



Faculty of Humanities, Law & Social Science

Department of Politics and Philosophy

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Anti-Capitalism:

ideas, objectives and methods of the new social movements



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ELECTIVE UNIT

ANTI-CAPITALISM

ideas, objectives and methods of the new social movements

LEVEL II POLITICS COURSE

Available to students on the following programmes:

BA Politics/Politics & Culture
BA Humanities & Social Studies
Combined Honours

CREDIT VALUE

20 credits at Level 2

TOPICS

- Modern critiques of capitalism
- The role of anarchist, socialist and communist ideas
- The origins of the movement
- The aspirations and concerns of the movement
- Anti-capitalist modes and methods of organisation
- The nature of the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO
- Arguments in defence of capitalism

LEARNING OUTCOMES

On successful completion of this unit students will have:

1. developed an understanding of the range and complexity of movements opposed to capitalism;
2. studied a range of contemporary and historical texts influential in new social movements hostile to capitalism
3. developed a critical understanding of the theories, assumptions and practices that have inspired and continue to inspire resistance to capitalism;
4. explored the meanings of the word 'capitalism' and the nature of the social relations and political arrangements to which it is applied;
5. developed a critical understanding of the depth and sophistication of arguments made by those who favour capitalism against its alternatives

ASSESSMENT

- Assessed Coursework:
a 1,500 word essay in the first term = 25%
a 1,500 word essay in the second term = 25%
- Examination:
2 hour *seen* examination = 50% of the assessment

INDICATIVE READING:

- ANARCHIST FEDERATION, *Beyond Resistance, A Revolutionary Manifesto*
- DAVID AARONOVITCH, *Voodoo Histories, The role of Conspiracy Theories in shaping modern history*
- MURRAY BOOKCHIN, *Anarchism, Marxism, and the Future of the Left: Interviews and Essays, 1993-1998*
- MURRAY BOOKCHIN, *Remaking society*
- VINCE CABLE, *The Storm, The World Economic Crisis & What It Means*
- NAOM CHOMSKY, *Hegemony or survival: America's quest for global dominance*
- JOSEPH CHOONARA, *Unravelling Capitalism, A Guide to Marxist Political Economy*
- PAUL COLLIER, *The Bottom Billion: why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it*
- MIKE DAVIS, *Planet of Slums*
- MILTON FRIEDMAN AND ROSE FRIEDMAN, *Free to Choose*
- SUSAN GEORGE, et al., *Anti-Capitalism: A Guide to the Movement*
- URI GORDON, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory*
- MICHAEL HARTD & ANTONIO NEGRI, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*
- FREIDRICH HAYEK, *The Road to Serfdom*
- NAOMI KLEIN, *No Logo: no space, no choice, no jobs*
- NAOMI KLEIN, *The Shock Doctrine, The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*
- PAUL MASON, *Live Working or Die Fighting, How the Working Class Went Global*
- LUDWIG VON MISES, *Socialism: an economic and sociological analysis*
- GEORGE SOROS, *George Soros On Globalization*
- HERNANDO DE SOTO, *The Mystery of Capital: Why capitalism triumphs in the West and fails everywhere else*
- BOAVENTURA DE SOUSA SANTOS, *The Rise of the Global Left: The World Social Forum and Beyond*
- JOSEPH STIGLITZ, *Globalization and its discontents*
- SIMON TORMEY, *Anti-Capitalism: A beginner's guide*
- DEREK WALL, *Babylon and Beyond: The Economics of Anti-Capitalist, Anti-Globalist and Radical Green Movements*
- THOMAS DE ZENGOTITA, *Mediated: How the Media Shape Your World*

READING & PREPARATION

Background reading: you should aim to read three or four of the above texts. However, in preparation for specific lectures and seminars you should study the following schedule carefully and do the reading indicated. If you experience any difficulty gaining access to any of these texts you should contact Don Milligan to ask for advice and assistance. Also, you should make a habit of exploring the Studies In Anti-Capitalism website at www.studiesinanti-capitalism.net for useful documents and links to relevant reading and audio-visual materials.

LECTURES AND READINGS

1. WHAT'S WRONG WITH CAPITALISM?

2. CAPITALISM: SELF-INTEREST AND SOCIETY

Reading:

Milton & Rose Friedman, *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement*, London Secker & Warburg. Read Chapters 1 & 2. [Print copies available from MMU Library]

Further Reading:

Adam Smith, 1776, *The Wealth of Nations*, London: Penguin, 1999.
Read Book I Chapters 1 to 4. [Print copies available from MMU Library and as an eBook from MMU Library NetLibrary collection, and online at the Adam Smith Institute at <http://www.adamsmith.org/smith/won-index.htm>] *NB:* The full title of this work is *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.

