the way you think about history and change? If so, how? If it has not change, why not?

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps.

- a. Re-read PowerPoint “Marx,” Moodle, Class 3.
- b. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of “The Communist Manifesto”
- c. Look up terms such as “class struggle,” “mode of production,” and other Marxist terms in “Basic Definitions of Marxist Terminology” –Class 3, “Workers of the World Unite!” in Moodle.
- d. Have an awesome discussion
- e. Make an **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below

- f. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number.
- g. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #10: "Future Feminisms"

Future Feminisms

Introduction

In *Feminism is for Everybody*, hooks writes,

“Imagine living in a world where there is no domination, where females and males are not alike or even always equal, but where a vision of mutuality is the ethos shaping our interaction. Imagine living in a world where we can all be who we are, a world of peace and possibility. Feminist revolution alone will not create such a world; we need to end racism, class elitism, imperialism. But it will make it possible for us to be fully self-actualized females and males able to create beloved community, to live together, realizing our dreams of freedom and justice, living the truth that we are all “created equal.”

Suppose that sometimes in the future a non-patriarchal society does exist. Drawing from de Gouges, hooks, Anzaldúa, and the Zapatistas, describe what you think we need to happen between now and then for this feminist future to exist. In doing so address all of the prompts/questions below.

Prompts for Final Exercise. Please address all items.

- a. What material and structural changes will need to occur?
- b. What changes in consciousness and subjectivity will need to occur?
- c. What role will men play in dismantling of patriarchy?
- d. What role will sexual orientation and non-binary gender identities play in the struggle for and achievement of gender liberation?
- e. What do you think the first steps are in the movement towards an anti-patriarchal society? In other words, what do we do today and what is to be done tomorrow?

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps.

- a. Re-read PowerPoint “Olympe de Gouges,” Class 2, “bell hooks,” Class 8, “Anzaldúa,” Class 9, “Zapatistas,” Class 10, in Moodle.
- b. Look at your notes and your underlined texts of “The rights of woman,” Class 2, “Feminism is for Everybody,” Class 8, “La conciencia....,” Class 9, “In Moodle.

- c. Read the “Zapatista Women Revolutionary Law” and “Indigenous Women and Zapatismo,” Class 10 in Moodle.
- d. Look up terms in ‘Definitions of Sexuality and Gender,’ and in “Intersectionality 101,” Class 8 in Moodle
- e. Have an awesome discussion
- f. Make an **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below
- g. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number.
- h. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author’s concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

Final Exercise #II: "Self-Defense, Automony, and Revolution"

Self-Defense, Automony, and Revolution

Introduction

Malcolm X's thoughts, strategies, and tactics, exerted a powerful influence over many people and political organizations, including the Black Panther Party. The same has been said of theorists such as Marx and Kropotkin. How did these diverse groups and theorists deal with the issue of self-defense, autonomy, and subjectivity (or identity)?

Prompts for Final Exercise. Please address all items

- a. Relate the politics of self-defense of the Black Panther Party and Malcolm X with the autonomism of the Zapatistas
- b. How do these two movements balance local self-defense and community autonomy with an inclusive worldview which situates their struggles within national and global struggles for a better world?
- c. Compare the ways in which these two movements use subjectivity (or identity) as a unifying concept.
- d. How do each of these movements relate to Marx and Kropotkin's visions for a new society? Did they implement any of their ideas? Was there anything in what they were or are doing that runs against their diverse philosophies?

Steps to create the Final Exercise. Please follow all of these steps.

- a. Re-read PowerPoints "Marx," "Kropotkin," "Malcolm X," "Zapatistas,"
- b. Re-read your underlined texts of "The Communist Manifesto"
- c. Re-read your underlined texts of "The Conquest of Bread,"
- d. Re-read your underlined texts of "Self-Determination and Self-Defense,"
- e. Re-read "The Black Panther Party 10 Point Program,"
- f. Re-read "Basic Definitions of Marxist Terminology"
- g. Have an awesome discussion

- h. Make a **eleven-minute long presentation** in any of the formats suggested below
- i. Title every submission and include teammates names. The title needs to include your table number.
- j. At the end of class today, please upload your notes, texts, PPs, Spoken Word written text, script for Skits, and notes, images and videos to the Final Project folder in Moodle. Everything needs to be titled (including table number) and include the names of teammates.

Possible Presentation Formats

Spoken Word, Skits, Video and image analysis, Power Point

Other creative formats might also be accepted, previous consultation with facilitators

Presentation Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence or examples, and a conclusion. We need to hear from all the students in your group.

Introduction

Thoroughly explain the concepts that will help you present your vision.

