

# Marx and Marxism

## Content and Structure

Students are expected to read the key texts of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and to consider alternative interpretations and critiques of Marx's and Engels's methods of analysis and writing of substantive and theoretical issues. The course is sufficiently flexible to allow students to strike their own balance between concentrating on the work of Marx and Engels, the writings of Marxists since Marx's death, and recent debates concerning Marxist theories and their relation to other analytic paradigms (such as rational choice theory) or intellectual and political traditions (such as feminism). Most attention is paid to Marxist theory but students are also expected to consider the political contexts in which theories and debates emerged and their implications for political practice. They are not, in this paper, expected to study the history of Marxist regimes and political movements.

## Objectives of the Course

To enable students to study in depth Marx's own work and aspects of Marxist theory and practice

To explore the diverse ways in which authors have interpreted Marx's work and its implications and to apply to Marxism itself the critical approach which Marx applied to political economists and social theorists.

To explore the writings and implications of a political and intellectual tradition which has informed work in all the social sciences but has also provided critiques of mainstream approaches and of social and political arrangements in capitalist, and also socialist, societies.

Depending on their interests, and reflecting the interdisciplinary breadth of the Marxist tradition, students are able, in consultation with their tutors, to concentrate on Marxist philosophy, politics, sociology and economics.

To complement and inform students' studies for other core and optional courses. These include the Economics option: Classical Economic Thought: Smith, Ricardo, Marx; Foundations of Modern Social and Political Thought, for which Marx is one of the specified authors; Political Sociology; and other papers involving the empirical study of politics, society and international relations.

## Our Approach

As suggested above, there are many different ways to study Marx. We're going to focus on, first, understanding his critique of capitalist society (and asking whether, indeed, it really was a critique). And, second, assessing three of his key interpretative concepts, to see whether his analysis of capitalist society has any enduring merit.

## Notes on Essays and Reading

You will write one essay for your choice of six out of the eight tutorials. These should be at least 2500 words in length, and must be emailed to me before 1700hrs on the Sunday before your tutorial, preferably earlier, otherwise I will not have time to read and mark them. Refer to the guide to writing essays for some tips and hints. You can choose your question from the list, though I will often point you to one that I think you will need to

address. If you have your own question that you would like to answer, just email me to approve it, and I'll let you know if it's okay.

The reading list is deliberately broad: this enables you to do your own research, and find out for yourself what most interests you. The main thing, obviously, is to have a good understanding of Marx's own writings, and I recommend you read and note as much of these as possible over the vacation. If you have good, well-referenced notes, you'll find it much easier to compare and contrast different aspects of the oeuvre when addressing particular questions.

## Syllabus:

### Primary texts, collections, introductory and general studies. Texts by Marx and Engels

Marx and Engels: 50 volumes of *Marx Engels Collected Works* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1975-2005). Indicated below as CW.

#### Collections of Texts

\*Fernbach, David (ed.) *Karl Marx: Political Writings*. Vol. 1: *The Revolutions of 1848*; vol. 2 *Surveys from Exile*; vol. 3: *The First International and After* (Penguin, 1973-74)

Henderson, W. O. (ed.) *Engels: Selected Writings* (Penguin, 1967). [Excerpted texts indicated as FE].

\*McLellan, David (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford, 1977; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2000)  
Excerpted texts indicated as KM. [Although this is generally the best single-volume Marx reader, many important texts are only presented in short excerpts, and it cannot be relied upon to carry you through the course].

Marx and Engels, *Selected Works in One Volume* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1968).

\*Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 3 volumes, 1969-70). Indicated below as SW. [These give fuller versions of many texts than other selections].

Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1975).

\*Tucker, Robert (ed.) *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1978) [Indicated below as ME.]

#### Selections from Marx (more thematically organised)

\*Bottomore, Tom and Maximilian Rubel, *Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* (Penguin, 1963).

Elster, Jon, *Karl Marx: A Reader* (Cambridge, 1986).

Jordan, Z. A., *Karl Marx: Economy, Social Class and Social Revolution* (London, 1972).

