

Lecture: The Rise of Socialism, -350 to 1917

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<<https://github.com;braddelong/public-files/blob/master/lecture-rise-of-socialism--350-1917.pptx>>

<https://www.icloud.com/keynote/0tIKCGGDU9duGkZ7XQ_5GkPdg>

text: <<https://github.com;braddelong/public-files/blob/master/lecture-rise-of-socialism--350-1917-text-pdf>>

The Rise of Socialism, -350 to 1917

From -350 to 1917:

- Ancient assumptions about inequality
- The coming of enlightenment utilitarian values
- The question of the proper political order: fears of *democracy*
- Yet democracy and fundamental equality came
- Popular government and the market economy: the tension
- Technological cornucopia
- Popular resistance to industrial socialist ideals
- Political democracy insufficient for utopia
- An example: governing Chicagoland
- Left-wing European politics before World War I

40 minutes of audio



640 x 420

Ancient Assumptions About Inequality

Aristotle in the -300s:

- Many people “slaves by nature”
- This is fortunate, for slavery necessary if there is to be a good society
- So it is, and so it always would be
 - For it is not so only with the mythical technologies of the Golden Age, or of the gods

Even Abraham Lincoln in the mid-1800s:

- “I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races.... I agree with Judge Douglas [that the Negro is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment...”
- (But Lincoln then has a “but”:
 - “There is no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence.... In the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man...”



Enlightenment Utilitarian Values

Pre-1870: From “Divine Right” and “Natural Order” to Enlightenment values...

Who was the *first* person to draft these words:?

- A. John Locke
- B. Niccolo Machiavelli
- C. Thomas Hobbes
- D. Thomas Jefferson
- E. George Washington

- “We hold these truths to be sacred & undenialble:
 - that all men are created equal & independant,
 - that from that equal creation they derive rights inherent & inalienable,
 - among which are the preservation of life, & liberty, & the pursuit of happiness;
 - that to secure these ends, governments are instituted among men, **deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed...**”
- Why did he write them?



Houses of Parliament, from the River: temp. Hampden.

What Was the Proper Political Order?

Fears of “democracy” among American founders:

- **Madison**: “Democracies have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention... incompatible with personal security or the rights of property... as short in their lives as... violent in their deaths...”
- **Jefferson**: “Gen'l Washington had not a firm confidence in the durability of our government... [& this] had some weight in his adoption of... ceremonies... calculated to prepare us gradually for a change which he believed possible...”
- **Hamilton**: “the British government... best” as the only one “unit[ing] public strength with individual security...”
- **Adams**: The American president should be announced as: “His Highness, the President of the United States, and Protector of the Rights of the Same...”
- Question of political order thought settled: first in the rubble of Berlin in 1945, and then in the streets of East Germany in 1991:
 - Settled in favor of representative democracy, private property, & social insurance—late-1900s liberal democracy
 - But now reopened? Min Zhu (朱民) to me in 2015: “What are you Americans going to do to fix your broken political system?”



Yet Democracy and Fundamental Equality Came...

Franchise Restricted to the Rich Could Not Maintain Itself:

- The dynamic of franchise extension
- Liberals in power would try extend on the principle that the new, poorer voters would be less conservative and would support them.
- Threatening revolution would lead even conservatives to seek to extend the franchise in order to peel off of the revolutionary coalition those of the disenfranchised who had the most social power:
 - Earl Grey (yes, the tea): “The Principal... is to prevent... revolution.... I am reforming to preserve, not to overthrow...”
- Charismatic leaders with popular followings would seek to give them votes, and then rule via plebiscites—going around the traditional elites
 - (Peculiar thing about Trump-Johnson: minority, and core is a minority of a minority...)
- Conservatives: “dish the Whigs”—opportunities to form winning coalitions by appealing to those who were no profiting from the market economy, or felt that they were losing relative status in some ways...



Popular Government and the Market Economy: The Tension

Karl Polanyi

- People believe they have rights—to stable, supportive, nurturing communities; to incomes commensurate with their skills and status; and to money flows that will provide economic stability...
- But a market society turns these things—land, labor, and finance—into commodities...
- But they are not *real* commodities, they are *fictitious* commodities
- And so you get your rights only if they satisfy a market profitability test
- The only rights a market society respects are property rights:
 - & the only property rights that are worth anything are those that help you produce things for which rich people have a serious jones
- Society will have its revenge: it will protect itself against the market logic, somehow, some way...



Popular Resistance to Industrial Socialist Ideals

The June Days of 1848 in Paris:

- **Tocqueville:**
 - “The insurrection of June [1848]... class against class... a blind and rude, but powerful, effort on the part of the [urban] workmen to escape from the necessities of their condition, which had been depicted to them as one of unlawful oppression.... The closing of the national workshops... occasioned the rising...”
 - “Thousands... hastening to our aid from every part of France.... Thanks to the railroads, some had already come from fifty leagues' distance... every class of society... peasants... shopkeepers... landlords and nobles all mingled together... they rushed into Paris with unequalled ardour: a spectacle as strange and unprecedented in our revolutionary annals.... The insurgents received no reinforcements, whereas we had all France for reserves...”

Political Democracy Insufficient for Utopia

America in 1900: “‘Land of opportunity’, you say. You know well my children will be where I am—that is, if I can keep them out of the gutter”:

- Who was to blame for inadequate opportunity?: the rich, the easterners, immigrants, and the bankers (Jews)... <[Matthew 21:33-46](#)>
- What was to be done?: Populists:
 - Free coinage of silver at a ratio of 16-to-1...
 - Boost the money supply...
 - Lower interest rates...
 - Raise farm prices...
 - Antitrust to bust monopolies and restore competition...
 - Railroad and other forms of rate regulation...
- Populist and Progressive movements broken on the anvils of racial animosity, & fear of left-wing socialism, & belief—hope—that the proper business of America was business, and that America contained no proletarians for we were all just temporarily embarrassed millionaires...

