YORK UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

GS/POLS 6045 3.0 - GS/SPT 6039 3.0 Gramsci and Contemporary Political Theory: The Challenge of Postmodernism.

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Office hours: Mondays and Thursdays

9:30 - 10:30 or by appointment.

COURSE DESCRIPTION.

Gramsci's theory is often considered to be a radical critique of Marxism, one that does not reject Marx's original thought but seeks to revitalize and update it. Most of his original theories, however, have been of considerable influence among many political thinkers, some of whom are not and would not consider themselves Marxist. This broad appropriation of Gramsci's ideas has led to a complex web of influences that has grown along with many of the contemporary positions within political theory. Thus, Gramsci's vocabulary can clearly be detected in works on feminism, postmodernism, the new political economy, and even in the work of some liberals and communitarians. Although the vocabulary is of Gramscian inspiration, the concepts and the theoretical assumptions behind them are often of a very different character.

The purpose of this course is first of all to develop a rigorous examination of Gramsci's main ideas, his theoretical assumptions, and his approach to philosophical themes. Secondly, by engaging contemporary treatments of the same issues, as well as post-modern appropriations of his thought, the course will lead to a heightened appreciation of the complexity of political theory and to a critical understanding of the development of political thought, Gramscian ideas, and Marxism in general.

COURSE FORMAT.

This course is structured as a research seminar, that is, each member of the class will carry out his/her own independent research within the general themes of the course, and will present a report of his/her findings to the seminar. Although there are some suggested readings for at least some of the sessions, the research of any member of the class need not be focused on them; indeed, it is encouraged that participants seek far and wide to produce interesting reports from which we can all learn and which lead to an appreciation of Gramsci's thought and to serious discussion. It is expected, however, that the class will be given notice of the relevant material for a presentation at least one week prior to the date of the report.

Participants should undertake the research of a problem or issue of interest to them, find the relevant literature, and present their preliminary findings to the seminar. The presentation should be so organized as to stimulate a discussion, and, one hopes, an

on-going conversation about Gramsci. The research paper due on the day of the last seminar should develop a substantive analysis of the issues raised in the seminar presentation.

GRADING SCHEME.

Seminar presentation 25% Research Paper 60% Seminar participation 15%

PRIMARY TEXTS.

Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

______. Quaderni del Carcere. Edited by Valentino Gerratana. Turin: Einaudi Editori, 1975.

Gramsci, Antonio. Selections from the Prison Notebooks. Edited by Quintin Hoare and

_____. *Prison Notebooks*. Translated by Joseph Buttigieg and Antonio Callari. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992-.

_____. Selections from Cultural Writings. Edited by David Forgus and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985.

RECOMMENDED TEXTS.

1. General.

Kreps, David, editor. Gramsci and Foucault. Framham: Ashgate, 2015.

McNally, Marc, editor. Antonio Gramsci. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015

Martin, James, editor. Antonio Gramsci: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Mouffe, Chantal, editor. *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.

Sasoon, Ann Showstack, editor. *Approaches to Gramsci*. London: Writers and Readers Cooperative Society, 1982.

Green, Marcus E., ed. Rethinking Gramsci. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Schwarzmantel, John. *The Routledge Guidebook to Gramsci's Prison Nortebooks*. London and New York: Routledge, 2015.