Sayer, Derek, *Readings from Karl Marx* (Routledge, 1989).

Wright Mills, C. *The Marxists* (Penguin, 1963).

#### Individual Texts

Dates in italics refer to the date when text was written, or initially published, usually in German.

Many of these texts are available in editions published by Lawrence & Wishart (London), International Publishers (New York) or Progress Publishers (Moscow), and often reprinted, and can be located by a simple title search on OLIS. These editions are not listed separately below.

Most of these texts are also available in online editions at <http://www.marxists.org>.

Marx, *On the Jewish Question, 1843* (CW 3, KM, ME)

Marx, *Contribution to a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law, 1843*, and the \**Introduction to the Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law, 1844* (CW 3). Also published as *Critique Of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*. (KM, ME) and as *Critique of Hegel's Doctrine of the State* in Colletti, Lucio (ed.) *Karl Marx: Early Writings*, (Penguin, 1975).

\*Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. (CW 3, KM, ME).

\*Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach, 1845*, (CW 5, KM, ME, SW 1)

Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, (CW 4, ME, FE, Penguin 1987)

\*Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology, 1846* (CW 5, KM, ME, SW 1, 1968, Part 1, 1970).

\*Marx and Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848* (CW 6, KM, ME, SW 1). [Also available in a Penguin edition (2002) with an \*introduction by Gareth Stedman Jones.] Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy, 1846* (CW 6, KM, ME).

Marx, *The Class Struggles in France, 1850* (CW 10, KM, ME, SW 1) (Also: Engels' 1895 *Introduction* to the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition).

Engels, *Germany: Revolution and Counter-revolution, 1852*, (FE, SW 1).

\*Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, 1852* (CW 11, KM, ME, SW 1).

\*Marx, Prefaceto *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy 1859* (CW16, KM, SW 1).

Marx *Value, Price and Profit, 1865* (CW 20) and as *Wages, Price and Profit* (SW 2).

Marx, *The Grundrisse, 1858*, (KM, ME). Selections are in McLellan, David (ed.) *Marx's Grundrisse* (1973) and Hobsbawm, Eric J. (ed.) *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations*, (1964). [The 1973 Penguin edition is the most widely-available complete text.]

\*Marx *Capital* Vol.I.; *1867* (CW 35, KM, ME, SW 2) Lawrence & Wishart / Progress/ International 1967, Dent 1974, Penguin 1976.

Marx *Capital* Vol III: *1865/ 1894*, Chapters. 1-4, 8-10, 13-18, 48-52 (CW 37, KM, ME, 1971, 1981).

\*Marx, *The Civil War in France, 1871*, (CW 22, KM, ME, SW 2).

\*Marx, *The Critique of the Gotha Programme, 1875* (CW 24, KM, ME).

\*Engels, *Socialism: Utopian And Scientific, 1880* (CW 24, ME, FE, SW 3), also chapter 3 of *Anti-Dühring, 1894* (Lawrence & Wishart, 1969).

Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy, 1886*, (FE, SW 3).

Engels, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State, 1891* (ME, FE, SW 3, Penguin 1972).

## General or Introductory Reading

\*Avineri, Shlomo. *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx* (Cambridge, 1968).

Blumenberg, Werner, *Karl Marx: An Illustrated Biography* (New Left Books, 1972).

Bottomore, Tom (ed.) *Karl Marx* (1973).

Carter, Alan, *Marx: A Radical Critique* (Wheatsheaf, 1988).

Carver, Terrell, *Engels* (Oxford Past Masters, 1981).

Carver, Terrell, *Marx and Engels: the Intellectual Relationship* (Wheatsheaf, 1983).

Carver, Terrell, *The Postmodern Marx* (Pennsylvania, 1998).

\*Elster, Jon, *Making Sense Of Marx* (Cambridge, 1985).

Elster, Jon, *Karl Marx: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1986).

\*Geras, Norman, "Seven Types of Obloquy: Travesties of Marxism", *Socialist Register*, 1990.

