Module lecturer:

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Module Aims
The main aim of the module is to introduce students to theories of revolution and counter-revolution in early twentieth century Europe. The module will focus intensively on four thinkers who can be regarded as representative of the full range of the political spectrum: Weber, Schmitt, Lenin and Gramsci. Each of these thinkers responded to the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary movements of early twentieth century in a distinctive fashion, developing and transforming some of the key concepts of modern political thought. In so doing, they proposed theoretical perspectives and positions that have remained operative until the present day, including theories of rationalisation, decisionism, dictatorship, democracy, legitimation, sovereignty, hegemony and passive revolution. The module will focus in particular upon the impact of early twentieth century revolutionary and counter-revolutionary movements upon the development of each theorist's work, and the way in which these experiences contributed to the reformulation of classic themes in the history of modern political thought. In particular, these include theories of political power, political form, political organisation and legitimation. The rationale for the module is to study in detail the development of theories of political modernity, revolution and counter-revolution in relation to the concrete political movements of their time. The final aim is to offer students theoretical support for their study of politics and history, with a special focus on early twentieth century Europe. These aims are to be achieved through a close reading of original texts in the seminars, supported by contextual and information provided in the lecturer.

Learning Outcomes
1) Students will acquire an understanding of the development of modern political thought in Europe in the early twentieth century, in its historical context;
2) Students will be able to demonstrate the ability to make informed judgments about primary sources in the history of political thought;
3) Students will have an in-depth knowledge of the work of at least 2 of the theorists studied on the course;
4) Students will be able to make informed judgments concerning the impact of experiences of revolution and counter-revolution in the early twentieth century upon the development of modern political thought.

Teaching Mode
This is a Postgraduate 30 credits module.
Contact time consists of one 2 hour meeting per week.

Additional Seminars
The Brunel Social and Political Thought research group organises a regular research seminar throughout the year. All students are welcome and encouraged to attend. More information can be found at http://www.brunel.ac.uk/sss/politics/research-groups-and-centres/social-and-political-thought

Assessment
Details are to be found below.
**Syllabus**

The seminars will be based on selected readings of original texts. You are required to purchase a copy of the books marked with an * on the Reading list. A reading selection of other texts will also be supplied by the lecturer (e-format). This is an intensive reading seminar. Every student will be expected to have read and made notes on the specified reading. Students will be expected to actively contribute to the discussion. It will be a waste of everyone’s time if you attend the seminar without having read and made notes on the required reading; please do not do so, as you will be asked to leave.

**Reading list**

- Max Weber, “Politics as a Vocation”, in *The Vocation Lectures: Science As a Vocation, Politics As a Vocation* (Hackett, 2004)
- Lenin, *Collected Works* (in particular, *What Is To Be Done?*, *State and Revolution*, *April Theses*)
- Antonio Gramsci, *Pre-Prison Writings* (CUP, 1994)
- *Carl Schmitt, The Concept of the Political* (Chicago, 2007)

**Suggested readings**

Week 1 – Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Twentieth Century Political Thought

Introductory Lecture

Background Reading:


Week 2 – Weber and the first Russian Revolution

Reading:


Background Reading:


Week 3 – Weber before the Weimar Republic

Reading:


Background Reading:


Week 4 – Weber and Revolution in the West


Week 5 – Weber and Politics (I)

Reading:


Background Reading:


**Week 6 – Weber and Politics (II)**

Reading:


**Week 7 - No class: Effective Learning Week**

**Week 8 – Lenin before Lenin (I)**

Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* (various editions)

Background Reading:

Neil Harding, *Lenin’s Political Thought*
Rosa Luxemburg, *Organizational Questions of Russian Social Democracy*, in her *Selected Political Writings*; also available in *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks*.
Marcel Liebman, *Leninism Under Lenin*
L. Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism, Vol.2*, ch.16,
Lars Lih, *Lenin Rediscovered* (Haymarket)
Lar Lih, *Lenin* (Reaktion books, 2011)
Budgen, Kouvelakis, Zizek (eds), *Lenin Reloaded: Toward a Politics of Truth* (Duke UP, 2007)

**Week 9 – Lenin before Lenin (II)**

Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* (various editions)

**Week 10 – Lenin before October**

Reading:

Lenin, *State and Revolution* (various editions)

Background Reading:

Lucio Colletti, *From Rousseau to Lenin*
Ralph Miliband, ‘Lenin’s *State and Revolution*, The Socialist Register (1970), also in Miliband *Class Power & State Power*, ch.7
A.J. Polan *Lenin and the End of Politics*
Neocleous, *Administering Civil Society*, ch. 2.
Budgen, Kouvelakis, Zizek (eds), *Lenin Reloaded* (Duke UP, 2007)

**Week 11 – Lenin and the Dual Power**

Lenin, *State and Revolution* (various editions)

Week 12 – Gramsci and Revolution in the West

Introductory Lecture

Reading:


Frank Rosengarten, ‘An Introduction to Gramsci’s Life and Thought’: <http://www.internationalgramscisociety.org/about_gramsci/biography.html>

Chronology of Gramsci’s Life: <http://www.internationalgramscisociety.org/about_gramsci/chronology.html>


Christmas Break

Week 16 – Introduction to the Prison Notebooks


Notebook 1, note § 44.

