

**KARL MARX**

Course Tutor: Prof Alex Callinicos  
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office hours: Thursday 11.00 am - 12.30 pm.

SEMINARS AND LECTURE TOPICS

1. Human Nature
2. Forces and Relations of Production
3. Base and Superstructure
4. Value and Exploitation
5. Accumulation and Crises
6. Classes and the State
7. Communism and Revolution

Work Required:

- (1) Each student must give a short presentation based on one of the questions set out at the start of every seminar below. These presentations will be allocated at the first, organizational meeting of each seminar group in Week 2;
- (2) Each student must choose the title of their Assessment Essay by the end of Week 6 (3 June): you may either choose one of the seminar questions or devise a different topic; in either case all topics must be communicated to and approved by me;
- (3) Each student must submit, preferably by the end of Week 8 (17 June) and in any case by the end of Week 9 (24 June), a written essay plan outlining the structure of their essay: provided this deadline is met, essay plans will be returned with written comments by the end of term.

### Editions of Marx's Writings

- (1) Robert C Tucker, ed, The Marx-Engels Reader, 2nd edn. (MER): probably the best easily available single-volume selection.
- (2) Marx & Engels, Selected Works (SW): single-volume edition of most basic texts: originally produced cheaply in Moscow under the old regime, now quite expensive, but still a useful selection.
- (3) Marx & Engels, Collected Works (CW) 50 volumes published or in preparation.
- (4) Penguin Classics:  
Early Writings (EW)  
The Revolutions of 1848 (R)  
Surveys from Exile (SE)  
The First International and After (FIA)  
Grundrisse (G)  
Capital (3 vols)
- (5) Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence (SC)

All references to Capital are to the Penguin edition; the bracketed letters after Marx's texts indicate where they appear in the Selected Works or the Penguin Classics.

### Web-sites

Two useful web-sites, which allow you to download a variety of Marx's works (many of which are now available in PDF format at [www.marxists.org](http://www.marxists.org)):

[www.marxists.org/archive/marx/](http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/)  
[www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/marx.html](http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/marx.html)

### Introductions, Commentaries and Collections

Bensaïd D	<u>Marx for Our Times</u>
Berlin I	<u>Karl Marx</u>
Bottomore T ed	<u>Dictionary of Marxist Thought</u>
Callinicos A	(1) <u>The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx</u> (2) <u>Marxist Theory</u> (edited collection)
Carver T	<u>Marx's Social Theory</u>
Cohen G A	(1) <u>Karl Marx's Theory of History</u> (2) <u>History, Labour and Freedom</u>

	<u>(3) If You're an Egalitarian, How Come You're So Rich?</u>
Conway D	<u>A Farewell to Marx</u>
Cowling M ed	<u>The Communist Manifesto: New Interpretations</u>
Desai M	<u>Marx's Revenge</u>
Draper H	<u>Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution (4 vols)</u>
Eagleton T	<u>Marx and Freedom</u>
Eatwell J	
et al eds	<u>The New Palgrave: Marxian Economics</u>
Elster J	(1) <u>Making Sense of Marx</u>
	(2) <u>An Introduction for Karl Marx</u>
Gamble A et al	eds <u>Marxism and Social Science</u>
Kouvelakis E	<u>Philosophy and Revolution</u>
Löwy M	<u>The Theory of Revolution in the Young Marx</u>
Miller R W	<u>Analysing Marx</u>
Negri A	<u>Marx Beyond Marx</u>
Nimtzt A	<u>Marx and Engels: Their Contribution to the Democratic Breakthrough</u>
Shaw W H	<u>Marx's Theory of History</u>
Smith C	<u>Marx at the Millennium</u>
Smith R	<u>A Critical Reconstruction of Marx and Engels</u>
Wolff, J	<u>Why Read Marx Today?</u>
Wood A W	<u>Karl Marx</u>

Hereafter these texts are indicated merely by the author's name and (where necessary) a number.

#### Background Reading on the History of the Marxist Tradition

Anderson P	<u>Considerations on Western Marxism</u>
Anderson P	<u>In the Tracks of Historical Materialism</u>
Callinicos A	<u>Marxism and Philosophy</u>
Callinicos A	<u>Social Theory: A Historical Introduction</u>
Howard M C and	
King J E	<u>A History of Marxian Economics (2 vols.)</u>
Jay M	<u>Marxism and Totality</u>
Kolakowski L	<u>Main Currents of Marxism (3 vols.)</u>
Molyneux J	<u>What is the Real Marxist Tradition?</u>
Townsend J	<u>The Politics of Marxism</u>
Walicki A	<u>Marx and the Leap to the Kingdom of Freedom</u>

#### Guide to Reading

In general, at least one of the texts marked with an asterisk (\*) should be read for each seminar. Texts not marked by an asterisk, especially when not by Marx, are intended to supplement the essential reading.

