



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO
POLITICAL SCIENCE 114BR
MARXIST POLITICAL THOUGHT
WINTER 2024
Sections XXXXX and XXXXX
Dr. Germaine A. Hoston
v. 1

Class Meetings: Tu 5:00 p.m. - 7:50 p.m. PDT Office: 376 Social Science Bldg.
Zoom Meeting: <https://ucsd.zoom.us/j/99858513813> Telephone: 858-449-0455
Office Hours:¹ Tuesdays 3:00-4:45 p.m. and by appt. E-Mail: gghoston@ucsd.edu
At: <https://ucsd.zoom.us/j/9114608566> Website: www.germaineahoston.com
TAs: Mr. Matthew Draper E-Mail: mdraper@ucsd.edu
Mr. Draper's Office Hours: Mondays 9:00-11:00 a.m. <https://ucsd.zoom.us/j/99026432349>
Mr. Adam Fefer E-Mail: mailto:afefer@ucsd.edu
Mr. Fefer's Office Hours: Wednesdays, 8:00-9:30 a.m. <https://ucsd.zoom.us/j/93877434249>

Marxism was the single most influential strain of radical Western thought in the 19th and 20th centuries, and its influence continues to be felt in East and West today. In this course, we will analyze major themes in Marxist political thought, from its roots in Western Europe in the work of John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and G. W. F. Hegel to its elaboration by twentieth-century thinker-activists in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Emphasis will be placed on the position of Marx's and Engels's conception of politics as an outgrowth of the tradition of "modern" Western political thought. We will examine Marxism as it emerged in response to the changing socio-economic setting of Western Europe and conclude with an assessment of how effectively non-European theorists adapted Marxism to their own national contexts. We will conclude by assessing the continued relevance of the Marxian paradigm of development and revolutionary change in the post-industrial world of the 21st century. Students enrolled in the course are not expected to have a background in the subject matter, although those who have studied political theory and/or world history will find that experience helpful.

All required readings that are available online through the library have been placed on eReserves at Geisel Library. There are other readings available via eReserves,² as well as handouts prepared by

¹ Office hours will be held remotely using the Zoom link sent to you weekly on Canvas. They offer an opportunity for you to discuss issues concerning the course and other matters with respect to your education and career plans with the professor. Such discussion outside the classroom can be among the most valuable opportunities for your professional growth.

² Every effort has been made to make all the course readings accessible as inexpensively as possible. Please note that because the library is unable to provide scans of more than 25% of the content of physical books, the items that must be read most closely, on which you will wish to take notes or highlight have been made available on eReserve. Other items or chapters assigned from the same book that can be read more rapidly or do not require extensive note-taking are available either via www.archive.org (be sure to use the same edition of the book as the one assigned so that you can cite the correct page numbers in your papers) or in the course reader available from

the professor that will be uploaded to the Files section of the Canvas website. You will be able to access all of these materials online via Canvas.

The following books (available as physical books, eBooks, or both) have been ordered for purchase via the University Bookstore.

Eduard Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism* (New York: Prism Key Press, 2011) (ISBN 9781466322615) (Also available as a Kindle book on *Amazon.com*)

Régis Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America* (London and Brooklyn: Verso, 2017) (ISBN 9781786634030)

Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (Grove Press, 2005), paper (ISBN 780802141323)

Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (International Publishers), paper, 0-7178-0397-X (but selections will also be made available on eReserves)

Germaine A. Hoston, *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan* (Princeton University Press), paper, 0-691-02334-4

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

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The First and Second Discourses* (St. Martin's Press), paper 0-312-69440-7 (available electronically on archive.org)

Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence* (Cambridge University Press), paper 0-521-55910-3

Course Learning Objectives

By the end of the quarter, you will be able to :

1. Identify the origins of Marx's thought in the history of Western philosophy, including Christianity in general and the ideas in social contract theory (Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau) and philosophical idealism.
2. Explain what historical materialism is (as opposed to idealism and other strains of thought).
3. Describe how Marxian philosophy was transformed as it travelled from Western Europe to Russia, to East Asia (China and Japan), to Latin America, and then to Africa.
4. Describe the challenges involved in each transformation and how they were resolved from the leading thinker-activists in each new national and sociocultural context.
5. Assess the relevance of the critical perspectives on economic development and the relationship between the state and society to contemporary political issues in the US and the world in general.

