

**Political Science  
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO  
Mississauga**

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**POL 485H5F/2019H1F**

**TOPICS IN POLITICAL THOUGHT: MORAL REASON AND ECONOMIC HISTORY I**

This course was formerly listed as POL478Y. Beginning in 2022/23, the course is being divided into POL485H5F and POL485H5S. Students are strongly urged to take both half courses since they are 'parts' of a single 'whole'. Together, the two half courses investigate what some of the 'great' philosophers had to say about economics, and what some of the 'great economists' have said about philosophy.

The first half course (485H5F) looks at the philosophical pre-history of modern capitalism and Marx's relation to the Russian revolution. Our approach will be modeled after Hegel's philosophy of history. The principal thinkers will be Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Calvin, Smith, Kant, Hegel, Marx and Lukacs. Our themes will be the relation between moral duty and the market, and between individual self-interest and the ethical requirements of community. This half course will consist entirely of lectures. **Attendance at lectures is compulsory and will involve 10% of the final grade.**

The second half course (485H5S) will consist partly of lectures and partly of seminars. In lectures we shall study several important economists and philosophers (Lukacs, Marcuse, Hayek, Rawls, Habermas and Keynes, all of whom were influenced by thinkers studied in POL485H5F). In seminars we shall ask how philosophy helps (or does not help) us to understand some of the 'great transformations' of the 20th century (the New Deal in the US, Stalinism in the USSR, Nazism in Germany, the industrialization of Japan and China, and the changing prospects of globalization). Graduate students who wish to take the second half course may do so by registering for an independent study course, POL 2905H1S.

**PREREQUISITE FOR UTM : POL 320 (or permission of Professor for Graduate Students)**

Prerequisites are strictly checked and enforced and must be completed before taking a course. By taking this course, you acknowledge that you will be removed from the course at any time if you do not meet all requirements set by the Department of Political Science. Further information can be found in the 2022-23 Course Calendar, which is available from the Office of the Registrar.

**COURSE DESCRIPTION AND LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

Human beings have a past, present and future. This implies a need to make individual and collective judgments not only of what has been and what is, but also of 'what ought to be'. Since practical judgments involve issues of everyday life, we explore the relation between philosophy, economic circumstances and cultural expectations. Since philosophies and economic theories often make *universal claims*, we also consider how such claims relate to *particular cultures and particular stages of economic development*. Our endeavor is to think about thinking. We look at alternative ways of interpreting economic history in order to provide context for the issues of our own day concerning what type of community we 'ought to' be living in.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING FOR POL 485H5F

*Students should note that POL 485H5F/2019H1F is a lecture course. Lectures will be delivered online in the hours indicated in the calendar. Before each lecture, students will receive a precis of what will be discussed. After each lecture, Professor Day will be available to answer questions.*

10%	Attendance at lectures
45%	Three reading reports (2-3 pages) on any three lecture topics. At least TWO reports must be submitted by 3 November. Your report should be a critical assessment of what you have been reading.
15%	Essay plan and bibliography. What is your theme and how will you address it?
30%	Final research essay (10-12 pages) due 24 November. Essays should be in 12-point type and double-spaced. Please use the Chicago System of In-text Citations for your essay.

Final drop date without Academic Penalty: 16 November 2022.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING FOR POL 2019H1F:

10%	Attendance at lectures
45%	Three reading reports (4-5 pages) on any three lecture topics. At least TWO reports must be submitted by 3 November. Your report should be a critical assessment of what you have been reading.
15%	Essay plan and bibliography. What is your theme and how will you address it?
30%	Final Research Essay (15-20 pages) due 24 November. Essays should be in 12-point type and double-spaced. Please use the Chicago System of In-text Citations for your essay.

Note: Written work in this course will be graded both for content and for grammar and style. Use your word-processing program to check spelling and grammar. You may also wish to consult the writing guides listed on the essay tab of this website. Students in this course are expected to use the plagiarism detection tool (see notes below).

