

POLS 3520 01 Communism, Capitalism, and Social Justice
Saint Louis University, Political Science
Tuesday/Thursday 12:45-2:00pm
Fall 2021

Dr. Ellen Carnaghan
McGannon Hall, Room138
ellen.carnaghan@slu.edu
(314) 977-3038

In a discussion, a Russian communist asked a Catholic friend: "Why do people believe in your heaven but not in ours?" After a moment's thought the Catholic replied, "We do not show them our heaven!"



- What are the qualities of a just society and a just world?
- How can we organize society to promote values that people find important – like freedom, equity, fairness, or human dignity?

To address these questions, this class examines a variety of ideas and real-world cases. We examine theoretical critiques of capitalism and communism. And we investigate a variety of models of economic and political organization, from communist systems as they existed in the past to the present global capitalist system, both as it is experienced in the United States and as it has been moderated in social democratic systems such as those in Northern Europe. We also examine whether democracy is an essential element of a just society – and what kinds of economic systems can coexist with desirable political systems.

Inequalities based on gender, race, religion, or national identity usually are manifested in part as economic inequalities, and we investigate the role of various economic and political systems have in producing or ameliorating those inequalities.

One of the main goals of this class is to encourage you to think hard about what values should stand at the heart of a just society and to imagine creatively how to get there, with due recognition to the obstacles in place in the real world. That means you need to understand what various types of economic and political organization have managed to accomplish – where they have succeeded, and where they have failed. And you need to be attentive to ways social organizations can be modified to benefit the many instead of merely the few.

Office hours: Tuesday and Thursday 2:15-3:30, when you find me in, and by appointment. Feel free to drop by. My door is usually open.

If you prefer to meet on Zoom, you'll need an appointment. We can use this link:
<https://slu.zoom.us/j/7172394449> (there is a waiting room set up, and you may need to wait a bit).

Catalog course description

This course examines the Marxist critique of capitalism, focusing on theoretical and practical solutions to the problems of politics in Marxist thinking. Students will investigate why real-world Communist systems largely failed to achieve the goals to which they were dedicated and will examine alternative models of social and economic organization.

This class has no pre-requisites. Students from all majors are welcome and should be able to do well if they put in sufficient effort.

This class fulfills the College of Arts and Sciences Global Citizenship requirement. The Global Citizenship requirement is designed to educate students about global and transnational problems and to provide students with the tools to address issues of social justice beyond the United States. Students who complete the Global Citizenship requirement will gain a substantial subset of the following capabilities:

1. Identify sources of and strategies to address conflict, cooperation or competition in a global or regional context.
2. Investigate how people and nations confront inequality and claim a just place, whether in their own societies or in the world.
3. Identify how perceptions of “otherness” impact leaders, communities, and community-building in areas beyond the U.S. through the examination of such factors as race, ethnicity, gender, religion, economic class, age, physical and mental capability, and sexual orientation.
4. Understand the impact of their lives and choices on global and international issues.
5. Understand how their values are related to those of other people in the world.

This class also fulfills the core Social Science requirement. Students will acquire conceptual tools and methodologies to analyze and understand their social world. With these tools, you will be able to act in the world more effectively and become forces for positive change. You will gain a better understanding of human diversity. You will be able to think and write critically about human behavior and community. You will become aware of the various methodological approaches used by social scientists.

Course objectives:

After this course you should be able to:

- Employ competing normative and empirical theories and empirical evidence to assess how communism and capitalism promote or undermine freedom, equality, human dignity and justice.
- Examine social class in relation to other identity categories, particularly race, nationality, religion and gender in both communist and contemporary capitalist societies.
- Analyze how intersecting identities are shaped by different figurations of social and economic power
- Assess the effects of various social and political structures and distributions of power within them to determine which are more likely to promote equity, justice, human dignity, and freedom
- Evaluate reasons why the concrete application of Marxist ideas in Russia, China, Cambodia, and Cuba varied so much from the ideas in the abstract
- Propose changes in the structures, institutions, or policies of global and/or national capitalism that would promote flourishing, well-being, equity, justice, and the dignity of the human person
- Articulate how social contexts shape one’s own identity, biases, and life prospects and the identities, biases, and prospects of people in a variety of kinds of social and economic systems
- Reflect on how personal choices – one’s own and those of others – are shaped by **and** can shape the structures and effects of global capitalism

How will you know what you are learning?

