# HISTORY 355-01 HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM PHILOSOPHY 355-01 HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM

#### Professors Peter Weisensel and Henry West

(Students must be registered for both courses, which will be taught from an integrated syllabus. Each course carries four hours credit for a total of eight.)

<u>Required texts</u>: (Available in Ruminator Bookstore, under Philosophy *55*. [The Tucker, <u>MarxEn2els Reader</u> is under Political Science 24.] In most cases, other editions may be used.)

- Engels, Friedrich. <u>The Condition of the Working Class in England</u> [First published in German in 1845; English translation, 1892] Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Fried, Albert, and Sanders, Ronald, editors. <u>Socialist Thought: A Documentary History</u> [1st edition, 1964], 2nd edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.
- Berlin, Isaiah. <u>Karl Marx: His Life and Environment</u> [1st edition, 1939], 4th edition. London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978, 1996.
- Tucker, Robert C., editor. <u>The Marx-Engels Reader</u> [1st edition, 1972], 2nd edition. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978.
- Kelly, Alfred, editor and translator. <u>The German Worker: Working-Class Autobiographies from the Age of Industrialization</u>. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1987.
- To Be Added: One or more additional books, not yet ordered, dealing with Post-Communist Europe, with Socialist Thought today, or with the relevance of Socialism for the United States. Assignments in this or these books will be in the last two weeks of the course.

In addition to assignments in the books listed above, there will be assignments of articles or chapters of books, some available through Electronic Reserve: This will be explained in class before the first assignment of something available there. In addition to those listed below, there will be more assignments from handouts, which will either be distributed in class or made available through Electronic Reserve. Some of these are not yet available; some will be chosen as the course develops.

<u>Course Outline and (Tentative) Reading Assignments</u>: This is tentative. As the course goes on, assignments will be reduced or expanded; so be alert for announcements in class or for a revised list of reading assignments. This is especially true of the articles and chapters of books to be distributed as handouts or made available on Electronic Reserve. But at least the first three assignments (9/7-9/12) in Engels and in Fried & Sanders won't be changed.

#### I. Preview of the Course:

- 1. (9/5) Socialism as a historical movement of ideas, political parties, and revolutionary action: a preview of the syllabus. What is socialism?
- 2. (9/7) Socialism as a political-economic-social philosophy: Some salient characteristics and variants.

Assignment: Write a one-page statement in answer to the question, What is socialism? And begin reading Engels, The Condition of the Working Class in England. (At least one-fourth is a recommended amount, e.g., "Introduction," and Chapters 1 & 2: "The Industrial Proletariat,' and "The Great Towns"--pp. 15-86; in reading Engels, you do not need to try to remember details, but consider the topics for discussion listed in Section III below.) (Engels will be discussed in more detail in class on 9/17-9/21, but it will be an extremely heavy reading assignment if postponed until those days, and before that we shall ask what you have found most interesting in the early chapters.)

# II. Some Philosophical and Intellectual Background:

1. (9/10) Introduction to major ethical and political theories: Utilitarianism, Social Contract theory, Natural Law theory; Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Bentham.

<u>Assignment</u>: Continue reading Engels. (To be half finished is recommended, e.g., to have read through Chapters 3-5: "Competition," "Irish Immigration," and "Results"--through p. 143.) Student reports on some of the writers listed.

2. (9/12) Visions of ideal societies and the criticism of private property in Plato, More, Morelly, Rousseau, Babeuf

Assignment: Fried & Sanders, Chapters I & II. Student reports on some of the writers listed.

3. (9/14) The question of the relation between ideas and social conditions.

<u>Assignment</u>: Continue reading Engels. (To be through Chapter 6, "Single Branches

of Industry: Factory Hands" is recommended.) Behrens <u>et al</u>, "The Peasant Grinds On" (handout or ER); Himmelfarb, "Prologue: Before the Revolution" (handout or ER). Student reports.

### III. Social and Economic Conditions in Early 19th Century:

Some topics for discussion in this section: A. The role of technology in social change. B. The proletariat as a new class and comparison to earlier agricultural laborers. C. The conditions of urban crowding and poverty. D. The new competition for work; unemployment. E. The conditions of work in various industries: long hours, monotony, child and female labor, injuries. F. Effects on the working class family. G. Labor

movements. H. Governmental regulations. I. Can "historical description" and theoretical analysis be separated? Is either of these "value-neutral"? J. What can be criticized about Engels's description, analysis, or set of values? On what basis is such criticism possible?

1. (9/17) Labor in Pre-Industrial Europe.