Body

Be creative! Here is where you can use pictures, videos, poems, spoken word, or other forms to illustrate, analyze, and share your thoughts. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Grading Rubric

Group Graded:					Total
	Beginning	Developing	Accomplished	Exemplary	
Quotes from text	No quotes used	Quotes with little analysis	Quotes with some analysis	Quotes with full analysis	
Clarity of ideas	Almost impossible to understand	Difficult to understand	Failry easy to understand	Clear and easy to understand	
Quality of Presentation	Poor use of resources, boring. Few students present	Some use of resources, somewhat boring. Some students present	Good use of resources, entertaining. Many students present	Great use of resources, impressive. Most to all students present	
Length of Presentation	Shorter 3 mins, longer 11 mins	Between 3-5 mins	Between 5-6	Between 6-11	

CHAPTER FOURTEEN - EXAMPLE FINAL EXAMS

Final Exam: Contrasting Power Structures

Introduction

Throughout this semester, we have focused on the issue of social change and power. We have presented different ways in which people think we should organize for social change, and the consequences that these diverse ways of organizing have for people's everyday lives. We have looked at issues that connect the West with certain ways of thinking, and we have critiqued, also, how those ways of thinking impact the worlds that we create. In this exercise we are asking you to contrast these different ways of creating and sustaining power.

The following prompts and questions should be used as steps to help you write a 4,000-word essay. Please make sure you address all of them.

- Read notes on the Cuban Revolution in this book and summarize the reasons that led Cubans to stage an armed insurrection against the dictator Batista.
- Listen to Prof. Monteagudo's lecture on Che Guevara: <https://youtu.be/eoFUUPuhLW8>
- Explain the concept of Vanguardism by reading "Che Guevara Basic Definitions of Main Concepts" in STPEC's book in Moodle.
- Listen to Prof. Monteagudo's lecture on Zapatistas: <https://youtu.be/SXHzMdSd9Tc>
- Read the definition of Govern-Obeying in Zapatista Takeaways in *Introduction to Radical Social Theory*, STPEC's book in Moodle
- Explain the Zapatista insurrection, the reasons behind it, that is, the living conditions of the population of Chiapas, its ethnic composition, and what they did to change their lives in 1994.
 - Explain how is the Zapatista practice of "govern-obeying" different from Che Guevara's "Vanguardism"?
 - What were Che's arguments for Vanguardism? How does he connect the need for "Vanguardism" to the relationship between Cuba and global capitalism?
 - In the face of global capitalism, and other forms of oppression, what are the strengths and the limitations of each?
 - How is "Vanguardism" connected with binary thinking? How is "govern-obeying" an example of Anzaldúa's divergent thinking? See *Gloria Anzaldua Takeaways* in STPEC's book.
 - How do these power structures connect with your ideas for social change?

Essay Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence, quotes, and examples, and a conclusion.

Introduction

Explain the concepts that will help you present your vision and tell us how you are going to prove your points.

Body

Explain your theories and examples clearly. Develop the ideas that you have introduced earlier. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas and use quotes appropriately. Quotes need to always be explained in your own words.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Final Exam: Creating and Becoming

Introduction

Several thinkers we have read this semester write about a new consciousness or a new way of being. Anzaldúa theorizes on alien/mestiza/borderlands consciousness, Guevara on the new man and the new woman, the Zapatistas created a whole new world where many worlds fit. As you define these concepts, explain how these new subjectivities (or identities) are created, that is to say, how do we become a new man/woman, how do we develop a Mestiza consciousness? In doing so, make connections between these concepts and processes.

The following prompts and questions should be used as steps to help you write a 4,000- word essay. Please make sure you address all of them.

- Explain the concept of mestiza in Anzaldua. See Gloria Anzaldua Takeaways in STPEC's book in Moodle
- Explain Che Guevara's concept of a new man and a new woman. See info on Che Guevara in STPEC's book in Moodle
- Explain the Zapatista's subjectivity, explained in STPEC's book in Moodle
- What qualifies these subjectivities as 'new' and what does each seek to overcome, transform, and/or metamorphosize?
- Are these processes individual, collective, or both?
- How do they affect social change?
- How do these new subjectivities fit into conceptions of a 'new' world/society in Guevara's socialism and the Zapatistas' autonomism?
- Drawing from your analysis, explain your own vision for a new way of being.

Essay Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence, quotes, and examples, and a conclusion.

Introduction

Explain the concepts that will help you present your vision and tell us how you are going to prove your points.