This syllabus is your roadmap for achieving these objectives. **All readings are required and must be completed prior to listening to the lecture videos.**

<https://www.cognella.com>. For the sake of clarity, the syllabus indicates exactly where each reading can be accessed.

Requirements and Grading

Activities	Due	Percentage
<p>Weekly Required Class Meetings or Video Recordings thereof and Discussion Responses based on lectures and readings</p>	<p>Your response to the weekly discussion question due by 11:59 p.m. PST on Friday night</p> <p>Comment on the response of 1 peer due by 11:59 p.m. PST on Sunday night</p>	<p>25%</p>
<p>Short Paper (5-7 pages)</p> <p>A thought piece based only on the lectures and assigned readings covered through Week 7 (no readings may be used that are not assigned for this course). Topic will be posted at least 2 weeks before the due date.</p>	<p>Due no later than 11:59 p.m. on Monday, February 20, 2023 via the Assignments tab on Canvas</p>	<p>30%</p>
<p>Final Paper (10-12 pages)</p> <p>A thought piece based only on the lectures and assigned readings covered during the entire course (no readings may be used that are not assigned for this course). The topic will be posted to Canvas at least 2 weeks before the due date.</p>	<p>Due via the Assignments tab on Canvas on Monday, March 23, 2023, no later than 11:59 p.m. PDT. (It may be submitted earlier any time after 11:59 p.m. PDT Sunday, March 19, 2023.)</p>	<p>45%</p>

Notes:

1. Students enrolled in the course are not expected to have a background in the subject matter, although those who have studied political theory and/or world history will find that experience helpful.
2. Grading scale: 90-100 = A 80-89 = B 70-79 = C 60-69 = D Below 60 = F. I do not grade on a curve.
3. Both Professor Hoston and the TA will be holding regular office hours. Zoom links will be provided and accessed via Canvas.
4. This course fulfills the Eleanor Roosevelt College (ERC) writing requirements.

General Course Expectations

What I expect of you	What you can expect of me
<p>Be informed. Read this syllabus carefully and completely so you understand the course structure and expectations.</p>	<p>Enthusiasm. To be prepared for each class and to bring my enthusiasm for teaching to each lecture, lab, and office hour meeting.</p>
<p>Stay on schedule. Keep up with readings and discussion assignments, since the work done each week prepares the groundwork for the next week's work.</p>	<p>Responsiveness. To respond to emails within 24 hours. For those that know me already, you know that I usually respond faster than this. Emails received on weekends or while I'm traveling may take longer.</p>
<p>Be ethical. A good attitude and maintenance of honest and ethical principles towards me, your classmates, and the execution of the course. Please read "Classroom Behavior and Online Etiquette" below.</p>	<p>Timely feedback. To make every effort to return graded assignments within one week or as soon as is reasonably possible after the submission date.</p>
<p>Have integrity. An honest, fair, responsible, respectful, trustworthy, and courageous effort on all academic work and collaboration. Please read UC San Diego's Policy on Integrity of Scholarship. Then, take the integrity pledge!</p>	<p>Integrity. To uphold standards of academic integrity and create an atmosphere that fosters active learning, critical thinking, and honest, positive collaboration.</p>
<p>Be flexible. Sometimes my schedule is affected by unavoidable work travel, necessitating rescheduling of office hours or synchronous discussions at the last minute. I will post any such last-minute changes as announcements on Canvas.</p>	<p>Reasonable accommodation and understanding for student situations that arise; however, I will not make exceptions for one person that are not available to every other person in the course.</p>

Classroom Behavior and Online Etiquette

Be respectful. Be sensitive. Be aware.