However, all students should have read the following texts by Seminar 1:

Marx and Engels	<u>Manifesto of the Communist Party</u> (SW, MER, R)
Marx and Engels	<u>The German Ideology, Part 1</u> (MER)
Marx	<u>Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy</u> (SW, MER, EW)

NB: There is a cheap Student's Edition of The German Ideology, edited by C J Arthur and published by Lawrence & Wishart, which comprises Part I, selections from Part 2, and a number of other useful texts.

### Other Abbreviations

IS International Socialism  
NLR New Left Review

### Seminar 1: Human Nature

- (a) Does Marx have a theory of human nature?**
- (b) What role does the concept of alienation play in Marx's thought?**

*Marx	<u>Theses on Feuerbach</u> (SW, MER, EW)
*Marx	<u>Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844</u> (esp <u>EW</u> 322-79, <u>CW</u> , III, 270-326, MER, 70-105)
Althusser L	<u>'On the Young Marx'</u> , in <u>For Marx</u>
Geras N	<u>Marx and Human Nature</u>
Elster	(1) ch 2
Cohen G A	<u>'Reconsidering Historical Materialism'</u> , in Callinicos (2) (also Cohen (2), ch 8)
Callinicos	(1), ch 3 & 4
Hook S	<u>From Hegel to Marx</u>
Wood	Pt 1
Meszaros I	<u>Marx's Theory of Alienation</u>
Ollman B	<u>Alienation</u>
Rattansi A	<u>Marx and the Division of Labour</u>
Arthur C J	<u>Dialectics of Labour</u>
Venable V	<u>Human Nature: The Marxian View</u>
Archibald W P	<u>Marx and the Missing Link: 'Human Nature'</u>
Walton P and Gamble A	<u>From Alienation to Surplus Value</u>
Geras N	<u>'Socialist Hope in the Shadow of Catastrophe'</u> , <u>The Socialist Register</u> , 1996
Thompson EP	<u>'Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism'</u> , <u>Past and Present</u> , 38 (1967)

### Seminar 2: Forces and Relations of Production

- (a) Why does Marx attach such importance to the concepts of the forces and relations of production? How does he distinguish between them?
- (b) Does Marx accept Cohen's Primacy Thesis - that the level of development of the productive forces explains the nature of the production relations? Is it true?

- \*Marx Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (SW, EW, MER)
- \*Cohen (1), chs II, III, VI, VII, IX, X
- \*Levine A & Wright E O 'Rationality and Class Struggle,' NLR 123 (1980)
- Brenner R 'The Social Basis of Economic Development', in J Roemer ed, Analytical Marxism
- Callinicos A Making History, ch 2
- Cohen J Review of Cohen (1) Journal of Philosophy 79 (1982)
- Cohen (2) chs 1 and 5
- Cohen G A & Elster J 'Marxism, Functionalism, and Game Theory', Theory and Society 11 (1982) and in Callinicos (2)
- Elster (1) ch 5
- Miller ch 5
- Elster J 'Further thoughts on Marxism, Functionalism, and Game Theory', in J Roemer, ed., Analytical Marxism
- Giddens A A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism
- Wright E O 'Giddens's Critique of Marx', NLR 138 (1983)
- Levine A & Sober E 'What's Historical about Historical Materialism', Journal of Philosophy 82 (1985)
- Therborn G Science, Class and Society pp. 317-413
- Callinicos A Theories and Narratives esp. chs 2-4
- Callinicos A 'History, Exploitation and Oppression', Imprints, 2 (1997)
- Carling A Social Division ch 1
- Carling A 'Analytical Marxism and Historical Materialism, Science and Society, 57 (1993)
- Wright E O et al Reconstructing Marxism
- Loone E Analytical Marxism and the Philosophy of History
- Blackledge P & Kirkpatrick E eds Historical Materialism and Social Evolution
- Aston T S & Philpin C H E eds The Brenner Debate

### Seminar 3: Base and Superstructure

- (a) Does Marx succeed in showing that the base explains the superstructure?

**(b) Discuss Marx's theory of ideology.**

- \*Marx Capital, Vol 3, pp 927-8 (p. 791 of Moscow edn.)  
\*Engels letters to C Schmidt (5 Aug & 27 Oct 1890), J Bloch (21 Sep 1890), F Mehring (14 July 1893), and W Borgius (25 Jan 1894) (SW, SC).  
Cohen (1) ch VIII

(i) Secondary Literature on Base and Superstructure

- Althusser L 'Contradiction and Overdetermination', in For Marx  
Harman C 'Base and Superstructure', IS 2:32 (1986)  
Barker C, Callinicos A and Hallas D, 'Chris Harman on Base and Superstructure', IS 2:34 (1987)  
Wood E M 'The Separation of the Economic and Political in Capitalism', NLR 127 (1981)  
Lukes S 'Can the Base be Distinguished from the Superstructure?' in Miller D and Siedentop L eds, The Nature of Political Theory (2), ch 2  
Cohen 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory', New Left Review 82 (1973); also in Williams, Problems in Materialism and Culture  
John Molyneux 'Is Marxism Deterministic?', IS 2:68 (1995)

