

Gramscian Thought and Subaltern Struggles (9-25-24)  
Wednesdays 1:00 PM-3:50 PM

Instructor: Dr. Alfonso Gonzales Toribio

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Office Hours: Wed After Class in my Office (By appointment)

### Course Description

Gramsci is considered to be among the most important and influential theorists of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. His writings have been used to study politics, society, and culture across the social sciences and humanities. In the context of the global capitalist crisis and the ascendancy of global fascism, his work seems more important than ever for both academics and left social movements more broadly. Many advanced students have come across some of Gramsci's key ideas; few, however, have had the opportunity to engage with his writings. This course will study the primary writings of Antonio Gramsci. However, because Gramsci was rooted in the materialist tradition, we shall also briefly engage the work of Karl Marx. Nonetheless, most of the course will focus on Gramsci's primary writings. It will also cover recent Gramscian scholarship related to more contemporary conjunctures of capitalist crisis and hegemony. All of this is with the fundamental goal of students learning how to use Gramscian methods and theoretical categories in their own research.

### Required Books

1. Forgacs, David, ed. *The Antonio Gramsci Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2000. <https://nyupress.org/9780814727010/the-antonio-gramsci-reader/>
2. Tucker, Robert ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Norton & Company New York London, 1978. <https://wnnorton.com/books/9780393090406>
3. Chari, Sharad. *Gramsci at Sea*. 1st edition. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2023. <https://www.upress.umn.edu/9781517915919/gramsci-at-sea/>
4. Gramsci, Antonio, Joseph A Buttigieg, and Marcus E Green. *Subaltern Social Groups: A Critical Edition of Prison Notebook 25*. 1st ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2021. <https://cup.columbia.edu/book/subaltern-social-groups/9780231548861>

5. Fusaro, Lorenzo. *Crises and Hegemonic Transitions: From Gramsci's Quaderni to the Contemporary World Economy*. Boston: BRILL, 2018.

<https://www.haymarketbooks.org/books/1389-crises-and-hegemonic-transitions>

6. Gonzales, Alfonso. *Reform without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.

<https://global.oup.com/academic/product/reform-without-justice-9780199342938>

## Requirements

### Participation (30 points/ 30%)

Students are required to participate in course discussions and are expected to attend all the course sessions. Participation will be evaluated based on the student's contributions to class discussions and presentations. Each student will be required to facilitate select reading assignments during a designated number of weeks, depending on the class size. Students must turn in a response to the readings for the day they chose or are assigned to facilitate discussion, along with a list of questions for classroom discussion. The response and discussion questions must be turned in 12 hours before the start of class. On the last day of class, each student will also be expected to conduct a brief informal presentation (10-15 minutes each) elaborating on how Marxian and Gramscian theory could illuminate aspects of their research.

### Outline (30 points/ 30%)

Each student will develop an outline in preparation for the final paper. Each outline should contain a research question, argument, and proposed method. Moreover, there should be a theoretical section that discusses how Marxian and Gramscian theory could illuminate aspects of the project. Outlines are due at the beginning of class in week 10.

### Final Paper (40 points/ 40%)

Students must submit a final paper discussing how they could use the Marxian /Gramscian framework to advance an aspect of their MA thesis or PhD dissertation. Students could also make the case for why Gramscian theory does not provide a way to move forward. The final paper is due at the beginning of class on the day of the last class session.

## Points and Letter Grades

Letter grades will be assigned on papers, even though grades will show up as numeric values and percentages on Blackboard. To alleviate confusion, the following list provides the percentage of course points used to determine letter grades.

A +	100%	C+	77%
A	95%	C	75%
A-	90%	C-	72%
B+	87%	D+	67%
B	85%	D	65%
B-	82%	D-	62%
		F	50%

COMPLIANCE WITH AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT: In accordance with the terms and spirit of the Americans with Disabilities Act and Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, your instructor will make reasonable accommodations for students. If you would like to make accommodations, please get in touch with Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD), 125 Costo Hall, (951) 827-4538, Email: [Specserv@ucr.edu](mailto:Specserv@ucr.edu)

