

# **Politics and Sociology Departments**

Final year module

## **The Death of Socialism?**

**Autumn Term 2018**

Following the collapse of state socialism in Central and Eastern Europe and elsewhere, the erosion of central institutions of Western social democracy and the prevalence of free market and capitalist ideas, this module looks at the contemporary condition of socialism. Is socialism a relevant, feasible or desirable idea in contemporary society? Or is it dead, an historical relic of the 20<sup>th</sup> century?

The module will start by looking at the two predominant conceptions and experiences of socialism in the twentieth century - Marxist and social democratic socialism. It will then examine criticisms of socialism from liberals and libertarians - such as Hayek and Nozick - and from new social movements - such as the women's movement and the green movement. We will look at reasons for the collapse of state socialism in the late 1980s and at attempts in the West to rethink socialism during an era in which neo-liberalism was a dominant force.

We will discuss whether globalisation has led to the decline and loss of viability of social democracy. We will examine the attempt of Labour in Britain and European social democrats to respond to the crisis of social democracy and will ask whether there is anything remaining of socialism in such attempts. We will discuss the current state of the left in responding to the financial crisis and austerity and whether Corbyn's politics involve a revival of socialism and, if so, what sort. We shall examine theses such as that of Fukuyama: that the day of socialism has passed, and that capitalism has won the battle of the two ideologies and systems.

### **Topics**

Week 1	What is Socialism? Is Socialism dead?
Week 2	Marxist Ideas of Socialism
Week 3	Social Democratic Ideas of Socialism
Week 4	Socialism and its NeoLiberal Critics: Hayek and Nozick on Constructivism and Equality
Week 5	Socialism and its New Social Movement Critics: Green and Feminist Criticisms of Socialism
Week 6	Reading week
Week 7	The Collapse of State Socialism In Central and Eastern Europe
Week 8	Rethinking Socialism in the NeoLiberal Era: Market Socialism and Radical Democratic Socialism
Week 9	Globalisation and Social Democracy: has Globalisation led to the end of Social Democracy?
Week 10	The Crisis and Rethinking of Social Democracy: New Labour, the Third Way and European Social Democracy
Week 11	The Left after Austerity
Week 12	Fukuyama: Has Capitalism won the Battle with Socialism?

### **Contact**

The convenor and tutor is Luke Martell, Freeman G50 (to the left of the school office), phone 01273-678729, email [L.Martell@sussex.ac.uk](mailto:L.Martell@sussex.ac.uk). I'll have weekly office hours that will be posted on my web profile. Feel free to contact me to fix up a time if you want to meet at other times. I am part time and work one day a week on Friday. That's the only day I'll be on campus, but I'll check emails on other days. I share an office so its best to come to my office hours or make an appointment in advance, so I can find a room that is free for us to meet.

## **Seminars and Lectures**

This module is taught by 11 lectures and 11 two-hour weekly seminars, with one reading week. The timetable is on Sussex Direct. You should use the questions listed each week, and the blurb for each topic, to guide your reading. Come to seminars with your own answers to as many of the questions as you can, prepared to discuss them with the group.

If you have trouble getting a word in in seminars just put your hand up and I'll make sure you can contribute.

## **Reading**

There's no study pack. Instead readings are posted on Canvas and the library reading list system. Core readings on SyD have a \* star by them. You should try to do all the core reading each week, except where suggested otherwise (in some weeks I've suggested you choose one or two readings out of a larger number). You should try to dip into some of the secondary commentaries. The secondary commentaries are listed in rough order of priority and can also be used as further reading on topics you want to write an essay about.

The handbook and the library reading list system should be similar (except that the reading list system has links to many of the readings). Canvas has many additional readings to those in the handbook and on the library list.

You don't need to read all the reading, advice for V&E students especially!

## **Essays and assessment**

The module is assessed by a 2000 word essay submitted during the autumn term (30%) and a 4000 word essay (70%) submitted in the spring assessment break. Exact dates and times will be on Sussex Direct. We normally try to get marks and feedback back in three weeks (not including bank holidays and closure days).

You can use essay titles from this module document. If you want to make up a different title you're welcome to but check it with me first. Before writing an essay you should discuss your idea and plan with me. There are essay writing resources posted on Canvas. Do make sure you read through them.

Make sure you're aware of the university's regulations on plagiarism and collusion.

For full references for sources see the reading list guide near the top of the Canvas site or search online for the details.

## **Module evaluation**

There'll be an online evaluation questionnaire for you to record your feedback anonymously on modules and teaching. The feedback is taken seriously by tutors and helps me to improve the module, so I'd be really grateful if you could fill it in and give comments on DoS. Your feedback and suggestions on how the module can be

improved is also welcome at any other time. I'll set aside a few minutes after a few weeks mid-term to get feedback so far.

## **WEEK 1 WHAT IS SOCIALISM? IS SOCIALISM DEAD?**

At the first lecture in week one I'll give an overview of debates and themes we'll be looking and some of the history behind the themes and events of the module.

In the seminar we can discuss the organisation and content of the module, how we'll run the seminars and any other things you'd like to ask about. So, bring along any queries you have to week one.

In the seminar we'll discuss: 1) what socialism is; and, if we have time, 2) whether it's dead. So, think about what you might answer on these two issues, bring your own answers, and be ready to discuss them at the seminar.

For reading, have a look at chapters on socialism in any books on political ideologies. The readings below are examples, some of which are on Canvas, but there are plenty of other things on socialism as a political ideology. There's no specific main reading this week, just dip into two of three from this list or from other sources on socialism.

- A. Wright, [Socialisms](#), focuses on the diversity of socialisms
- R. N. Berki, [Socialism](#)
- A. Heywood, [Political Ideologies](#), chapter on socialism
- A. Vincent, [Modern Political Ideologies](#), chapter on socialism
- R. Eccleshall et al, [Political Ideologies](#), chapter on socialism
- Barbara Goodwin, [Using Political Ideas](#), chapter on socialism
- N. Bobbio, [Left and Right](#), discusses what distinguishes left and right
- Michael Newman, [Socialism: a very short introduction](#)
- R. Eatwell and A. Wright, [Contemporary Political Ideologies](#), chapter on socialism

Just a reminder that if you're unable to have a say in the seminar feel free to put your hand up and I'll make sure you can contribute.

## **WEEK 2 MARXIST IDEAS OF SOCIALISM**

The aim of the first two topics in weeks 2 and 3 is to get an idea of different traditions of socialism: Marxist and social democratic. We shall come back to the different forms these have taken in practice in later weeks, although we'll probably touch on the actual practices of these forms of socialism in these first two topics.

In this topic we'll look at Marx's views on 'scientific socialism', the form of political struggle appropriate to the transition to communism, the transitional period of 'socialism', the first stage of communism and the ultimate goal of communism itself characterised by the 'withering away of the state' and the dissolution of power relations. The aim is to get some conception of Marxist and Leninist ideas of socialism which were so massively influential across the globe throughout the 20th century in regimes whose demise, for many, signaled the death of socialism.

### **Transition and Socialism**

Marx saw his socialism as scientific – i.e. involving the analysis and prediction of historical development – rather than utopian – i.e. a dream divorced from any analysis of real historical trends. Marx and Engels were optimistic that power relations would wither away with the abolition of private property and class divisions and the advent of communism. However, they believed that communism would not come about without a protracted revolutionary struggle in which the proletariat would have to confront opposition and the decaying forces of capitalism. They urged the need to - 'raise the proletariat to the level of a ruling class', to institute a 'dictatorship of the proletariat', and to 'smash the state' - all ideas which were interpreted in a very particular way by Lenin and other practicing Marxists. Marx and Engels also occasionally used softer, more peaceful sounding terms to describe the process of transition to communism - the need for the proletariat to 'win the battle of democracy', and for the state to 'wither away'. They were also anxious that the working class as a whole should participate rather than just a small revolutionary clique. One debate is over where the balance of their convictions lay - with 'force' or more 'democratic' means? Is the erosion of bourgeois class power conceivable in the absence of an intensification of class conflict?

### **Communism**

Marx was critical of utopian socialist blueprints. However, he did envisage a form of proletarian government in the transitional period similar to that practiced in the Paris Commune of 1870, the problems of which he saw as instructive for communism as its strengths were. He saw the subsequent move to communism as involving an 'end of politics'. Was his prediction of the dissolution of political conflict and power relations in a classless communist society realistic or well enough thought out? And is there any connection between Marx's views on communism and the actual experience of state socialism under Marxist-Leninist regimes?

### **Questions for Reading and Seminar Discussion**

#### *Scientific socialism*

- What made Marx's socialism 'scientific' and how does scientific socialism differ from 'utopian' socialism?

#### *Transition*

- Through what steps or sequence did Marx envisage the transition to socialism happening?
- Did Marx see the transition as being a violent or peaceful process: coercive or democratic?
- What did Marx mean by the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat'?

#### *Communism*

- What shape did Marx see the communist society taking: in a) the economy; b) social structure; c) political institutions?
- What did Marx and Engels mean by the 'withering away of the state'? How did they foresee this coming about?
- What forms did Marx see communism reproducing from the Paris Commune?

#### *'Actual' communism*

- What aspects of Marx's 'scientific socialism', of the transition to and the nature of communism, could be seen as having contributed to the problems that occurred under 'actual' communism?

### **Main Reading**

M. Evans Karl Marx Pt III, sections 3, 4 & 5 pp 136-64 on revolution, transition and the communist society.

M. Levin Marx, Engels and Liberal Democracy, ch 6 on democracy in the transition to communist society and in communist society itself. Also pp 156-68 on actual communism and its relationship to Marx's thinking. More critical interpretation of Marx's ideas than Evans.

### **Further Reading**

Most weeks, further reading will be in a rough order of priority.