### MISSED TERM WORK:

Late essays will be subject to a penalty of 5% per day (including weekends) of the total marks for the assignment. Essays submitted five calendar days beyond the due date will receive a grade of zero. Essays handed in AFTER the work has been returned to the class cannot be marked for credit. Accommodations due to late registration into the course will NOT be approved.

**MISSED TESTS:** There will be no test in this course.

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## OTHER IMPORTANT COURSE INFORMATION

### ACCESSIBILITY:

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the AccessAbility Resource Centre as soon as possible.

AccessAbility staff (located in Rm 2047, Davis Building) are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations. Please call 905-569-4699 or email <https://www.utm.utoronto.ca/accessibility/welcome-accessibility-services>. The sooner you let us know your needs the quicker we can assist you in achieving your learning goals in this course.

## Notice of collection

The University of Toronto respects your privacy. The information on medical certificates is collected pursuant to section 2(14) of the University of Toronto Act, 1971. It is collected for the purpose of administering accommodations for academic purposes based on medical grounds. The department will maintain a record of all medical certificates received. At all times it will be protected in accordance with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

If you have questions, please refer to [www.utoronto.ca/privacy](http://www.utoronto.ca/privacy) or contact the University's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. Address: Room 201, McMurrich Bldg., 12 Queen's Park Crescent, Toronto, ON, M5S 1A1

## EQUITY AND ACADEMIC RIGHTS:

"The University of Toronto is committed to equity and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another's differences. U of T does not condone discrimination or harassment against any persons or communities."

If you have any questions, comments or concerns you may contact the **UTM Equity and Diversity Office** at <https://www.utm.utoronto.ca/edio/home>

## TECH REQUIREMENTS FOR THIS COURSE:

The University of Toronto has identified the following recommended technical requirements needed for students to access remote/online learning. UTORid is also required. For more information about getting your UTORid visit [tcard.utoronto.ca](http://tcard.utoronto.ca).

Requirement	Windows-based PC	Apple Mac/macOS-based PC
Operating System	Windows 10	macOS X
Web Browser	Firefox or Google Chrome	Firefox or Google Chrome
Processor	Intel core i5 based model	Intel core i5 based model
RAM/Memory	4 GB	4 GB
Storage	5 GB of available space	5 GB of available space
Screen Resolution	1024 x 768	1024 x 768
Connectivity	Ethernet or Wifi; available USB port(s) to accommodate recommended accessories	Ethernet or Wifi; available USB port(s) to accommodate recommended accessories

Students must register for a U of T Zoom Account using UTOR ID and password (Web Portal Login <https://utoronto.zoom.us/> ). Zoom will be used for lectures, for discussions following lectures and for online office hours. Only authenticated users will be admitted to Zoom discussions.

Technical help can be found at the *UTM Library Learn Anywhere resource website*.

## NOTICE OF ABSENCE:

If you are unable to meet course requirements due to illness or other personal circumstances, you are required to use the Absence Declaration Tool on Acorn for each day of absence.

You are also required to inform Professor Day and the Departmental Academic Advisor at [advisor.pol.utm@utoronto.ca](mailto:advisor.pol.utm@utoronto.ca).

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## **PLAGIARISM DETECTION IN THIS COURSE:**

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>)

If, as a student, you object to using the plagiarism detection tool, you must speak with Professor Day by 21 October to discuss alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments. These arrangements will include some or all of the following: submission of drafts, rough work and notes; submission of hard copies of sources along with call numbers and web site addresses of sources cited in the paper; a personal meeting with the Instructor.

Plagiarism detection is used in North American universities as protection for students and instructors against academic fraud. It is a useful tool for protecting the integrity of your original work as well as your UTM degree.

In normal circumstances, course work must also be submitted in hard copy to the Professor. However, since this course will be taught online, you will submit your written work to the plagiarism detection tool and also by email to Professor Day ([richardb.day@utoronto.ca](mailto:richardb.day@utoronto.ca)). Always retain a copy of any written work until it has been finally graded.

The plagiarism detection tool scans student essays against a database which includes public websites, paper-writing services, other essays submitted to the tool, and academic journal articles. The service produces a report on the originality of the essay. The instructor then reviews the reports (as well as your essay).