<u>Assignment</u>: Continue Engels. (To have read through Chapter 7, "The Remaining Branches of Industry" is recommended.) Chamberlain <u>et al</u> "The Rural Revolution" (handout or ER); Thompson, <u>et al</u> "Formation of a Labor Force" (handout or ER);

Himmelfarb, "Adam Smith: Political Economy as Moral Philosophy" (handout or ER). Student reports.

2. (9/19) Industrialization and Its Impact on the Working Class.

<u>Assignment</u>: Continue reading Engels. (To have read through Chapters 8-10 is recommended.) Tilly, "The Cycle of Life" (handout or ER); Himmelfarb, "The 'Culture of Poverty" (handout or ER). Student reports.

3. (9/21) The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1845 and Labor Movements up

to mid-century; living standards.

<u>Assignment</u>: Finish Engels, through Chapter 11, "The Attitude of the Bourgeoisie."

E. P. Thompson, "Standards and Experiences" (handout or ER) Review all of Engels, especially "Labour Movements." Student reports.

### IV. Pre-Marxist Socialism:

1. (9/24) Saint-Simon & Saint-Simonists, Fourier, Owen.

Assignment: Fried & Sanders, Chapter III. Student reports on these.

2. (9/26) Chartism, Blanqui, Proudhon, Blanc.

Assignment: Fried & Sanders, Part IV. Student reports on these.

#### V. Marx and Engels:

Assignments as follows:

- 1. (9/28) Berlin, Chaps. I-V.
- 2. (10/1) Tucker, 3-6 ("Marx on the History of His Opinions"); 70-8 1 ("Estranged Labor" from Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844); 143-145 ("Theses on Feuerbach"); and skim 146-200 (The German Ideology. Part B, with attention to pp. 150, 154, 158-162, 165, 169, 172-174, 186-188, 191-194, 197-200; Berlin, chap. VI.

- 3. (10/3) Berlin, Chap. VII; Tucker, 469-500 (Manifesto of the Communist Party).
- 4. (10/5) Tucker, 294-343 (Capital, Vol. 1, Parts I & II).
- 5. (10/8) Tucker, 344-403 (<u>Capital</u>, Vol. 1, Parts III & IV).
- 6. (10/10) Tucker, 403-442 (<u>Capital</u>, Vol. 1, Parts IV, V, VIII & Vol. III, a selection); Berlin, VIII.
- 7. (10/12) Tucker, 443-465 ("Crisis Theory"); Berlin, Chaps. IX-X.
- 8. (10/15) Tucker, 683-7 17 (<u>Socialism: Utopian and Scientific</u>); Berlin, Chapter XI. Review

for Midterm Exam.

# ----(10/17) **Midterm Exam----**

- VI. Organized Protest and Condition of Workers in the 19th Century:
  - (10/19) Industrialism, The First International, Anarchism and Syndicalism: Bakunin, Kropotkin, Sorel, Cole.
     <u>Assignment</u>: Review Berlin, <u>Karl Marx</u>, Chapter 9 "The International"; Fried & Sanders, Part VII; Kelly, "Introduction." Student reports on readings.
  - 2. (10/22) German Workers in the late 19th Century.

    <u>Assignment</u>: Kelly, "Fischer," "Bergg," "Holek." Student reports on readings.
  - 3. (10/24) Social and Cultural Conditions.

<u>Assignment</u>: Kelly, "Popp," "Osterroth," "Krille"; Steinmnetz, "Workers and the Welfare State in Imperial Germany." Student reports.

- ----(10/26 is fall break)----
  - 4. (10/29) Urbanization and Collective Violence.

<u>Assignment</u>: Kelly, "Baader," "Viersbeck," "A Barmaid"; Walvin <u>et al</u> "Leisure for the Masses" (handout or ER); Maine, "Priest of the Proletarians" (handout or ER) Student reports on readings.

## VII. Fabian Socialism:

1. (10/31) A Liberal Approach to Socialism: J. S. Mill.

Assignment: Mill, selections from Principles of Political Economy (handouts).

2. (11/2) The Fabian Society.

<u>Assignment</u>: Fried & Sanders, Chapter VIII, section on "Fabian Socialism" (pp. 389-403); Fabian documents and selections from <u>Fabian Essays</u> (handout).

#### VIII. Revisionism and Radicalism:

1. (11/5) Bernstein, Kautsky.

<u>Assianment</u>: Fried & Sanders, remainder of Chapter VIII; Kelly, "Rehbein," "A City Man on a Farm;" Student reports.