Effective written communication and open intellectual dialogue are crucial for maintaining a learning community that is respectful, considerate, welcoming, creative, and thought-provoking. In an online medium, expressions, meaning, and tone can often be misinterpreted,

making it imperative that online learners adhere to the communication guidelines below:

- Treat your classmates with respect.
- Be thoughtful and open in discussion.
- Be aware and sensitive to different perspectives.
- Support one another and encourage each other to succeed.

The following behavior should be avoided:

- Using insulting, condescending, or abusive words.
- Using all capital letters, which is perceived as SHOUTING.
- Contacting learners with advertisements and solicitations or posting such items to Canvas.
- Posting copyrighted material.

Refer to:

The UCSD [Principles of Community](#) and the [UCSD Student Conduct Code](#).

COURSE SCHEDULE OF LECTURES AND READINGS:

Week 1:	Jan 10	Course Introduction: Legitimacy and Revolution in Western Political Thought
	<u>Readings:</u>	Recommended: Rousseau, "The First Discourse" Required: Rousseau, "The Second Discourse", both available in the Masters translation version on www.archive.org and In Tucker, ed., <i>Marx-Engels Reader</i> : · "Preface to a Critique of Political Economy," pp. 3-6 (eReserves) · "For a Ruthless Criticism of Everything Existing," pp. 12-15 (eReserves)
Week 2:	Jan 17	Hegel's <i>Philosophy of Right</i> and Marx as a Neo-Hegelian
	<u>Readings:</u>	In Tucker, ed., <i>Marx-Engels Reader</i> : · "Preface" to A Critique of Hegel's <i>Philosophy of Right</i> ", pp. 16-25 (eReserves) · "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's <i>Philosophy of Right</i> : Introduction," pp. 53-65 (eReserves) · "On the Jewish Question," pp. 26-52 (eReserves) · "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts," pp. 66-125 (read in the <i>Marx-Engels Reader</i> on www.archive.org) ³ (cont'd)

³ Make sure that you search for the *Marx-Engels Reader* and select the **2nd edition**, which has a **red cover**, not the first edition, which has a blue cover. The latter does not have all the assigned readings, and the pagination is different in the two editions. All references to readings to be done on www.archive.org are listed simply as www.archive.org. In each

- "Theses on Feuerbach," pp. 143-145 (eReserves)
- "The German Ideology," pp. 146-200 (eReserves)
- "Wage Labour and Capital," pp. 203-217 (eReserves)
- "The Grundrisse," pp. 221-293 (www.archive.org)
- "Working Class Manchester," pp. 579-585 (eReserves)

Respond to: Discussion Question and Comment on 1 peer

Week 3: **Jan. 24** **The Critique of Capitalist Society**
Readings: In Tucker, ed., *Marx-Engels Reader*:
· "Excerpts from *Capital*," pp. 294-442 (www.archive.org)
· "The Communist Manifesto," pp. 469-500 (eReserves)
· "Critique of the Gotha Program," pp. 525-541 (eReserves)
Respond to: Discussion Question and Comment on 1 peer

Week 4: **Jan. 31** **German Social Democracy and the Rise of the Mass
Movement in 19th-Century Germany**
Readings: Eduard Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism* (Chapter 1, pp. 1-27, and
1-27; 40-49; 83-94); and 59-62; 71-73 on eReserves; Chapter 3 on
(www.archive.org); and pp. 202-211 on eReserves
Respond to: Discussion Question and Comment on 1 peer

Week 5: **Feb 7** **Sorel's Re-radicalization of Marxism**
Readings: Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence* (available electronically via Geisel)
Respond to: Discussion Question and Comment on 1 peer

Week 6: **Feb 14** **The Adaptation of Marxism to Russia**
Readings: In Tucker, ed., *The Lenin Anthology*:
· "What Is To Be Done?" pp. 12-114
· "Two Tactics of Social Democracy," pp. 120-147
· "The State and Revolution," pp. 311-398
No Discussion Question – Prepare to submit your Short Paper

**SHORT PAPER DUE VIA THE ASSIGNMENTS TAB ON CANVAS ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY
20, 2023 NO LATER THAN 11:59 P.M. PST**

case, do not look for the article name; rather look for the book title, and then you will be able to read the assigned pages by "checking out" the book for 1 hour at a time (a time period that is extended automatically).