Assignments are not accessible to the general public once submitted to the plagiarism detection tool. The student retains copyright ownership of his or her original work. Your essay is automatically added to the tool's archive for comparison against subsequently submitted material, thus ensuring that your work is not plagiarized. Should a match be found between assignments subsequently submitted in other courses and your essays for this course, the tool will inform the instructor that a match has been found with an archived document, and provide contact information for your instructor in this course. Your material will not be released to other tool subscribers even if such a match is found.

You are strongly advised to save all of your research, notes and draft essays from this course in case a question of originality arises concerning your work.

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## **ACADEMIC OFFENCES (See 'Essays' Tab for more detail concerning plagiarism)**

The University of Toronto's Code of Academic Behaviour specifies the following offences in Section B.i.

1. It shall be an offence for a student knowingly:

- (a) to forge or in any other way alter or falsify any document or evidence required by the University, or to utter, circulate or make use of any such forged, altered or falsified document, whether the record be in print or electronic form;

- (b) to use or possess an unauthorized aid or aids or obtain unauthorized assistance in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work;

- (c) to impersonate another person, or to have another person impersonate, at any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work;

- (d) to represent as one's own any idea or expression of an idea or work of another in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work, i.e. to commit plagiarism (for a more detailed account of plagiarism, see Appendix "A") ;

- (e) to submit, without the knowledge and approval of the instructor to whom it is submitted, any academic work for which credit has previously been obtained or is being sought in another course or program of study in the University or elsewhere;

- (f) to submit any academic work containing a purported statement of fact or reference to a source which has been concocted.

## **COPYRIGHT:**

Please be advised that the intellectual property rights in the material referred to in this syllabus (and posted on the course site) may belong to the course instructor or other persons. You are not authorized to reproduce or distribute such material, in any form or medium, without the prior consent of the intellectual property owner. Violation of intellectual property rights may be a violation of the law and University of Toronto policies and may entail significant repercussions for the person found to have engaged in such act. If you have any questions regarding your right to use the material in a manner other than as set forth in the syllabus, please speak to your instructor.

***This course, including your participation, will be recorded on video and will be available to students in the course for viewing remotely and after each session. Course videos and materials belong to your instructor, the University, and/or other sources depending on the specific facts of each situation, and are protected by copyright. Do not download, copy, or share any course or student materials or videos without the explicit permission of the instructor. For questions about recording and use of videos in which you appear please contact your instructor.***

***Lectures and associated material are the property of the professor and are not to be reproduced or distributed for any purpose other than studying in this course. Violations of intellectual property rights may have significant repercussions.***

***Recognizing the difficulty of taking lecture notes during A Zoon meeting, I shall post each lecture for a period of 24 hours to give you the opportunity to clear up anything you may have misheard or misunderstood. You will be able to re-watch a lecture but not download the file.***

## **POL 485H5F/2019H1F TOPICS IN POLITICAL THOUGHT: MORAL REASON AND ECONOMIC HISTORY**

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### **SECTION I: POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ETHICAL LIFE**

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#### **1) September 8 - Discussion of Course Outline and Grading**

**Handout will be distributed on Cultural Norms in Pre-market Communities**

#### **2) September 15 - Plato and Aristotle: Justice and Economy, the Ethical Whole and the Parts**

\*K. Polanyi, "Aristotle Discovers the Economy" in G. Dalton (ed), *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi*, ch. 5 (see Articles tab); also in Polanyi, Arensberg & Pearson (eds), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, pp. 64-94

Aristotle, *The Politics*

Plato, *The Republic*

J.J. Spengler, *Origins of Economic Thought and Justice*, ch. 5

E. Barker, *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, chs. 3-4, 6-9

J. Barnes (ed), *Cambridge Companion to Aristotle*, chs. 7-8

S. Meikle, *Aristotle's Economic Thought*

#### **3) September 22 - Augustine, Aquinas, Calvin: "Embedded Consciousness", Spiritual Community & the "Spirit of Capitalism"**