## Tentative Reading Schedule

### Marx and Engels Reader:

#### Week 1. Marx for Gramscian Studies. 10-2

- Tucker, Robert ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Norton & Company New York London, 1978.
  - Marx on the History of His Opinions (Preface to the Critique of Political Economy)
  - Grundrisse -01
  - 1844 Manuscripts, pages 66-81

Invited Guest Speaker: Abelardo Marina Flores. UAM/ Department of Economics “The Fundamentals of Dialectical Historical Materialism”

### Gramsci Reader (Week 2-6)

#### Week 2 Young Gramsci/ Pre-Prison Writings. 10-9

- Gonzales, Alfonso. 2018. “Nuestro Gramsci: Notes on Antonio Gramsci’s Theoretical Relevance for the Study of Subaltern Latino Politics Research.” *Rethinking Marxism* 30 (4): 546–67.

- Green, Marcus E. 2020. “An Overview of the Gramsci Situation in North America.” *International Gramsci Journal*, 4(4), 235-249. <https://ro.uow.edu.au/gramsci/vol4/iss4/26>
- Forgacs, David, ed. *The Antonio Gramsci Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
  - Intro, Note to Text, and Chronology
  - Part One: Writings 1916-1926

### Week 3. The Rise of Fascism and the Left Strategy. 10-16

- Forgacs, David, ed. *The Antonio Gramsci Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
  - Part IV Fascist Reaction and Communist Strategy 1924-1926
- Alfonso Gonzales Toribio.
  - 2017. “Trumpism, Authoritarian Neoliberalism, and Subaltern Latina/o Politics.” *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 42 (2): 147–64.
  - Trumps Historic Bloc, <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2020-09-29/donald-trump-latino-voters-historical-blocs>

### Week 4. Prison Writings 1929-1935. 10-23

- Forgacs, David, ed. *The Antonio Gramsci Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
  - VI: Hegemony, Relations of Force, Historic Bloc
  - VII: The Art and Science of Politics

### Week 5. Passive Revolution and Fascism. 10-30

- Forgacs, David, ed. *The Antonio Gramsci Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
  - VIII Passive Revolution, Caesarism, and Fascism;
  - IX Americanism and Fordism

### Week 6. Intellectuals, Culture and the Philosophy of Praxis. 11-6

- Forgacs, David, ed. *The Antonio Gramsci Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
  - Intellectuals and Education
  - XI Philosophy, Common Sense, and Folklore
  - XII Popular Culture; XIII Journalism; Art and the Struggle for a New Civilization

### Week 7. Subaltern Groups and Socialist Strategy. 11-13

- Marcus Green
  - Gramsci, Antonio, Joseph A Buttigieg, and Marcus E Green. *Subaltern Social Groups: A Critical Edition of Prison Notebook 25*. 1st ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 2021.

Invited Guest Speaker: Marcus Green, Professor of Political Science, Pasadena City College, Editor of the International Gramsci Society, and former Editor of Rethinking Marxism.

Week 8. Gramsci and Black Studies. 11-20

- Chari, Sharad. *Gramsci at Sea*. 1st edition. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2023.
- Frank Wilderson III, 2003. "Gramsci's Black Marx: Wither the Slave in Civil Society?" *Social Identities, Journal for the Study of Race, Nation, and Culture*. 9 (2)  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1350463032000101579>

Invited Guest Speaker: Sharad Chari, Professor of Geography, University of California Berkeley.

Week 9. Gramsci and Latino Politics/Studies. 11-27

- Gonzales, Alfonso. *Reform without Justice: Latino Migrant Politics and the Homeland Security State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. (Select Chapters)  
<https://global.oup.com/academic/product/reform-without-justice-9780199342938>
- See Book Series, Oxford Studies in Subaltern Studies.  
(<https://global.oup.com/academic/content/series/s/studies-in-subaltern-latino-politics-sslp/?cc=us&lang=en&>)

Week 10. Gramsci, International Relations and Dependency Theory. 12-6

- Fusaro, Lorenzo. *Crises and Hegemonic Transitions : From Gramsci's Quaderni to the Contemporary World Economy*. Boston: BRILL, 2018.  
<https://www.haymarketbooks.org/books/1389-crises-and-hegemonic-transitions>
- Invited Guest Speaker, Lorenzo Fusaro, Professor of Economics, Universidad Autonoma de Mexico.