- Week 7:** **Feb 21** **The Theory of Imperialism and the Revolution in the East**
Readings: Marx, "On British Imperialism in India," pp. 653-664, in
Tucker, ed., *Marx-Engels Reader* (www.archive.org)
Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,"
in Tucker, ed., *Lenin Anthology*, pp. 204-274
Hoston, *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China
and Japan*, chapter 1 (in the Reader) and chaps. 3 and 5
(eReserves)
In the "Files" section of Canvas, both by MAO Zedong:
- "On New Democracy"
"On Practice"
- Respond to:** Discussion Question and Comment on 1 peer
- Week 8:** **Feb 28** **Ideology, Hegemony, and Cultural Revolution**
Readings: Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, pp. 5-23, 206-276 (Also
recommended:: pp. 123-205) (eReserves)
Lu Xun, "Diary of a Madman" (Canvas)
Mao, "Reform Our Study," pp. 198-208 (Canvas)
Mao, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the
People," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung* (Canvas)
Walter Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution*, chap. 7, "The Autonomy
of Politics" (eReserves)
Hoston, *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China
and Japan*, chaps. 7 and 8 (eReserves) and 9 (Reader)
- Respond to:** Discussion Question and Comment on 1 peer
- Week 9:** **Mar 7** **Marxism and the Problem of Colonialism: Latin America**
Readings: Fidel Castro, "History Will Absolve Me (October 16, 1953)
<https://www.marxists.org/history/cuba/archive/castro/1953/10/16.htm>
Régis Debray, *Revolution in the Revolution? Armed Struggle
and Political Struggle in Latin America* (Monthly Review Press,
1967), pp. 7-18, 19-91, 95-116, 117-123 (Reader)
- Respond to:** Discussion Question and Comment on 1 peer
- Week 10:** **Mar 14** **Marxism and the Problem of Colonialism: Africa**
Readings: Amilcar Cabral, selections from Cabral, *Return to the Source*
([https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/file%20uploads%20amilcar_cabral_return_to_t
he_source_selected_spbook4me.org_copy.pdf](https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/file%20uploads%20amilcar_cabral_return_to_the_source_selected_spbook4me.org_copy.pdf))
In Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*:
- "Concerning Violence", pp. 35-106 (eReserves)
- "Spontaneity: Its Strengths and Weaknesses," pp. 107-147
(Reader)
- "Pitfalls of National Culture", pp. 148-154 and pp. 174-205
(Reader)
- Respond to:** Discussion Question and Comment on 1 peer

Student Resources for Support and Learning

Library Help

Ask a Librarian

<https://library.ucsd.edu/ask-us/>

Library Help: Course Reserves, Connecting from Off-Campus, and Research Support

<https://library.ucsd.edu/ask-us/triton-ed.html>

Learning Resources

Writing Hub

<https://writinghub.ucsd.edu/>

Improve writing skills and connect with a peer writing mentor

Supplemental Instruction

<https://aah.ucsd.edu/supplemental-instruction-study-group/>

Peer-assisted study sessions through the Academic Achievement Hub to improve success in historically challenging courses

Tutoring – Content

<https://aah.ucsd.edu/content-tutoring/>

Drop-in and online tutoring through the Academic Achievement Hub

Tutoring – Learning Strategies

<https://aah.ucsd.edu/learning-strategies/>

Address learning challenges with a metacognitive approach

Office of Academic Support & Instructional Services (OASIS)