\*Polanyi, "Obsolete Market Mentality," in Dalton (ed), *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies* (see Articles Tab)

\*Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* [online at UTM library]

K. Samuelsson, *Religion and Economic Action*  
P.E. Sigmund (ed), *St. Thomas Aquinas on Politics and Ethics*  
R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*  
E.L. Fortin, "St. Thomas Aquinas" and "St. Augustine" in L. Strauss & J. Cropsey (eds),  
*History of Political Philosophy*  
A. Kuyper, *Lectures on Calvinism: The Stone Foundation Lectures*  
Andre Bieler, *Calvin's Economic and Social Thought*

#### 4) September 29 - Adam Smith: Individual Moral Judgment and Macro-Economic Growth

\*J. Cropsey, "Adam Smith," in L. Strauss & J. Cropsey (eds), *History of Political Philosophy*  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Polity and Economy: An Interpretation of the Principles of Adam Smith*  
[<https://archive.org/details/history-of-political-philosophy-leo-strauss-joseph-cropsey-1987/History%20of%20political%20philosophy/mode/2up>]  
\*S.J. Pack, *Capitalism as a Moral System: Adam Smith's Critique of the Free Market Economy*  
\*Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* [Online UTM library]  
\*J.R. Weinstein, *Adam Smith, 1723-1790* at Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy  
[<https://iep.utm.edu/smith/>]  
\*\_\_\_\_\_, *Wealth of Nations*, Book I, chs. 1,2,7; Book II, ch. 3 [Online UTM library]  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*  
Jerry Evensky, *Adam Smith's Moral Philosophy: A Historical and Contemporary Perspective on Markets, Law, Ethics and Culture* [Online UTM library]  
Gavin Kennedy, *Adam Smith: A Moral Philosopher and his Political Economy*  
R.B. Day & Joseph Masciulli (eds), *Globalization and Political Ethics*, ch. 1  
E.K. Hunt, *History of Economic Thought*, 2d. edn, ch. 3  
O.H. Taylor, *A History of Economic Thought*, chs. 1-4  
D.D. Raphael, *Adam Smith*  
A.L. Macfie, *The Individual in Society: Papers on Adam Smith*  
C. Griswold, N. Waszek et al, *Adam Smith*  
V. Brown, "Signifying Voices: Reading the 'Adam Smith Problem,'" in *Economics and Philosophy* 7, no.2:187-220  
Knud Haakonssen ), *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith*  
Jesse Norman, *Adam Smith: What he Thought and why it Matters*

#### 5) October 6 - Kant: Individual Judgments and Universal Moral Law

\*R.J. Sullivan, *Introduction to Kant's Ethics* [Online UTM library]  
\*P. Hassner, "Immanuel Kant" in L. Strauss & J. Cropsey (eds), *History of Political Philosophy* [<https://archive.org/details/history-of-political-philosophy-leo-strauss-joseph-cropsey-1987/History%20of%20political%20philosophy/mode/2up>]  
\*H. Reiss (ed), *Kant's Political Writings*, intro & pp. 41-91 [<https://vdoc.pub/documents/kant-political-writings-1t1pk03sbev8>]  
E.A. Preobrazhensky, *Morals and Class Consciousness* [see Articles tab]  
L.W. Beck (ed), *Kant on History*  
L. Goldmann, *Immanuel Kant*  
Mary Gregor, *Laws of Freedom*  
Mary Gregor (ed), *Practical Philosophy (The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant)*  
Kant, *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysics of Morals*  
Kant, *The Science of Right*  
Kant, *The Metaphysical Elements of Justice*  
T.E. Hill, *Dignity and Practical Reason in Kant's Moral Theory*  
H.J. Paton, *The Categorical Imperative*  
H. Saner, *Kant's Political Thought*  
Howard Williams, *Kant's Political Philosophy*  
C.M. Korsgaard, *Creating the Kingdom of Ends*  
E. Cassirer, *Kant's Life and Thought*  
J. Hartnack, *Kant's Theory of Knowledge*  
Jennifer Moore, "Kant's Ethical Community." *Journey of Value Inquiry* 26 (1992), 51-71