Body

Explain your theories and examples clearly. Develop the ideas that you have introduced earlier. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas and use quotes appropriately. Quotes need to always be explained in your own words.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

•

Final Exam: US Statues Coming Down

This summer has seen a number of racist statues coming down. How can we read this anti-racist movement? What is the importance of the public space and what does it mean to have our public space dominated by statues of important people from the past? In order to answer these questions, please think of this issue from the perspective of BIPOC who were either dispossessed and massacred by white colonizers, or who were brought to these lands through violence and slavery. Frantz Fanon describes colonialism by addressing the need that Black people have to behave, talk, and think as white people so as not to be punished. Malcolm X called for Black people to protect themselves by whatever means necessary. Is it possible to read the attacks on statues of racist White people from the past as an act of removing the public white mask that has been forced on all? Is it possible to read the destruction of these public symbols of an oppressive reality as an act of self-defense, as symbols perpetuate and re-create reality? To answer these questions, review some of the theories we have seen in class, and engage in an exhaustive search of the different statues that were brought down in the last few months.

The following prompts and questions should be used as steps to help you write a 4,000- word essay. Please make sure you address all of them.

- Explain the situation of Black people in the United States as a result of colonization. Use quotes from Fanon's *Black Skin/White Masks*
- Explain the conditions of oppression that Blacks experienced in the fifties and sixties
- Summarize the achievements of the Civil Rights movement
- <https://openstax.org/books/us-history/pages/29-3-the-civil-rights-movement-marches-on>
- Explain what has not changed for the Black population today, decades later and after the peaceful protests of the Civil Rights Movement
- Using quotes from Fanon's, Malcolm X, and the Black Panthers, and Angela Davis, make explicit the connection between colonization, slavery, and present-day capitalism.
- Do a google search to find the statues that were toppled. Who were they? Why did protesters target them?
- Are there any other statues that should come down?
- If you don't have drawing, painting, or sculpting abilities, please describe to us statues that you think should be placed in public and why
- Use quotes from texts assigned in class to justify your choices of people, events, ideas, or something entirely different that should be memorialized

Essay Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence, quotes, and examples, and a conclusion.

Introduction

Explain the concepts that will help you present your vision and tell us how you are going to prove your points.

Body

Explain your theories and examples clearly. Develop the ideas that you have introduced earlier. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas and use quotes appropriately. Quotes need to always be explained in your own words.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Final Exam: Black Feminisms, Reproductive Rights and the Women's Movement

Background

In class, we read Olympe De Gouges' Manifesto, where she calls out White European men, such as Jean Jacques Rousseau, for writing a Declaration of the Rights of Man that did not take into account the rights of woman. We also read a text by Angela Davis on the forced sterilization of Black women. Davis brings up this issue in connection with Second Wave Feminism, wondering if the young feminists of the seventies were aware of the blatant racism of their feminist predecessors. While First Wave White feminists had been complicit in the forced sterilization of Black women, Second Wave White Feminists refused to acknowledge the rights of Black women to reproduce themselves, emphasizing only the fight for abortion. Marx, Che Guevara, the Black Panthers understand the role of the state as protecting private property (means of production) rather than human life. This is different from the Social Contract theory that we all agreed to be part of the state. Marxists think workers in general, and Black workers in particular, were forced to be part of the state, that does not represent or protect them. The Combahee River Collective explained that Marxists were right in their critique of capitalism, but Black Lesbians have to build on his knowledge to account for their own experiences under capitalism. Write a 4,000-word essay explaining the connection between slavery, private property, the state as the protector of private property rather than human lives, and the forced sterilization of Black women, as unwanted bodies of color, in contemporary, post-slavery times in the US.

The following prompts and questions should be used as steps to help you write a 4,000- word essay. Please make sure you address all of them.

- Summarize the main points that Olympe de Gouges makes against the Social Contract.
- Read this online resource http://openbooks.library.umass.edu/radicalsocialtheory/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2022/02/Womens_Movement.pdf
- Based on your reading of the above, explain the achievements of Second Wave feminism in the United States.
- Read "The Combahee River Collective Statement." <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/combahee-river-collective-statement-1977/>
- This Boston based Black Lesbian organization has a critique of the feminist movement. Summarize that critique.
- Explain how colonization affected and affects Black people in the United States using quotes from Fanon's Black Skin/White Masks.
- Read this online resource https://go-gale-com.silk.library.umass.edu/ps/i.do?p=GVRL&u=mmln_w_umassamh&id=GALE%7CCX3045300345&v=2.1&it=r&sid=GVRL&asid=0680842b
- Explain the conditions of oppression that Black people experienced in the fifties and sixties
- Compare it to the conditions that Black people experience today, decades later and after the peaceful protests of the Civil Rights movement. Use quotes from Malcolm X and the Black Panthers to explain present conditions. Even though they referred to their situation, the conditions they describe have not significantly changed.
- Using quotes from Fanon's, Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, and Angela Davis make explicit the connection between colonization, slavery, Black women's bodies, and being a Black woman under capitalism.
- Provide concrete examples of forced sterilization of women of color in the US from Davis' text. How are their experiences different from those of white women, according to the text?
- Summarize all of your findings in your conclusion

Essay Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence, quotes, and examples, and a conclusion.