So that you can tell what you're learning – and where you may need to put in more effort – we'll have two higher-stakes assessments and a bunch of low-stakes assessments throughout the semester. All assignments will be submitted through the Canvas assignment tool.

Higher-stakes assessments (50 percent of your final grade)

You will write one five-page essay, worth about 20 percent of your grade (due October 14) and one longer research paper worth 30 percent of your grade (due December 17). I will provide a prompt for each essay, though you will have some leeway for how you focus the second one. The second essay will require you to think through and synthesize much of what we study during the semester and also will require some outside research, depending on how you choose to focus it. There will not be a final exam.

You can expect me to grade the two essays within 14 days and return them to you by e-mail with comments.

Low-stakes assessments (50 percent of your final grade)

To give you a chance to practice the skills that you will need to do well in the higher-stakes assessments, there will be a variety of low-stakes assessments throughout the semester. Some of this work will be ungraded but useful to both you and me to tell what material may be more challenging to you. Some of this work will be graded, to provide you with an indication of how your understanding is progressing. These assignments and activities are designed to help you identify concepts that you may not fully understand or analytical skills that you may need to develop further. They will ask you to apply what you are learning in new ways and pull together concepts from across the semester. The more effort that you put into the low stakes assessments, the better you are likely to perform on the higher-stakes assessments.

These low-stakes assessments include short reflections, quizzes, some group projects, and your participation in class. You should come to class prepared to engage the material during every class meeting. This daily participation will help you apply the concepts you are learning and expose where you still have questions. To participate effectively, you will need to keep up to date with the assigned reading and continually think about how ideas from one set of readings relate to the others. You should be prepared to critically evaluate arguments made by the various authors, by other students, and by me. (Of course, we'll practice how to do this.) Sometimes, participating will mean contributing to all-class discussions, whether by asking questions or adding insights; sometimes we will have short group activities.

When you are absent, you are not able to participate. A class full of well-prepared students is more enjoyable and productive for everybody.

There will be a class discussion board open on Canvas throughout the semester. Participation in the discussion board is voluntary, unless I direct otherwise. The discussion board is a place for you to process readings, raise questions that remain after our class discussions, or share insights. Insightful comments, especially those that advance our class discussion will earn class participation credit. These comments can be made after class, but you are especially likely to earn credit if you raise questions about the day's readings before class starts.

Occasionally, there will be quizzes. Two quizzes are listed on the syllabus, though others could occur with or without notice.

Course policies

Attendance. Attendance is required at all class sessions unless you have an approved reason for missing class. If you are going to miss class, please e-mail me *before* the class you need to miss. I will excuse absences consistent with SLU's absence policy (see the end of this syllabus), but you are responsible for

the work the class does in your absence. In some cases – a missed quiz, presentation, or group activity – there may be no way to make up the work after the fact. If you have not had the absence pre-approved by me, you will receive a grade of 0 for that activity. You will receive a 0 for every unexcused absence and these zeroes will be calculated as part of your participation grade. If you have more than five unexcused absences, we will need to talk about whether it is possible for you to pass the class. If you arrive late or leave early, I may mark you as absent. The winning strategy is to come to class.

Late work. This is my approach to late essays: if I am still reading your fellow students' essays when you hand in yours, I will not penalize you for lateness. Once I am finished, I will mark down late essays a full letter grade (for instance, an A will become a B). However, you don't know how long it will take me to read your fellow students' essays, so there is some risk involved in handing in the paper late. Given the other pressures in your life, you may consider that risk acceptable. The risk-free strategy is to hand in work on time. (Note, this policy does not apply to in-class work, where you will receive a 0 if you miss class without an approved reason.)

Civility. Sometimes we will discuss controversial issues in class, and you may disagree with things you hear in class. You are always welcome to disagree either with me or with other students, but you must do so in a respectful and informed manner, appropriate to an institution of higher learning.