Harry van der Linden, *Kantian Ethics and Socialism*  
Roger Scruton, *Kant: A Very Short Introduction*

### READING WEEK OCTOBER 11-14

#### 6) October 20 - Hegel: The Reason of History (Universal History as "Modes" of Consciousness)

\*S. Avineri, *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State* [Online UTM library]  
\*R. Plant, *Hegel* [Online UTM library]  
C. Taylor, *Hegel*  
G.W.F. Hegel, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Phenomenology of Spirit*  
\_\_\_\_\_, *The Philosophy of Spirit (1805-6)* in Leo Rauch (ed), *Hegel and the Human Spirit*  
\_\_\_\_\_, *System of Ethical Life (1802-3)* and *First Philosophy of Spirit* - ed. & trans. M.S. Harris & T.M. Knox  
Q. Lauer, *A Reading of Hegel's 'Phenomenology of Spirit'*  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Hegel's Idea of Philosophy*  
G. Lukacs, *The Young Hegel*  
F.C. Beiser (ed), *Cambridge Companion to Hegel*  
W.T. Stace, *The Philosophy of Hegel*  
G.R.G. Mure, *The Philosophy of Hegel*  
J. Hartnack, *An Introduction to Hegel's Logic*  
\*Peter Singer, *Hegel: A Very Short Introduction*

#### 7) October 27 - Hegel: Civil Society and Ethical Life (Dialectic of the Parts and the Whole)

\*S. Avineri, *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State* [Online UTM library]  
\*R.D. Winfield, *The Just Economy*  
G.W.F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*  
Z.A. Pelczynski (ed), *The State and Civil Society: Studies in Hegel's Political Philosophy*, chs. 5-6, 9-10 [<https://vdoc.pub/documents/the-state-and-civil-society-studies-in-hegels-political-philosophy-5c0054ejhk80>]  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Hegel's Political Philosophy: Problems and Perspectives*  
C. Taylor, *Hegel and Modern Society*  
F.C. Beiser (ed), *Cambridge Companion to Hegel*  
R.B. Day, "Hegel and Marx: Perspectives on Politics and Technology," in R.B. Day, R. Beiner & J. Masciulli (eds), *Democratic Theory and Technological Society*  
T.M. Knox (trans), *Hegel's Political Writings*  
W.H. Walsh, *Hegelian Ethics*  
Paul Diesing, *Hegel's Dialectical Political Economy: A Contemporary Application*  
Walter Kaufmann (ed) *Hegel's Political Philosophy*

#### 8) November 3 - Hegel and Marx: Mediation, Objectification and Alienation (History as Modes of Production)

\*S. Avineri, *Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx* [Online UTM library]  
\*R.B. Day, 'Why Does Marx Matter?' in *Responses to Marx's Capital* [Articles Tab]  
Marx, *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*  
R.C. Tucker (ed), *Marx-Engels Reader*, 2d. edn, Part I  
E. Mandel, *The Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx*  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Marxist Economic Theory (2 vols)*  
P. Singer, *Marx*  
Michael Evans, *Karl Marx*  
E.K. Hunt, *History of Economic Thought*, 2d edn, ch. 9  
R.B. Day, *The 'Crisis' and the 'Crash'*, ch. 1  
William Maker (ed), *Hegel on Economics and Freedom*  
Peter Singer, *Marx: A Very Short Introduction*

## 9) November 10 - Hegel and Marx: The Philosophy of Economics

- \*R.B. Day, "Hegel, Marx, Lukacs: The Dialectic of Freedom and Necessity," in *History of European Ideas*, Vol 11 (1989), pp. 907-34 -- OR "Marx and Lukacs on Technology and the 'Value' of Freedom" in R.B. Day, R. Beiner & J. Masciulli (eds), *Democratic Theory and Technological Society* [Online UTM library]
- \*R.B. Day, 'Why Does Marx Matter?' in *Responses to Marx's Capital* [Articles tab]
- \*R.C. Tucker (ed), *Marx-Engels Reader*, pp. 53-125 and 221-93 [Internet Archive] or Marx, *Grundrisse* (trans. M. Nicolaus), pp. 171-73, 408, 469-70, 692-711.
- Tony Burns & Ian Fraser (eds), *The Hegel-Marx Connection*
- D. Pokorny, "Marx's Philosophy of Surplus Value," in *Philosophical Forum*, XVI, No.4, Summer 1985
- William Maker (ed), *Hegel on Economics and Freedom*

