Political Science 214
MARXIST AND POST-MARXIST POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY
Section 701766
Dr. Germaine A. Hoston
Winter 2011

Class Meetings: W 12:00-2:50 p.m. Office: 376 SSB
Classroom: SSB 353 Tel.: 858-449-0455
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 3:00 p.m.-4:30 p.m. E-Mail: ghoston@ucsd.edu
and by appointment
Course website: http://groups.yahoo.com/group/marxist_political_philosophy_2011/

This course examines selected texts in Marxist and post-Marxist political philosophy with a focus on a particular theme. This quarter our theme will be the relationship between man as an individual with an identity as such and man in society. This theme will allow us to address issues concerning alienation and consciousness, as well as the role of ideology in forging man's identity as an individual, as a member of a class, national state, or other collective entity, and as what Marx referred to as a "species-being" identifying with universal humanity.

In Part I of the course, we will establish the problématique that is the object of our inquiry. We will begin by examining these issues in the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, G. W. F. Hegel, Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels. We then move to see how these issues were addressed in the work of V. I. Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Antonio Gramsci, as leaders in revolutionary movements in developing or unevenly developing societies. We then consider the thought of Georg Lukács as a link to the fuller consideration of ideology in more industrialized societies. In Part II of the course, we address critical treatments of organized Marxism, Leninism, and Marxism-Leninism itself as ideological systems. Such critical treatments will be drawn from within the Western Marxist tradition, as well as from the writings of non-Western Marxists. Finally, in Part III we will examine the relationship between ideology, the individual, and society in advanced industrial societies, through the writings of Louis Althusser, Herbert Marcuse, Jürgen Habermas, and others.

During the second part of the quarter, students will be required to complete a paper, a thought piece of about 15 pages. The paper should be written on the basis of materials assigned for this course, although students are welcome to draw on outside readings. Papers are due on Wednesday, June 16th by 12:00 a.m. (midnight) by email to germaine.hoston@gmail.com. To join the course discussion board, simply send an email from your preferred email address to: marxist_political PHILOSOPHY_2011@yahoogroups.com.

This seminar does not presume familiarity with Western political philosophy but not necessarily with Marxism. Students who feel that they need additional background should complete the background readings indicated below within the first two weeks of the quarter.

Below is the schedule of readings and discussion topics for the course. Students are expected to complete all readings in advance of the date on which discussion of them is indicated. Readings available for purchase in the University Bookstore are indicated with an asterisk. Items that have been placed on reserve are indicated with the letter "R" in parentheses.

PLEASE NOTE: So that the first session will be productive, students are required to have completed and/or reviewed Rousseau's First and Second Discourses and Social Contract for the first class meeting.

BACKGROUND READING:

Students who are unfamiliar with Marxist political thought should complete the following
readings within the first two weeks of class:

Robert C. Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx* (R) OR
Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism: The Founders*, chaps. 1-8, 12-14 (R)

I. PART I: THE PROBLEMATIQUE

WEEK 1 (Jan 5): Course Introduction: Public Man and Private Man in Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Required Reading:
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *First and Second Discourses* (R)
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Social Contract* (R)

Recommended Reading:
G. W. F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology*
Karl Marx, *Marx’s Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge University Press) (R)
Judith N. Shklar, "Rousseau's Images of Authority," *American Political Science Review* 58.4 (December 1964): 919-932

WEEK 2 (Jan 12): Marx’s Challenge to Hegel

Required Reading:
Karl Marx, *Marx’s Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right* (R)
G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* (as reference for the above)* (R)

Recommended Reading:


WEEK 3 (Jan 19): Man, Society, and History From Rousseau to Marx

Required Reading:

Recommended:
Shlomo Avineri, The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968)
Erich Fromm, Marx’s Concept of Man (New York: Unger, 1961)
John Plamenatz, Karl Marx’s Philosophy of Man (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1975), chaps. 1-10

WEEK 4 (Jan 26): The Mature Marx and Engels on Capitalism and Contemporary Politics

Required Reading:

Recommended Reading:
Paul C. Roberts and Matthew A. Stephenson, Marx’s Theory of Exchange, Alienation and Crisis (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1973)
Arthur Rosenberg, Democracy and Socialism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965)

**WEEK 5 (Feb 2): Consciousness, Ideology, and Revolutionary Change in Lenin**

**Required Reading:**
- Rosa Luxemburg, "Leninism or Marxism?" in Luxemburg, *The Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism?*

**Recommended Reading:**
- V. I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy," in Tucker, ed., *Lenin Anthology*
- Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*

**WEEK 6 (Feb 9): Consciousness and Ideology in Gramsci, Levinas, and Dussel**

**Required Reading:**
- Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, pp. 5-23, 123-205, 206-276* (R)
- Emmanuel Levinas, *Basic Philosophical Writings*, ed. Adriaan T. Peperzak, Simon Critchley, and Robert Bernasconi, chaps. 1 ("Is Ontology Fundamental?") and 5 ("Substitution")* (R)
- Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity*, Introduction, Preface, Section I ("The Same and the Other"), parts A and B, and Conclusions* (R)

**Recommended Reading:**
- Carl Boggs, *The Two Revolutions: Gramsci and the Dilemmas of Western Marxism* (boston, Mass.: South End Press, 1984)
and the State (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980)
Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Political Writings, 1921-1926 (1978) (R)
Emmanuel Levinas, trans. Alphonso Lingis, Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press), especially Section I, Section II, parts C. and D.
Anne Showstack Sassoon, Gramsci’s Politics (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980)