2. Method and Philosophy

- Alcoff, Linda. "How is Epistemology Political?" In Roger S. Gottlieb edited, *Radical Philosophy. Tradition, Counter-Tradition, Politics*, pp. 65-85. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.
- Baratta, Giorgio. "The Individual and the World: From Marx to Gramsci to Said." *Socialism and Democracy* 13, no. 1 (1999):31-44.
- Benhabib, Seyla et. al. *Feminist Contentions*. *A Philosophical Exchange*. New York and London: Routledge, 1995.
- Buttigieg, Joseph A. "Gramsci's Method." Boundary 17, No. 2 (Summer 1990): 60-81
- _____. "Philology and Politics: Returning to the Text of Antonio Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*." *Boundary* 21, No. 2 (Summer 1994):98-138
- Finocchiaro, Maurice A. "Gramsci's Crocean Marxism." Telos, No. 41 (1979): 17-32.
- ______. *Gramsci and the History of Dialectical Thought* . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Haug, Wolfgang Fritz. "Rethinking Gramsci's Philosophy of Praxis from one Century to the Next Boundary 26 No. 2) Summer 1999):101-17
- _____. "Gramsci's Philosophy of Praxis." *Socialism and Democracy* 14 (Spring-Summer 2000):1-19.
- _____. "Gramsci's Philosophy of Praxis." *Socialism and Democracy* 14 (Spring-. "Philosophizing with Marx, Gramsci, and Brecht." *boundary* 2, vol. 34, no. 3 (2007): 143-60.
- Holub, Renate. *Antonio Gramsci. Beyond Marxism and Post-Modernism*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Kahn, Beverly-L. "Antonio Gramsci's Critique of Scientistic Marxism." *Thought 64* (1989):158-75.
- Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso, 1985.
- Lyotard, Jean-François. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Tran. Geoff Bennington and Brian Masumi. Foreword Frederic Jameson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Morera, Esteve. *Gramsci's Historicism. A Realist Interpretation*. London and New York: Routledge, 1990.

- _____. "Gramsci's Critical Modernity." *Rethinking Marxism* 12 (Spring 2000): 16-46.
 _____. *Gramsci, Materialism, and Philosophy*. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Nandy, Ashis, editor. *Science, Hegemony and Violence. A Requiem for Modernity*. Tokyo: The United Nations University, 1988.
- Nelson, Lynn Hankinson. "Epistemological Communities." In *Feminist Epistemologies*, ed. Linda Alcoff and Elizabeth Potter, 121-59. New York and London: Routledge, 1993.
- Nemeth, Thomas. *Gramsci's Philosophy: A Critical Study*. Sussex: The Harvester Press, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1980.
- Nicholson, Linda. "Ethnocentrism in Grand Theory" In Roger S. Gottlieb edited, *Radical Philosophy. Tradition, Counter-Tradition, Politics*, pp. 48-64 Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.
- ______, editor. Feminism/Postmodernsim. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Nieto-Galan, Agustí. "Antonio Gramsci Revisited: Historians of Science, Intellectuals, and the Struggle for Hegemony." *History of Science* 49.4 (2011): 453–478
- Norris, Christopher. "Truth, Ideology, and 'Local Knowledge': Some Contexts of Postmodern Skepticism." *Southern Humanities Review* 28 (Spring 1994): 109-41.
- Resnick, Stepehn A. and Richard D. Wolff. 1987. *Knowledge and Class. A Marxian Critique of Political Economy*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Rooney, Phyllis. "Gendered Reason: Sex Metaphor and Categories of Reason." *Hypatia* 6 (1991):77-103.
- Rorty, Richard. *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- _____. *Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Smart, Barry. "The Politics of Truth and the Problem of Hegemony." *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, pp. 157-73. Edited by David Couzens Hoy. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- White, Stephen. *Political Theory and Postmodernism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

3. History.

- Burgio, Alberto. *Gramsci Storico. Una lettura dei «Quaderni del carcere»*. Bari: Laterza, 2003.
- Femia, Joseph V. "An Historicist Critique of Revisionist Methods for Studying the History of Ideas." *History and Theory* 20 (1981): 113-34.
- Nandy, Ashis. "History's Forgotten Doubles" *History and Theory* 34, No. 2 (1995): 44-66.
- Portelli, Huges. *Gramsci et le Bloc Historique*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972.