## 10) November 17 - Marx: Labor Theory of "Value" and the Science of Economics

- \*R.C. Tucker (ed), *Marx-Engels Reader*, Part II [Internet Archive]
- \*R.B. Day, *The 'Crisis' and the 'Crash'*, ch.1
- Ernest Mandel, *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* [Online at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/mandel/1967/intromet/index.htm>]
- E.K. Hunt, *History of Economic Thought*, 2d. edn., ch. 9
- E. Mandel, *Marxist Economic Theory* (2 vols)
- N. Levine, "Toward the Reconstruction of Das Kapital," in *Dialogue Within the Dialectic*
- Marx, *The German Ideology* (Tucker, 146-202)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Wage Labour and Capital* (Tucker, 203-217)
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Capital* (Tucker, 294-361, 419-465)
- Carol C. Gould, *Marx's Social Ontology*

## 11) November 24 - Lukacs: History and Class Consciousness (The Spirit of Revolution)

- \*G. Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness* [online <https://www.marxists.org>]
- \*\_\_\_\_\_, *Tactics and Ethics* [online <https://www.marxists.org>]
- \_\_\_\_\_, *A Defence of History and Class Consciousness*
- I. Meszaros (ed), *Aspects of History and Class Consciousness*
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Lukacs' Concept of Dialectic*
- M. Lowy, *Georg Lukacs: From Romanticism to Bolshevism*
- V. Zitta, *Georg Lukacs' Marxism: Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution*
- R. Livingstone (ed), *Georg Lukacs: Political Writings 1919-1929*
- A. Arato & P. Breines, *The Young Lukacs and the Origins of Western Marxism*
- A. Feenberg, *Lukacs, Marx and the Sources of Critical Theory*
- A. Kadarkay (ed), *The Lukacs Reader*
- G. Lukacs, *Record of a Life*

## 12) December 1 - The Russian Revolution (1917-1921). Contradictions of the Revolutionary 'Whole'

- \* S.A. Smith, *The Russian Revolution: a Very Short Introduction*
- \*V.I. Lenin, *State and Revolution*
- \*Marx, "The Civil War in France" in Tucker (ed), *The Marx-Engels Reader*, pp. 618-52 [Online UTM library]
- \* E.A. Preobrazhensky, 'On Morals and Class Norms' and 'On the Material Basis of Culture in Soviet Society' (to be posted)
- \*M. Brinton, *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control*
- \*Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Origin of Russian Communism*
- Alec Nove, *An Economic History of the USSR*, chs. 1-4
- V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*
- A. Kollontai, *The Workers' Opposition* [reprinted in Alix Holt (ed), *Alexandra Kollontai: Selected Writings*]
- K. Kautsky, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*



R. Luxemburg, *The Russian Revolution*  
R.V. Daniels, *Conscience of the Revolution*  
E.H. Carr, *The Russian Revolution from Lenin to Stalin, 1917-1929*  
N.I. Bukharin, *Economics of the Transition Period*  
L.D. Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism*  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Leon Trotsky on the Paris Commune*  
R.B. Day, "Introduction" in N.I. Bukharin, *Selected Writings on the State and the Transition to Socialism*  
\_\_\_\_\_, *Leon Trotsky and the Politics of Economic Isolation*  
\_\_\_\_\_, "Leon Trotsky on the Dialectics of Democratic Control" in P. Wiles, ed., *The Soviet Economy on the Brink of Reform*  
P.R. Gregory & R.C. Stuart, *Soviet and Post-Soviet Economic Structure and Performance* (5th edn), ch.3