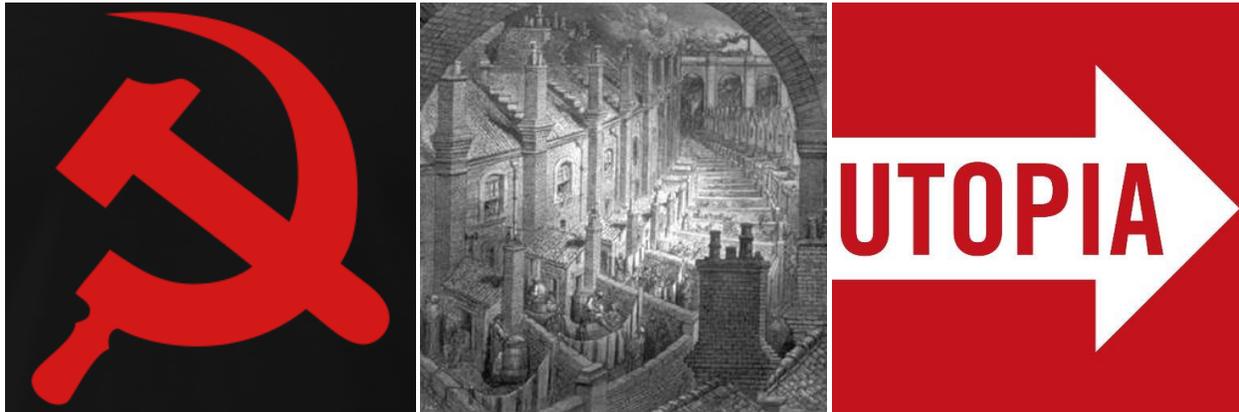


POLS 3520 01 Communism, Capitalism, and Social Justice
Saint Louis University, Political Science
Tuesday/Thursday 11:00-12:15
Fall 2017

Dr. Ellen Carnaghan
McGannon Hall, Room140
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(314) 977-3038

*How can you tell that communism was invented by communists, not scientists?
Scientists would have tested it on mice first. (Russian joke)*



Karl Marx developed one of the most radical and sustained critiques of capitalism and convinced many that capitalism had to be abolished. Yet the societies built in Marx's name failed to reach higher standards of justice than the ones he criticized. This course examines Marx's ideas and why Communist systems largely failed to achieve the goals to which they were dedicated, focusing particularly on Marx's oversimplified view of politics. In the last section, we address contemporary critiques and defenses of capitalism and explore what it would take to construct a more just society.

Course objectives:

After this course, you should be able to:

- *(Knowledge)* identify key features of communist systems
- *(Knowledge)* critique the ideas of major Marxist thinkers

- *(Critical thinking and writing)* read carefully
- *(Critical thinking and writing)* evaluate and construct analytical arguments in clear and logical prose, buttressed with compelling evidence
- *(Methodology)* appraise the role of comparison in predicting outcomes of efforts to transform the world

- *(Service to humanity)* assess the effects of various social and political structures and determine which are more likely to promote equality, justice, freedom, or other values
- *(Service to humanity)* Evaluate reasons why the concrete application of Marxist ideas varied so much from the ideas in the abstract
- *(Political efficacy)* apply your knowledge of political systems to policy choices

We will sometimes discuss topics that cut close to our core political and personal values, and it will be necessary always to respect and engage contrasting opinions.

Office hours: Tuesday and Thursday 1:30-2:30, when you find me in, and by appointment.
Feel free to drop by. My door is usually open.

Required books: (at the bookstore)

Tucker, Robert C., ed. 1978. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. Second Edition. New York: Norton.

McLellan, David. 2007. *Marxism After Marx*. Fourth Edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

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

Putnam, Robert D. 2015. *Our Kids: The American Dream in Crisis*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

There are additional readings on e-reserve (password: communism17).

Requirements:

Participation, including group work – 25 percent of your grade for the course

Three five-page papers based on questions I provide – 45 percent

Quizzes – 10 percent

Final exam – 20 percent

All students must complete a course evaluation at the end of the class.