3. THE 'NEW LEFT' AND 'ANTI-CAPITALISM'

Reading:

'Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society', 1962, New York: SDS.
[Available online at Matrix Classes, The Center for Humane Arts, Letters, and Social Sciences Online, Michigan State University,
<http://coursesa.matrix.msu.edu/~hst306/documents/huron.html>]

Murray Bookchin, 'Listen Marxist', Anarchy Archives at Pitzer College, Claremont, California, http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/ANARCHIST_ARCHIVES/bookchin/listenm.html

4. FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

Reading:

Carlo Ruzza, 'Peace Movements', in *Democracy and Participation: Popular protest movements*, edited by Malcolm Todd and Gary Taylor, London: Merlin, 2004, pp.220-306.
[Available in print from MMU Library]

Margaret L. Laware, 'Circling the missiles and staining them red: feminist rhetorical invention and strategies of resistance at the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common', *NWSA Journal*, Fall 2004 v16 i3 p18(24), Indiana University Press. [Available at MMU Library, Electronic Journals, Expanded Academic ASAP]

5. LIVING IN THE FUTURE — RIGHT NOW! THE POLITICS OF LIFESTYLE

Reading:

David Chaney, 2002, *Lifestyles: Key Ideas*, London: Routledge.
Read Part I: Chapters 1, 2 and 3. [eBook from MMU Library the NetLibrary collection]

IMC UK Mission Statement, 2003, Indymedia United Kollektives. [Available online at <http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/static/mission.html>].

Nemo, 'The "Mental" Hospital Parties', 2005, Indymedia UK. [Available online at <http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/05/311194.html>]

Visit SpaceHijackers at: <http://www.spacehijackers.co.uk/html/welcome.html>.

6. MASS CONSUMPTION AND OPEN SOURCE DISSENT

Reading:

Naomi Klein, 2000, *No Logo, No Space, No Choice, No Jobs*, London: Flamingo (HarperCollins). Read Chapter 5: 'Patriarchy Gets Funky' [Print copies available from MMU Library]. Visit the *No Logo* website for lots of related information and useful links, <http://www.nologo.org/>.

Richard Stallman, 'Copyleft: Pragmatic Idealism', Free Software Foundation, Boston MA. [Available online at, <https://www.fsf.org/licensing/essays/pragmatic.html>]

7. STILL BORED AND DESPERATE: STERILITY AND RECUPERATION

Reading:

Guy Debord, 1967, *The Society of the Spectacle*, Detroit: Black and Red, 1983. Read chapters 1 and 2 [Print copies available from MMU Library and online at: The Library at nothingness.org, http://library.nothingness.org/articles/SI/en/pub_contents/4]

Further Reading:

Raoul Vaneigem, 1963, 'Basic Banalities', *International Situationniste* #7 and #8, January 1963. [Available online at: The Library at nothingness.org, <http://library.nothingness.org/articles/SI/en/display/10>]

Basic Banalities: A brief history of the Situationist International, Nottingham Psychogeographical Unit, Nottingham Trent University, 2001. [Available online at: <http://fasica.altervista.org/npu/storie/bbindex.htm>]

A useful selection of Situationist materials may also be found at the Bureau of Public Secrets, Berkeley CA online at <http://www.bopsecrets.org/index.shtml>.

8. NO-LOGO: ADVERTISING AND PROMOTION

Reading:

Naomi Klein, 2000, *No Logo, No Space, No Choice, No Jobs*, London: Flamingo (HarperCollins). Read Chapters 16, 17, 18, and Conclusion. [Print copies available from MMU Library]. Visit the *No Logo* website for lots of related information and useful links, <http://www.nologo.org/>.

Further Reading:

Vance Packard, 1957, *The Hidden Persuaders*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981. Print copies available from MMU Library.