Plagiarism. It is critical that all work that you hand in is your own work and correctly gives credit to other sources that you consult. Plagiarized work will receive a grade of 0. Copying sections from someone else's work, even if you change the words around, counts as plagiarism.

Technology. While the most self-disciplined among us will not be distracted by the wealth of entertainments provided by the internet, laptops tend to reduce uninterrupted focus on what is happening in class. Laptops can even be a physical barrier between you and the person behind the raised screen. Most of the time, I will ask you to keep your laptops and phones closed and stored away.

Tips for success

Do all the readings and think about them. It is very difficult to fully engage with the topics we will be examining without doing the reading. I provide a reading question for each day to help you focus your reading on aspects we are likely to talk about in class. Many of these questions do not have simple and straightforward answers, so do not be surprised if you find yourself managing considerable ambiguity.

I always like to talk to you. If you are having trouble with the material or the way we use class time, let me know. Please come to my office hours or make an appointment for a better time to talk. We can try to identify the problem and explore new strategies that, hopefully, will lead to greater success for you. If there is something that you want to share with me anonymously, please put a note in my mailbox in McGannon 128.

I am happy to give you feedback on anything you are working on. For written assignments, I will read papers in any form (outlines, partial drafts, full drafts) *before* they are due, and I will give you oral feedback. Since my feedback will be oral, we will need to schedule time for you to get my comments.

Some of the phenomena discussed in this course – and some of the readings about them – are disturbing. We need to attend to the negative manifestations of various economic and political systems if we are to understand them. I have selected course materials and activities that I think will support your learning, but you may come across material that makes you uncomfortable, perhaps particularly uncomfortable as a result of your own past experiences. If this is the case, we have several ways to alleviate discomfort:

- Discuss the situation in class. Our task in this class is to come to terms with some difficult concepts and behavior. We can help each other through this process.
- Come talk to me privately if there is something about your own experience that makes it hard to

handle this information.

- If you are not comfortable discussing the issue with me directly, perhaps you can notify me through your academic adviser, another trusted faculty member, or a friend.

Grading Scale

| | | | | | | | |
|----|--------|----|-------|----|-------|---|----------|
| A | 93-100 | B+ | 87-89 | C+ | 77-79 | D | 60-70 |
| A- | 90-92 | B | 83-86 | C | 73-76 | F | below 60 |
| | | B- | 80-82 | C- | 70-72 | | |

- A Quality Work – work of superior quality. Class participation is voluntary, frequent, relevant, and demonstrates thoughtful reflection on the readings. Written work is clear, correct in content and presentation, well-organized and thought-provoking. Performance on exams demonstrates complete mastery of facts and concepts and the ability to apply concepts to new situations.
- B Quality Work – work of high quality. Class participation is voluntary, frequent, and reflects effort to understand the readings. Written work reflects a good understanding of the issues and concepts with minimal error. Performance on exams demonstrates mastery of facts and concepts.
- C Quality Work – work that minimally meets the course requirements. Class participation is occasional and/or rarely voluntary, with comments that reveal only a superficial grasp of issues and concepts. Written work may be disorganized or contain errors. Performance on exams demonstrates knowledge of facts and concepts.
- D Quality Work – work that has minimal clarity and comprehension. Class participation is minimal, never voluntary, and reveals a lack of preparation and/or understanding. Absences are frequent. Written work is confusing, contradictory, repetitive, and/or not well supported. Writing is marred with errors. Performance on exams demonstrates minimal mastery of facts and concepts.
- F Quality Work – Unsatisfactory performance along most measures, often including plagiarism, missing assignments, and excessive absence.

Required books: (at the bookstore)

Pipes, Richard. 2001. *Communism: A History*. New York: The Modern Library.

McGhee, Heather. 2021. *The Sum of Us: What Racism Costs Everyone and How We Can Prosper Together*. New York: One World.

There are additional readings online and on e-reserve (password: communism21). I suggest that you print these readings to make them easier to refer to in class.

Capitalism and its Discontents: Theory

“Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a *revolution*; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the *ruling* class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class *overthrowing* it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.”

