



["SOCIALISM: Our Launching Pad": Soviet Poster from the 1970s. Note also the name of the rocket: "EAST-4"]

Socialisms:

HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY
OF UTOPIAS AND GEOPOLITICS

A Graduate Seminar

CONVENOR: JÓZSEF BÖRÖCZ

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Dept of Sociology
Rutgers University
Spring 2004; 16.920.571.01
Tue 4:10-6:50 Lucy Stone Hall (Livingston Campus) A 256

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or by appt (use email for contact)

This is a graduate seminar in the historical sociology of utopias and geopolitics. It scrutinizes the history of socialisms as ideas as well as specific socio-political, -economic and -cultural practices by engaging a critique organised by two perspectives: /1/ historical macro-sociology in the world-systems mould and /2/ (post-)colonial analysis. We do not cover world-systems analysis or post-colonial work per se: I assume the participants' basic familiarity with the issues and sensibilities of those perspectives. If you feel you need to brush up on either, I recommend these books as a point of departure (not part of the course):

- So, Alwyn. 1990. *Social Change and Development. Modernization, Dependency, and World-System Theories*. Newbury Park: Sage Library of Social Research 178.
- Arrighi, Giovanni & Beverly Silver. (eds.) 1999. *Chaos and Governance in the Modern World System*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- Loomba, Ania. 1998. *Colonialism / Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths & Helen Tiffin. (eds.) 1995. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London: Routledge

The purpose of this course is gaining literacy in, devising critiques of and deriving inspiration for further work on, socialisms. You are expected to:

- come to class prepared, with an active interest in both macrosocial analysis, an investigative curiosity and a mature intellectual agenda relating to the issues at hand,
- present one or two 5-10-minutes-long, sharply focussed remarks introducing the given week's readings as a stimulus for class discussion (schedule of remarks will be assigned in first class meeting),
- bring a less-than-one-page list of substantive problem items (the most clearly formulated critical questions you would pose to the authors if they were here) to each class, in as many copies as members of the class,
- contribute your unique perspective, erudition and experience to the discussions, and
- write a high-quality research paper on a relevant subject on time.

Grading is a judicious combination of your contribution to the discussions, your presentations, homeworks (if any) and your paper. Paper topics and conditions subject to class decision on format. TBA.

The books have been ordered through the Livingston College Bookstore. You will also find them on Graduate Reserves in Alexander Library.

Schedule

20 January 2004 – Class Cancelled: József is out-of-town. :-(

27 January – Introduction: Issues and Approaches

Film to be shown in class: I am Cuba. Dir.: Mikheil Kalatozishvili (a.k.a. Mikhail Kalatozov). Script: Yevgeny Yevtushenko. 1964. Soviet-Cuban. 141 min.

30 January – Makeup Class: The Manifesto, Read from the Rest-of-the-World

Required Reading:

- Karat, Prakash (ed.) 1999. a world to win. Essays on the Communist Manifesto. New Delhi: LeftWord.

Plus: discussion of I am Cuba

3 February – Utopia and Socialism

Required Readings:

- Levitas, Ruth. 1990. The Concept of Utopia. Syracuse University Press. Chapters;
 - Introduction (1-8)
 - Ideal commowealths: the emerging tradition (9-34)
 - Castles in the air: Marx, Engels, and utopian socialism (35-58)
 - Mobilising myths: utopia and social change in Geoges Sorel and Karl Mannheim (59-82)
- Baumann, Zygmunt. 1976. Socialism: The Active Utopia. New York: Holmes & Meier. (9-141)

10 February – Class vs Nation: Which Is Total, Which Is Particular?

Required:

- Luxemburg, Rosa. 1976. *The National Question*. Selected Writings by Rosa Luxemburg. Edited with an Introduction by Horace B. Davis. New York: Monthly Review Press. (9–320)
- Lukács, Georg. 1968. *History and Class Consciousness*. Studies in Marxist Dialectics. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. Cambridge: The MIT Press. Chapters:
 - Preface to the New Edition (1967) (ix–xi)
 - Preface (xli–xlvii)
 - What is Orthodox Marxism? (1–26)
 - The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg (27–45)
 - Class Consciousness (46–82)

Recommended:

- Heller, Ágnes. 1982. *A theory of history*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Especially the “Introduction to a theory of history” (279–333).
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17 February – The Global: Abandoned – To Be Seduced?

Required:

- Callinicos, Alex. 1990. *Trotskyism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Castoriadis, Cornelius. 1988. *Political and Social Writings*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
 - > Volume 1, 1945–1955: *From the Critique of Bureaucracy to the Positive Content of Socialism*. Chapters:
 - General Introduction (3–36)
 - 1. On the Regime and against the Defense of the USSR. (37–43)
 - 2. The Problem of the USSR and the Possibility of a Third Historical Solution (44–55)
 - 5. Socialism or Barbarism (76–106)
 - 12. The Situation of Imperialism and Proletarian Perspectives (256–89)

Recommended:

Trotsky, Leon. 1959 (1932). *The Russian Revolution*. The overthrow of tzarism

& the triumph of the soviets. Selected and edited by F. W. Dupee. New York: Doubleday Anchor.

Laidi, Zaki (ed.) 1988. *The Third World and the Soviet Union*. London: Zed Books.

