

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: University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Paperbacks),

C.B. MacPherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1962)

Joseph H. Carens, ed., *Democracy and Possessive Individualism : The Intellectual Legacy of C.B. Macpherson* (Albany, N.Y. : State University of New York Press, 1993)

Frank Cunningham, ed., *The Political Thought of C.B. Macpherson: Contemporary Applications* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019) (Electronic version: <https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-3-319-94920-8>)

Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Lenin Anthology* (W. W. Norton), 2nd ed. 0-393-09236-X

Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader* (W. W. Norton), 2nd ed. 0-393-09040-X

Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (International Publishers), paper, 0-7178-0397-X

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

Georg Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (MIT Press), 0-262-62020-0

Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (Monthly Review Press), paper, 1-5836-7039-4

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, *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:

Robert C. Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx* (Cambridge University Press), 1972(R) OR
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)
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Social Contract** (Penguin Classics), paper 0-140-44201-4 (R)

Recommended Readings::

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. 407-710
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 (Apr 9): Marx's Challenge to Hegel

Required Reading:

Karl Marx, *Marx's Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, trans. Annette Jolin and Joseph O. O'Malley, ed. Joseph O. O'Malley (Cambridge University Press, 1970), online at: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/>
G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right* (as reference for the above)* (R)

Recommended Readings::

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 (Apr 16): 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)

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 (Apr 23): 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 Readings::

G. D. H. Cole, *History of Socialist Thought*, vol. II, *Marxism and Anarchism 1850-1890* (New York, 1954)

Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 196, 1970)

Maurice Dobb, *La Transición del feudalismo al capitalismo*, ed. Rodney Hilton, ed. ; traducción castellana de Domènec Bergadà (Barcelona : Editorial Critica, [1978], 1978)

Hilton, Rodney (ed.) (1978). *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*. London: Verso.

Germaine A. Hoston, "Marxism and Japanese Expansionism:

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Beacon Press, 1966)

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)

Paul M. Sweezy and Maurice Dobb (1950). 'The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism,' *Science & Society*, 14(2), Spring, pp. 134-167

Takahashi, Kohachiro, "The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism: A Contribution to the Sweezy-Dobb Controversy," *Science & Society*, 16(4), Fall 1952, pp. 313-345, Translated from the original Japanese by Henry F. Mins.

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 Luxemburg, "Leninism or Marxism?" in Luxemburg, *The Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism?*

Recommended Readings::

Edouard Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism* (New York: Prism Key Press, 2011) (ISBN 9781466322615)

V. I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy," in Tucker, ed., *Lenin Anthology*

Georg Lukács, *Lenin: A Study on the Unity of His Thought*, trans. Nicholas Jacobs (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971)

Georg Lukács, "Lenin: Theoretician of Practice", pp. 97-105, in Georg Lukács, *Marxism and Human Liberation*, ed. E. San Juan, Jr. (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1973)

Rosa Luxemburg, *Reform or Revolution* (New York: Pathfinder, 1970)

Gregory Massell, *The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, reissued in 2015)

Herbert Marcuse, *Soviet Marxism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958)

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 (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)

Enrique Dussel, "Eurocentrism and Modernity" (Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures)," *boundary 2*.20 (1993) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/303341>

Recommended Readings::

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)
Michael D. Barber, *Rationalism in Enrique Düssel's Philosophy of Liberation*, Fordham University Press Perspectives in Continental Philosophy Series (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998)
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)
Enrique D. Dussel, *Método para una filosofía de la liberación: Superación analéctica de la dialéctica hegeliana* (Salamanca: Ediciones Sigueme, 1974)
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)
Germaine A. Hoston, Review of *Ontology of Production: 3 Essays*, by Nishida Kitarō. Translated and with an Introduction by William Haver. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012. In *Political Theory* (forthcoming, PDF available from Dr. Hoston upon request.)
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.
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
Nishida Kitarō, "The Standpoint of Active Intuition" (1935) and/or "Human Being", (1938), in *Ontology of Production: 3 Essays*. Translated and with an Introduction by William Haver. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012.
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 (May 14) Marxism at the Crossroads: The Emergence of Critical Marxism

Required Reading:

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

Recommended Readings::

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)

David Held, *Introduction to Critical Theory: Horkheimer to Habermas* (Berkeley: University of California 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," 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)

Georg Lukács, "Technology and Social Relations", *New Left Review*, 1/39 (September-October 1966) (also available in Georg Lukács, *Marxism and Human Liberation*, ed. E. San Juan, Jr. (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1973)

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)

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 Readings::

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 Ina 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 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 (May 28): 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)

Recommended Readings::

- Amy Allen, "The Public Sphere: Ideology and/or Ideal?" *Political Theory* 40.6 (December 2012): 822-829
- Seyla Benhabib, *Critique, Norm and Utopia: A Study of the Foundations of Critical Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), chaps. 6-8
- Maeve Cooke, "Realism and Idealism: Was Habermas's Communicative Turn a Move in the Wrong Direction?", *Political Theory* 40.6: 811-821
- 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 (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 Readings::

Enrique Dussel, *Beyond Philosophy: Ethics, History, Marxism, and Liberation Theology*, ed. Eduardo Mendieta (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), especially Preface and Introduction, and chaps. 1 and 3, and Parts III and IV

Enrique Dussel, *Philosophy of Liberation*, trans. Aquilina Martinez and Christine Morkovsky (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 1985)

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

Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought)

Jürgen Habermas, *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action* (Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought) (Boston: MIT Press, 1990)

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)

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

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 via Turnitin on TritonEd and by email to ghoston@ucsd.edu on Friday, June 14th 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?

Students may adapt one of these questions or propose an alternative topic consonant with his/her research interests in consultation with Dr. Hoston.