

HIST 72600-01
**Socialism and Communism:
Ideas, Movements, States**
Fall 2018
Wednesday, 2:00-4:00 PM

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office hours: Wednesday 4:00-5:30 and by appointment

Course Description

Socialism and Communism developed into the largest international movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They offered profound critiques of capitalism and the promise of freedom to men and women no matter what their nationality or race. Yet as they achieved power, socialists moderated their emancipatory drive and communists constructed oppressive dictatorships. This course, global in scope, will examine all aspects of socialism and communism in the modern world. We will engage the intellectual history of socialism and communism, starting with the utopian socialists and continuing through Marx and Engels and on to later theorists, and the social history of the movements created largely by activist workers and radical intellectuals. As we move into the twentieth century, we will explore the problems of governance as socialists and communists achieved power – with both humane and deeply repressive consequences.

Learning Objectives

- Develop a *critical* understanding of the history of socialism and communism.
- Become familiar with the extensive historiography on the topics.
- Develop your ability to write in a variety of genres: research papers, brief critical commentaries, op-ed's.
- Enhance your ability to frame and defend historical arguments.
- Develop your knowledge of particular historical cases in the modern world.
- Enhance your ability to read, speak, and write critically.

Course requirements

- Active participation in class (30%).
- Write brief (ca. 200 words) commentaries and questions on the weekly readings. Commentaries should be posted on Blackboard by 10:00 AM the day of the class (20%).
- Write a book review (3-5 pages, double-spaced) (10%)
- Write an op-ed (ca. 250 words) (10%).
- Write a research paper (ca. 20 pages) on a topic of your choice related to the theme of the course (30%).
- Choose one or two class sessions to introduce the topic and readings (included in class participation).

Class Schedule

* = on Blackboard

≠ = electronic resource from Library

Most of the books noted below are on reserve in the library. However, you should definitely have your own copy of *The Marx-Engels Reader*, as well as some of the other books we will discuss frequently.

8/29 Introduction

Origins and Futures

Babeuf, Doctrine

<http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/459/>

Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 3-12

Gourevitch, "What Does the Future of Socialism Look Like?"

<https://aeon.co/conversations/what-does-the-future-of-socialism-look-like>

*Wolff, "Future of Socialism," 1421-28

9/12 Utopian Socialism

Priestland, *Red Flag*, xv-xxvii, 1-43

Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*

Cabet, *Voyage to Icaria* (excerpts)

<https://www.marxists.org/subject/utopian/cabet/icarus.htm>

*Tristan, "To Working Men and Working Women"

*Saint-Simonians, "Loving and Productive Society"

Fourier, "On the Role of Passions"

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/fourier/works/ch01.htm>

Fourier, "Phalanstery"

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/fourier/works/ch27.htm>

9/26 Marx and Engels: The Beginnings

Marx-Engels Reader, 53-125, 143-46, 203-17

10/3 Marx and Engels: The Developed Critique of Capitalism

Marx-Engels Reader, 294-442 594-618

10/10 Building the Socialist Movement in the Nineteenth Century

Research paper topic and initial bibliography due

Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 13-118

Priestland, *Red Flag*, 43-60

Maynes, *Taking the Hard Road*, 153-86

Hobsbawm, *Workers*, 176-214

Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy*, 1-97

Luxemburg, "The Nation-State and the Proletariat"

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1909/national-question/ch02.htm>

Luxemburg, "The Mass Strike, the Political Party, and the Trade Unions," skim

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1906/mass-strike/>

Zetkin, "Only in Conjunction with the Proletarian Woman Will Socialism be Victorious"

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/zetkin/1896/10/women.htm>

Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism*, skim

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bernstein/works/1899/evsoc/index.htm>

10/17 The Russian Revolutions

Book review due

Priestland, *Red Flag*, 61-129

Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 123-64

≠Suny, "Toward a Social History of the October Revolution"

Suny, "Baku Commune"

<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/11/baku-commune-october-revolution-lenin-bolsheviks>

Krylowa, "Bolshevik Feminism"

Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* excerpt

<http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1902lenin.asp>

"Declaration of the Rights of Toiling and Exploited Peoples"

<http://community.dur.ac.uk/a.k.harrington/decright.html>

Lenin, "Decree on the Cheka"

<http://community.dur.ac.uk/a.k.harrington/cheka.html>

*Soviet Congress of the Peoples of the East, "Manifesto"

*Soviet Congress of the Peoples of the East, "Appeal to the Workers of Europe"

Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, introduction and chapter 1

<https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03a.htm#s1>

10/24 The Stalin Revolution and Beyond

Research paper thesis statement and refined bibliography due

Priestland, *Red Flag*, 132-211

Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 249-60

Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*

Stalin, "Industrialization of the Country"

<http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1928stalin.asp>

Stalin, "Dizzy with Success"

<http://community.dur.ac.uk/a.k.harrington/dizzy.html>

10/31 Other Communisms

Book review due

Kelly, *Hammer and Hoe*

Weitz, "German Communism"

Weitz, *Creating German Communism*, 188-279

Gramsci, Workers' Democracy

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/1919/06/workers-democracy.htm>

Gramsci, Turin Factory Council Movement

https://www.marxists.org/archive/gramsci/1921/03/turin_councils.htm

*Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, excerpts

11/7 Social Democracy

Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, 60-73, 137-66, 189-240

Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 311-30

Esping-Andersen, *Politics against Markets*, v-xx, 3-113

Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy*, 205-21, 239-48

11/14 Mao and the Chinese Revolution

Priestland, *Red Flag*, 234-72

Meisner, *Mao Zedong*

11/21 Cuba and the Latin American Left

11/28 New Lefts

Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 341-428

Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, 357-440

*Evans, "Women's Liberation"