(ii) Secondary Literature on Ideology

- Larrain J The Concept of Ideology  
Eagleton T Ideology  
Abercrombie N The Dominant Ideology Thesis  
et al  
Rosen, M Of Voluntary Servitude  
Therborn G The Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology  
Callinicos A Making History ch 4  
Lockwood D Solidarity and Schism chs 13-15.  
Lukacs G History and Class Consciousness  
Geras N 'Essence and Appearance: Aspects of Fetishism in Marx's Capital' in Geras, Literature of Revolution  
Mephram J 'The Theory of Ideology', in Mephram and J-H Ruben eds, Issues in Marxist Philosophy, III  
Althusser L 'Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatuses', in Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy and Essays on Ideology

Seminar 4: Value and Exploitation

- (a) What role does the labour theory of value play in Marx's overall analysis of capitalism? Is it true?**

**(b) Outline and assess Marx's theory of capitalist exploitation.**

- \*Marx Wages, Price and Profit (SW)  
\*Marx Capital, Vol 1, Parts 1 & 2  
Callinicos (1), pp 106-28  
Elster (1), pp 119-41, 166-233  
Weeks J Capital and Exploitation, chs I-III  
Sweezy P The Theory of Capitalist Development Part 1  
Rubin I I Essays on Marx's Theory of Value  
Saad-Filho A The Value of Marx  
Cohen (2) ch 11  
Steedman et al The Value Controversy  
Mandel E & Ricardo, Marx, Sraffa  
Freeman A eds  
Rosdolsky R The Making of Marx's 'Capital' pt 3  
Fine B & Rereading Capital chs 1 & 2  
Harris L  
Roemer J Free to Lose  
Geras N 'The Controversy about Marx and Justice', NLR 150 (1985) and in Callinicos (2)  
Geras N 'Bringing Marx to Justice', NLR 195 (192) \*  
Steedman I Marx after Sraffa, esp. chs 1-4  
Roemer J Analytical Foundations of Marxian Economic Theory  
Callinicos A Equality  
Dussel E 'The Four Drafts of Capital', Rethinking Marxism, 13 (2001); also available at [www.mtholyoke.edu/~fmoseley/Dussel.pdf](http://www.mtholyoke.edu/~fmoseley/Dussel.pdf)

Seminar 5: Accumulation and Crises

**(a) Does Marx have a coherent and plausible theory of economic crises?**

**(b) Discuss Marx's general account of capitalist development.**

- \*Marx Capital, Vol 1, chs. 23 and 24.  
\*Marx Capital, Vol 3, Pt 3  
Callinicos (1) pp 128-37  
Elster (1) pp 142-65  
Harman C Explaining the Crisis ch 1  
Weeks J Capital and Exploitation ch VIII  
Sweezy P The Theory of Capitalist Development, Parts 2 and 3  
Clarke S Marx's Theory of Crisis  
Fine B & Rereading Capital chs 4 & 5  
Harris L  
Steedman I Marx after Sraffa, esp. Ch. 9  
Rosdolsky R The Making of Marx's 'Capital', chs 25-7, 30

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\* These two articles by Geras have good bibliographies on the debate about Marxism, morality, and justice.

Harvey D The Limits to Capital  
 Brenner R 'The Economics of Global Turbulence', NLR  
 229 (1998)  
 Brenner R The Boom and the Bubble  
 Duménil G and Lévy D Capitalism Resurgent  
 Special Issue on Brenner Historical Materialism, 4 and  
 5 (1999)  
 Albritton R et al eds Phases of Capitalist Development  
 Harvey D The New Imperialism  
 Campbell M & Reuten G eds The Culmination of Capital  
 Reuten G "'Zirkel vicieux" or Trend Fall? The Course of  
 the Profit Rate in Marx's Capital III', History  
of Political Economy, 36 (2004)

### Seminar 6 Classes and the State

**(a) Does Marx have a theory of class?  
 Does it make sense?**

**(b) Does Marx succeed in showing that the state is a form of  
 class domination?**

\*Marx The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (SW,  
 SE, MER)  
 \*Engels The Origin of the Family, Private Property and  
 the State (SW, MER)  
 \*Lenin V I The State and Revolution  
 Callinicos (1), 96-104  
 Elster (1) chs 6 & 7