9. FIGHTING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE AND COMMUNITY

Reading:

Porto Alegre II, 2002, 'Call of social movements Resistance to neo-liberalism, war and militarism: for peace and social justice'. [Available at: http://www.studiesinanti-capitalism.net/StudiesInAnti-Capitalism/Documents_TWO_files/PorteAllegrell.pdf]

'Today We Say Enough Is Enough!', 1993, General Command of the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army), Lacondon Jungle: EZLN. [Available online at Journal of American History, Indiana University, <http://www.journalofamericanhistory.org/projects/mexico/zapmanifest.html>]

Subcomandante Marcos, 'Communiqué from the General Command of the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee of the EZLN', 6 January, 1994. Mountains of South-Eastern Mexico: EZLN. [Available online at <http://www.campusactivism.org/akreider/ezln/jan0694.txt>]

10. DIRECT ACTION: FIGHTING FOR AUTONOMY

Reading:

'We Will Disrupt this Conference! Resistance to the 1988 IMF and World Bank Conference in West Berlin', from *Autonome in Bewegung: aus derersten 3 Jahren* at, <http://www.daysofdissent.org.uk/berlin.htm>

'Affinity Groups and Clusters', Direct Action to Stop the War, Berkeley CA. [Available online at http://www.studiesinanti-capitalism.net/StudiesInAnti-Capitalism/Documents_files/AffinityGroups.pdf]

Starhawk, 'How we really shut down the WTO', no date, in *From Act Up to the WTO: Urban protest and community building in the era of globalization*, edited by Benjamin Shepard and Ronald Hayduk, London & New York: Verso, 2002, pp.52-56.

Also, visit the Reclaim the Streets archive at <http://rts.gn.apc.org/> .

Further Reading:

'Minimum Definition of Revolutionary Organizations', Conference of the Situationist International, 1966. [Available online at the Bureau of Public Secrets, Berkeley Ca, <http://www.bopsecrets.org/SI/11.mindef.htm>]

'Free Association: Revolutionary Committees As A Method of Organization', circa 1970, San Francisco: More to Come.

11. THE ANARCHIST TRADITION

Reading

Uri Gordon, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory*, London: Pluto Press, 2008.

Anarchist Federation, *Beyond Resistance: A Revolutionary Manifesto*, London: Anarchist Federation, 2008. See www.afed.org.uk.

Further Reading:

William C Owen, 1922, *Anarchism versus Socialism*, London: Freedom Press, 1922.
[Available online at Pitzer College, Claremont CA:
http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/coldoffthepresses/anvsoccover.html]

Michael Bakunin, *The Capitalist System, Circa 1870-71*, Boston: Anarchist Black Cross Network, no date. [Available online from Pitzer College, Claremont CA at:
http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bakunin/capstate.html]

12. SOCIALIST PLANNING

Reading:

Alex Callinicos, 2003, *An Anti-Capitalist Manifesto*, Cambridge: Polity. Read 'Imagining the Future', pp. 106-143. [Available print copies available from MMU Library]

Further Reading:

P. J. Devine, 1988, *Democracy and economic planning: the political economy of a self-governing society*, Cambridge: Polity.
[Print copies available from MMU Library]

13. THE MEANING OF COMMUNISM

Reading:

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 1848, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party, London: Verso, 1998.* Read part II 'Proletarians and Communists'. [Print copies available from MMU Library and online at the Marxists Internet Archive,
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/manifest.pdf>]

Further Reading:

Frederick Engels, 1871, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1978. Read Part III. [Photocopies available and online at the Marxists Internet Archive,
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1880/soc-utop/index.htm>]

Frederick Engels, 1872-3, 'On Authority', *Marx-Engels Reader*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., second edition, 1978 (first edition, 1972), pp 730-733. [Available online at Marxists Internet Archive, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1872/10/authority.htm>]

14. POWERLESSNESS & FIGHTING THE EMPIRE

Reading:

Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri, *Multitude*, London, Penguin, 2005. Read Section 3. Watch the interviews with Michael Hardt available at 'Hardt & Negri' on 'Course Materials' at www.studiesinanti-capitalism.net.

Further Reading:

Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri, *Empire*, Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 2001.

15. CONSPIRACIES, POPULAR FEARS AND CONTENDING SOLUTIONS

Reading:

David Aaronovitch, *Voodoo Histories: The Role of the Conspiracy Theory in shaping modern history*, London: Jonathan Cape, 2009.