Additional short written, oral, and group assignments will arise

Missed quizzes must be excused by me *before* they are given. Otherwise, you will receive a grade of 0 for the missing work. Grades of 0 will also be given for missing papers. The zeros will be averaged into the final course grade. Late essays may be subject to penalties.

Class participation

The quality of this class depends a great deal on you and your readiness to contribute meaningfully to class discussions. You should think about class as a time for exploration, for figuring out what readings mean, and for critically evaluating arguments made by various authors, by other students, and by me. A number of things follow from this:

- **Attendance is required**, and excessive absence will harm your grade.
- **It is important to do the readings** listed for each class before coming to class. When possible, come prepared with questions that you would like to examine.
- **Laptops (and, of course, phones) may not be used in class**. 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 the discussion and serve as barriers to honest and direct interaction.

Academic honesty

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 embodies 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 governing University-level Academic Integrity Policy was adopted in Spring 2015, and can be accessed on the Provost's Office website:

https://www.slu.edu/Documents/provost/academic_affairs/Academic%20Integrity%20Policy%20FINAL%200%206-26-15.pdf

Additionally, each SLU college, school and center has adopted its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. All SLU students are expected to know and abide by these policies, which detail definitions of violations, processes for reporting violations, sanctions, and appeals. Please direct questions about any facet of academic integrity to your faculty, the chair of the department of your academic program, or the dean/director of the college, school or center in which your program is housed.

Specific College of Arts and Sciences Academic Honesty Policies and Procedures may be found here: <http://www.slu.edu/arts-and-sciences/student-resources/academic-honesty.php>

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 misconduct (e.g. sexual assault, sexual harassment, stalking, domestic or dating violence), we encourage you to report this to the University.

If you speak with a faculty member about an incident of misconduct, that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX coordinator, Anna R. Kratky (DuBourg Hall, room 36; akratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886) and share the basic fact of your experience with her. 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.

If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK. View SLU's sexual misconduct policy. <http://www.slu.edu/general-counsel-home/office-of-institutional-equity-and-diversity/sexual-misconduct-policy>

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, a one-stop shop which assists students with academic and career related services, is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite, 331) and the School of Nursing (Suite, 114). Students who think they might benefit from these resources can find out more about:

Course-level support (e.g., faculty member, departmental resources, etc.) by asking your course instructor. University-level support (e.g., tutoring services, university writing services, disability services, academic coaching, career services, and/or facets of curriculum planning) by visiting the Student Success Center.

Disability Services

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations are encouraged to contact Disability Services to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements.

Please contact Disability Services, located within the Student Success Center, at disability_services@slu.edu or 314-977-3484 to schedule an appointment. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries.

Once approved, information about academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors via email from Disability Services and viewed within Banner via the instructor's course roster.

Writing center

I encourage you to take advantage of the writing services in the Student Success Center; getting feedback benefits writers at all skill levels. Trained writing consultants can help with any kind of writing project, multimedia project, and/or oral presentation. They offer one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. For more information, call 977-3484 or visit <http://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/academic-support/university-writing-services/index.php>

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 is very strong; 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. 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 missing assignments.

The Marxist Critique of Capitalism

“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*)

August 29

Introduction

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 Mass of the Holy Spirit – no class
- September 5 Robert Putnam, *Our Kids: The American Dream in Crisis* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), pp. 1-45.
Richard Pipes, *Communism: A History* (New York: The Modern Library, 2001), pp. 3-8.
John Lock, *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)
- What kind of equality is desirable in society?*
- September 7 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>
Charles Fourier, selections, from Albert Fried and Ronald Sanders, eds., *Socialist Thought: A Documentary History* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1964), pp. 129-151. Find online at:
<http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/fourier.html>
Friedrich Engels, "Working-Class Manchester," in Robert Tucker, *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: Norton, 1978), pp. 579-585.
- What are key differences between liberal and socialist thinking?*
- September 12 Karl Marx, "Marx on the History of His Opinions," in Tucker, pp. 3-6.
Marx, "Discovering Hegel," in Tucker, pp. 7-8.
Marx, "For a Ruthless Criticism of Everything Existing," in Tucker, pp. 12-15.
Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*. Introduction," in Tucker, pp. 53-65.
Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," in Tucker, pp. 143-145.
Marx and Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," in Tucker, pp. 469-491.
- Why does Marx think the proletariat is a class in "radical chains"?*
- (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, skim it but read something else in the Tucker reader.)
- September 14 Marx, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," in Tucker, pp. 70-93.
Alfie Kohn, "In Pursuit of Affluence, at a High Price," *New York Times*, 2 February 1999, D7 (e-reserve).
- Does the concept of alienated labor ring true to you based on your own experience in the workforce?*