24 February – €-Communism

Required:

- Filo della Torre, Paolo, Edward Mortimer and Jonathan Story (eds.) 1979. *Eurocommunism: Myth or Reality?* Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin. Chapters:
 - 1 Eurocommunism: Myth or Reality? (9-34)
 - Appendix One: Joint Declaration of the Italian and Spanish Communist Parties, 12 July 1975 (330-3)
 - Appendix Two: Joint Declaration of the French and Italian Communist Parties, 15 November 1975 (334-8)
- Amin, Samir. 1980. "Concerning Eurocommunism." *Contemporary Marxism*, 19-26.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1980. "Eurocommunism: Its Roots in European Working Class History." *Contemporary Marxism*, 1-7.
- Frank, André Gunder. 1980. "World System in Crisis." *Contemporary Marxism* 8-18.
- Morosini, Giuseppe. 1980. "The European Left and the Third World." *Contemporary Marxism* 67-82.

Recommended: rest-of-book

2 March – Hegemonies

Required:

- Laclau, Ernesto & Chantal Mouffe. 1985. *Hegemony & Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Process*. London: Verso. Chapters:
 - Introduction (1-6)
 - 1 Hegemony: the Genealogy of a Concept (7-46)
 - 2 Hegemony: the Difficult Emergence of a New Political Logic (47-92)

Kang, Liu. 1997. "Hegemony and Cultural Revolution." *New Literary History*, 28,1:69-86.

Recommended:

- rest-of-book
- Li, Jieli. 1993. "Geopolitics of the Chinese Communist Party in the Twentieth Century." *Sociological Perspectives*, 36,4:315-33.

9 March – Tito's Imperialist Chained Dog

Required:

- State Prosecutor's Office. 1949. *László Rajk and His Accomplices before the People's Court*. Budapest: State Prosecutor's Office. Chapters:

Required:

- The Indictment (5-27)
 - Examination of László Rajk (31-81)
 - Speeches for the Defence (274-88)
 - The Last Plea: László Rajk (289-90)
 - The Verdict (303-6)
- Kádár, János and László Rajk. 1996. "The Interrogation of László Rajk, 7 June 1949. A Transcript of the Secret Recording." *The Hungarian Quarterly*, 141.

Recommended: rest-of-book

Spring Recess

23 March – Classess and Raceless Society?

Required:

- Weitz, Eric D. 2002. "Racial Politics without the Concept of Race: Reevaluating Soviet Ethnic and National Purges." *Slavic Review*, 61, 1 (Spring): 1-29.
- Hirsch, Francine. 2002. "Race without the Practice of Racial Politics." *Slavic Review*, 61, 1 (Spring): 30-43.

- Weiner, Amir. 2002. "Nothing but Certainty." *Slavic Review*, 61, 1 (Spring): 44-53.
 - Lemon, Alaina. 2002. "Without a 'Concept'? Race as Discursive Practice." *Slavic Review*, 61, 1 (Spring): 54-61.
 - Weitz, Eric D. 2002. "On Certainties and Ambivalencies: Reply to My Critics." *Slavic Review*, 61, 1 (Spring): 62-5.
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30 March – The Soviet Model and the Globe

Required:

- Arnason, Johann P. 1995. "The Soviet Model as a Mode of Globalization." *Thesis Eleven*, 41: 36-53.
 - Zaslavsky, Victor. 1985. "The Soviet World System: Origins, Evolution, Prospects for Reform." *Telos*, 65, Fall: 3-22.
 - Minh, Ho Chi. 1925. "Report on the National and Colonial Questions at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International." Ho Chi Minh Internet Archive:
<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/ho-chi-minh/works/1924/07/08.htm>
 - Pietz, William. 1985. "The 'Post-Colonialism' of Cold War Discourse." *Social Text*, 19/20 (Autumn): 55-75. Read also Anders Stephanson's comments and Pietz's rejoinder.
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6 April –After the Soviet Project I: What's LEFT?

Required:

- Mignolo, Walter D. 2002. "The Zapatistas' Theoretical Revolution. Its Historical, Ethical, and Political Consequences. Review (Fernand Braudel Center), XXV, 3: 245-75.
- Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. 2002. "Postimperial Reflections on Crisis Knowledge, and Utopia. Transgressstopic Critical Hermeneutics and the 'Death of European Man'." Review (Fernand Braudel Center), XXV, 3: 277-315.
- Mendieta, Eduardo. 2002. "Utopia, Dystopia, Utopistics, or the End of Utopia. On Wallerstein's Critique of Historical Materialism." Review (Fernand Braudel Center), XXV, 3: 225-43.

- Teivainen, Teivo. 2002. "Overcoming Economism." Review (Fernand Braudel Center), XXV, 3: 317-42.
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13 April – After the Soviet Project II:

Required:

- Derlugian, Georgi M. 2000. "The Process and the Prospects of Soviet Collapse: Bankruptcy, Segmentation, Involution." Pp. 203-26 in Georgi M. Derlugian & Scott L. Greer (eds.) Questioning Geopolitics: Political Projects in a Changing World-System. Westport, CT: Praeger.
 - Sztompka, Piotr. 1993. "Civilizational Incompetence: The Trap of Post-Communist Societies." Zeitschrift für Soziologie, 22, 2, Apr: 85-95.
 - Strayer, Robert. 2001. "Decolonization, Democratization, and Communist Reform: The Soviet Collapse in Comparative Perspective." Journal of World History, 12,2: 375-407.
 - Brar, Bhupinder. 2002. "Theorizing Transitions: Post-Coloniality, Post-Socialism and the Coming Age of Globalization." International Studies, 39,4: 323-34.
 - Burawoy, Michael and Pavel Krotov. 1995. "Russian Miners Bow to the Angel of History." Antipode, 27,2:115-36.
 - Dirlik, Arif. 2002. "Modernity as history: post-revolutionary China, globalization and the question of modernity." Social History, 27,1 (January): 16-39.
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20 April, 27 April: Research Discussion Days: topics TBA
