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 Friday, June 14th by 11:59 p.m. via Turnitin on TritonEd. To join the course discussion board, simply visit https://piazza.com/ucsd/spring2019/poli214/

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.

The following books have been ordered and are available at the University Bookstore:
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract (Penguin), paper, 0-140-44201-4
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The First and Second Discourses* (St. Martin’s Press), paper 0-312-69440-7
G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*
Rosa Luxemburg, *The Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism* (Ann Arbor Paperbacks),
Emmanuel Levinas, *Basic Philosophical Writings*, ed. by Adriaan T. Peperzak, Simon Critchley, and
Robert Bernasconi (Indiana University Press), paper, 0-253-21079-8
Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity* (Duquesne University Press) paper 0-8207-0245-5
(MIT Press), 0-262-62020-0
Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (MIT Press), paper, 0-262-58108-6
Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (MIT Press), paper, 0-8070-1521-0
Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader* (Pantheon), 0-394-71340-0
Jürgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader, ed. Steven Seidman (Beacon Press), 0-8070-2001-X

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

Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism: The Founders*, chaps. 1-8, 12-14 (R)

I. PART I: THE PROBLEMATIQUE

WEEK 1 (Apr 2): Course Introduction: Public Man and Private Man in Jean-Jacques
Rousseau

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

Recommended Reading:
Review Press, 1972)
G. W. F. Hegel, *The Phenomenology*
Jean Jaurès, "From the Rights of Man to Socialism," pp. 213-218 in Howe, *Essential Works of
Socialism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976) (R)
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 (Apr 9): Marx's Challenge to Hegel**

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

**Recommended Reading:**

**WEEK 3 (Apr 16): Man, Society, and History From Rousseau to Marx**

**Required Reading:**

**Recommended:**

WEEK 4 (Apr 23): The Mature Marx and Engels on Capitalism and Contemporary Politics

Required Reading:

Recommended Reading:

WEEK 5 (April 30): Consciousness, Ideology, and Revolutionary Change in Lenin

Required Reading:
V. I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?" in Tucker, ed., *Lenin Anthology* (R)
Rosa Luxemberg, "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*
Rosa Luxemburg, *Reform or Revolution* (New York: Pathfinder, 1970)
Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*
WEEK 6 (May 7): 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:
G. Adamson, Hegemony and Revolution (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1980)
Carl Boggs, The Two Revolutions: Gramsci and the Dilemmas of Western Marxism (Boston, Mass.: South End Press, 1984)
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 (May 14) 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)
Leszek Kolakowski, "The Concept of the Left," in Howe, Essential Works of Socialism, pp. 682-698
PART III. IDEOLOGY, THE INDIVIDUAL, AND SOCIETY IN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES

WEEK 8 (May 21): 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)

Robert John Ackermann, Religion as Critique, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985)

Martin Buber, "Marx and the Renewal of Society," in Howe, Essential Works of Socialism, pp. 627-646* (R)


Milovan Djilas, "The New Class in Communist Society," in Howe, Essential Works of Socialism, pp. 518-525* (R)

Carlos Franco, "Del Marxismo Eurocéntrico al Marxismo Latinoamericano", in Los Nuevos procesos sociales y la teoría política contemporánea (Seminario de Oaxaca) (Mexico: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1986)

Andre Gorz, Socialism and Revolution (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor, 1973)


Martin Jay, Marxism and Totality, chaps. 7, 13


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

WEEK 9 (May 28): Rationality, Communication and Modernity

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

Recommended Reading:
- Amy Allen, “The Public Sphere: Ideology and/or Ideal?” *Political Theory* 40.6 (December 2012): 822-829
- Maeve Cooke, “Realism and Idealism: Was Habermas’s Communicative Turn a Move in the Wrong Direction?”, *Political Theory* 40.6: 811-821
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 (June 4): 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)
FINAL WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT

Please write an essay of approximately 15 double-spaced typed pages on one of the two topics below or on another topic related to your own research as developed in consultation with Dr. Hoston. 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 Friday, March 20th by 11:59 p.m.

1. 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. By contrast, the leadership of the People’s Republic of China have managed to incorporate elements of capitalist economics into their society while steadfastly repudiating the accoutrements of the political aspects of the bourgeois “public sphere.” Interestingly, in China and many societies of the former Soviet Union, state capitalism has given way to oligopoly, the gap between rich and poor has been exacerbated, while the realization of democratic politics remains in question. How might the writings by the Marxist philosophical community that you have read in this course be used to account for these outcomes in terms of the Marxist categories of "consciousness", "ideology", and "humanism"?

2. The global economic crisis at the end of the first millennium of this century has highlighted the dysfunctional aspects of capitalist economics in current practice, and revived debate over the sustainability of the welfare state model, as the nation states of Europe and the Americas try to balance the needs of citizens against achieving macroeconomic equilibrium at the society and political level. As the welfare state is based in many respects on the success of Marxist influenced labor movements, primarily in Europe, but (with marketed less explicit Marxian influence) in the U.S. as well, the notion of crisis and the tension between individual needs and those of society as a whole have been cast into sharp relief. What perspectives of philosophers that we have studied in this course might be most helpful in understanding the origin of the crisis and how it might be resolved in philosophical terms as well as in the material world?