QUIZ 1

- September 19 Marx, "The German Ideology," in Tucker, pp. 146-200.
Is revolution necessary?
- September 21 Marx, "Wage Labour and Capital, in Tucker, pp. 203-217.
Marx, "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation," in Tucker, pp. 419-431.
Marx, "The Possibility of Non-Violent Revolution," in Tucker, pp. 522-524.
Is revolution inevitable?
- September 26 Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," in Tucker, pp. 525-541.
Pipes, ch. 1, pp. 8-20.
David McLellan, *Marxism After Marx* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), "The Legacy of Marx," pp. 1-5.
Why were Marx's predictions about the likelihood of revolution so far off base?
- September 28 McLellan, ch. 2, "The Revisionist Controversy," pp. 26-34 (feel free to read the rest of the chapter if you want).
McLellan, ch. 3, "The Radicals," pp. 44-57.
Can Marxist and democratic thinking be combined?

(Your goal in these two readings is to understand Bernstein and Luxemburg, not all the other folks mentioned.)
- October 3 ESSAY ONE DUE

Real-Existing Communism

Communism, as it was manifested in the world, produced great human suffering. In the Soviet Union, estimates are that up to 25 million people died as a result of Stalin's efforts at collectivization and the famine that ensued. More perished in the gulags and as a result of mass repression. Some estimates of the number of Chinese people who died during the Great Leap Forward reach as high as 43 million. Up to a quarter of the Cambodian population was slaughtered under Pol Pot. Why does the effort to put Marx's ideas into practice have such high human costs?

- October 5 McLellan, "Trotsky," pp. 83-87, and "Lenin," pp. 92-114.
Pipes, ch. 2, "Leninism," pp. 23-51.
What changes does Lenin make to Marxist thinking?
- October 10 Pipes, ch. 3, "Stalinism and After," pp. 55-87.
Does Marxist thinking about history encourage careful attention to the needs and desires of individuals?

- October 12 Louis Fischer in Richard Crossman, ed., *The God the Failed* (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 196-228 (e-reserve).
Pipes, ch. 5, "The Third World," pp. 117-131.
- Is it true, as Fischer says, the "immoral means produce immoral ends – and immoral persons – under Bolshevism and under capitalism"?*
- October 17 McLellan, "The Making of the Chinese Revolution," pp. 217-230
McLellan, "Maoism in Power," pp. 235-264.
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
- How do Mao's politics differ from Lenin's? How are they similar?*
- October 19 Jean-Louis Margolin, "The Greatest Famine in History," and "The Cultural Revolution," from Stephane Courtois, et al., *The Black Book of Communism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 487-496 and 513-542 (e-reserve).
The whole *Black Book of Communism* is available for free online. The quality of the text is better than for the e-reserve readings, but you'll have to find the right sections. <http://archive.org/details/TheBlackBookofCommunism10>
- Is it just a coincidence that efforts to construct communist utopia have resulted in famine?*
- October 24 Fall break – no class
- October 26 Pipes, ch. 5, "The Third World," pp. 132-135.
Margolin, "Cambodia: The Country of Disconcerting Crimes," from *The Black Book of Communism*, pp. 577-611 (e-reserve). Feel free to finish the chapter if you want to.
- Is it a coincidence that efforts to construct communist utopia have resulted in extraordinary human cruelty and barbarity?*
- October 31 McLellan, "Latin America," pp. 270-281.
Pipes, ch. 5, "The Third World," pp. 135-144.
McLellan, "Marxism and Underdevelopment," pp. 286-290.
Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1973), chs. 1 and 2, pp. 3-42 (e-reserve).
- Is Christianity compatible with Marxist thinking?*
- November 2 ESSAY TWO DUE

Social Justice in a Post-Communist World

"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)

November 7 Edward Broadbent, "Social Democracy: Past and Future," *Dissent* 46, 4 (Fall 1999): 45-52 (e-reserve).
Putnam, ch. 2, "Families," pp. 46-79.