Week 17 – Passive Revolution

Reading:


Background Reading:

Richard Bellamy & Darrow Schecter, Gramsci and the Italian State
Carl Boggs, Gramsci’s Marxism
Christine Buci-Glucksman, Gramsci and the State
G. Fiori, Antonio Gramsci
Anne Showstack Sasoon, Gramsci’s Politics

Week 18 – Civil Society, Political Society, Integral State (I)

Reading:

Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks (International Publishers, 1971), Section 2:

Background Reading:


**Week 19 – Civil Society, Political Society, Integral State (II)**

Reading: see above

**Week 20 – Hegemony and Hegemonic Apparatus**

Reading:


P. D. Thomas, *The Gramscian Moment* (Brill, 2009/ Haymarket 2011), chapters 5 & 6 (to be distributed via blackboard)


Background Reading:


**Week 21 - No class: Effective Learning Week**

**Week 22 – The Intellectuals and the Modern Prince**

Reading:


**Week 23 – Violence and Dictatorship**

Introductory Lecture

Reading:


Background Reading:


**Week 24 – Friend and Enemy (I)**

Reading:

Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (Chicago, 2007)

Background Reading:


**Week 25 – Friend and Enemy (II)**

Reading: see above

**Week 26 – From Real to Absolute Enemy**

Reading:


**Week 27 – Conclusion**

Discussion of Essays

**Assessment**

You are required to write one essay. You are reminded that plagiarism, the presentation of another person’s work or ideas as your own, is a serious offence and carries serious penalties. To help you avoid this potential pitfall you should consult the rules on plagiarism in the Politics and History Handbook and in the University Senate Ordinances. Please note that a percentage of coursework will be run through ‘Turnitin’ to detect plagiarism.

Please note: you must submit two copies of your essay. **One copy** should be submitted in **printed form** via the Office and **one copy** submitted in electronic form via **U-link**.

**Essay**

- This can be chosen from the list of essay questions below, or you can formulate a question of your own choice in consultation with your lecturer. NB. In this case, you MUST receive approval from the lecturer before beginning your essay.
- Essay due date: **Tuesday 6th May 2014**
- Should be approximately 6-7000 words long
- Worth 100% of the marks for the module
- This essay will be returned with comments
A note on sources

You are expected to read and use original texts for the essay; this is one of the learning outcomes that will be tested. These should go beyond the texts read for seminars.

The background reading is intended to supplement the reading for the essays. It is not exhaustive, and you are expected to consult a wider range of secondary texts for your essays.

Suggested questions for essay

a) Critically analyse the role of political leadership in the thought of Weber and Lenin. What are the most significant similarities and differences of their theories?

b) To what extent does Gramsci’s thought represent a continuation of Lenin’s understanding of politics? Analyse in particular in relation to the question of organisation.

c) What role does the concept of hegemony play in Gramsci’s theory of politics? Compare to the political theory of either Weber or Schmitt.

d) To what extent was Jürgen Habermas correct when he argued that Carl Schmitt can be regarded as a ‘legitimate pupil’ of Max Weber?

e) What are the major differences and similarities of the theories of the state of Lenin, Gramsci, Weber and Schmitt?

f) Critically analyse the role of violence in the political theory of 3 of the authors studied on the course (choose between Weber, Lenin, Gramsci, Schmitt).
Academic Skills (ASK), based in the Library, are there to help support you in developing the essential skills for university study, from how to make the most of lectures and communicate effectively to how to think critically, write academically and use statistics. ASK services and sessions are available to all students and cover a range of topics, including:

- Academic writing – planning, structuring, clarity and conciseness;
- Active and critical reading;
- Critical and analytical thinking;
- Critiquing and organising your research;
- Improving English grammar, punctuation and style;
- Presentations and projects;
- Statistics and statistical software including SPSS and Excel;
- Time management and organisation.

What can ASK do for you?

Workshops: ASK run a programme of workshops and courses within the Library on a range of academic skills and also organise events such as ASK Week. Information about what's on and timetables can be viewed on the booking calendar: [http://tinyurl.com/askbrunel](http://tinyurl.com/askbrunel)

Resources: Browse the study skills book collection in the Library and the ASK u-Link site for useful links, documents and interactive lessons. For more information on getting started for University studies see our Headstart website: [http://www.brunel.ac.uk/headstart](http://www.brunel.ac.uk/headstart)

Individual Advice: Drop-in to the Library:

Royal Literary Fund Fellow

Brunel’s Royal Literary Fund Fellow, Lisa Evans, is available to provide students with 1-to-1 practical help with writing. This service is in room HW105 (Heinz Wolff Building) on Mondays and Tuesdays.
To book an appointment: call 01895266788, email lisa.evans@brunel.ac.uk, or go to room HW105 on Monday or Tuesday.