2. (11/7) Luxemburg and German Radicalism.

<u>Assi</u> <u>anment</u>: Luxemburg (handout); Kelly, "Turek," "Lotz," "Hoffmann;" Student reports.

3. (11/9) Review.

<u>Assignment</u>: Write up a one-page statement presenting some main ideas of each of the following: Bakunin, Kropotkin, Mill, Fabian Socialism, Bernstein, Kautsky, and Luxemburg (seven pages in all, to be turned in). Prepare to state in class what you have learned about the condition of workers from their autobiographies (to bring notes to class would be helpful).

#### --- (11/12) **Third Quarter Exam. ---**

#### IX. Bolshevism:

1. (11/14) Russia's Uniqueness; The Russian Revolution; Bolshevik Philosophy: Plekhanov & Lenin.

<u>Assignment</u>: Fried & Sanders, Chapter IX, 1-3. Additional assignment on handout or ER. Student reports.

- (11/16) Trotsky and Critiques of Bolshevism: Kautsky, Luxemburg.
   <u>Assignment</u>: Fried & Sanders, Chapter IX, 4 & 5. Additional assignment on handout or ER. Student reports.
- 3. (11/19) Stalinism and Development of Russian Communism.

  <u>Assignment</u>: Fried & Sanders, Chapter IX, 6; Filtzer, "Labor Discipline..."

  (handout or ER) Additional assignment on handout or ER. Student reports.
- X. Socialism and Communism around the Globe and Current Issues in Socialist Thought:
  - 1. (11/21) Socialism in China; Mao & Maoism.

<u>Assignment</u>: Handouts on the Chinese Revolution ("The Making of the Chinese Revolution"; "Maoism in Power"; and from Mao ("Mao Zedong: Chinese Marxism"; and on Chinese Society (Perry, "Labor's Love Lost...") Student

reports.

----(11/23 is Thanksgiving Break)----

- 2. (11/26) Chinese Communism continued.
- 3. (11/28) Socialism in East Europe, Latin America and Elsewhere; The Frankfort School, Liberal Socialist Thought.

  <u>Assignment</u>: "Latin America" & "Marxism and Underdevelopment"; "The Frankfort School" (Handouts.) Fried & Sanders, Chapter X, 1 & 3. Student reports.
- 4. (11/30) Twentieth-Century European Marxist Thought: Lukacs, Gramsci, Italian Communism.

<u>Assignment</u>: Fried & Sanders, Chapter X, 2. Also, handout.. Student reports.

5. (12/03) Newer Currents in Socialist Thought

Assignment: Fried & Sanders, Chapter XI, 1, 2, 4, 5.

6. (12/05) Capitalist Patriarchy & Feminist Socialism.

<u>Assignment</u>: Fried & Sanders, Chapter XI, 3 (article by Eisenstein (pp. 565-582); & additional handout. Student reports.

- 7. (12/07) To be assigned.
- 8. (12/10) "Why You Should Be A Socialist"

  <u>Assignment:</u> Why You Should Be A Socialist, pp. 7-54.
- 9. (12/12) "Why You Should Be A Socialist," continued.

  Assignment: Why You Should Be A Socialist, pp. 55-103.

10.(12/14) Review.

Some topics for thought and discussion in the final weeks:

- 1. Socialism and Efficiency: Economic appraisal of planned vs. market economies. Can there be a "market socialism"? How much of capitalist economies are "market" and how much planned and regulated? How much of capitalist economies (including such things as education, defense, the police/judicial system, transportation, the "infrastructure," recreation, research) are private and how much public?
- 2. Socialism and Social Justice: Appraisal of class and welfare in capitalist, welfare state, and socialist societies.
- 3. Socialism and Freedom/Alienation: Appraisal of autonomy under socialism and

- capitalism--of choice of life style, association, expression, residence and work, political activities and leaders, etc., and the rewards of these choices.
- 4. Socialism and National States: Can socialism be organized on a national basis? If so, what effect does this have on international relations, world distribution of industry and competition, trade, emigration and immigration, world poverty, etc.? Is international socialism possible and desirable?
- 5. Socialism and Contemporary Philosophy: What do various philosophical theories and religious traditions (utilitarianism, rights theory, social contract theory, feminist theory, existentialism, Christianity, etc.) have to say about socialism?
- 6. What is Socialism? (reprise) What are the criteria which make a system of thought or a state or a radical movement "socialist"? Are there "family resemblances" between all those which have been called or called themselves "socialist"?