M. Dawson "Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' Sociological Alternative: 'Recipes for the Cookshop of the Future'", chapter in Social Theory for Alternative Societies, 2016. On Canvas.

J.S. Mill, Chapters on Socialism, section on 'the difficulties of socialism'. Good critique of Marxist communism.

S. Avineri, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx, chapter on the new society

D. Held Models of Democracy pp. 136 - 154 on direct democracy and the end of politics in communist society. Unlike Levin, interprets Marx's vision as involving direct democracy

Bertell Ollman, 'Marx's Vision of communism a reconstruction', Critique, 8, 1, 2007

Erik Olin Wright, Envisioning Real Utopias, ch. 4

Peter Hudis, Marx's Concept of the Alternative to Capitalism, 2012

Kieran Allen, Marx and the Alternative to Capitalism, 2011.

Leslie Holmes, Communism: a very short introduction, 2009

C. Pierson, Marxist Theory and Democratic Politics ch 1.

K. Graham The Battle of Democracy chs 9 and 10. Discusses Marx and Lenin's views on democracy and socialism.

R.N. Berki Insight and Vision: The Problem of Communism in Marx's Thought

R.N. Berki Socialism chs 4 & 7

Philosophy of the Social Sciences, 27, 2, 1997, Hudelson and Louw debate whether Marx was totalitarian.

A.J.Polan Lenin and the End of Politics, 1984 and 1992, says that what happened in Communist societies followed from Lenin's Marxist theory.

R. Levitas, The Concept of Utopia, 1990, ch 2, discusses Marx's communism in relation to utopian socialism

E. Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man, 1966, ch 6 on the concept of socialism

A. Giddens, A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism, 1981, ch 10

D. Lovell, From Marx to Lenin: an evaluation of Marx's responsibility for Soviet Russia, 2010

Jules Townshend, The Politics of Marxism: the critical debates, 1996

### **Marx in the Original**

If you want to look directly at Marx's own views on socialism and communism see:

The Civil War in France which discusses the Paris Commune.

The Communist Manifesto which outlines his historical materialist view of communism and how his idea of communism compares with other versions of socialism.

Critique of the Gotha Programme where he discusses his views on equality and the state.

Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 (also known as the 'Paris Manuscripts') especially the sections on communism.

These can be found separately in the library or in various collections of Marx's work. Much of Marx's work is also available in full online:

### **Essay Questions**

- Was Marx responsible for the problems of 'actually existing' socialism?
- To what extent do Marxist means for achieving socialism explain the ends that resulted?
- Is the Marxist conception of a communist society, of a free society or of a totalitarian one?
- Is scientific socialism better than utopian socialism?
- How realistic or desirable was Marx's idea of communism?
- Critically assess Mill's critique of revolutionary socialism

## **WEEK 3 SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC IDEAS OF SOCIALISM**

Marxism was the dominant theory and experience of socialism in the 'East' and 'third world' in the twentieth century. In this topic we will look at another tradition of socialism - social democracy - which has dominated socialist practice in the 'West'. Social democrats from Bernstein and Kautsky, arguing with each other and with Luxemburg and Lenin, to present-day advocates, have raised important issues. They have discussed reform versus revolution, gradualist versus radical models of change and

questions of electoralism and party organisation. Can socialism germinate within capitalism or is it radically distinct? Some socialists envisage the transition to socialism through the gradual advance of 'citizenship' or democracy. Others (long before Blair used the phrase) have advocated a 'third way' beyond social democracy and Stalinism. What are the merits and limitations of liberal, pluralist and parliamentary democracy on the one hand and popular and direct forms on the other? Does participation in electoral processes inevitably lead to compromises on socialist principles? Is the state in capitalist society irredeemably tied to capitalist dictates or open to the pursuit of socialist priorities? Are either class-based or popular or alliance-based conceptions of socialist agency adequate? Try to pin down in this topic what is distinctive about the arguments of the early theoreticians of social democracy like Kautsky and Bernstein. How do they differ from revolutionaries like Marx, Lenin and Luxemburg and how do they differ from one another?

In practice, social democracy has given a big role to a paternalist and liberal democratic state and (in the UK at least) an economic and social policy influenced by Keynes and Beveridge. It involves a society based on mass production and mass consumption, the elimination of poverty and unemployment and Keynesian reflationary economics. The profits reaped from this consuming society and its growing economy are used to finance an extensive welfare state. Try to get a sense of what the main tenets of social democracy have been since Kautsky and Bernstein - in, for example, the work of Crosland or in the practice of contemporary social democracy. You should be able to see, through the evolution of ideas from Kautsky to Bernstein to Crosland, shifts that have led to the social democracy of the postwar and recent periods. If we have time we will try to at least touch on some of the problems that social democracy has encountered in practice since 1945, problems to do with Keynesian economics, the welfare state, globalisation, its electoral base and so on, although we shall discuss these again throughout the module and especially when we look at New Labour.

### **Questions for Reading and Seminar Discussion**

- What is social democracy and how does it differ from other socialisms?
  - \* attitude to parliament
  - \* relationship to class structure
  - \* theory of capitalism and capitalist development
  - \* attitude to transformation
- What are the distinctive characteristics of Kautsky and Bernstein's theories of social democracy and how do they differ from one another?
  - \* theory of capitalist development
  - \* attitude to class constituency
  - \* reformism
- What is the Leninist critique of social democracy?
  - \* view of the state
  - \* economism and trade union consciousness
  - \* theory of capitalist development
- What are the characteristics of Croslandite social democracy?
  - \* why does it see property ownership as not important?
  - \* how does it see Keynesianism implementing social democracy?
- What are the main characteristics of postwar social democracy?
  - \* extent and role of the state and social democracy
  - \* role of Keynesianism and welfare state
  - \* how reformist is it?
- What are the contemporary problems of social democracy?



- \* dependence on private capital
- \* globalisation and Keynesianism
- \* effect of marketisation and privatisation
- \* overload/fiscal crisis of the welfare state
- \* effects of social democratic success
- \* changing electoral base

(Some of these last questions, especially the very last, we shall return to in later topics but they are worth beginning to address now)

### **Main Reading**

Try to read a couple of these.

A. Przeworski 'Social Democracy as a Historical Phenomenon' in his Capitalism and Social Democracy. A classic and influential Marxist-Leninist contribution to analyses of social democracy. Also in New Left Review 122 1980.

G. Esping-Andersen Politics Against Markets ch 1 'Social Democracy in Theory and Practice'. Discusses the meaning of social democracy, classical debates on it and what its bases for success or failure are. Esping-Andersen is one of the leading theorists of social democracy. This chapter includes an assessment of Przeworski's work.

J. Stephens The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism ch 3 'Revolution and Reform'. Discusses classical and contemporary debates on whether socialism is better pursued through reform than revolution.

### **Further Reading**

C. Pierson, Hard Choices: social democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, 2001 book, ch 2 on the making of social democracy including some of the classical debates involving Bernstein and others; ch 3 on classical social democracy and the alternatives discussing the era of Keynesian welfare social democracy and its decline.

B. Hindess, Parliamentary Democracy and Socialist Politics ch 1. Discusses early Marxist debates amongst Kautsky, Bernstein, Lenin and others on whether socialism can be pursued through parliamentary democracy.

C. Pierson, Marxist Theory and Democratic Politics chs 2 & 3 discuss classical Marxist debates between revolutionary socialists like Luxemburg and Lenin and those, such as Bernstein and Kautsky, more oriented towards parliamentary socialism and social democracy. (Chs 4 & 5 discuss examples of attempts to pursue socialism democratically and chs 6, 7 & 8 discuss more recent theoretical debates about the compatibility of socialism with democratic institutions).

Sheri Berman, The Primacy of Politics: social democracy and the making of Europe's twentieth century, 2006

Sheri Berman, 'The Roots and Rationale of Social Democracy, Social Philosophy and Policy, 20, 1, 2003. There may be a freely available pdf version online.

Sheri Berman, 'Unheralded Battle: Capitalism, the Left, Social Democracy, and Democratic Socialism', Dissent, Winter 2009. Can sometimes be found open access online.

Sheri Berman, 'Social Democracy's Past and Potential Future' in J. Cronin et al What's Left of the Left, 2011

Sheri Berman, 'What Happened to the European Left?', Dissent, 57, 3, 2010.

D. Sassoon, One Hundred Years of Socialism, huge book but quite accessible. Reading what you can from books 1 and 2 would be useful for this topic.

Jules Townshend, The Politics of Marxism: the critical debates, 1996

*Some of the reading from the New Labour topic later on also talks about postwar social democracy and its problems.*

### **Essay Questions**

- Is social democracy more viable and desirable as a form of socialism than Communism?
- Is reform better than revolution as a route to socialism?
- Must socialism be a working-class project?
- Is it possible to be both socialist and democratic, or are the two contradictory?

## **WEEK 4 SOCIALISM AND ITS NEO-LIBERAL CRITICS: HAYEK AND NOZICK ON CONSTRUCTIVISM AND EQUALITY**

This week and next week we shall be looking at criticisms of socialism: this week from a right-wing perspective and next week from more new social movements perspectives - of greens and feminists in particular. In this topic we will look at discussions of socialist values amongst neoliberal political philosophers. Their views, which question the most basic principles of socialism, gained widespread support in the 1980s and are behind much of the individualist and free market thinking of the 1990s and since. Many see the current period as involving the consolidation of neo-liberal power globally, even after the financial crisis. How far are neoliberals and the right successful in undermining socialism?

Some people manage to read on both these thinkers in one week and get a reasonable sense of what each is about. But you could also choose to focus on getting to grips with just one who seems most interesting to you. Nozick focuses mostly on the philosophical justification for private property against redistribution. Hayek focuses more on practical political-economic questions to do with planning, equality, freedom etc, but also on more principled issues.

