

Michael Denning, “Neither Capitalist Nor American: The Democracy as Social Movement”

DeVane Tercentennial Lecture, 13 February 2001

The first part of my lecture draws on work by historians and social theorists on the emergence of the Democracy and the social movements, particularly:

Samir Amin and others, *Transforming the Revolution: Social Movements and the World System*

Bonnie Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women’s Movement 1830-1860*

Jens Christophersen, *The Meaning of “Democracy”*

Hal Draper, *Karl Marx’s Theory of Revolution*

Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*

August H. Nimitz, Jr., *Marx and Engels: Their Contribution to the Democratic Breakthrough*

The second part of my talk draws on a body of work on the democratic state, particularly:

Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States*

Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy*

Adam Przeworski and others, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*

Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy*

Göran Therborn, “The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy,” *New Left Review* #103 (May-June 1977)

The third part of my talk draws on a number of contemporary discussions of the limits of the democratic state and civil society, particularly:

Bruce Cumings, “Civil Society and Democracy in the United States and East Asia,” from his *Parallax Visions*

Human Rights Watch Report, *Unfair Advantage: Workers’ Freedom of Association in the United States under International Human Rights Standards*, (2000), available in paperback and in electronic form at: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2000/uslabor/>

David Montgomery, *Citizen Worker: The Experience of Workers in the United States with Democracy and the Free Market During the Nineteenth Century*

William I. Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony*

Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Democracy Against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism*

My thanks as well to Rebecca Ruquist and Peg Tamulevich.

Works Cited in the Lecture:

UNESCO report: Richard McKeon, ed., *Democracy in a World of Tensions: A Symposium Prepared by UNESCO* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 522.

Tocqueville: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, translated by George Lawrence (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1969), p. 454, 456, 238, 580, 620n.

“the democracy”: Peronnet Thompson from the OED; Tocqueville is quoted in French in Christopherson, p. 80; I quote Tocqueville’s nineteenth-century translator, Henry Reeve, in this

case because it preserves Tocqueville's use of this meaning of the democracy; Mill is quoted in Christopherson, p. 160; the *Times* of London is quoted in Francis Wheen, *Karl Marx* (New York: Norton, 2000), p. 325.

“there were very few men...”: Russell I. Hanson, *The Democratic Imagination in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), p. 56.

“broad application...represents the zenith...”: Jens Christophersen, *The Meaning of “Democracy” as used in European ideologies from the French to the Russian Revolution* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1966), p. 322, 323.

Chartists: Hal Draper, *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution: Volume Two* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1978), p. 76.

“Through their personal...”: Quoted in Draper, V. 2, p. 212n

Carlyle, Guizot: Quoted in Christophersen, p. 63, 77.

Emancipation was the great aspiration: The point about emancipation is made by Bonnie Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 114.

“the emancipation...”: Karl Marx/Frederick Engels, *Collected Works* (New York: International, 1975-), V. 20, p. 14.

Walsh: Quoted in Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 331.

Marx on Russell: Marx, V. 11, p. 374.

Dahl: Robert Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 3.

Moore: Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 418.

“the major comparative history”: Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 98, see also p. 270.

“capitalist development...” Rueschemeyer and others, p. 271.

Perry Anderson: Perry Anderson, “The Affinities of Norberto Bobbio,” in his *A Zone of Engagement* (London: Verso, 1992), p. 124.

“The American peasantry...”: Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p. 70.

“sustained nationwide contraction”: Keyssar, p. 169.

“even though...”: Alexander Hicks, *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism: A Century of Income Security Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 20.

“Under the impetus...”: Patrick Heller, *The Labor of Development: Workers and the Transformation of Capitalism in Kerala, India* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 6-7.

Wood: Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Democracy Against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 214.

“the more...”: David Montgomery, *Citizen Worker: The Experience of Workers in the United States with Democracy and the Free Market During the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 2, 12.

Midnight Notes: Midnight Notes, *Midnight Oil: Work, Energy, War 1973-1992* (New York: Autonomedia, 1992).

“Americans of all ages...”: Tocqueville, p. 513, 517, 521.

“The present problem...”: Bobbio quoted in Anderson, p. 116.

“Today, if you want...”: Norberto Bobbio, *Democracy and Dictatorship* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), p. 157.

Human Rights Watch: *Unfair Advantage: Workers' Freedom of Association in the United States Under International Human Rights Standards* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2000), p. 8, 10, 30, 196.

“anarchy in the social...”: Karl Marx, *Capital: Volume One*, in Marx, *Collected Works* Vol. 35, p. 362.

“between workman and master...”: Tocqueville, p. 558.

Putnam: Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

“the great word”: Walt Whitman, “Democratic Vistas,” in *Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose* (New York: Modern Library, 1950), p. 477.

a doubling of the world working class: World Bank, *World Development Report 1995: Workers in an Integrating World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 9.

“the strike was aimed...”: Quoted in Kim Moody, “Global Labor Stands Up to Global Capital,” *Labor Notes* # 256 (July 2000), p. 9.