An Example: Governing Chicagoland

- Chicago 1840: 4000. Chicago 1900: 2,000,000—70% born outside the United States:
- 1886: AFL general strike for the 8-hour workday: Haymarket bombing May 3 (8/20)
- 1889: AFL President Samuel Gompers; May Day
- 1893: Altgeld pardons three surviving “Haymarket bombers”—blames Pinkertons
- 1894: TTB Grover Cleveland: Labor Day holiday in September instead
- 1894: Pullman Strike
 - Cleveland attached a mail car to every train
 - Cleveland ordered the U.S. army into Chicago
 - Art. IV §4: “on application of the [state] legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened).”
 - Altgeld pointed out that neither he nor the legislature had applied
 - Cleveland responded that it was more important to protect property against rioters, anarchists, and socialists: “If it takes the entire army and navy of the United States to deliver a postcard in Chicago, that card will be delivered!”
 - On July 7, 1894 Debs and the other union leaders were arrested for violating the terms of the injunction, and the strike collapsed
- But the center of the electorate did not want Populism, or Progressivism...

Left-Wing European Politics Before World War I

Disjunction between policies and rhetoric: the reform planks:

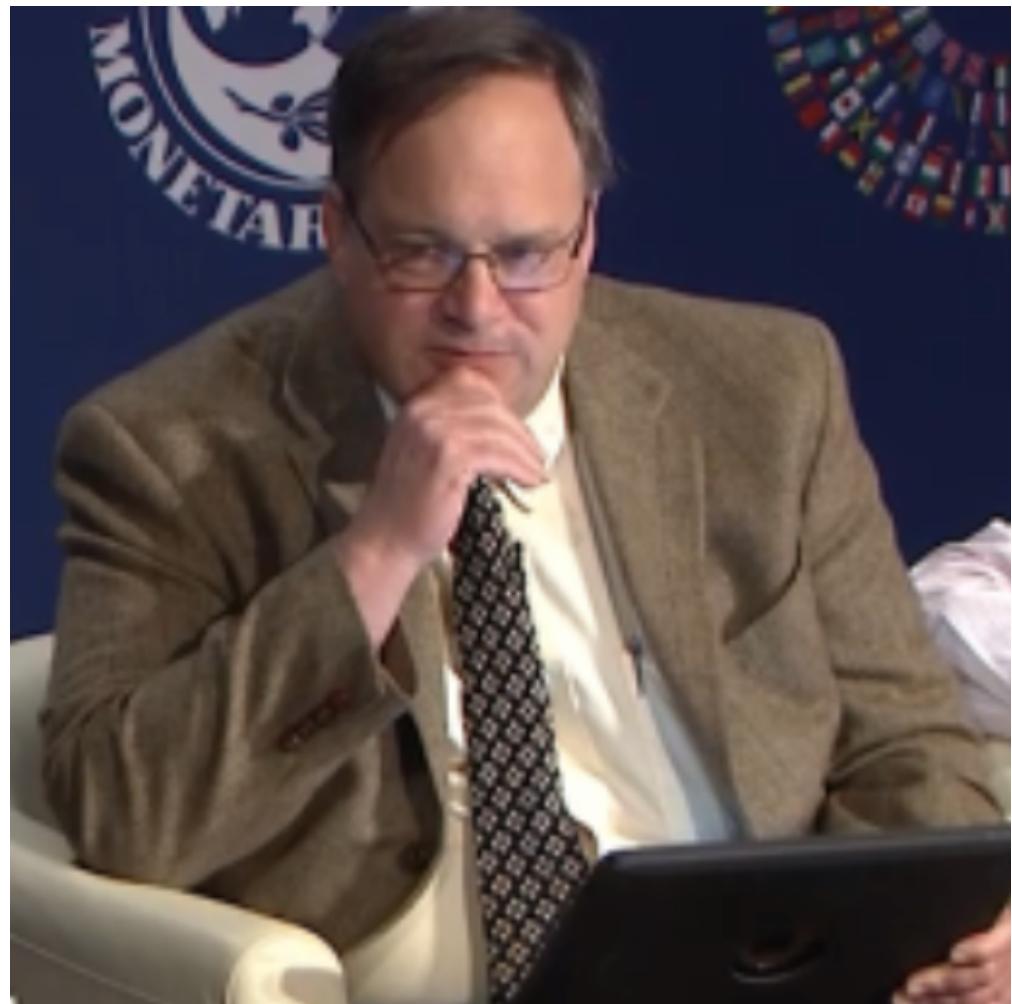
- The Socialist Party of Germany's Erfurt and Gotha programs seek things like: holidays for elections, two-year legislative terms, the right to bear arms, equal rights for women, the prohibition of spending public funds for religious purposes, free public schools and colleges, free medical care including midwifery, an eight-hour working day, no child labor under 14, a 36-hour minimum weekend, an occupational safety and health administration...

Disjunction between policies and rhetoric: the revolution planks:

- But also: “By every lawful means to bring about a free state and a socialistic society, to effect the destruction of the iron law of wages by doing away with the system of wage labor.” And they sought: “the transformation of the capitalist private ownership of the means of production—land and soil, pits and mines, raw materials, tools, machines, means of transportation—into social property and the transformation of the production of goods into socialist production carried on by and for society.” And they believed: “This... emancipation... of the entire human race.... But it can only be the work of the working class, because all other classes... have as their common goal the preservation of the foundations of contemporary society...”

Catch Our Breath...

- Ask a couple of questions?
- Make a couple of comments?
- Any more readings to recommend?



Notes, etc....