### **The Road to Hell is Paved with Good Intentions: Hayek and the Critique of Constructivism**

We will look first at Hayek's neo-liberal critique of socialist constructivism and the state and his advocacy of evolutionism and the role of markets and liberty. A socialist in the

1920s and a refugee from the Nazis in the 1930s Hayek published *The Road to Serfdom* in 1944 as a warning against the trend towards collective planning. He believed socialism could not work as an economic system because (unlike markets) it lacks the information to plan effectively, and also does not have adequate motivational mechanisms. His critique was both epistemological (ie about a theory of knowledge) and based on an argument about incentives. Socialism inevitably deteriorates into totalitarianism as a political system because of these problems of information and incentives. Much of his work is a critique of 'constructivism'. He believed it is a 'fatal conceit' to think we can *construct* a better society to that which has *evolved* across the centuries. Capitalism, meanwhile, creates growth from which everyone benefits.

What is it that makes Hayek's argument evolutionary and epistemological? Why does he see socialism lacking the incentives necessary for a successful economy? Why does he think these problems will always necessarily lead down the 'road to serfdom' and is he right about this? How adequate is his alternative based on evolution, liberty, markets and the 'rule of law'? Is Hayek really a liberal or a conservative?

### **Questions on Hayek for Reading and Seminar Discussion**

#### *The Critique of Constructivism*

- What is 'constructivism'? Why is Hayek against it? What is distinctively 'epistemological' and 'anti-rationalist' about Hayek's critique of socialism compared to other right-wing critics?
- What is the 'Road to Serfdom' and why does Hayek think that constructivism, distributive justice and the loss of incentives necessarily lead down it?
- What is it about constructivist and pluralist societies that leads to too much power in the hands of experts and bureaucrats?
- What does Hayek mean by 'evolution' and 'spontaneous order' and why does he prefer them to constructivism? What properties do markets have that make them preferable to planning for the allocation of goods and services?
- What problems are there with Hayek's critique of constructivism and advocacy of spontaneous order?
  - \* false dichotomy/polarisation?
  - \* inevitability of serfdom?
  - \* illiberalism/authoritarianism?
  - \* conservatism?

The above questions on constructivism are some main issues, but you may also want to think about Hayek's views on equality and liberty mentioned in the questions below.

#### *Equality, Liberty and Justice*

- What are the reasons, concerning incentives, and the more philosophical reasons why Hayek is against equality or 'teleocratic' ideas of justice? What is his preferred idea of justice?
- What is the 'trickle-down' view of economic growth and how is it linked to arguments for inequality?
- What is 'negative' freedom and why does Hayek prefer it to 'positive' freedom?
- What is 'consequentialist' or 'utilitarian' about Hayek's arguments for freedom compared to those of other right-wing thinkers?

### **Robbing from the Rich to Give to the Poor is Unjust: Nozick's 'Entitlements' Perspective on Justice**

We will also look at the critique of egalitarian ideas of justice as put forward by the right-wing libertarian political philosopher Robert Nozick. Nozick advocates a historical perspective in which ideas such as the initial acquisition and just transfer of property are important. He argues against the equation of social justice with 'equality' or 'end-states' and in favour of 'entitlements'. He says that we shouldn't judge what is just according to existing distributional patterns but according to where they came from. His argument, which defends capitalist property rights against socialist egalitarianism, suggests that egalitarian redistribution is immoral because it transgresses historically acquired property rights. How is his critique different from that of others on the new right? What is *historical* about his theory and what role does *entitlements* play? How do these foci make his theory different from 'end state' or 'patterned' ideas of justice? What do his principles of 'initial acquisition', 'just transfer' and the 'rectification of injustice' mean?

### **Questions on Nozick for Reading and Seminar Discussion**

- What is 'self-ownership' and what part does it play in Nozick's ideas?
- How does Nozick see property ownership being based on historical entitlements?
- How does this go against distributional or egalitarian ideas of justice?
- What are Nozick's principles of: a) just acquisition; b) just transfer; and c) the rectification of injustice?
- How do Nozick's justifications for capitalism differ from those of other supporters of the system, eg from utilitarian or libertarian justifications?
- What implications does Nozick's theory have for the role of the state?
- What problems, if any, are there with Nozick's critique of egalitarian ideas about redistribution and his case for capitalist property rights?
  - \* are there other non-entitlements/rights ideas of obligations?
  - \* are there other criteria of desert?
  - \* is there a problem of rectifying long-ago illegitimate acquisitions or transfers?
  - \* is his rectification of injustice principle actually radically redistributive?
  - \* how adequate is Nozick's idea of what 'self-ownership' requires?

### **Main Reading on Hayek**

E. Butler Hayek, Chapter 3 on Hayek's critique of socialism. (However, other chapters survey Hayek on markets, planning, egalitarianism, evolutionism and constitutional reform, and are well worth looking at).

C. Kukathis Hayek and Modern Liberalism, Chapter 2 on the critique of constructivism. (Also see ch 3 on individualism and spontaneous order and ch 4 on liberty and the rule of law).

### **Further Reading on Hayek**

A. Gamble Hayek, good overview of Hayek's work bringing out clearly many of the themes relevant to this week's topic. (See also Gamble's The Free Economy and the Strong State on the Thatcherite experiments influenced by Hayek).

N. Barry 'F.A. Hayek & Market Liberalism' in Tivey and Wright Political Thought since 1945

N. Barry et al Hayek's 'Serfdom' Revisited esp chs 1 (outline of general themes of book) & 2 (review of criticisms).

N. Barry Hayek's Social and Economic Philosophy chs 3-7, pp 179-82 & 9. Sympathetic outline of main themes of Hayek's work.

C. Hoy A Philosophy of Individual Freedom. Overview of Hayek on freedom, markets, the rule of law and need for a constitution to limit government.

B. Crowley The Self, the Individual and the Community chs 2 & 3. On Hayek's case for the spontaneous order of the market by someone who has become less hostile to Hayek over time.

Steven Lukes Liberals and Cannibals, 2003, chapter on Hayek and Social Justice

J. Gray Hayek on Liberty chs 2, 3 & 6. Sympathetic exegesis.

J. Gray Liberalisms ch. 6. Critique of Hayek on liberty. Difficult and dense but very useful.

J. Tomlinson Hayek and the Market.

S. Brittan The Role and Limits of Government ch 3, also in Butler and Pirie Hayek on the Fabric of Human Society. Attacks Hayek for rule-bound evolutionism which makes him authoritarian rather than libertarian.

D. Green The New Right, ch on Hayek

### **Some of Hayek's Own Writings Relevant to the Critique of Socialism**

The Road to Serfdom. The system of private property and free competition is the basis of a free society but is being eroded by well-intentioned but fatally flawed attempts to plan economic and social life.

The Fatal Conceit. Critique of socialist utopianism.

Individualism and Economic Order. Chs 7, 8 & 9 defends Mises' views on impossibility of socialist planning without markets.

New Studies in Philosophy, Politics, Economics and the History of Ideas. Ch 14 attacks move to planning in 1970s America by rehearsing earlier 1930s debate on socialism.

Knowledge, Evolution and Society. Short essays which form basis for later 'Fatal Conceit' book.

The Constitution of Liberty esp pt 1. Outlines his views on freedom, democracy, law and equality.

Studies in Philosophy, Politics and Economics esp ch 11. Outlines basic principles of Hayek's conception of a liberal social order.

Law, Legislation and Liberty Vol. 2 'The Mirage of Social Justice'. On markets and redistribution.

### **Main Reading on Nozick**

W. Kymlicka Contemporary Political Philosophy, pp. 95 – 125. This excerpt is taken from the first part of chapter 4; the rest of the chapter (not given here) deals with other forms of libertarianism and egalitarian arguments made by Rawls which contrast with that of Nozick.

### **Further Reading on Nozick**

R. Scruton ed. Conservative Texts excerpt by Nozick on pp 227-41

R. Plant Modern Political Thought ch 3 on Hayek, Nozick and others. Also ch. 6 on liberty.

R. Nozick Anarchy, State and Utopia esp pt II 'Beyond the Minimal State' which sets out the historical entitlements theory and critique of ideas of justice and equality. Chapter 7 Section 1 and Chapter 8 sections on Equality and Equality of Opportunity are the most relevant.

J. Wolff Robert Nozick: Property, Justice and the Minimal State

J. Paul Reading Nozick esp Pt I (general overview of Nozick's Anarchy, State and Utopia) and Pt IV (on his advocacy of entitlement theory over distributive alternatives).

G.A. Cohen 'Nozick on Appropriation' New Left Review 150 1985. Left critique of contradictions in Nozick's criteria of just appropriation.

G.A. Cohen Self-ownership, Freedom and Equality, includes chapters criticising Nozick from an egalitarian socialist point of view

R. Norman Free & Equal ch 7 denies equality undermines freedom and attacks Nozick's notion of rights

D. Green The New Right ch 2 sympathetic discussion of Nozick, esp pp 45-9 on distribution.

J. R. Lucas On Justice ch 12. Critique of Nozick.

G. Sampson An End to Allegiance, ch on Nozick, critique from another new right perspective

R.M. Bader and J. Meadowcroft, eds, The Cambridge Companion to Nozick's Anarchy, State and Utopia, 2011, especially Part III on justice.

See more readings on Hayek and Nozick on Canvas and a search of the library catalogue will find even more.

### **Left (and other) Critiques of Neo-Liberalism**

J. Gray Beyond the New Right, collection of articles criticising the new right, by a former sympathiser turned critic. See also Gray's later work which frequently gives much space to criticism of the new right.