<https://oasis.ucsd.edu/>

Intellectual and personal development support

Student Success Coaching Program

<https://successcoaching.ucsd.edu/>

Peer mentor program that provides students with information, resources, and support in meeting their goals

Student Resources

UC San Diego (as an institution) and I (as a human being and instructor of this course) are committed to full inclusion in education for all persons. Services and reasonable accommodations are available to students with temporary and permanent disabilities, to students with DACA or undocumented status, to students with health or other personal concerns, and to students with other kinds of support needs. Please feel free to let me know if there are circumstances affecting your ability to participate in class. Some resources that might be of use include:

Basic Needs

Any student who has difficulty accessing sufficient food to eat every day, or who lacks a safe and stable place to live, and believes this may affect their performance in this course, is encouraged to contact:
foodpantry@ucsd.edu | basicneeds@ucsd.edu | (858)246-2632

CAPS Student Health and Well-Being

Provides services like confidential counseling and consultations for psychiatric services and mental health programming
<https://wellness.ucsd.edu/caps/>

Community Centers

As part of the [Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion](#) the campus community centers provide programs and resources for students and contribute toward the evolution of a socially just campus
<https://students.ucsd.edu/student-life/diversity/>

Triton Concern Line

Report students of concern at (858) 246-1111
<https://blink.ucsd.edu/instructors/advising/concern/>

Undocumented Student Services

Programs and services are designed to help students overcome obstacles that arise from their immigration status and support them through personal and academic excellence
<https://uss.ucsd.edu/>

Accessibility

Students requesting accommodations for this course due to a disability must provide a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD) which is located in University Center 202 behind Center Hall. Students are required to present their AFA letters to Faculty (please make arrangements to contact me privately) and to the OSD Liaison in the department in advance so that accommodations may be arranged.

Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD)

Documents student disabilities, provides accessibility resources, and reasonable accommodations
858.534.4382 | osd@ucsd.edu | <https://disabilities.ucsd.edu/>

Inclusion

UC San Diego (as an institution) and I (as a human being and instructor of this course) are committed to full inclusion in education for all persons. Services and reasonable accommodations are available to students with temporary and permanent disabilities, to students with DACA or undocumented status, to students with health or other personal concerns, and to students with other kinds of support needs. Please feel free to let me know if there are circumstances affecting your ability to participate in class. Some resources that might be of use include:

Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion

858.822.3542 | diversity@ucsd.edu | <https://diversity.ucsd.edu/>

Student Life: Diversity

<https://students.ucsd.edu/student-life/diversity/>

Policy on University of California Diversity Statement

<https://regents.universityofcalifornia.edu/governance/policies/4400.html>

Technical Support

For help with accounts, network, and technical issues:

<http://blink.ucsd.edu/go/servicedesk>

For help connecting to electronic library resources such as eReserves and e-journals:

<https://library.ucsd.edu/computing-and-technology/connect-from-off-campus/>

For help installing Zoom for video conferencing, virtual office hours, synchronous lectures:

<https://blink.ucsd.edu/technology/file-sharing/zoom/>

UC San Diego Principles of Community

The University of California, San Diego is dedicated to learning, teaching, and serving society through education, research, and public service. Our international reputation for excellence is due in large part to the cooperative and entrepreneurial nature of the UC San Diego community. UC San Diego faculty, staff, and students are encouraged to be creative and are rewarded for individual as well as collaborative achievements.

To foster the best possible working and learning environment, UC San Diego strives to maintain a climate of fairness, cooperation, and professionalism. These principles of community are vital to the success of the University and the wellbeing of its constituents. UC San Diego faculty, staff, and students are expected to practice these basic principles as individuals and in groups.