PART II. MARXISM, LENINISM, AND MARXISM-LENINISM AS IDEOLOGY

WEEK 7 (Feb 16) Marxism at the Crossroads: The Emergence of Critical Marxism

Required Reading:
Georg Lukács, History and Class Consciousness (1923)* (R)

Recommended Reading:
Paul Breines, "Lukács, Revolution and Marxism: 1885-1918," The Philosophical Forum 3,3-4 (Spring, Summer 1972)
Paul Breines, "Young Lukács, Old Lukács, New Lukács," Journal of Modern History 513 (September 1979)
Sidney Hook, Marxism and Beyond (Rowman and Littlefield, 1983)
Martin Jay, Marxism and Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Lukács to Habermas (Berkeley
  Leszek Kolakowski, "The Concept of the Left," in Howe, Essential Works of Socialism, pp. 682-698
  Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, Dialectic of Enlightenment, trans. John Cumming
  (New York: Continuum, 1988)
  Gareth Stedman Jones, "The Marxism of the Early Lukács," New Left Review 70
  (November-December 1971), also reprinted in Western Marxism: A Critical Reader, ed. New Left Review
  (London, 1977)

PART III. IDEOLOGY, THE INDIVIDUAL, AND SOCIETY IN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL
SOCIETIES

WEEK 8 (Feb 23): The Critique of Advanced Industrialized Society

Required Reading:
  Herbert Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society
  (1964)* (R)
  Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy
  and Other Essays* (R)

Recommended Reading:
  Perry Anderson, Arguments within English Marxism (Verso, 1980)
  Perry Anderson, Considerations on Western Marxism (1976) (R)
  W. Peter Archibald, Marx and the Missing Link: "Human Nature" (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities
  Press, 1989)
  Robert John Ackermann, Religion as Critique, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985)
  José Míguez Bonino, Christians and Marxists: The Mutual Challenge to Revolution (Grand Rapids,
  627-646* (R)
  R. H. S. Crossman, "The Idea of Progress and the Fallacy of Materialism," in Howe, Essential
  Works of Socialism, pp. 617-626* (R)
  518-525* (R)
  Carlos Franco, "Del Marxismo Eurocéntrico al Marxismo Latinoamericano", in Los Nuevos
  procesos sociales y la teoria política contemporánea (Seminario de Oaxaca) (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno
  Editores, 1986)
  Andre Gorz, Socialism and Revolution (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1973)
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Martin Jay, Marxism and Totality, chaps. 7, 13


Leszek Kolakowski, Toward a Marxist Humanism (New York: Grove Press, 1968)


Paul Lakeland, Theology and Critical Theory: The Discourse of the Church (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1990)


Georg Lukács, Existentialism or Marxism (1961)


Mihailo Markovic, From Affluence to Praxis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1974)

Ralph Miliband, "Marx and the State," The Socialist Register (1965)

Ralph Miliband, State in Capitalist Society (1969)

José Portifrio Miranda, Marx against the Marxists: The Christian Humanism of Karl Marx (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1980)


Gajo Petrovic, Marx in the Mid-Twentieth Century: A Yugoslav Philosopher Reconsiders Karl Marx's Writings (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1967)

Nicos Poulantzas, Political Power and Social Classes (1973)


Jean-Paul Sartre, Age of Reason (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947)

Jean-Paul Sartre, Between Marxism and Existentialism (circa 1945)

Jean-Paul Sartre, Anti-Semitism and Jew (1946)


WEEK 9 (Mar 2): Rationality, Communication and Modernity

Required Reading:

Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (Cambridge: MIT Press)* (R)

Michel Foucault, The Foucault Reader, Paul Rabinow, ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984),
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Introduction and Pt. I (R)

Recommended Reading:
- Michel Foucault, The Foucault Reader, Paul Rabinow, ed. (New York: Pntheon Books, 1984), Pt. II
- Jürgen Habermas, Jürgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader, ed. Steven Seidman (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1989), chaps. 6, 7, and 11

WEEK 10 (Mar 9): Ideology, Rationality, and the Crisis of Late Capitalism

Required Reading:
- Jürgen Habermas, Jürgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader, ed. Steven Seidman (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1989), chap. 4
- Jürgen Habermas, Legitimation Crisis (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975)* (R)

Recommended Reading:
- Martin Jay, Marxism and Totality, chap. 15
- Tom Rockmore, Habermas on Historical Materialism (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1989)
- Michael Walzer, “Politics in the Welfare State,” in Howe, Essential Works of Socialism, pp. 809-834*
(R)


FINAL WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT

Please write an essay of approximately 15 double-spaced typed pages on the topic below. This is not a research paper, but a thought piece. You are welcome to consult material not assigned for this course in answering the question, but it is possible to do an excellent thought piece solely on the basis of materials used in this course. Be sure to cite materials copiously in your essay. Your paper is due by email to germaine.hoston@gmail.com on Wednesday, June 16th by midnight.

Two centuries after the French Revolution, the world saw the rapid demise of the Stalinist systems in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that had been in place since the 1940s and 1950s, and the challenge to the new leaders in these societies in constructing new functional democratic socialist societies has been formidable indeed. In the past, when the former Soviet Union, Poland, and other communist societies departed from the Stalinist model in reforming their political arrangements (let us leave economic reforms aside for the moment), their actions were roundly denounced by "conservative" Stalinist leadership—as well as by "conservative" advocates of capitalist economics—as "bourgeois" actions which have no place and could never survive in a political system inspired by Marx's vision of proletarian socialist revolution. How might the writings by the Marxist philosophical community that you have read in this course be used to challenge such claims (and those who make them) in terms of the Marxist categories of "consciousness", "ideology", and "humanism"?