J. O'Neill The Market associational socialist philosopher criticises advocacies of the market

D. Miller Market, State and Community Pt I. Critique by market socialist.

K. Hoover & R. Plant Conservative Capitalism ch 10. Critique of neo-liberal arguments for free markets and minimal state.

N. Bosanquet 'Challenging the New Right' in Kilmarnock The Radical Challenge. Social democrat critique of neo-liberal assumptions about workings of capitalism and markets. Challenges indifference to inequality and poverty.

B. Hindess Freedom, Equality and the Market chs 8 & 9. Warns against simplistic eulogies of state or market. Attacks neo-liberal arguments for markets.

### **Essay Questions**

- Discuss and evaluate Hayek's critique of social engineering.
- Is socialism undermined by a 'fatal conceit'?
- Will socialism inevitably lead down the 'road to serfdom'?
- Is authoritarianism inherent in socialism?
- Taking from the rich to give to the poor is morally unacceptable. Outline and assess criticisms of the Robin Hood philosophy of equality.
- Critically assess Nozick's entitlements theory of justice. Does it undermine justifications for socialist redistribution?
- An equal society cannot be a free society. Discuss criticisms of socialist egalitarianism.

## **WEEK 5 SOCIALISM AND ITS NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS CRITICS: GREEN AND FEMINIST CRITIQUES OF SOCIALISM**

In the 1960s and afterwards a number of social movements enjoyed a revival in their fortunes. They stressed values and principles that challenge socialist orthodoxies about, for example, the centrality of class and the state. Amongst such movements two prominent cases have been the women's and green movements. Feminists have sometimes said that capitalism has been blamed, by socialists, for women's oppression when there are other patriarchal factors involved that socialism is equally susceptible to. Some have challenged the class-centeredness of socialism, emphasising the importance of non-class identities like gender. Feminists have criticised the statist and paternalistic style of socialist politics, sometimes preferring a more decentered and less structured approach in their own movement. They have argued that trade unions and the labour movement have been biased towards the interests of male workers and that the socialist movement has been male-dominated. Furthermore, they have argued that socialists are concerned with economic, production-centered issues at the expense of attention to issues to do with reproduction and personal life, which are of equal political importance – 'the personal is political'. However, there are also Marxist and socialist feminists who emphasise features of socialism which they feel make it especially open to furthering the interests of women. And some say that while socialism has been vulnerable to these charges in the past it is less so now.

Ecologists also challenge the class-centered emphasis of socialism, arguing that there are issues, such as environmental problems, which are important universally and across class boundaries. For some an emphasis on the working class is problematic because the interests of this group are seen as especially counter-productive as far as the environment goes. Some ecologists criticise socialism for its orientation towards economic growth and productivism and insufficient attention to natural limits and the

consequences of growth for the environment. Many ecologists prefer more decentralist and lifestyle approaches to politics over the emphasis of some socialists on achieving change through the central state. And the finger often gets pointed at the poor record of Eastern bloc socialism as far as the environment goes. Yet there are others – eco-socialists - who say that the collectivism, political economy and class perspective of socialism is especially conducive to understanding and solving environmental problems. Furthermore, others see positive green aspects in Marx's thought and in utopian socialism.

As with the previous topic you can try to read on both ecology and feminism. But you might want to focus on one or the other in your reading.

### **Questions for Reading and Seminar Discussion**

#### *Green criticisms of socialism*

- What does 'natural limits' mean? Why does this cast doubt on the adequacy of socialist thinking?
- Why is socialism committed to economic growth, technological progress and development of the forces of production? Why are these problematic from a green perspective?
- Why might socialism's commitment to a class perspective be problematic from a green point of view?
- What implications does the focus of some greens on 'industrialism' as the problem have for socialism's attempt to offer itself as an alternative to capitalism?
- What criticisms do greens make about the environmental record of 'actual' socialist countries?

#### *Eco-socialism*

- What implications do socialist commitments to public over private interests and to the state and intervention have for solving environmental problems?
- What aspects of 'utopian' socialism relate to the ideas of greens?
- What aspects of the thought of the early Marx have a bearing on green issues? Was the early Marx 'green'?

#### *Feminist criticisms of socialism*

- Why have feminists been critical of socialist emphases on capitalism in explaining women's oppression?
- What criticisms do feminists make of the traditional concerns of trade unions?
- What criticisms do feminists make of socialism's emphasis on class oppression?
- What criticisms do feminists make of the democratic structures of socialist politics?
- What implications does the feminist emphasis on the 'personal as political' have for socialism?

#### *Socialist feminism*

- To what extent might the socialist analysis of capitalism and class help the understanding of women's oppression?
- To what extent are socialist values and feminist values complementary?
- Has socialism become feminist?

### **Main Reading on Feminist Critiques of Socialism**

A.M. Jaggar Feminist Politics and Human Nature, pp. 229 – 244. Extract is on Feminist criticisms of Marxist Leninist politics. (However, see also chs 8 & 10 on Marxism, socialism and feminism).



R. Tong Feminist Thought, chapter 3 on Marxist and Socialist feminism.

### **Further Reading on Feminist Critiques of Socialism**

Valerie Bryson, Feminist Political Theory, 2nd edn 2003, chapters on Marxist and socialist feminism.

J. Mitchell Woman's Estate ch 4 'The Politics of Women's Liberation 2' on problems in socialist theories. Longer version in J. Mitchell Women: The Longest Revolution pp 17-55 and shorter version in M. Schneir The Vintage Book of Feminism

D. Adlam 'Socialist Feminism and Contemporary Politics' in Politics and Power 1

Nancy Holmstrom, 'The Socialist Feminist Project', Monthly Review, 54, 10, 2003, argument for socialist feminism. Should be available online. See also her 2002 book with the same name.

S. Rowbotham et al Beyond the Fragments. Influential feminist critique of the practices of the socialist movement, recently republished. See especially article by Rowbotham.

H. Hartmann The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism, critique of Marxist explanations for women's oppression.

S. Rowbotham Women, Resistance and Revolution. Account of role of feminism and women in revolutionary movements throughout history.

A. Phillips Divided Loyalties pp 122-48 and ch 6. Discusses the experience of women and feminism in the British labour movement.

D. Coole Women in Political Theory chs 7, 8 & 9. Discussion of utopian, Marxist and social democratic socialism from a feminist perspective.

D. Adlam et al ed Politics and Power Vol. 3 esp editorials and interviews with Morrell and Richardson

Zillah Eisenstein, editor, Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism, 1979

Judith Stiehm, 'Socialism and Women's Equality', Studies in Comparative Communism, 14, 2/3, 1981 on women under 'actual' communism.

Lynne Segal, 'Slow Change or No Change? Feminism, Socialism and the Problem of Men', Feminist Review, 31, 1989

Jules Townshend, The Politics of Marxism: the critical debates, 1996

Shirley Nuss, The position of Women in Socialist and Capitalist Countries: a comparative study, International Journal of the Sociology of the Family, 10, 1, 1980.

### **Main Reading on Ecological Critiques of Socialism**

R. Eckersley Environmentalism and Political Theory chs 4 & 6. Skeptical about Marx being green but sees socialism as amenable to an ecological perspective. (see also ch 5 on neo-Marxism).

M. Ryle Ecology and Socialism, Chapter 2. Brief, readable discussion by an eco-socialist - discusses ecological critiques of socialism.

### **Further Reading on Ecology and Socialism**

D. Pepper Eco-Socialism

A. Dobson Green Political Thought ch 5. Discussion of socialism and feminism by radical green.

R. Williams 'Socialism and Ecology' in his Resources of Hope. Also available as SERA pamphlet. Influential thinker of the 'new left'.

A. Taylor Choosing our Future: a practical politics of the environment pp 21-42 and pp 200-9 makes a socialist case for environmental change and gives a social democratic conception of sustainability.

R. Bahro Socialism and Survival and From Red to Green. Bahro is an ex-Marxist who joined the green movement. In these two books he explains why.

J. Porritt Seeing Green pp 224-8 & 43-9 critique of socialism and capitalism as equally committed to industrialism.

D. Schecter Radical Theories, ch on green socialism by a libertarian socialist

P. Dickens Society and Nature ch 3. Says Marx offers a green perspective.

T. Benton Natural Relations ch 2. Sympathetic but critical assessment of ecological merits of Marx. Also in Radical Philosophy 50 1988 and Sayers & Osborne Socialism, Feminism and Philosophy.

T. Benton, ed, The Greening of Marxism, 1996, useful collection on this topic

P. Osborne Socialism and the Limits of Liberalism chs 10 & 11 (Benton and Soper discuss whether Marx had ecological perspective. Benton is less sympathetic to Marx, Soper more so).

John Bellamy Foster Ecology Against Capitalism 2002 and Marx's Ecology 2000, discuss relations between capitalism, Marxism and ecology. See also his writings in Monthly Review online and his article in the American Journal of Sociology, 105, 2, Sept 1999.

Climate and Capitalism, online eco-socialist journal.

Development and Change, 40, 6, 2009, special issue of this journal on whether capitalism is compatible with solving climate change, contributions giving contrasting views.

New Politics, 56, 2014 special issue on 'The Left and the Environmental Crisis', available online

### **Essay Questions**

- Do its emphases on class, the state and economic growth undermine socialism?
- Is socialism by its very nature unecological?
- Was Marx a green?
- Do feminist critiques of socialism render it redundant?
- Are feminist criticisms of socialism mainly historical? Or do they still apply?

## **WEEK 6 READING WEEK**

This week is for you to catch up on reading, read ahead or work on your essays.

## **WEEK 7 THE COLLAPSE OF STATE SOCIALISM IN EASTERN EUROPE**

This week, and in future weeks, we shall look at crises and collapse in the two dominant forms of socialism in practice in the twentieth century - social democracy in the West and state socialism in the East.