(Marx, *The German Ideology*)

Think about the contours of an ideal society. What kind of political system would be required? What distribution of property? How would work be organized? How would you get from the present society to that ideal? What aspects of present society would you hope to eliminate or retain?

August 31

John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, ch. 9: The purposes of political society and government. Find online at:
<http://www.earlymoderntexts.com/assets/pdfs/locke1689a.pdf> (pp. 40-41)
 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origin of Inequality Among Men," in Albert Fried and Ronald Sanders, eds., *Socialist Thought: A Documentary History* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1964), pp. 33-43. Find online at:
<http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/inequality.html>
 Richard Pipes, *Communism: A History* (New York: The Modern Library, 2001), pp. 3-20.

What kind of equality is desirable in society? What kind of freedom?

September 2

Milton Friedman, "The Relation Between Economic Freedom and Political Freedom," from *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 7-21 (e-reserve).
 Ayn Rand, "What is Capitalism?" from *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal* (New York: Signet/New American Library, 1967), pp. 11-34 (e-reserve).

Is capitalism the best social system to preserve human freedom?

September 7

Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*: Introduction," <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm>
 Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/theses.htm>
 Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/>

Why does Marx think the proletariat is a class in "radical chains"? Do you agree?

(Marx starts to make more sense the more you read. Keep moving forward; don't get stuck on details. If you've already read the Manifesto, feel free to read something else.)

September 9

Marx, "Estranged Labour," from the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*," <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/labour.htm>
 Friedrich Engels, Excerpt from *Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845), ch 4, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/condition-working-class/ch04.htm> (Read as much as you want, but for class focus on the part about Manchester, after the map about half-way through.)

Does the concept of alienated labor ring true to you based on your own experience in the workforce?

- September 14 Marx, "Proletarians and Communism," from *The German Ideology*,
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01d.htm>
 Marx, "Wage Labour and Capital,"
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/wage-labour/index.htm>

Is revolution necessary? Is it inevitable?

- September 16 Engels, *The Principles of Communism* (1847)
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/11/prin-com.htm>

Could a communist society also be democratic?

THEORY QUIZ

Real-Existing Communism

"Under capitalism, man exploits man. Under communism, it's just the opposite." (John Kenneth Galbraith)

- September 21 Marx, "Private Property and Communism," from the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*,"
<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/manuscripts/comm.htm>
 Pipes, ch. 2, "Leninism," pp. 23-51.

Why did communism in practice look so different from the theory?

- September 23 Pipes, ch. 3, "Stalinism and After," pp. 55-87 and the Cold War, pp. 108-110.

Why does the effort to put Marx's ideas into practice have such high human costs?

- September 28 Louis Fischer in Richard Crossman, ed., *The God the Failed* (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 196-228 (e-reserve).

Is it true, as Fischer says, the "immoral means produce immoral ends – and immoral persons – under Bolshevism and under capitalism"?

- September 30 Pipes, ch. 5, "The Third World," pp. 117-135.
 Mao Tse Tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People,"
 Read through section V. Find online at:
http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-5/mswv5_58.htm

Why does trying to impose communism so consistently lead to famine?

- October 5 Katherine Verdery. *What was socialism and what comes next?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 19-39 and 61-82 (e-reserve).
- How effective were communist regimes at creating more equal gender regimes?*
- October 7 TRIAL OF KARL MARX
The attempt to put Marx's ideas into practice produced great harm. In this group activity, we will explore whether the fault lies in the people who tried to build communism in the real world and the circumstances in which they found themselves OR in the original ideas themselves. This activity will help you refine your ideas for the first essay.
- Kristen Ghodsee, "Gross Domestic Orgasms," "My Mother and a Clock," and "Three Bulgarian Jokes," from *Red Hangover: Legacies of Twentieth-Century Communism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), pp. 102-128, 149 (e-reserve).
- Kristen Ghodsee, "Lost in Transition, 2010," from *Lost in Transition: Ethnographies of Everyday Life after Communism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 177-193 (e-reserve).
- In what ways might communist societies promote freedom and human dignity more than capitalist societies do?*
- October 12 Svetlana Alexievich, *Secondhand Time: The Last of the Soviets, An Oral History* (New York: Random House, 2016), pp. 17-38 (e-reserve).
- How did the collapse of communism change people's relationship to money?*
- October 14 COMMUNISM ESSAY DUE

Class, Race, and Capitalism in the U.S.