4. State, Civil Society, Hegemony, and Culture.

- Anderson, Perry. "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci." *New Left Review*, No. 100 (1976-77):5-78.
- Bocock, Robert. Hegemony. London and New York: Tavistock Publications, 1986.
- Buttigieg, Joseph A." Gramsci on Civil Society" Boundary 22, No. 2 (Fall 1995):1-32
- Cain, Maureen. "Gramsci, the State and the Place of Law." In *Legality, Ideology, and the State*, Edited by David Sugarman, pp. 95-117. London: Academic Press, 1983.
- Crehan, Kate A. F. *Gramsci*, *Culture*, *and Anthropology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.
- Fatton, R. "Gramsci and the Legitimization of the State: The Case of the Senegalese Passive Revolution." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 19 (Dec. 1986): 729-50.
- Fontana, Benedetto. *Hegemony and Power: On the Relation between Gramsci and Machiavelli*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Social Change*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Hunt, Alan. "Rights and Social Movements: Counter-Hegemonic Strategies." *Journal of Law and Society* 17 (Autumn 1991):309-28.
- Landy, Marcia. *Film, Politics, and Gramsci*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Martin, James. Gramsci's *Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction*. New York: St Martin's press, 1998.
- Nielsen, Kai. "Reconceptualizing Civil Society for Now; Some Somewhat Gramscian Turnings." *Arena Journal*, No. 2 (1993):159-74

- Patterson, Tim. "Notes on the Historical Application of Marxist Cultural Theory." *Science and Society* 34 (Fall 1975):257-91.
- Radhakrishman, R. "Toward an Effective Intellectual: Foucault or Gramsci." In *Intellectuals, Aesthetics, Politics, Academics*, ed. Bruce Robbins, pp. 57-99. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990.

5. Politics.

- Banerjee, Tapan Kumar. Concept of the Party: from Marx to Gramsci. Calcutta: Minerva Associates Publications, 1992
- Femia, Joseph V. Gramsci's Political Thought. Hegemony, Consciousness and the Revolutionary Process. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Finochiaro, Maurice A.. Beyond Right and Left. Democratic Elitism in Mosca and Gramsci. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Germino, Dante L. *Antonio Gramsci: Architect of a New Politics*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.
- Golding, Sue. *Gramsci's Democratic Theory: Contributions to Post-Liberal Democracy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Morton, Adam David. "Waiting for Gramsci: State Formation, Passive Revolution and the International," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 35:3 (2007): 597-621.
- Pearmain, Andrew. *The Politics of New Labour: A Gramscian Analysis*. London: Lawrence & Wishart Ltd, 2011.
- Rosengarten, Frank. *The Revolutionay Marxism of Antonio Gramsci*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Sasoon, Ann Showstack. Gramsci's Politics . 2d ed. London: Croom Helm, 1980.
- _____. *Gramsci and Contemporary Politics. Beyond Pessimism of the Intellect*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

6. International Political Economy

- Augelli, Enrico. America's Quest for Supremacy and the Third World: a Gramscian Analysis. London: Pinter Publishers, 1988.
- Cox, Robert W. "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method." *Millennium* 12 (Summer 1983):163-75.
- Gill, Stephen, editor. *Gramsci*, *Historical Materialism and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

- Gillon, Thomas Edward. "The Dialectic of Hegemony: Robert Cox, Antonio Gramsci and Critical International Political Economy." Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences, 2002, 62, 7, Jan, 2561-A. Available from UMI, Ann Arbor, MI. Order No. DANQ60878.
- Morton, Adam David. "Global capitalism and the peasantry in Mexico: The recomposition of class struggle." *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 34:3 (2007): 441-473
- Morton, Adam David. *Unraveling Gramsci*. *Hegemony and Passive Revolution in the Global Economy*. London: Pluto Press, 2007.