As the basis for making sense of their collapse it is important first of all to get a good idea of what characteristics these societies had and how they were organised. How were their economies structured, what forms of political system did they have, and what was the relationship between state and society in state socialist societies? Of course, state socialist societies were different to one another and often took diverse routes to becoming 'socialist'. Some say they were 'totalitarian'; for others this is too extreme a label. And despite their ultimate demise, for a long time they commanded extensive legitimacy in both East and West and, for some, still do. We need to think why that might have been.

However, collapse they eventually (mostly) did. What were the reasons for the collapse of the state socialist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe and elsewhere in 1989? Some authors put it down to internal economic stagnation resulting from the inadequacies of central economic planning. Others suggest it was due to economic underperformance relative to the West. Some critics say the downfall of the Soviet Union and state socialist societies came about because of changing social structure and the growth of an educated middle class with high expectations that could not be met. Others put it down to the lack of political pluralism and democracy that undermined the legitimacy and credibility of the regimes. Further accounts draw attention to the influence of changes in Gorbachev's foreign policy or more proximate 'domino effect' factors in the collapse of state socialism.

What are the arguments for these different perspectives and to what extent are they convincing? Was the decline of socialism due to internal problems or to factors in the wider context? Could socialism be pursued in a more economically successful and politically democratic way, or were the problems of the communist societies down to the

nature of socialism itself? Were these societies not socialist? Does the collapse of the state socialist regimes signal, as Fukuyama has suggested, the death of socialism, the end of history and the global triumph of liberal capitalism? Was there anything positive about these state socialist societies? Is there anything capitalism can learn from them?

### **Questions for Reading and Seminar Discussion**

#### *The Nature of State Socialism*

- How was state socialism different from capitalist liberal democracy?
  - \* organisation of the economy
  - \* organisation of politics
  - \* relationship between society and state
- How did countries take different routes to state socialism?
- On what bases did state socialism command legitimacy for long periods?
- Was socialism 'totalitarian'? Was it 'socialist' or 'state capitalist'?

#### *Social Structure and Collapse*

- Who were the new middle class in state socialist societies and why were they significant in the collapse?

#### *Economy and Collapse*

- Why were there problems of stagnation in state socialist economies?
    - \* organisation of the economy
    - \* techniques of production
- To what extent was the economy or technology a factor in their decline?

#### *Political Legitimacy and Collapse*

- Why did state socialist societies suffer increasing loss of political legitimacy amongst their populations? Was this a factor in their decline?

#### *External and International Factors*

- To what extent did the overextension or international involvement of state socialist societies undermine them?
- What do people have in mind when they say the collapse was due to external and relative factors rather than internal, absolute decline? What role might economic comparison and telecommunications have played in this?

#### *Proximate Factors*

- What changes in foreign policy happened under Gorbachev and how did these contribute to collapse?
- What was the 'demonstration' or 'domino' effect? What was its role?

### **Main Reading**

Read Lane chapter 8, and also chapter 6 of Lane or one of the other main readings.

D. Lane The Rise and Fall of State Socialism, ch 8. Survey of main explanations for collapse of state socialism. Chapter 6 also deals with some of the explanations for collapse.

Fred Halliday 'What was Communism?', Open Democracy, 16 October 2009.

E. Hobsbawm 'Goodbye to all That' Marxism Today October 1990. Also in Blackburn After the Fall. Socialist historian looks at the changing historical fortunes of capitalism and communism, why the latter collapsed, and what the foreseeable prospects are for the world in the 21st century.

### **Further Reading**

Leslie Holmes Post-communism, especially ch 2, outlines of some of the factors.

R. Dahrendorf Reflections on the Revolution in Europe. Short readable pamphlet. Argues that socialism is dead and rejects 'middle way' between capitalism and communism.

F. Halliday 'The Ends of Cold War' New Left Review 180 1990. Also in Blackburn After the Fall. Highlights international cold war factors.

E. Hobsbawm 'Out of the Ashes' Marxism Today April 1991. Also in Blackburn After the Fall. Looks at the historical experience of communism and social democracy in power, at why communism failed and expresses optimism about the future of socialism.

C. Pierson Socialism After Communism pp 27-9 & 64-75. Very brief review of some interpretations of 1989 and its implications

Fred Halliday 'What was Communism?', Open Democracy, October 2009, online.

A. Callinicos The Revenge of History, account of the collapse of Eastern bloc communism by an anti-Stalinist Marxist. Socialism has not died, he argues.

R. Skidelsky The World After Communism, a conservative on communism, its collapse and post-communism. Like Fukuyama he supports the victory of capitalism.

M. Gorbachev Perestroika, readable critique of old-style soviet socialism by a key architect in its reform and, as it happened, its eventual collapse.

Z. Brzezinski The Grand Failure, a critique of the failure and decline of communism written just before the 1989 collapse.

D. Chirot (ed) The Crisis of Leninism and the Decline of the Left, edited collection with a special emphasis on the implications for the left.

R. Blackburn ed After the Fall: The Failure of Communism and the Future of Socialism. Useful collection of articles by left-wing commentators. Pt I analyses collapse and Pt II looks at implications for future. Includes some of the articles referred to above.

Archie Brown The Rise and Fall of Communism, 2009, recent-ish but weak on economics.

C. Pierson 'The Death of Socialism? 1989 and all that' History of European Ideas, 19, 333-9. Also D. Lovell 'Propositions on "The End of Socialism?"' History of European Ideas, 19, 333-9.

M.G. Roskin The Rebirth of East Europe, see sections on problems and collapse of communism.

R. Sakwa Postcommunism, again see sections on problems and collapse of communism.

E. Hobsbawm 'End of Socialism' in his book Age of Extremes

G. Schopflin 'The End of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe' in Politics in Eastern Europe 1945-92

M. Mazower The Dark Continent, historian on Europe

Gales Stokes, The Walls came Tumbling Down, 1993

Stephen White Communism and its Collapse, 2000

John M. Echols 'Did Socialism Mean Greater Equality: a comparison of east and west along several major dimensions', American Journal of Political Science, 25, 1, 1981

Jules Townshend, The Politics of Marxism: the critical debates, 1996

### **Essay Questions**

- Was centralised planning and state ownership in the economy the reason for the collapse of state socialism?
- Did communism collapse because it wasn't democratic and liberal enough?
- Was the collapse of state socialism due to its socialist nature?
- Can socialists dismiss state socialism as not socialist?
- Can the collapse of state socialism be blamed on external pressures rather than internal or inherent problems?

## **WEEK 8 RETHINKING SOCIALISM IN THE NEO-LIBERAL ERA: MARKET SOCIALISM AND RADICAL DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM**

Socialists by the 1980s felt that traditional forms of socialism needed rethinking. In Britain and the USA the neo-liberal governments of Reagan and Thatcher were pursuing radical economic experiments and shifting the agenda to the free market right. Socialists felt they needed to respond to the new right agenda of freedom and individualism. State socialism was widely discredited and, as it turned out, on its last legs. Many socialists were influenced by the criticisms from new social movements we've looked at. In the face of all these pressures, revised ideas of socialism included those that gave greater credence to the role of the market in socialism and advocated a more democratised form of it. These models responded to many of the issues that we have discussed so far on this module and many of their themes and suggestions found their way into revisions of social democracy in the 1990s. In this topic we will be looking at ideas of socialism which tried to escape the problems highlighted by liberal and new social movement critics and which aimed to overcome the deficiencies of Eastern bloc-style state socialism and which influenced the way socialism and social democracy developed.

Market reconceptualisations of socialism took seriously the criticism of the Right that socialism was deficient on informational and motivational grounds, on individual liberty

and on responsiveness to the consumer. However, they felt that socialism did not need to be rejected but could be revised to take account of such weaknesses. Market socialists argue that socialists should drop their traditional antipathy to markets. They should realise that socialism is not synonymous with a non-market society, but with social ownership or values like equality and community which, it is argued, are compatible with the market. In fact the market can provide distinctive benefits. More moderate pluralist and pragmatic contributors like Nove advocate a role for markets and private enterprise within a socialist economy. The more radical and philosophical Le Grand, Estrin, Miller and others advocate a fully blown free market economy, but with worker-controlled enterprises. Critics of market socialism range from the orthodox Marxism of Mandel to more moderate democratic planners like Devine and Elson and mavericks like Frankel. Some of the references below look at actual practices of market socialism in countries such as Yugoslavia and China. A key issue is whether such experiments have succeeded or whether there has been too much of a clash between the market and socialism in such places.

There were also revisionist redefinitions of socialism that aimed less to throw out traditional socialist commitments to be replaced by individualism and markets and more to democratise the way in which collectivist commitments are delivered. Democratic rethinkers of socialism go from those who argue for the acceptance of liberal parliamentary democracy, to those who argue for democratic reform of liberal institutions and economic democracy, to radical democrats who propose alternative new forms of democracy. Radical democratic socialists go back to popular democratic ideas of participation and communitarianism, and to citizenship debates and republican traditions in social and political thought, to construct a socialism based on participation, community and pluralism. They have a vision of a radical democratic socialism based on active citizenship and civic virtue. Just as with the market socialists, some (although certainly not all) of these ideas of democratic reform made their way into revisions of social democracy in the 1990s, including those of Tony Blair and New Labour.

### **Questions on Market Socialism for Reading and Seminar Discussion**

- Why did the idea of marketising socialism become an issue? What pressures put it on the agenda?
- What is 'market socialism'? What different sorts of market socialism are there?
- What arguments do market socialists put for markets?
- What do market socialists say is socialist about market socialism?
- What concrete examples of market socialism have there been or are there? What did they look like? What were their successes or failures?
- What are the strengths and weaknesses of market socialism?