(i) Secondary Literature on the State

Draper vol 1, esp Bk I Pt 2  
 Harman C 'The State and Capitalism Today', IS 2:51  
 (1991)  
 Miliband R Class Power and State Power, esp. 'State Power  
 and Class Interests', also in NLR 138 (1983)  
 Wright E O 'Marxism and Politics', in Wright,  
Interrogating Inequality  
 Nimtz  
 Gilbert A Marx's Politics ch XII  
 Levine A E The End of the State  
 Jessop B The Capitalist State  
 Miliband R Marxism and Politics chs I-IV  
 Miller chs 3 & 4  
 Poulantzas N Political Power and Social Class  
 Poulantzas N State, Power, Socialism  
 Miliband R The State in Capitalist Society  
 Poulantzas N 'The Problem of the Capitalist State', and  
 Miliband R 'Reply to Poulantzas', both in Blackburn R, ed,  
Ideology in Social Science

Clarke S ed The State Debate  
Holloway J and Piccioto S eds The State and Capital  
Barker C 'The State as Capital', IS 2:1 (1978)  
Offe C Contradictions of the Welfare State  
Rupert M and Smith H, eds., Historical Materialism and Globalization  
Callinicos A 'Marxism and Global Governance', in Held, D, and McGrew, A, eds., Governing Globalization  
Monbiot G Captive State  
Jessop B The Future of the Capitalist State

(ii) Secondary Literature on Class

Ste Croix G E M de The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World ch II  
Ste Croix G E M de 'Class in Marx's Conception of History, Ancient and Modern', NLR 146 (1984)  
Parkin, F Marxism and Class Theory  
Lockwood D Solidarity and Schism ch 16  
Callinicos A The Changing Working Class  
& Harman C  
Wright E O Classes  
Wright E O Class Counts  
Harman C 'The Workers of the World', IS 2:96 (2002)  
Zweig M The Working Class Majority

Seminar 7: Communism and Revolution

- (a) **How does Marx expect socialist revolution to come about? Is he right?**
- (b) **Does Marx succeed in showing that communism is feasible?**
- (c) **Discuss the significance of the Communist regimes in the USSR and Eastern Europe for Marxism.**
- (d) **What relevance does Marx's thought have for anti-capitalist politics today?**

\*Marx The Civil War in France (SW, FIA, MER)  
\*Marx 'Critique of the Gotha Programme' (SW, FIA, MER)  
\*Marx & Engels 'Circular Letter to Bebel, Liebknecht, Bracke, et al' (17-18 Sept 1879) (FIA, SC, MER)  
Lenin V I The State and Revolution

(i) Secondary Literature on Communism and Revolution

Callinicos (1) ch 7  
Callinicos A The Revenge of History ch 4  
Gilbert A Marx's Politics

Löwy M  
 Nimitz  
 Kouvelakis S Philosophy and Revolution  
 Draper Vol 3  
 Elster (1) ch 7 & 9  
 Walicki A Marx and the Leap to the Kingdom of Freedom  
 esp chs 1 and 2  
 Lockwood D Solidarity and Schism chs 8-12  
 Molyneux J Marxism and the Party ch I  
 Miliband R Marxism and Politics chs V and VI  
 Cohen (2) ch 4  
 Geras N 'The Controversy about Marx and Justice', NLR  
 150 and in Callinicos (2)  
 Albert M Parecon: Life after Capitalism

(iii) Secondary Literature on Marxism and the Collapse of the Soviet Union

Blackburn R ed After the Fall  
 Fukuyama F The End of History and the Last Man  
 Aronson R After Marxism  
 Anderson P 'The Ends of History', in A Zone of Engagement  
 Callinicos A The Revenge of History  
 Callinicos A 'Whither Marxism?', Economic and Political Weekly,  
 27 Jan. 1996  
 Hoffman J 'What's Left of Marxism?', Politics Review,  
 Feb. 1997  
 Cohen G A Self-Ownership, Freedom, and Equality, ch. 11  
 Callinicos A Theories and Narratives, ch. 1

(iv) Marxism and the Anti-Globalization Movement

Harman C 'Anti-Capitalism: Theory and Practice',  
International Socialism, 88 (2000)  
 Callinicos A An Anti-Capitalist Manifesto  
 Hardt M & Negri A Empire  
 Holloway J. Change the World without Taking Power  
 Klein N No Logo  
 George S The Lugano Report  
 Monbiot G The Age of Consent  
 Harvey D The New Imperialism  
 Balakrishnan G ed Debating Empire  
 Bircham E & Charlton J eds Anti-Capitalism: A Guide to the Movement  
 Saad-Filho A ed Anti-Capitalism: A Marxist Introduction  
 Hayden T ed The Zapatista Reader  
 Tormey S Anti-Capitalism: A Beginner's Guide  
 Dee H ed Anti-Capitalism: Where Next?  
 Debates between Michael Albert, Alex Callinicos, and George Monbiot on Znet, [www.zmag.org](http://www.zmag.org)