

Political Science 214  
MARXIST POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY  
Section 564422  
Dr. Germaine A. Hoston  
Winter 2005

Class Meetings: W 3:00 – 5:50 p.m.  
Classroom: SSB 104  
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2:00 to 3:30 p.m.  
and by appointment

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This course examines selected texts in 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, March 22th at 3:00-6:00 p.m. in class. We will try to arrange to read each other's papers and comment on them. Details on how that will happen will be discussed as the time for submission of the assignment draws near.

This seminar presumes some familiarity 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.

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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 (January 9): 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:

John Charvet, *The Social Problem in the Philosophy of Rousseau* (Cambridge, 1972)  
Lucio Colletti, *From Rousseau to Lenin: Studies in Ideology and Society* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972)  
Lucio Colletti, *Marxism and Hegel*, trans. Lawrence Garner (London, 1973)  
Victor Goldschmidt, *Anthropologie et politique: les principes du système de Rousseau* (Paris, 1974)  
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)  
John Stuart Mill, "Socialism and Liberty," in Howe, *Essential Works of Socialism*, pp.

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John Plamenatz, *Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1975), chap. 12

Judith N. Shklar, *Men and Citizens: A Study of Rousseau's Social Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969)

Judith N. Shklar, "Rousseau's Images of Authority," *American Political Science Review* 58.4 (December 1964): 919-932

WEEK 2 (January 16): 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:

Seyla Benhabib, *Critique, Norm and Utopia: A Study of the Foundations of Critical Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), chaps. 1-3

Sidney Hook, *From Hegel to Marx: Studies in the Intellectual Development of Karl Marx* (New York: 1950)

George Lichtheim, *Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study* (New York: Praeger, 1961)

Herbert Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960)

WEEK 3 (January 23): Man, Society, and History From Rousseau to Marx

Required Reading:

Karl Marx, "Marx on the History of His Opinions (Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*)," "For a Ruthless Criticism of Everything Existing," "On the Jewish Question," "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," "Society and Economy in History," "Theses on Feuerbach," "The German Ideology: Part I," all in Tucker, ed., *Marx-Engels Reader\** (R)

Recommended:

Shlomo Avineri, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968)

Louis Dupré, *The Philosophical Foundations of Marxism* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1966)

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Erich Fromm, *Marx's Concept of Man* (New York: Unger, 1961)  
Karl Löwith, "Man's Self-Alienation in the Early Writings of Marx," *Social Research* 21.2 (Summer 1954): 204-230  
Isvan Meszaros, *Marx's Theory of Alienation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972)  
John Plamenatz, *Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1975), chaps. 1-10

WEEK 4 (January 30): The Mature Marx and Engels on Capitalism and Contemporary Politics

Required Reading:

"The *Grundrisse*, Capital, Volume One, Capital, Volume Three, "Critique of the Gotha Program," "After the Revolution: Marx Debates Bakunin," "The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850," "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," "The Civil War in France," and "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," all in Tucker, *Marx-Engels Reader\** (R)

Recommended Reading:

G. D. H. Cole, *History of Socialist Thought*, vol. II, *Marxism and Anarchism 1850-1890* (New York, 1954)  
John Plamenatz, *Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1975), chap. 13  
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)  
Paul Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1956)

WEEK 5 (February 6): Consciousness, Ideology, and Revolutionary Change in Lenin

Required Reading:

V. I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?* in Tucker, ed., *Lenin Anthology\** (R)  
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*  
Rosa Luxemburg, *Reform or Revolution* (New York: Pathfinder, 1970)  
Herbert Marcuse, *Soviet Marxism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958)

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Zenovia A. Sochor, *Revolution and Culture: The Bogdanov-Lenin Controversy* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988)  
Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*  
Paul Frölich, *Rosa Luxemburg: Her Life and Work* (New York: Monthly Review Press)

WEEK 6 (February 13): Consciousness and Ideology in Gramsci

Required Reading:

Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, pp. 5-23, 123-205, 206-276\* (R)

Recommended Reading:

G. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1980)

Perry Anderson, *Sur Gramsci* (Paris: Maspero, 1978)

Rudolf Bahro, *The Alternative in Eastern Europe* (London: New Left Books, 1980)

Norberto Bobbio, "Gramsci and the Conception of Civil Society," in *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, ed. Chantal Mouffe (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979)

Carl Boggs, *The Two Revolutions: Gramsci and the Dilemmas of Western Marxism* (Boston, Mass.: South End Press, 1984)

Christine Buci-Glucksmann, *Gramsci et l'état* (Paris: Fayard, 1974) English translation: *Gramsci and the State* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980)

Christine Buci-Glucksmann, "Hegemony and Consent," in *Approaches to Gramsci*, ed. Anne Showstack Sassoon (London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1982)

Joseph V. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982)

Joseph V. Femia, "Hegemony and Consciousness in the Thought of Antonio Gramsci," *Political Studies* 23.1 (March 1975): 29-48

Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Political Writings, 1921-1926* (1978) (R)

Neil McInnes, "Les débuts du marxisme théorique en France et en Italie," *Cahiers de l'Institut de Science Economique Appliquée*, Série S, III (102), (juin 1960): 5-51

Anne Showstack Sassoon, *Gramsci's Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980)

Nigel Todd, "Ideological Superstructure in Gramsci and Mao Tse-tung," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35.1 (1974): 148-156

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

WEEK 7 (February 20) Marxism at the Crossroads: The Emergence of Critical Marxism

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Required Reading:

Georg Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness* (1923)\* (R)

Recommended Reading:

Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E. B. Ashton (New York: Seabury Press, 1973)

Theodor Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Norton, 1950, 1969)

Andrew Arato, "Georg Lukács: The Search for a Revolutionary Subject," in *The Unknown Dimension: European Marxism Since Lenin*, ed. Dick Howard and Karl E. Klare (New York and London, 1972)

Seyla Benhabib, *Critique, Norm, and Utopia: A Study of the Foundations of Critical Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), chaps. 4, 5

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)

Susan Buck-Morss, *The Origin of Negative Dialectics* (New York: Free press, 1977)

Alwin W. Gouldner, *The Dark Side of the Dialectic*, vol. 3: *The Two Marxisms: Contradictions and Anomalies in the Development of Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980)

Sidney Hook, *Marxism and Beyond* (Rowman and Littlefield, 1983)

Sidney Hook, *Revolution, Reform, and Social Justice: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Marxism* (New York University Press.)

Martin Jay, *Marxism and Totality: The Adventures of a Concept from Lukács to Habermas* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984)

Martin Jay, *Theodore Adorno* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985) 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)

Michael Löwy, *Georg Lukács: From Romanticism to Bolshevism*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London, 1979)

G. H. R. Parkinson, ed., *Georg Lukács: The Man, His Work and His Ideas* (New York, 1970)

Zoltan Tar, *The Frankfurt School* (New York: Wiley, 1977)

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

WEEK 8 (February 27): 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 Miguez Bonino, *Christians and Marxists: The Mutual Challenge to Revolution* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1976)

Martin Buber, "Marx and the Renewal of Society," in Howe, *Essential Works of Socialism*, pp. 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)

Raya Dunayevskaya, *Marxism and Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989)

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)

Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, politics and Salvation*, trans. and ed. Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1973)

Germaine A. Hoston, "Ikkoku Shakai-shugi: Sano Manabu and the Limits of Marxism as Cultural Criticism," in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990) Germaine A. Hoston, "A 'Theology' of Liberation? Socialist Revolution and Spiritual Regeneration in Chinese and Japanese Marxism," *Ideas across Cultures: Essays on Chinese Thought in Honor of Benjamin I. Schwartz*, ed. Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman (Cambridge: Harvard University