### **Questions on Radical Democratic Socialism for Reading and Seminar Discussion**

- What have socialists' attitude to the institutions of democracy traditionally been?
- Why did 1980s socialist thinkers fall on democratisation as a concept for rethinking socialism? What made democracy an important concept for socialists?
- What forms of democratisation can/do different radical democratic socialists propose?
- How can/does radical democratic socialism differ in approach from market socialism? How does it differ in the way it responds to the right?
- What problems are there with radical democratic socialism? Can they be overcome?

## **Main Reading**

C. Pierson Socialism After Communism, Pt II. (outlines what market socialism is and the case for it). See also Pt III (outlines criticisms of market socialism).

Paul Hirst Law, Socialism and Democracy, 1986, introduction and chapter 5.

## **Futher reading on both market and radical democratic socialisms**

B. Hindess ed Reactions to the Right, includes chapters on individualist, market and democratising socialisms

Erik Olin Wright, more recent articles on statist, democratic, market and associational socialisms, 'Taking the social in socialism seriously' 2004 on his personal website, published version in New Left Review 2006, and in his book Envisioning Real Utopias, which is also on his website.

## **Further Reading on Market Socialism**

D. Schecter Radical Theories ch 5 on market socialism by a libertarian socialist critic – gives explanation of market socialism in practice in Yugoslavia.

B. Hindess Reactions to the Right ch by Tomlinson on market socialism

David Lane The Rise and Fall of State Socialism ch. 5 on practical attempts at market socialism

A. Nove The Economics of Feasible Socialism. A very influential revisionist statement of the case for socialists accepting a role for markets.

J. LeGrand and S. Estrin eds Market Socialism. This and the Miller book below are good statements of the philosophical case for market socialism. See esp (but not only) chs 1 & 2.

D. Miller Market, State & Community, advocates what has been called 'neo-liberalism without the capitalists'

I. Forbes ed Market Socialism (Fabian pamphlet)

David Miller, Socialism and the Market, Political Theory, 5, 4, 1977, case for the market being compatible with socialism.

J. Roemer A Future for Socialism on the history, development and future of market socialism by an 'analytical marxist'

D. Elson 'Market socialism or socialisation of the market', New Left Review 172 1988. Argues for socialisation of the market rather than market socialism or central planning.

P. Devine Democracy and Economic Planning. Argument against central planning and markets and for democratic planning.



R. Blackburn 'Fin de Siecle: Socialism after the Crash' in R. Blackburn ed. After the Fall. Earlier version in New Left Review 185 1991. Detailed discussion of plan-market debates.

B. Frankel Beyond the State. Critic of market socialism.

Radical Philosophy 39 & 40 1985 (Nove/Frankel debate)

E. Mandel Articles in New Left Review 159 & 169. Hardline attack on market socialism.

C. Harman 'The Myth of Market Socialism' International Socialism Journal 42, 3-62, critique from Marxist perspective

T. Carver 'Market Socialism: peace in our time?' History of European Ideas 19, pp 279-84

B. Ollman (ed). Market Socialism, 1998, sample chapters on his personal website.

P.K. Bardhan and J.E. Roemer (eds) Market Socialism

Janos Kornai and Yingyi Qian, Markets and Socialism, 2008, on China and Vietnam.

Pranab Bardhan and John Roemer, Market Socialism: a case for rejuvenation, Journal of Economic Perspectives, 6, 3, 1992.

Sauk Estrin, Yugoslavia: the case of self-managing market socialism, Journal of Economic Perspectives, 5, 4, 1991.

### **Further Reading on Radical Democratic Socialism**

P. Hirst 'Democracy: socialism's best answer to the right' in Hindess Reactions to the Right, sympathetic but critical on radical democratic socialism

P. Hirst Representative Democracy and its Limits esp chs 1, 5 & 6. Argues for pluralist, democratic, associational socialism.

Economy & Society 20, 2, 1991. Special issue on state, democracy and socialism. See especially (but not only) Hindess' critique of radical democratic socialism.

J. Keane Democracy and Civil Society, esp preface and chs 1 & 4. Accessible and key statement of case for socialism as democratisation, influenced by East European anti-politics tradition.

S. Sayer & D. McLellan eds. Socialism and Democracy, accessible introductory collection, especially Gamble's piece

E. Laclau and C. Mouffe Hegemony and Socialist Strategy, for radical democratic pluralist populist socialism, 1985

C. Mouffe 'The Civics Lesson' New Statesman & Society 7 October 1988

N. Poulantzas State, Power, Socialism esp Pt 5 'Towards a Democratic Socialism'

N. Bobbio Which Socialism?

S Bowles & H Gintis Democracy and Capitalism esp ch 7 on postliberal democracy.

D. Held Models of Democracy esp Pt III 'Concluding Reflections' where he advocates principle of 'democratic autonomy'.

A. Wright Socialisms history of socialism advocating a pluralist democratic approach

F. Cunningham Democratic Theory and Socialism

P. Hirst Law, Socialism and Democracy

C. Mouffe ed. Dimensions of Radical Democracy, post-Marxist argument for pluralist democratic socialism influenced by discourse theory.

B. Hindess 'Socialism and Democracy: elaborations of the idea of the self-governing community' History of European Ideas 19 pp 309-15

### **Essay Questions**

- Is the market compatible with socialism?
- Is market socialism a contradiction?
- Does marketising socialism overcome the problems of socialism?
- Does democracy provide 'socialism's best answer to the right'?
- Democratic socialism is a contradiction in terms. You can have democracy or socialism. You cannot have both. Discuss

### **WEEK 9 GLOBALISATION AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY: HAS GLOBALISATION LED TO THE END OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND WELFARE?**

Some argue that economies are no longer national and so no longer controlled by national governments. Social policy is limited by global constraints, laws are made by supra-national bodies. Human rights, environmental problems, terrorism crime, etc are global issues in relation to which politics must be (or is) organised globally. The nation-state has declined. What powers have been lost by nation-states and to whom? In particular, what implications does globalisation have for national social democracy?

Social democracy is traditionally associated with high taxes, public spending, large welfare states and a working class base, all of which are seen to have been eroded by globalisation or made impossible due to the pressures of mobile international finance and globally mobile capital. These are said by some to have led governments (like New Labour) to construct neoliberal 'competition states'. Social democrats give up their traditional policies and practice neoliberal policies to attract and keep mobile capital in the country. Some of the reading and questions below focus on whether national social democracy is no longer viable under globalisation because of the rise of the 'competition state'.

There are, of course, various points of view. Some argue that nations are unevenly affected by the globalisation of politics, or even that they are the key actors in it and ultimately benefit from rather than losing from it. Some argue that nation-states retain quite a bit of autonomy to pursue social democratic policies. Others say that social democracy works well in some places that are very globalised and that the neoliberal competition state is something we think we have to go along with, rather than something we really do.

To what extent are globalisation and global capital things that constrain or prevent social democracy? Has it been the rise of globalisation rather than its own record that has brought an end to social democratic forms of socialism? Do other aspects of globalisation, like culture and migration, undermine social democracy. Is it possible to overcome the decline of nation-state social democracy by having a global social democracy?

- What does it mean to say that the nation-state is sovereign?
- What global and supra-national forces are said to have undermined the sovereignty of nation-states and of social democracy?
- Why has globalisation led to the 'competition state'? What pressures from neoliberal globalisation are there on the state?
- Why do nation-states choose to adopt a competition state model and is this the only path that is possible under globalisation?
- Is national social democracy made impossible by globalisation and the pressure to neoliberal competitiveness?
- Is there any evidence against the competition state thesis?
- What implications do the globalisation of culture and international migration have for social democracy?
- Is it possible to have global social democracy through global governance?

*A number of the readings focus on social democracy and the neoliberal competition state, and are mostly (but not entirely) sceptical about this thesis:*

### **Main Reading**

Read Mosley and one other.

Layna Mosley, 'Globalisation and the state: still room to move?', New Political Economy, 10, 3, September 2005, says states still have 'room to move' under globalisation and do not have join a 'race to the bottom'. Online at her UNC web page. See also her book, Global Capital and National Governments, 2003 and 'Room to Move', International Organisation 54, 4, 2000, also online at her UNC website.

David Held, Globalisation: the dangers and the answers, Open Democracy, 27 May 2004, especially parts 4 and 5, on global social democracy, online.

### **Further Reading**

Philip Cerny and Mark Evans, 'Globalisation and Public Policy under New Labour', Policy Studies, 25, 1, 2004, say that New Labour have adopted a competition state approach making the nation-state subservient to globalisation.

Tore Fougner, 'The State, international competitiveness and neoliberal globalisation: is there a future beyond "the competition state"', Review of International Studies, 32, 2006, says that the state does not have to be a competition state in response to globalisation and that the pressure to be so is more a product of neoliberal hegemony than something necessary.

Evelyn Huber and John D. Stephens, 'Globalisation, Competitiveness and the Social Democratic Model', Social Policy and Society, 1, 1, 2002, argue that globalisation does not compel states to become neoliberal competition states and that in fact social democracy is a better model under globalisation in many ways, including in terms of competitiveness.

Colin Crouch, Post-Democracy, 2005, more pessimistic and sociological perspective, says the decline of the working class and rise of the global firm has led to political elites being oriented around links with business at the expense of social democracy. See also his Fabian Society publication Coping with Post-democracy, 2000.

Paul Hirst, 'Has Globalisation Killed Social Democracy?', Political Quarterly 1999. No, he argues.

Dani Rodrik, 'Why do more open Economies have Bigger Governments?' Journal of Political Economy, 106, 5, 1998.

David Held, Global Covenant: the social democratic alternative to the Washington Consensus, 2004, talks about the possibility of social democracy via global governance.