What are the social prerequisites for equality of opportunity?

November 9 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?

November 14 Putnam, ch. 3, "Parenting," pp. 80-134.

How can society address inequalities that arise even before a child gets to school?

November 16 Putnam, ch. 4, "Schooling," pp. 135-190.

Do schools create or reflect existing inequality?

QUIZ TWO

November 21 McLellan, "Gramsci," pp. 190-210.
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).

Is it possible to start a revolution by first changing people's minds?

November 23 Thanksgiving – no class

November 28 Putnam, ch. 5, "Community," pp. 191-226.

Are strong social networks consistent with capitalist individual freedom?

November 30 Putnam, ch. 6, "What is to be done?," pp. 227-261.

December 5 ESSAY THREE DUE

December 7 McLellan, "The Frankfurt School," pp. 295-317.
Herbert Marcuse, "The New Forms of Control," and "Conclusion," from *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 1-18, 247-257 (e-reserve).

Do you agree with Marcuse that "a comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom prevails in advanced industrial civilization"? Is consumerism a mechanism for social control?

December 14 FINAL EXAM (12:00-1:50)

Additional readings on Marx and Engels:

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.

BookCaps Study Guides. 2011. *Marxism in Plain and Simple English: The Theory of Marxism in a Way Anyone Can Understand*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

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.

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.

- Eckstein, Susan Eva. 2003. *Back from the Future: Cuba under Casto*. New York: Routledge.
- 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.
- Him, Chanrithy. 2001. *When Broken Glass Floats: Growing Up Under the Khmer Rouge*. New York: Norton.
- Jatar-Hausmann. 1999. *The Cuban Way: Capitalism, Communism and Confrontation*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 1999.
- Johnson, Chalmers. 1962. *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power*. Stanford, CA: Stanford 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.
- Milosz, Czeslaw. 1953. *The Captive Mind*. New York: Vintage.
- Nove, Alec. 1992. *An Economic History of the USSR 1917-1991*. New York: Penguin.
- Pipes, Richard. 1995. *A Concise History of the Russian Revolution*. New York: Knopf.
- Pran, Dith. 1999. *Children of Cambodia's Killing Fields: Memoirs by Survivors*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Pye, Lucien. 1981. *The Dynamics of Chinese Politics*. Cambridge: Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain.
- Sandle, Mark. 2006. *Communism: A Short History of a Big Idea*. Harlow, UK: Pearson/Longman.
- Saney, Isaac. 2004. *Cuba: A Revolution in Motion*. New York: Zed Books.
- Schapiro, Leonard. 1977. *The Origin of the Communist Autocracy*. Cambridge: Harvard U. Press.
- Snow, Edgar, and John K. Fairbank. 1994. *Red Star over China: The Classic Account of the Birth of Chinese Communism*. New York: Grove Press.
- Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr I. 1973. *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Szymusiak, Molyda. 1999. *The Stones Cry Out: A Cambodian Childhood, 1975-1980*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Talmon, J. L. 1960. *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*. New York: Praeger.
- Trotsky, Leon. 1972. *The Revolution Betrayed*. New York: Pathfinder.

- Trotsky, Leon. 1932. *The History of the Russian Revolution*. New York: Pathfinder.
- Tucker, Robert C. 1973. *Stalin as Revolutionary*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Ulam, Adam B. 1965. *The Bolsheviks*. New York: Collier.
- Wolf, Eric R. 1969. *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- Yue, Daiyun. 1987. *To the Storm: The Odyssey of a Revolutionary Chinese Woman*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Zizek, Slavoj. 2017. *Lenin 2017: Remembering, Repeating, and Working Through*. New York: Verso.