[Click here for the complete UC San Diego Principles of Community in English and Spanish.](#)

UC San Diego Academic Policies

Academic Integrity

Academic Integrity is expected of everyone at UC San Diego. This means that you must be honest, fair, responsible, respectful, and trustworthy in all of your actions. Lying, cheating or any other forms of dishonesty will not be tolerated because they undermine learning and the University's ability to certify students' knowledge and abilities. Thus, any attempt to get, or help another get, a grade by cheating, lying or dishonesty will be reported to the Academic Integrity Office and will result sanctions. Sanctions can include an F in this class and suspension or dismissal from the University. So, think carefully before you act by asking yourself:

a) is what I'm about to do or submit for credit an honest, fair, respectful, responsible & trustworthy representation of my knowledge and abilities at this time and,

b) would my instructor approve of my action?

You are ultimately the only person responsible for your behavior. So, if you are unsure, don't ask a friend—ask your instructor, instructional assistant, or the Academic Integrity Office. You can learn more about academic integrity at <http://academicintegrity.ucsd.edu>

(Source: Academic Integrity Office, 2018)

UCSD Student Conduct Code

<https://students.ucsd.edu/files/student-conduct/ucsandiego-student-conduct-code-interim-revisions1-16-18.pdf>

Principles of Community

<https://ucsd.edu/about/principles.html>

Religious Accommodation

It is the policy of the university to make reasonable efforts to accommodate students having bona fide religious conflicts with scheduled examinations by providing alternative times or methods to take such examinations. If a student anticipates that a scheduled examination will occur at a time at which his or her religious beliefs prohibit participation in the examination, the student must submit to the instructor a statement describing the nature of the religious conflict and specifying the days and times of conflict.

For final examinations, the statement must be submitted no later than the end of the second week of instruction of the quarter.

For all other examinations, the statement must be submitted to the instructor as soon as possible after a particular examination date is scheduled.

If a conflict with the student's religious beliefs does exist, the instructor will attempt to provide an alternative, equitable examination that does not create undue hardship for the instructor or for the other students in the class.

See: [EPC Policies on Religious Accommodation, Final Exams, Midterm Exams](#)

Nondiscrimination and Harassment

The University of California, in accordance with applicable federal and state laws and university policies, does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, sex, gender, gender identity, gender expression, pregnancy (including pregnancy, childbirth, and medical conditions related to pregnancy or childbirth), physical or mental disability, medical condition, genetic information, ancestry, marital status, age, sexual orientation, citizenship, or service in the uniformed services

(including membership, application for membership, performance of service, application for service, or obligation for service in the uniformed services). The university also prohibits harassment based on these protected categories, including sexual harassment, as well as sexual assault, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking. The nondiscrimination policy covers admission, access, and treatment in university programs and activities.

If students have questions about student-related nondiscrimination policies or concerns about possible discrimination or harassment, they should contact the Office for the Prevention of Harassment & Discrimination (OPHD) at (858) 534-8298, ophd@ucsd.edu, or <http://reportbias.ucsd.edu>.

Campus policies provide for a prompt and effective response to student complaints. This response may include alternative resolution procedures or formal investigation. Students will be informed about complaint resolution options.

A student who chooses not to report may still contact CARE at the Sexual Assault Resource Center for more information, emotional support, individual and group counseling, and/or assistance with obtaining a medical exam. For off-campus support services, a student may contact the Center for Community Solutions. Other confidential resources on campus include Counseling and Psychological Services, Office of the Ombuds, and Student Health Services.

CARE at the Sexual Assault Resource Center
858.534.5793 | sarc@ucsd.edu | <https://care.ucsd.edu>

Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS)
858.534.3755 | <https://caps.ucsd.edu>

See: [Nondiscrimination Policy Statement](#)

Subject to Change Policy

The information contained in this syllabus, other than the grading and absence policies, may be – under certain circumstances subject to change with reasonable advance notice, as deemed appropriate or necessary by the instructor.

Letter of Recommendation Policy

If you would like to request a letter of recommendation after the completion of the course, please give me at least 3 weeks' notice and consult the "Career Planning" tab on my website (www.germaineahoston.com) for information about the materials I need to have received from you (via email) in order to write such a letter.