7. Subaltern Social Groups.

- Arnold, David. "Gramsci and Peasant Subalternity in India." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 11 (July 1984):155-177.
- Zene, Cosimo. "Self-Consciousness of the Dalits as 'Subalterns': Reflections on Gramsci in South Asia." *Rethinking Marxism* 23.1 (2011): 83-99.
- Currie, Kate. 1995. "The Challenge to Orientalist, Elitist, and Western Historiography: Notes on the 'Subaltern Project' 1982-1989." *Dialectical Anthropology* 20:219-46.
- Davidson, Alastair. "Gramsci, the Peasantry and Popular Culture." In *Antonio Gramsci: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers*. Edited by James Martin, 385-400. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Green, Marcus E. "Rethinking the subaltern and the question of censorship in Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks.*" *Postcolonial Studies* 14.4 (2011): 387-404
- Guha, Ranajit. *The Subaltern Studies Reader*. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Latin American Subaltern Studies Group. "Founding Statement."
- Mallon, Florencia A. "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History." *The American Historical Review* 99 (December 1994): 1491-1515.
- Modonesi, Massimo. Subalternity, Antagonism, Autonomy. Constructing the Political Subject. Translated by Adriana V. Rendón and Philip Roberts. London: Pluto Press, 2014.
- Patnaik, Arun K. "Gramsci's Concept of Common Sense: Towards a Theory of Subaltern Consciousness in Hegemonic Processes." *Economic and Political Weekly* (India) 23, No 5 (1988): 2-10.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," *Subaltern Studies* 4 (1985): 330-63.

_____. "A Literary Representation of the Subaltern: Mahasweta Devi's 'Stanadayini'." *Subaltern Studies* 5 (1987): 91-134

Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society.

Turnaturi, Gabriella and Giovanne Lodi. "Classes in Southern Italy: Salvemini's, Dorso's and Gramsci's Analyses." In *Antonio Gramsci: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers*. Edited by James Martin, 342-84. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Urbinati, Nadia. "From the Periphery of Modernity: Antonio Gramsci's Theory of Subordination and Hegemony." In *Antonio Gramsci: Critical Assessments of Leading Political Philosophers*. Edited by James Martin, 321-41. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Zene, Cosimo. *The Political Philosophies of Antonio Gramsci and B. R. Ambedkar*. New York: Routledge, 1913.

8. Language.

Ives, Peter. Gramsci's Politics of Language. Engaging the Bakhtin Circle and the
Frankfurt School. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

_____. Language and Hegemony in Gramsci. London: Pluto Press, 2004.

Ives, Peter and Rocco Lacorte. *Gramsci*, *Language*, *and Translation*. Lanham, MD:Lexington Books, 2010.

INTERNET RESOURCES

International Gramsci Society:

http://www.internationalgramscisociety.org/

Marcus Green has developed a useful webpage with many links to things gramscian: http://www.victoryiscertain.com/gramsci

HOW TO READ THE PRIMARY TEXT.

Given the fragmentary character of the *Selections From the Prison Notebooks* and its limited selection of notes from 2351 pages in 29 notebooks of the original Italian *Quaderni del Carcere*, it is difficult to match topics with text pages. Hence, it is recommended that you start reading the *Selections* from the beginning, some 43 pages a week, in addition to the assigned pages.

DISCUSSION THEMES.

- Sep. 16 Introduction: The Production of the Quaderni
 - Approach, History and Historical Bloc Readings; Hoare and Nowell Smith, "General Introduction" to SPN; SPN pp. 52-120; Buttigieg, "Gramsci's Method."
 - 30 Civil Society Readings: SPN pp. 12-13, 210-78 and 279-318.
- Oct. 7 State Readings: SPN pp. 210-78
 - 21 Subaltern Social Groups Readings: SPN pp. 52-55, 175-85
 - 28 Hegemony and Intellectuals Readings: SPN pp. 55-62, 5-23,
- Nov. 4 International Political Economy
 - Politics and the Party Readings: SPN pp. 125-205
 - 18 Language Readings: "Language, Linguistics and Folklore" (SCW)
 - 25 Historical Materialism and the Philosophy of Praxis Readings: SPN pp. 323-472
- Dec. 2 Laclau and Mouffe and the Post-Modern Challenge
 - 9 Open

Other themes, such as for instance feminism, race, religion, ethics, case studies, space/geography, science, etc., can be added to this list.

Note: These are the basic readings. Others will be assigned by presenters .