"With the supermarket as our temple and the singing commercial as our litany, are we likely to fire the world with an irresistible vision of America's exalted purpose and inspiring way of life?" (Adlai Stevenson)

- October 19 Nancy Fraser, "Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History," *New Left Review* 56 (March-April 2009): 97-117 (e-reserve).
- How have changes in the nature of capitalism affected the struggle for gender equality in capitalist systems?*
- October 21 Herbert Marcuse, "The New Forms of Control," and "Conclusion," from *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 1-18, 247-257 (e-reserve).
- Explore inequality statistics at <https://inequality.org/facts/>
- Do you agree with Marcuse that "a comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails in advanced industrial civilization"? Is consumerism a mechanism for social control?*

- October 26 Matthew Desmond, "In order to understand the brutality of American capitalism, you have to start on the plantation," *New York Times Magazine*, August 14, 2019.
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/08/14/magazine/slavery-capitalism.html>
- Ta-Nehisi Coates, "The Case for Reparations," *The Atlantic*, June 2014.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>
- W.E.B. DuBois, "Marxism and the Negro Problem," from *The Social Theory of W.E.B. DuBois*, edited by Phil Zuckerman (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 2004), pp. 130-133 (on e-reserve).

How does the legacy of slavery affect capitalism in the U.S.?

October 28 Fall break – no class

- November 2 Walter Johnson, "Black Removal by White Approval," from *The Broken Heart of America: St. Louis and the Violent History of the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), pp. 291-336 (on e-reserve).

How did urban development intensify racial inequality?

- November 4 Heather McGhee, *The Sum of Us: What Racism Costs Everyone and How We Can Prosper Together* (New York: One World, 2021), chs. 2 and 3, pp. 17-65.

Are you convinced by McGhee's argument that racism explains why the provision of public goods is so much more meager in the US than in other wealthy capitalist countries?

- November 9 McGhee, chs. 6 and 8, pp. 139-164, 193-218.

How do racism and capitalism undermine democracy?

- November 11 McGhee, chs. 9 and 10, pp. 221-289.

"Who is an American? And what are we to one another?" (p. 288)

CAPITALISM QUIZ

Alternate futures?

"Criticism has plucked the imaginary flowers on the chain not in order that man shall continue to bear the chain without fantasy or consolation, but so that he shall throw off the chain and pluck the living flower."
 (Karl Marx)

- November 16 GROUP ACTIVITY – ALTERNATE FUTURES
What kinds of strategies can we imagine to promote a more just world?
- Vaclav Havel, “The Power of the Powerless,” sections XX-XXII, pp. 72-80 (e-reserve). I’ve provided the entire essay, in case you are interested, but you are only responsible for the last sections.
- Antonio Gramsci, “Intellectuals and Hegemony,” and “Revolution in the West,” in David McLellan, ed., *Marxism: Essential Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 264-272 (e-reserve).
- Nafeenz Ahmed, “MIT Predicted in 1972 That Society Will Collapse This Century. New Research Shows We’re on Schedule.” *Vice*, July 14, 2021.
https://www.vice.com/en/article/z3xw3x/new-research-vindicates-1972-mit-prediction-that-society-will-collapse-soon?utm_source=iterable&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=campaign_2597584_nl_Daily-Briefing_date_20210716&cid=db&source=ams&sourceid=2457012
- Is it possible to start a revolution by changing your mind and the minds of others?*
- November 18 Edward Broadbent, “Social Democracy: Past and Future,” *Dissent* 46, 4 (Fall 1999): 45-52 (e-reserve).
Knut Kjeldstadli and Idar Helle, “Social Democracy in Norway,” from *The Three Worlds of Social Democracy*, ed. By Ingo Schmidt (London: Pluto Press, 2016), pp. 46-67 (e-reserve).
- Why are social democratic systems successful at improving the conditions of women?*
- November 23 Susi Meret and Birte Siim, “Multiculturalism, right-wing populism and the crisis of social democracy,” from *The Crisis of Social Democracy in Europe*, ed. by Michael Keating and David McCrone (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 125-139 (e-reserve).
Ingo Schmidt, “Conclusion: Limits to Social Democracy, Populist Moments and Left Alternatives,” from *The Three Worlds of Social Democracy*, ed. By Ingo Schmidt (London: Pluto Press, 2016), pp. 251-276 (e-reserve).
- How can social democratic systems adapt to more diverse societies?*
- November 25 Thanksgiving – no class
- November 30 Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973), chs. 1 and 2, pp. 3-42 (e-reserve).
Explore global inequality statistics at <https://inequality.org/facts/global-inequality/>
- What do people in the US owe people in poorer countries?*
- December 2 REFLECTION ASSIGNMENT
- For this “low stakes” assignment (like a quiz but different in form), write an essay