Introduction

Explain the concepts that will help you present your vision and tell us how you are going to prove your points.

Body

Explain your theories and examples clearly. Develop the ideas that you have introduced earlier. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas and use quotes appropriately. Quotes need to always be explained in your own words.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Final Exam: Marxism, Feminism, and Black Liberation

Introduction

Marxism, the political philosophy coined by Marx in the 1800s, had a powerful influence on many social movements, including the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party, also deriving inspiration from Malcolm X, put together a 10-point platform, with issues and proposals that still hold true today. While a strong manifesto highlighting the many problems that plague their community, the 10-point program did not specifically address the issue of Black women. The Black Lives Matter movement, on the other hand, has addressed these issues, as they addressed police and economic violence against their communities.

The following prompts and questions should be used as steps to help you write a 4,000- word essay. Please make sure you address all of them.

- Marx thought that all value in society is produced by workers, not by the bourgeois who own of the means of production (factories, Facebook, lands). See Marx's definition in STPEC's book in Moodle. In the Communist Manifesto, he did not, however, address the situation of Black populations throughout the world.
- Explain how workers produce all value in society, according to Marx.
- Summarize the 10 Point Program of the Black Panther Party
- How does the Black Panther Party (BPP) adapt Marxism to the struggle for Black liberation in the U.S.? What does the BPP take (or not take) from Marx and what does it add and why?
- Explain bell hooks concept of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy
- Drawing from hooks, explain how bell hooks would have enhanced the political platform of the BPP to include a feminist and/or queer analysis (which both Marx and the BPP's 10 Point Program lack).
- Relate hooks' *enhanced* (feminist/queer) platform of the BPP to that of the 2020 Policy Platform for Black Lives Matter Movement (BLM). <https://m4bl.org/policy-platforms/> (scroll down to see 2020 Platform)
- What are the theoretical and practical implications of hooks' analysis for the current movement for Black liberation in the U.S.?

Essay Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence, quotes, and examples, and a conclusion.

Introduction

Explain the concepts that will help you present your vision and tell us how you are going to prove your points.

Body

Explain your theories and examples clearly. Develop the ideas that you have introduced earlier. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas and use quotes appropriately. Quotes need to always be explained in your own words.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.

Final Exam: Somos Una Gente: Sisterhood and Brotherhood

Introduction

The United States has a history of violence against BIPOC, both domestically and abroad. The country was built through the massacre and displacement of Native Americans and with slave labor from people kidnapped in Africa. It was further economically developed through imperialism and colonialism. Taking into account that all of us who live here benefit, even if indirectly, from these practices, the issue of how to work together toward a better world can be a tricky one. bell hooks and Angela Davis think about racial and economic inequalities that divide whites from black people. Anzaldúa talks about the plight of the Mexican who lost part of their land to the US and are envisioned as foreigners in territories that they called home for centuries. How can people who have been at different ends of the stick get together for social change? What makes a sister a sister and a brother a brother? How have different thinkers and organizers assessed the potentials for unity and diversity? What should sisterhoods and brotherhoods look like in non-capitalist spaces for social change, as in the Zapatistas?

The following prompts and questions should be used as steps to help you write a 4,000- word essay. Please make sure you address all of them.

- Read Chapter 2 of The People's History of the United States, Drawing the Color Line
- <https://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/zinncolorline.html>
- Summarize the economic and social reasons that were solved by enslaving African people
- How does Angela Davis describe the different experiences that black and white woman have in the United States? Summarize her findings.
- Read Chapter 8 of the People's history of the US, We Take Nothing by Force, Thank god!
<https://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/zinntak8.html>
- Summarize how the US annexed Mexican territory. Name the states that were Mexican territory until the war.
- Read <https://m4bl.org/policy-platforms/reparations/>
- Explain why Black people want reparations
- Explain how Gloria Anzaldúa frames her call for unity. Quote her on her account of the need for reparations and acknowledgement of past harms before we can work together.
- How do Davis, Anzaldúa, and bell hooks deal with difference (race, class, gender, sexuality) within the context of a concept meant to unite (sisterhood) with white people?
- How do their approaches relate to intersectionality and Anzaldúa's call for the uprooting of binary thinking?
- Relate your analysis of sisterhood to your own vision of a better world

Essay Guidelines

Your presentation needs to have an introduction, a body where you draw your argument and present evidence, quotes, and examples, and a conclusion.

Introduction

Explain the concepts that will help you present your vision and tell us how you are going to prove your points.

Body

Explain your theories and examples clearly. Develop the ideas that you have introduced earlier. Remember to tie your examples with your author's concepts or ideas and use quotes appropriately. Quotes need to always be explained in your own words.

Conclusion

Bring it all together. Briefly recap concepts and examples or illustrations to explain how all of the above ties in with your life and vision for a better world.