Michael Jacobs et al, Progressive Globalisation : towards an international social democracy, Fabian Society, 2003, online. For social democracy being global.

Michael Jacobs, 'Beyond Cancun', The Guardian, 19 September 2003, on global social democracy.

Jonathan Portes, 'Why Ed Miliband shouldn't apologise for making the right decision on Eastern European migration', NIESR blog, 22 June 2012, online. Social democracy shouldn't be anti-immigration.

### Essay Questions

You can answer these questions with or without the quotes. The quotes are intended mainly as prompts.

'Nations benefit, in aggregate terms, from trade and financial openness, but openness forces them into competition with one another. Competition reduces governments' abilities to provide goods and services to their citizens and renders governments more accountable to external economic agents than to citizens. This hypothesis implies not only a convergence of national policies, but also a convergence toward the lowest common denominator'. (Mosley 2005). Discuss the implications of the competition thesis for social democracy.

'Members of the global corporate elite do nothing so blatant as taking away our right to vote.... They merely point out to a government that, if it persists in maintaining, say,

extensive labour rights, they will not invest in the country. All major parties in the country, fearing to call their bluff, tell their electorates that outmoded labour regulation must be reformed. The electorate then, whether conscious of the deregulation proposal or not, duly votes for those parties, there being few others to choose from'. (Crouch 2005: 33). Does corporate globalisation mean that governments have little choice but to follow the interests of business?

## **WEEK 10 THE CRISIS AND RETHINKING OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY: NEW LABOUR, THE THIRD WAY AND EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY**

This week we will focus on the crisis of social democracy from the 1970s onwards and how social democratic parties, New Labour in particular between 1997 and 2010, have tried to respond to it. This is an issue which relates back to many themes we have looked at this term: the collapse of Marxist-influenced state socialism; the origins and development of social democracy; new right and social movement criticisms of socialism; attempts to develop market socialist and radical democratic alternatives; and the pressure of globalisation.

Two principle causes of the crisis of social democracy are often highlighted. One is the decline of social democracy's traditional bedrock of support amongst the industrial working class. This class has shrunk as a result of the decline of manufacturing industry and with the growth of services, the public sector and middle class white-collar work. Furthermore, it is argued that social democracy's base has not only declined in size but has also become dealigned from its historical social democratic allegiances. It is now less partisan and more calculating in deciding on its loyalties. In short, social democracy has to orient to more middle class and calculating support.

The policies of traditional social democracy are also said to be in trouble. Post-war social democracy was based on Keynesian economics and a universal welfare state. However, Keynesianism is said to have been undermined by processes such as globalisation, and the welfare state is now too costly, inefficient, undemocratic and irrelevant to modern needs. The economics and social policy of social democracy, it is said, need renewal.

Social democracy throughout Europe, and arguably most radically in Britain, has tried to build alternative bases of electoral support, move away from the economics of public ownership and Keynesianism and to a bias towards private initiative and supply-side economics, to reform the welfare state and a shift away from socialist to more liberal values. What did the changes in New Labour actually amount to? Were they just sound-bites or did they have substance? Were they a break with old social democracy or social democracy updated and rescued? Were they Thatcherism with a human face or still something distinctively left-wing? Is there anything socialist in New Labour or contemporary social democracy? What does the 'third way' mean, if anything, and how broadly is it applicable? Our focus in this seminar will be on New Labour, but by no means exclusively so.

### **Questions For Reading and Seminar Discussion**

- Why did New Labour's electoral base decline, fragment and dealign?
- What was New Labour's approach to gaining electoral support?
- What sociological assumptions did New Labour make about the changed world we live in? What were the implications of these?

- What did the Keynesian welfare state involve, what is seen to be flawed about it, and why is it said to be less relevant now?
- What was New Labour's economic approach?
- What was New Labour's attitude to welfare reform and social policy?
- What were the values of 'Old Labour', and did New Labour continue to hold to them or not? Was New Labour just 'Thatcherism in disguise'?
- To what extent did New Labour achieve progress on social democratic concerns such as equality, poverty, community, etc?
- How did the reforms that happened in the Labour Party in Britain compare with those in social democratic parties elsewhere? Is the 'Third Way' applicable outside the UK?
- What is or was the 'Third Way'? Does it have a future? Are there realistic alternatives to it?

### **Main Reading**

Try to read two of the main readings.

Eric Shaw, Losing Labour's Soul? New Labour and the Blair Government 1997-2007, 2007.

C. Pierson Hard Choices: social democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, 2001, see ch 4 on globalisation and how it undermines social democracy, ch 5 on demographic change and social democracy, and ch 6 on the future of social democracy.

Stuart White, 'The Ambiguities of the Third Way', chapter one in S. White ed. New Labour: the progressive future?, 2001 on the idea of the 'third way'.

### **Further Reading**

Andrew Chadwick and Richard Heffernan, eds. The New Labour Reader, 2003.

Stuart Thomson, The Social Democratic Dilemma, pp 31-34 and chapter 2

Peter Wilby, 'Thatcherism's Final Triumph' Prospect 127, October 2006, says New Labour missed the chance to push Britain leftwards.

Ruth Lister, 'From Equality to Social Inclusion: New Labour and the welfare state', Critical Social Policy, 18, 2, 1998.

Ruth Levitas, The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour, especially introduction and chapter 7, 1998. See also her 'Against Work' in Critical Social Policy, 21, 4, 2001.

Ruth Lister, 'New Labour: a study of ambiguity from a position of ambivalence', Critical Social Policy, 21, 4, 2001.

Ross McKibbin, 'Labour Vanishes', London Review of Books, 36, 22, November 20<sup>th</sup> 2014.

Steven Fielding, The Labour Party: continuity and change in the making of New Labour, 2003.

Anthony Heath et al, The Rise of New Labour, 2001.

Robert Page, 'Without a Song in their Heart: New Labour the Welfare State and the retreat from democratic socialism', Journal of Social Policy, 36, 1, 2007, argues that New Labour is not socialist.

S. White ed. New Labour: the progressive future?, 2001, looks at the ideology of New Labour, its policies in government, and compares New Labour to other social democratic parties.

S. Hall (1998) 'The Great Moving Nowhere Show', Marxism Today. New Labour is a continuation of Thatcherism. See Amiel and Melburn Trust website for back issues of *Marxism Today*.

Tony Judt, Ill Fares the Land, 2011, readable and concise overview of the fate of social democracy since 1945 and the case for it now. See also his earlier article 'What is Living and What is Dead in Social Democracy?' New York Review, 2009.

C. Pierson Socialism After Communism, 1995, ch 1 on social democracy's declining class basis and & ch 2 on problems in its political economy.

A. Seldon ed The Blair Effect, 2001, covers range of areas. There is a 2001-5 edition jointly edited with Kavanagh.

S. Ludlam and M. Smith eds Governing as New Labour, 2004, and New Labour in Government, 2001, collections cover range of areas and comparisons with European social democratic parties.

D. Coates and P. Lawler eds New Labour in Power, 2000 collection, on different policy areas and comparisons with the US Democrats and European social democracy.

Wolfgang Merkel et al, Social Democracy in Power, 2007, comparative study of whether social democratic parties have managed to stay social democratic.

G. Kelly (ed) The New European Left, outline of other European social democratic parties.

Marxism Today 1998 one-off issue criticising New Labour for being too Thatcherite, conservative, authoritarian, etc. *Marxism Today's* are archived at [amielmelburn.org.uk](http://amielmelburn.org.uk)

C. Hay The Political Economy of New Labour, 1999, critique of New Labour for accommodating too much to Thatcherism.

Stuart Hall, 'New Labour has picked up where Thatcherism left off', The Guardian, 6 August 2003.

Ruth Lupton et al, New Labour's Social Policy Record: policy, spending and outcomes 1997-2010, LSE Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, 2013.

Martin Powell, ed, Evaluating New Labour's Welfare Reforms, 2002.

Tony Wood, 'Good Riddance to New Labour', New Left Review, 62, 2010.

### **Essay Questions**

- Does the decline of the industrial working class mean social democracy can no longer be socialist?
- Is a social democracy of Keynesianism and Welfare State no longer possible or desirable?
- 'New Labour'. Was it New? Was it Labour?
- Did New Labour solve the crisis of social democracy or end social democracy?
- What is the Third Way? Where does it lead?

## **WEEK 11 THE LEFT AFTER AUSTERITY**

This week we'll be getting up to date by looking at how the left has responded to the financial crisis and austerity. This was a great opportunity for socialism. Capitalism, especially in neo-liberal forms, was in a major crisis, apparently because of flaws in the way it works. Politicians responded with policies that seemed to hit the poor rather than bankers or the banking system behind the crisis. This should have been perfect grounds for socialism to make an argument for its critique of capitalism, mobilise its working class base, and construct the case for a socialist alternative. Yet the centre-left seemed to accept the right's agenda of austerity policies, and failed to launch an attack on financial capitalism.

However the further left in some countries, from Syriza to Podemos, has articulated an anti-austerity alternative, often based in social movements. Podemos has fallen away in the polls and Syriza has made some compromises. But Sanders polled well in the USA and in the UK Corbyn did unexpectedly well in becoming Labour leader and in the 2017 general election. Has anti-austerity politics revived the left and socialism? What are Corbyn's policies and would they advance socialism in power? What challenges do his kind of politics face? Is the post-austerity left populist rather than class-based? This week we will be looking at the state of the left today, in an era of austerity or post-austerity.

The NEF pamphlet looks at what a left discourse responding to austerity could be like. March looks at how/whether far left parties have responded to austerity. The readings on Corbyn focus on the rise of left and anti-austerity policies in the UK. Mason and Seymour look at bottom up radical movements that have filled the apparent gap left by state and party politics. Standing looks at the political implications of the 'preariat'.