of around 500 words considering the following questions.
How have your identity, biases, choices and life prospects been affected by the capitalist system – both global and national – within which you grew up? How can you shape that system?

Due by 12:45pm, submit through Canvas

December 7 Rosa Luxemburg, *The Russian Revolution*, ch. 6, “The Problem of Dictatorship,” <https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1918/russian-revolution/ch06.htm>
and ch. 8 “Democracy and Dictatorship,” <https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1918/russian-revolution/ch08.htm>
Pipes, pp. 138-142.
Archie Brown, “Cuba: A Caribbean Communist State,” from *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (New York: Ecco, Harper Collins, 2009), pp. 293-312 (on e-reserve).

Why do communist systems tend not to be democratic?

December 9 Carollee Bengelsdorf, *The Problem of Democracy in Cuba: Between Vision and Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 66-98 (e-reserve).
Rut Diamint and Laura Tedesco, “Why Cubans took to the streets,” *Open Democracy*, 23 July 2021.
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/democraciaabierta/why-cubans-took-to-the-streets/>

What kind of system provides the ideal mix of freedom and fairness?

December 17 SYNTHESIS/RESEARCH PAPER DUE by noon (in lieu of a final exam)

Additional readings on Marx and Engels:

A short list of readings for beginners: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/sw/index.htm>

Elster, Jon. 1985. *Making Sense of Marx*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Guevara, Ernesto Che, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and Rosa Luxemburg. 2005. *Manifesto: Three Classic Essays on How to Change the World*. New York: Ocean Press.

Kolakowski, Leszek. 2005. *Main Currents of Marxism*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Ollman, Bertell. 1976. *Alienation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ruis. 1976. *Marx for Beginners*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Sperber, Jonathan. 2014. *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life*. Liveright.

Suchting, W. A. 1983. *Marx: An Introduction*. New York: New York University Press.

Tucker, Robert. 1972. *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, Edmund. 1972. *To the Finland Station*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Wolff, Jonathan. 2002. *Why Read Marx Today?* New York: Oxford University Press.

Additional readings on existing communism:

Barnett, A. Doak. 1967. *Cadres, Bureaucracy, and Political Power in Communist China*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cai, Yongshun. 2019. "Community Elites and Collective Action: The State and the Starved during the Chinese Famine." *Politics & Society*. Online first.

Cohen, Stephen F. 1980. *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Courtois, Stephane, ed. 1999. *The Black Book of Communism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Crossman, Richard, ed. 1949. *The God That Failed*. New York: Harper Collins.

Dunlop, Nic. 2006. *The Lost Executioner: A Story of the Khmer Rouge*. New York: Walker & Company.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. 1994. *The Russian Revolution 1917-1932*. Second Edition. New York: Oxford.

Friedrich, Carl J., and Zbigniew Brzezinski. 1965. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ghodsee, Kristen. 2011. *Lost in Transition: Ethnographies of Everyday Life after Communism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ghodsee, Kristen. 2017. *Red Hangover: Legacies of Twentieth-Century Communism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Him, Chanrithy. 2001. *When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up Under the Khmer Rouge*. New York: Norton.