Additional readings on post-communism and contemporary capitalism

- Adorno, Theodor W. 1973. *Negative Dialectics*. New York: Continuum.
- Alexander, Brian. 2017. *Glass House: the 1% Economy and the Shattering of the All-American Town*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Baiman, Ron, Heather Boushey, Dawn Summers. 2000. *Political Economy and Contemporary Capitalism: Radical Perspectives on Economic Theory and Policy*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.
- Bakan, Joel. 2004. *The Corporation: the Pathological Pursuit of Profit and Power*. New York: Free Press.
- Barry, Brian. 2005. *Why Social Justice Matters*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1968. *Illuminations*. Glasgow: Fontana/Collins.
- Beran, Michael Knox. 2010. "The Descent into Liberalism." *National Review Online*, April 25.
- Berger, Stefan. 2002. "Democracy and Social Democracy." *European History Quarterly* 32 (1): 13-37.
- Blyth, Mark. 2005. "Domestic Institutions and the Possibility of Social Democracy." *Comparative European Politics* 3: 379-407.
- Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. 1987. *Democracy and Capitalism: Property, Community, and the Contradictions of Modern Social Thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Callaghan, John. 2003. "Social Democracy in Transition." *Parliamentary Affairs* 56: 125-140.
- Chang, Ha-Joon. 2011. *23 Things They Don't Tell You About Capitalism*. New York: Bloomsbury Press.
- Chomsky, Noam, and Robert W. McChesney. 2011. *Profit over People: Neoliberalism & Global Order*. Seven Stories Press.
- Cloer, Dan. 2009. "Capitalism: Unknown Ideal?" *Vision* (Spring).
- Collier, Paul. 2007. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can be done about it*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Desmond, Matthew. 2016. *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*. New York: Crown Publishing.

- Foster, John Bellamy. 2009. *The Ecological Revolution: Making Peace with the Planet*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Foster, John Bellamy, and Fred Magdoff. 2009. *The Great Financial Crisis: Causes and Consequences*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2009.
- Frank, Robert. 2007. *Falling Behind: How Rising Inequality Harms the Middle Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Frank, Robert. 2007. *Richistan: A Journey through the American Wealth Boom and the Lives of the New Rich*. Crown.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2009. "Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History." *New Left Review* 56 (March-April).
- Havel, Vaclav. 1990. "The Power of the Powerless." In (for instance) William M. Brinton and Alan Rinzler, eds. *Without Force or Lies: Voices from the Revolution of Central Europe in 1989-1990*. San Francisco: Mercury House.
- Isenberg, Nancy. 2016. *White Trash: The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America*. New York: Viking.
- Klein, Naomi. 2002. *No Logo: No Space, No Choice, No Jobs*. New York: Picador.
- Klein, Naomi. 2007. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Krugman, Paul. 2007. *The Conscience of a Liberal*. New York: Norton.
- Kuttner, Robert. 2007. *The Squandering of America: How the Failure of our Politics Undermines our Prosperity*. New York: Knopf.
- Lukacs, Georg. 1971. *History and Class Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Marcuse, Herbert. 1964. *One-Dimensional Man*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Packer, George. 2013. *The Unwinding: An Inner History of the New America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Piketty, Thomas. 2014. *Capital in the Twenty First Century*. Belknap/Harvard University Press.
- Pogge, Thomas. 2002. *World Poverty and Human Rights*. Maldon, MA: Polity.
- Porrit, Jonathon, and Amory B. Lovins. 2007. *Capitalism as if the World Matters*. London, UK: Earthscan Publications.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2010. *Freefall: America, Free Markets, and the Sinking of the World Economy*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Uchitelle, Louis. 2007. *The Disposable American: Layoffs and their Consequences*. New York: Vintage.
- Vance, J. D. 2016. *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Zizek, Slavoj. 2009. *First as Tragedy, then as farce*. New York: Verso.
- Zizek, Slavoj. 2011. *Living in the End Times*. New York: Verso.