### **Questions to guide reading and seminar discussion**

- Has the right managed to dominate post-financial crisis and, if so, how?
- How did the right mobilise the case and support for austerity?
- What are the consequences of austerity for left concerns, like equality and rights?
- What should a left alternative to austerity be? How could it be argued for?
- What left alternatives to austerity have there been?
- Is the anti-austerity left best developed outside parties in protest?
- What is the social agent for an anti-austerity left?



- Does Corbyn represent a revival of socialism after austerity?
- Is Corbyn a social democrat rather than a socialist?
- Has the post-austerity left gone from a working class project to one based in the educated, the young, the precariat or populism?

### **Main Reading**

Joe Guinan and Martin O'Neill, The institutional turn: Labour's new political economy, Renewal, 26, 1, 2018, on Corbyn's political economy. See also the Guinan and Hanna articles below on similar themes.

New Economics Foundation, Framing Austerity, 2013, looks at right and left discourses and policies of austerity.

### **Further Reading**

Joe Guinan and Thomas Hanna, Full Corbynism: constructing a new left political economy beyond neoliberalism, New Socialist, June 19<sup>th</sup> 2017, good overview of Corbyn policies, especially political economy ones.

Joe Guinan and Thomas Hanna, Democracy and decentralisation are their watchwords: for Corbyn and McDonnell, it's municipal socialism reinvented, Open Democracy, 25 March 2016.

Donatella della Porta et al eds, Movement Parties against Austerity, 2017, on the basing of leftist anti-austerity parties in social movements.

Michael Dauderstadt and Ernst Hillebrand, eds, Alternatives to Austerity Progressive Growth Strategies for Europe, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013. Online.

Dick Nichols, 'Party of the European Left's fourth congress: building unity to build hope', 24 February 2012, Links journal, online.

New Economics Foundation, Responses to Austerity: how groups across the UK are adapting, challenging and imagining alternatives, 2015, available online

Paul Mason, '20 reasons why it's kicking off everywhere', BBC news blog, 5 February 2011, on global protest and the graduate with no future.

Paul Mason, Why it's Kicking off Everywhere, 2012, see also his blog post on this.

Guy Standing, The Precariat: the New Dangerous Class, 2011, and A Precariat Charter, 2014. See also various articles on the precariat by Standing on Canvas and online.

Richard Seymour Against Austerity: how we can fix the crisis they made, 2014. See also Seymour article on Canvas.

Luke March, 'Problems and perspectives of contemporary European radical left parties: Chasing a lost world or still a world to win?', International Critical Thought, 2, 3, 2012

Luke March, 'The European radical left and the International Economic Crisis', Open Democracy, 5 February 2013.

Pablo Iglesias, 'Understanding Podemos', New Left Review, 93, 2015.

Joe Guinan, 'Returns to Capital: Austerity and the Crisis of European Social Democracy', The Good Society, 22, 1, 2013.

Marcus Anvelovioci et al eds, Street Politics in the Age of Austerity, 2016, on anti-austerity beyond the political sphere.

Eunice Goes, The Labour Party under Ed Miliband: trying but failing to renew social democracy, 2016, on Labour post-Blair and pre-Corbyn. See also her article of the same title online in Renewal 24, 1, 2016.

See also lots of online articles on Canvas, including articles on Corbyn, Syriza and Podemos.

### **Essay Questions**

How did the left fail to take advantage of the financial crisis and austerity?

Is there a left alternative to austerity?

Is the precariat a post-austerity agent for socialism?

Does the politics of anti-austerity show socialism must come from outside party politics?

Is Corbyn a socialist or a social democrat?

Would Corbyn's policies advance socialism?

Who supports socialism post-austerity?

These are quite general questions to give you flexibility in how you answer, so choose an angle or focus with them.

### **WEEK 12 FUKUYAMA: HAS CAPITALISM WON THE BATTLE WITH SOCIALISM?**

For some, social democracy after New Labour and post-austerity is the proof that socialism is dead, and that capitalism has won the battle and is the 'only game in town'. Fukuyama is the most famous, but not only, commentator to talk of the victory of capitalist liberal democracy over its old ideological adversary. Drawing on 'end of history' concepts from those such as Hegel and Kojève, Fukuyama says that capitalism has won the battle of ideas with socialism. Capitalism and liberal democracy are the new hegemony.

Both fascism and communism are seen to have been defeated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the West, class inequality as a problem is also over – inequalities in opportunities are not to do with capitalism but residues from the past, e.g. racism is to do with the legacy of slavery not capitalism. Left parties are in decline and conservatives dominant. China

and the rest of Asia are accepting capitalist and liberal principles. Liberalism is a long way from being realised materially in many places. But it has won ideologically. There are no alternative ideologies with visions of alternative economic and political systems. Islamic fundamentalism has little appeal beyond Muslim states while nationalism does not itself go against capitalism. Continuing international conflicts are between states still locked into history and those at the end of history – eg the Gulf War and Kosovo. There are no ideological grounds for major conflicts between nations. The struggle between opposing systems is no longer the determining tendency of the present-day era. The end of history means the end of ideologies. Economics, not politics, is the preoccupation. Problems are technical and not the stuff of heroic dreams. We face centuries of boredom.

There are criticisms of Fukuyama. The future is unpredictable, and societies have always been plagued by clashes between warring values. Capitalism may now be dominant but there are new contests between different forms of capitalism. Fukuyama assumes that market economies and liberal democracy go together. Yet this has not always been the case. Is his thesis truer of capitalism's spread than liberal democracy's? The former seems more popular than the latter.

Furthermore, does the financial crisis show that capitalism is fatally flawed? A small crisis in one section of the US mortgage market seems to be able to create huge negative repercussions across the globe. What would a more serious shock do? And there are those who argue that socialism is far from dead, for instance, Chavistas with their advocacy of a 21<sup>st</sup> century socialism nationally but also more internationally. Fukuyama himself has addressed Chavez's attempt to revive socialism.

This week we shall examine the claim that socialism is dead and that there is no longer any prospect for its revival. Debate over this issue depends in part on questions of what is meant by 'socialism' and 'dead' which we discussed at the start of the module. If socialism is not dead, in what shape or form does it have any continuing role? If capitalism is not unrivalled, then what are the alternatives to it, socialist or otherwise? Is the world now divided between different forms of capitalism, or are other divisions equally significant? Does capitalism need an enemy to ensure its own survival, and where may this come from?

### **Questions for Reading and Seminar Discussion**

- What does Fukuyama take from Hegel and Kojeve? In what way does he invert Marx?
- How does he see fascism and communism as having been defeated in the twentieth century?
- In what way does he say class has been solved as a problem in the capitalist west?
- What does Fukuyama have to say about alternatives such as Islamic fundamentalism and nationalism?
- How does he reconcile continuing international conflicts with his end of history thesis?
- In what way is his thesis primarily ideological?
- What are the main criticisms that can be made of Fukuyama? How fair have Fukuyama's critics been?
- What evidence is there that socialism is still alive?
- What rivalries are there either within capitalism or externally to it?
- Has Chavez shown that history has not ended and there is a future for socialism? What does Fukuyama have to say about Chavez?

- What does the financial crisis imply for the future of capitalism and the end of history thesis?
- Is there any evidence that capitalist liberal democracy will *not* be the dominant form of society for the rest of the twenty first century?
- Is socialism dead? What do 'socialism' and 'dead' mean?

### **Main Reading**

F. Fukuyama 'The End of History?', National Interest, Summer, 1989. Can sometimes be found online.

(His argument is extended in F. Fukuyama The End of History and the Last Man)

Frances Fukuyama, 'Second Thoughts: the last man in a bottle', National Interest 1999, he revisits the theme 10 years later. May also be available online.

### **Further Reading**

F. Fukuyama, 'A self-defeating hegemony', Guardian, 25 October 2007, online, says that US policy has led to anti-americanism, a new faultline in world politics he did not predict in 'The End of History'.

Frances Fukuyama, 'The End of Chavez - History's against him', Washington Post, August 6th 2006, online, in this article and one below Fukuyama discusses end of history themes in relation to Chavez and Latin America.

Frances Fukuyama, 'At the End of History Still Stands Democracy', The Wall Street Journal, June 6<sup>th</sup> 2014.

Frances Fukuyama, 'The Future of History', Foreign Affairs, January/February 2012. Fukuyama tries out some left(ish)-wing ideas. Can sometimes be found online.

Frances Fukuyama, 'A Quiet Revolution', Foreign Affairs, November/December 2007. May be online.

See debate on Fukuyama on Open Democracy website.

T. Burns ed. After History? Francis Fukuyama and his Critics

C. Bertram and A. Chitty eds Has History Ended?

H. Williams et al eds Francis Fukuyama and the End of History

T. Stanley and A. Lee, 'It's Still Not the End of History', The Atlantic, September 1<sup>st</sup> 2014.

P. Anderson The Ends of History, 1994

K. Kumar 'Post-History: living at the end' in G. Browning et al eds Understanding Contemporary Society, 2000

P. Saunders Capitalism: a social audit chapter on 'The Future of Capitalism'

Marxism Today November 1989 pieces on Fukuyama.

M. Albert Capitalism against Capitalism thesis that global divisions are between different forms of capitalism

**Essay Questions**

- What does Fukuyama really say in his 'end of history' thesis? How adequate is his analysis?
- Is Fukuyama right to say that history has ended, and socialism is no longer an alternative to capitalism?
- Fukuyama versus Chavez. Is socialism dead?
- Defining what you mean by 'socialism' and 'dead', give your views on whether socialism is dead or not.
- Is socialism dead?

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Hope you enjoyed the module!