Holmes, Leslie. 2009. *Communism: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

MacFarquhar, Roderick. 2006. *Mao's Last Revolution*. New York: Belknap Press.

Mao Tse-Tung. 1937. *China: The March Toward Unity*. Arms Press.

Mao Tse-tung. 1990. *Quotations from Chairman Mao*. San Francisco: China Books.

Mao Tse-tung. 1991. *On Guerrilla Warfare*. New York: Presidio Press.

Medvedev, Roy. 1971. *Let History Judge*. New York: Random House.

Millar, James R., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 1994. *The Social Legacy of Communism*. New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.

Milosz, Czeslaw. 1953. *The Captive Mind*. New York: Vintage.

Nove, Alec. 1992. *An Economic History of the USSR 1917-1991*. New York: Penguin.

- Pran, Dith. 1999. *Children of Cambodia's Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sandle, Mark. 2006. *Communism: A Short History of a Big Idea*. Harlow, UK: Pearson/Longman.
- Snow, Edgar, and John K. Fairbank. 1994. *Red Star over China: The Classic Account of the Birth of Chinese Communism*. New York: Grove Press.
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Available services

University Counseling Center

The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers free, short-term, solution-focused counseling to Saint Louis University undergraduate and graduate students. UCC counselors are highly trained clinicians who can assist with a variety of issues, such as adjustment to college life, troubling changes in mood, and chronic psychological conditions. To make an appointment, call 314-977-8255 (TALK), or visit the clinic on the second floor of Wuller Hall.

Student Success Center

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. The Student Success Center assists students with academic-related services and is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite, 331). Students can visit <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/> to learn more about tutoring services, university writing services, disability services, and academic coaching.

University Writing Services

Students are encouraged to take advantage of University Writing Services in the Student Success Center; getting feedback benefits writers at all skill levels. Trained writing consultants can help with writing projects, multimedia projects, and oral presentations. University Writing Services offers one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. For more information, visit <https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/> or call the Student Success Center at 314-977-3484.

Basic Needs Security

Students in personal or academic distress and/or who may be specifically experiencing challenges such as securing food or difficulty navigating campus resources, and who believe this may affect their performance in the course, are encouraged to contact the Dean of Students Office (deanofstudents@slu.edu or 314-977-9378) for support. Furthermore, please notify the instructor if you are comfortable in doing so, as this will enable them to assist you with finding the resources you may need.

University Policies

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is honest, truthful and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors. The mission of Saint Louis University is “the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity.” Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service through which SLU fulfills its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity, and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern. The full University-level Academic Integrity Policy can be found on the Provost's Office website at: https://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/academic-and-course/policy_academic-integrity_6-26-2015.pdf.

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. Information for the College of Arts and Sciences can be found here: <https://www.slu.edu/arts-and-sciences/student-resources/academic-honesty.php>

Disability Accommodations

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations must formally register their disability with the University. Once successfully registered, students also must notify their course instructor that they wish to use their approved accommodations in the course.

Please contact the Center for Accessibility and Disability Resources (CADR) to schedule an appointment to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Most students on the St. Louis campus will contact CADR, located in the Student Success Center and available by email at accessibility_disability@slu.edu or by phone at [314.977.3484](tel:314.977.3484). Once approved, information about a student's eligibility for academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors by email from CADR and within the instructor's official course roster. Students who do not have a documented disability but who think they may have one also are encouraged to contact to CADR. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries.

Title IX

Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination, and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual harassment, including sexual assault, stalking, domestic or dating violence, we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident that involves a Title IX matter, **that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX Coordinator and share the basic facts of your experience.** This is true even if you ask the faculty member not to disclose the incident. The Title IX Coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

Anna Kratky is the Title IX Coordinator at Saint Louis University (DuBourg Hall, room 36; anna.kratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886). If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK or make an anonymous report through SLU's Integrity Hotline by calling 1-877-525-5669 or online at <http://www.lighthouse-services.com/slu>. To view SLU's policies, and for resources, please visit the following web addresses: <https://www.slu.edu/about/safety/sexual-assault-resources/index.php> and <https://www.slu.edu/general-counsel>.