≠"Forum: The International 1968, Part I"

AHR 114:1 (February 2009)

≠"Forum: The International 1968, Part II"

AHR 114: 2 (April 2009)

≠"Reflections: 1968"

AHR 123:3 (June 2018)

Thompson, "Outside the Whale"

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/thompson-ep/1978/outside-whale.htm>

"Port Huron Statement"

http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/SDS_Port_Huron.html

"Redstockings Manifesto"

<https://www.redstockings.org/index.php/rs-manifesto>

Willis, "Consumerism and Women"

<http://womensliberation.org/images/stories/GWL/EllenWillisConsumerism.pdf>

12/5 The Postwar Social Democratic Model

Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 299-328

Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, 469-533

Esping-Andersen, *Politics against Markets*, 114-324

Svensson and Gunnarsson, "Gender Equality in the Swedish Welfare State"

<http://journals.kent.ac.uk/index.php/feministsatlaw/article/view/51/160>

12/12 The End of Communism and Socialism?

Priestland, *Red Flag*, 403-575

Eley, *Forging Democracy*, 429-504

Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, 647-90, 755-77

Lavelle, "Explanations for the Neo-Liberal Direction of Social Democracy"

Pautz, "The Modernisation of German Social Democracy"

Gordon, "Socialist Feminism"

<http://newlaborforum.cuny.edu/2013/09/30/socialist-feminism-the-legacy-of-the-second-wave/>

12/18 Final papers due at 12:00 noon

12/21 Last day of semester

Books and Articles

American Historical Review.

"Reflections: 1968." 123:3 (June 2018).

"Forum: The International 1968, Part I." 114:1 (February 2009).

"Forum: The International 1968, Part II." 114: 2 (April 2009).

Bernstein, Eduard. *Evolutionary Socialism: A Criticism and Affirmation*. Trans. Edith C. Harvey. 1909; New York: Schocken, 1961.

Callaghan, John, et al., eds. *In Search of Social Democracy: Responses to Crisis and Modernisation*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.

Cambridge History of Communism, 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Eley, Geoff. *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. *Politics Against Markets: The Social Democratic Road to Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Evans, Sara M. "Women's Liberation: Seeing the Revolution Clearly." *Feminist Studies* 41:1 (2015): 138-49.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *Everyday Stalinism: Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times. Soviet Russia in the 1930s*. Oxford University Press, 1999.

Gordon, Linda. "Socialist Feminism: The Legacy of the Second Wave." *New Labor Forum* (September 2013).

Gourevitch, Alex. "What Does the Future of Socialism Look Like?" *Aeon* (22 May 2015).

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International, 1971.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *Workers: Worlds of Labor*. New York: Pantheon, 1984.

Kelley, Robin D. G. *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression*, 25th anniversary edition. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

Krylova, Anna. "Bolshevik Feminism and Gender Agendas of Communism." In *The Cambridge History of Communism*, vol. 1: *World Revolution and Socialism in One Country, 1917-1941*. Eds. Silvio Pons and Stephen A. Smith, 424-48.

Lavelle, Ashley. "Explanations for the Neo-liberal Direction of Social Democracy: Germany, Sweden, and Australia Compared." In *In Search of Social Democracy*. Callaghan, et al., eds., 9-28.

Luxemburg, Rosa. *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks*, ed. Mary-Alice Waters. New York: Pathfinder, 1970.

McAdams, James A. *Vanguard of the Revolution: The Global Idea of the Communist Party*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

Manuel, Frank E. *The Prophets of Paris*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962.

Manuel, Frank E., ed. *Utopias and Utopian Thought*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1966.

- Maynes, Mary Jo. *Taking the Hard Road: Life Course in French and German Workers' Autobiographies in the Era of Industrialization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Meisner, Maurice. *Mao Zedong: A Political and Intellectual Portrait*. Cambridge: Polity, 2007.
- Pautz, Hartwig. "The Modernisation of German Social Democracy: Towards a Third Way and Back?" In *In Search of Social Democracy*. Callaghan, et al., eds., 129-46.
- Priestland, David. *The Red Flag: A History of Communism*. New York: Grove Press, 2009.
- Przeworski, Adam. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Sassoon, Donald. *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century*. London: I. B. Tauris, 1996.
- Sperber, Jonathan. *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life*. New York: Liveright, 2013.
- Stedman Jones, Gareth. *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion*. London: Allen Lane, 2016.
- Suny, Ronald Grigor. "The Baku Commune." *Jacobin* (11 July 2017).
- Suny, Ronald Grigor. "Toward a Social History of the October Revolution." *American Historical Review* 88:1 (1983): 31-52.
- Svensson, Eva-Maria Svensson and Asa Gunnarsson. "Gender Equality in the Swedish Welfare State." *Feminists@Law* 2:1 (2012).
- Taylor, Barbara. *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*. 1983; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Tucker, Robert C. ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed. New York: Norton, 1978.
- Weitz, Eric D. *Creating German Communism: From Popular Protests to Socialist State, 1890-1990*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Weitz, Eric D. "German Communism." In *The Cambridge History of Communism*, vol. 1: *World Revolution and Socialism in One Country, 1917-1941*. Eds. Silvio Pons and Stephen A. Smith, 573-93.
- Wolff, Robert Paul. "The Future of Socialism." *Seattle University Law Review* 35 (2012): 1403-28.