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- Press, under the auspices of the Council on East Asian Studies, 1990)  
Martin Jay, *Marxism and Totality*, chaps. 7, 13  
Kerazim Kohák, "Religion and Socialism," *Dissent* 25.2 (Spring 1978): 174-192  
Leszek Kolakowski, *Toward a Marxist Humanism* (New York: Grove Press, 1968)  
Karl Korsch, *Marxism and Philosophy*, trans. Fred Halliday (London: New Left Books, 1970)  
Paul Lakeland, *Theology and Critical Theory: The Discourse of the Church* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1990)  
Stephen T. Leonard, *Critical Theory in Political Practice* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990)  
Georg Lukács, *Existentialism or Marxism* (1961)  
Mihailo Markovic, *The Contemporary Marx: Essays on Humanist Communism* (London, 1974)  
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 Porfirio Miranda, *Marx against the Marxists: The Christian Humanism of Karl Marx* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1980)  
José Miranda, *Marx and the Bible: A Critique of the Philosophy of Oppression*, trans. John Eagleson (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1974)  
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)  
John C. Raines and Thomas Dean, eds., *Marxism and Radical Religion: Essays toward a Revolutionary Humanism* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press, 1970)  
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-Semite and Jew* (1946)  
Svetozar Stojanovic, *Between Ideals and Reality: A Critique of Socialism and Its Future* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973)  
Mihaly Vajda, *The State and Socialism: Political Essays* (London: Allison & Busby, 1981)

#### WEEK 9 (March 6): 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), Introduction and Pt. I (R)

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Recommended Reading:

Seyla Benhabib, *Critique, Norm and Utopia: A Study of the Foundations of Critical Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), chaps. 6-8

Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, Paul Rabinow, ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), Pt. II

Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1973)

Jürgen Habermas, *Jürgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader*, ed. Steven Seidman (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1989), chaps. 6, 7, and 11

Michael Walzer, "The Politics of Michel Foucault," Jürgen Habermas, "Taking Aim at the Heart of the Present," and Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, "What is Maturity? Habermas and Foucault on 'What Is Enlightenment?'" all in David Couzens Hoy, ed., *Foucault: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986)

WEEK 10 (March 13): 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:

Jürgen Habermas, "Problems of Legitimation in Late Capitalism," in *Critical Sociology*, ed. P. Connerton (London: Penguin, 1976)

Germaine A. Hoston, "Between Theory and Practice: Marxist Thought and the Politics of the Japanese Socialist Party," *Studies in Comparative Communism* 20.2 (Summer 1987):175-207

Martin Jay, *Marxism and Totality*, chap. 15

John Keane, *Public Life and Late Capitalism: Toward a Socialist Theory of Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 1984)

Thomas McCarthy, *The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas* (New York: MIT Press, 1978)

Claus Offe, *Contradictions of the Welfare State*, ed. John Keane (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984)

Claus Offe, "Political Authority and Class Structure," in *Critical Sociology*, ed. P. Connerton (London: Penguin, 1976)

Claus Offe, "Structural Problems of the Capitalist State," *German Political studies* 1 (1974): 31-56

Tom Rockmore, *Habermas on Historical Materialism* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1989)

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Michael Walzer, "Politics in the Welfare State," in Howe, *Essential Works of Socialism*, pp. 809-834\* (R)

Alan Wolfe, *The Limits of Legitimacy: Political Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism* (New York: The Free Press, 1977)

E. O. Wright, "Class Boundaries in Advanced Capitalist Societies," *New Left Review* No. 98 (July-August 1976): 3-47

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## 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 in class on Thursday, March 13th at 2:00 p.m. Please be sure to submit enough copies of your essay to be distributed to all other members of the class (you may omit the cover page which bears your name from all copies except that submitted to the professor).

Two centuries after the French Revolution, the world has seen 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, as now, when the Soviet Union, Poland, and other communist societies have 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"?