IMPORTANT UPDATE: SLU's Title IX Policy (formerly called the Sexual Misconduct Policy) has been significantly revised to adhere to a new federal law governing Title IX that was released on May 6, 2020. Please take a moment to review the new policy and information at the following web address: <https://www.slu.edu/about/safety/sexual-assault-resources/index.php>. Please contact the Anna Kratky, the Title IX Coordinator, with any questions or concerns.

In-Person Class Attendance and Participation

The health and well-being of SLU's students, staff, and faculty are critical concerns, as is the quality of our learning environments. Accordingly, the following University policy statements on in-person class attendance are designed to preserve and advance the collective health and well-being of our institutional constituencies and to create the conditions in which all students have the opportunity to learn and successfully complete their courses.

1. Students who exhibit any [potential COVID-19 symptoms](#) (those that cannot be attributed to some other medical condition the students are known to have, such as allergies, asthma, etc.) shall absent themselves from any in-person class attendance or in-person participation in any class-related activity until they have been evaluated by a qualified medical official. Students should contact the [University Student Health Center](#) for immediate assistance.
2. Students (whether exhibiting any of potential COVID-19 symptoms or not, and regardless of how they feel) who are under either an isolation or quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official must absent themselves from all in-person course activities per the stipulations of the isolation or quarantine directive.

3. Students are responsible for notifying their instructor of an absence as far in advance as possible; when advance notification is not possible, students are responsible for notifying each instructor as soon after the absence as possible. Consistent with the [University Attendance Policy](#), students also are responsible for all material covered in class and must work with the instructor to complete any required work. In situations where students must be absent for an extended period of time due to COVID-19 isolation or quarantine, they also must work with the instructor to determine the best way to maintain progress in the course as they are able based on their health situation.
4. Consistent with the [University Attendance Policy](#), students may be asked to provide medical documentation when a medical condition impacts a student's ability to attend and/or participate in class for an extended period of time.
5. As a temporary amendment to the current [University Attendance Policy](#), all absences due to illness or an isolation/quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official, or due to an adverse reaction to a COVID-19 vaccine, shall be considered "Authorized" absences

Face Masks (2021-2022)

Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, key safeguards like face masks have allowed SLU to safely maintain in-person learning. If public health conditions and local, state, and federal restrictions demand it, the University may require that all members of our campus community wear face masks indoors.

Therefore, any time a University-level face mask requirement is in effect, face masks will be required in this class. This expectation will apply to all students and instructors, unless a medical condition warrants an exemption from the face mask requirement (see below).

When a University-wide face mask requirement is in effect, the following will apply:

- Students who attempt to enter a classroom without wearing masks will be asked by the instructor to put on their masks prior to entry. Students who remove their masks during a class session will be asked by the instructor to resume wearing their masks.
- Students and instructors may remove their masks briefly to take a sip of water but should replace masks immediately. The consumption of food will not be permitted.
- Students who do not comply with the expectation that they wear a mask in accordance with the University-wide face mask requirement may be subject to disciplinary actions per the rules, regulations, and policies of Saint Louis University, including but not limited to those outlined in the *Student Handbook*. Non-compliance with this policy may result in disciplinary action, up to and including any of the following:
 - dismissal from the course(s)
 - removal from campus housing (if applicable)
 - dismissal from the University
- To immediately protect the health and well-being of all students, instructors, and staff, instructors reserve the right to cancel or terminate any class session at which any student fails to comply with a University-wide face mask requirement.

When a University-wide face mask requirement is not in effect, students and instructors may choose to wear a face mask or not, as they prefer for their own individual comfort level.

ADA Accommodations for Face Mask Requirements

Saint Louis University is committed to maintaining an inclusive and accessible environment. Individuals who are unable to wear a face mask due to medical reasons should contact the Office of Disability Services (students) or Human Resources (instructors) to initiate the accommodation process identified in the University's [ADA Policy](#). Inquiries or concerns may also be directed to the [Office of Institutional Equity and Diversity](#). Notification to instructors of SLU-approved ADA accommodations should be made in writing prior to the first class session in any term (or as soon thereafter as possible).