16. THE LIBERAL DEFENCE OF CAPITALISM

Reading:

Milton Friedman (with Rose Friedman), *Capitalism and Freedom*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982. Read Chapters 1 and 2. [Print copies available from MMU Library]

Further Reading:

Ludwig von Mises, *Socialism: An Economic and Sociological Analysis*, Indianapolis: Liberty Classics. Read the Introduction and Chapter 11. [Available online at Ludwig von Mises Institute at <http://www.mises.org/books/socialism.pdf>]

Friedrick Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, London: Routledge, 1945.
Read Chapters 1 and 2. [Print copies available from MMU Library]

For more information and discussion on pro-capitalist thought explore the website of the London School of Economics Hayek Society at <http://personal.lse.ac.uk/lazanski/hayek/index.htm>

17. THE CRISIS OF CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT

Reading:

Joseph Choonara, *Unravelling Capitalism: A Guide to Marxist Political Economy*, London: Bookmarks, 2009.

Vince Cable, *The Storm: The World Crisis & What It Means*, London: Atlantic Books, 2009.

18. THE RATIONAL FAITH OF ANTI-CAPITALISTS

The last lecture will bring together all the elements of the course together in order to discuss the ubiquitous and resolute character of resistance to capitalism.

FIRST TERM: ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Why do some economists, theoreticians and politicians argue that there is no alternative to capitalism? Give the principal arguments in their favour and carefully explain why you *agree* or *disagree* with their outlook.
2. What do campaigners mean by 'neo-liberalism'? Critically discuss the scope of this concept and explain its importance to those engaged in the anti-capitalist movement.
3. Critically evaluate the role of peace movements in the development of the organisational forms typical within the anti-capitalist movement.
4. In what way might the 'life style' and the political tactics and strategies of some anti-capitalists be said to 'pre-figure' the world for which they are fighting?
5. What do Situationists mean by the concept 'recuperation'? Discuss the ways in which this idea might still be relevant in analysing the successes and failures of modern radical campaigns.
6. Are the Zapatistas revolutionaries? Critically discuss the development of the Zapatistas' programme since 31st December 1993.

SECOND TERM: ESSAY QUESTIONS

7. Discuss the contemporary relevance of the *Communist Manifesto*. Why does it continue to inform and inspire some anti-capitalists?
8. Why are anarchist ideas relevant to an understanding of the modern anti-capitalist movement? Discuss with relation to a specific campaign, event or group.
9. Critically discuss the development and organisation of the World Social Forums.
10. Are violent attacks upon property and those defending it justified, or are they counterproductive? Consider the way in which this problem has been discussed within the movement. Give specific examples and arguments relating to the organisation of particular demonstrations or actions.
11. Critically explore the activities of The Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army. What traditions do they draw upon, and what do they and other tricksters hope to achieve in confronting power with derision and ridicule?
12. Why have company logos, advertising campaigns, and the promotion of consumer goods, provoked hostility among campaigners and often provided them with a focus around which to organise.

University Student Agreement

An excellent educational experience depends on the close and effective partnership between the University, its students and the Students' Union. This Agreement establishes a series of expectations, standards and responsibilities for each partner in that joint activity.

It should be read in conjunction with the University's regulations.

The University will ensure that:

- staff are committed to high standards in teaching, support, feedback and the provision of advice and guidance
- staff participate in Continuing Professional Development to improve the quality of learning and teaching
- statements of the time frame for feedback on submitted work are clearly stated in Programme Handbooks
- staff will give reasonable notice of changes to the teaching timetable and will arrange for classes to be re-scheduled or for alternative delivery of the content, or will explain why this is not possible
- student participation in programme management is encouraged and supported by a variety of means including the system of elected student representatives
- it provides extensive and well publicised access to library, information technology, media resources, and to information, advice and guidance from Student Services, including disability support, counselling, financial and careers advisers
- all students receive a Student Handbook with details of assessment criteria, examination arrangements, guidance and support, academic appeals and complaints procedures
- staff treat students and colleagues fairly and professionally, with respect and consideration

Students at the University will commit to:

- attendance at induction events
- participation in timetabled classes, tutorials and assessment activities
- the election and support of programme representatives and participation in a variety of student feedback systems to improve the quality of learning and teaching
- submission of assessed work by stated deadlines
- observance of the regulations and codes of conduct of the University
- treatment of fellow students and all staff of the University fairly, with respect and consideration
- the prompt payment of fees or other charges to the University

The Students' Union commits to enhance the educational and social development and general wellbeing of students within the University and the wider community by:

- representing student issues across the University and the local region
- supporting student participation in quality management at all levels of the University
- fighting discrimination and promoting equal opportunities by providing a safe space and running awareness campaigns
- assisting students to overcome welfare problems
- ensuring that its members are not disadvantaged whilst enrolled at the University as a result of personal circumstances or ignorance of their rights
- aiding professional development
- enriching athletic and social activities