\*Kolakowski, Leszek, *Main Currents of Marxism, 3 Vols.*, (1978) (Comprehensive).

- \*Lichtheim, George, *Marxism: an historical and critical study*, (Columbia 1982 - 1<sup>st</sup> publ.1961).
- Lukes, Stephen, *Marxism and Morality*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
- McLellan, David, *Marx*, (Fontana Modern Masters, 1975).
- McLellan, David, *Karl Marx: A Biography* (Macmillan, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1995).
- Megill, Allan, *Karl Marx: the Burden of Reason (Why Marx Rejected Politics and the Market)*, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2002).
- \*Peffer. *Marxism, Morality, and Social Justice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- \*Plamenatz, John, *Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).
- When, Francis, *Karl Marx* (Fourth Estate, 1999).
- \*Wood, Allen *Karl Marx* (Routledge, 1981, second edition 2004).
- \*Wolff, Jonathan, *Why Read Marx Today?* (Oxford 2002).

## Week 1. Hegel To Marx

### Questions

- Q: 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it.' (MARX) Discuss.
- Q: 'It [the dialectic] must be turned right side up again, if you would discover the rational kernel in the mystical shell.' (MARX) Why did Marx wish to turn Hegel's dialectic 'right side up' and does he succeed in extracting from it a 'rational kernel'?
- Q: Compare and contrast Marx and Hegel's theories of private property.
- Q: Compare and contrast Marx and Hegel's ideals of freedom.
- Q: Compare and contrast Marx and Hegel's theories of alienation.
- Q: What is Marx's greatest debt to Hegel?

### Selections

- McLellan, David (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford, 1977; 2nd ed. 2000), Parts 1 & 2.
- Bottomore, Tom (ed.) *Karl Marx: Early Writings* (Watts, 1963).
- Colletti, Lucio (ed.) *Karl Marx: Early Writings* (Penguin, 1992).
- Tucker, Robert (ed.) *Marx-Engels Reader*,. (1978) Part 1.

### Texts

- \*Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, 1843**
- \*Marx, "Introduction" to A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, 1844, (CW3, KM)**
- \*Marx, Theses on Feuerbach, 1845 (CW5, KM, ME).**
- \*Marx, Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844.**
- \*Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, 1846 (CW 5, KM, ME, SW 1) Part 1, esp. 'Feuerbach'.
- \*Marx *Capital* Vol. 1, 1867, Postface to 2nd German editions, ch 1. (KM, ME).
- Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* (CW 24, FE).
- Hegel, G.W.F. *The Philosophy of Right, 1821* (Oxford, T.M. Knox ed, 1967; Cambridge, Allen Wood ed, 1991). Esp. §§1-81, 182-208, 250-256, 341-360.

## Secondary

- Althusser, Louis, 'On the Young Marx', *For Marx* (London, 1969).
- Arthur, Christopher, *Dialectics of Labour: Marx and his Relation to Hegel* (Blackwell, 1986) esp. chs.6, 9.
- \*Avineri, Shlomo, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx* (Cambridge, 1968) esp. chs 1-2, 8.
- Avineri, Shlomo, *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State* (Cambridge, 1972).
- \*Brudney, Daniel, *Marx's Attempt to Leave Philosophy* (Harvard, 1998).
- \*Cohen, G. A., *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence* (Oxford, 1978), chs 1, 9, 10.
- Colletti, Lucio, *Marxism and Hegel* (Verso, 1979)
- Hook, Sidney, *From Hegel To Marx: Studies in the Intellectual Development of Karl Marx* (Gollancz 1936; Michigan 1962).
- Hyppolite, Jean, *Studies on Marx and Hegel*. (Basic Books, 1969)
- Ilting, K. 'Hegel's Concept of the State and Marx's Early Critique' in Pelczynski, Zbigniew (ed.) *The State and Civil Society: Studies in Hegel's Political Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1984).
- Kolakowski, Leszek, *Main Currents of Marxism* (Oxford, 1978), Vol.I: 56-81 and 114-227.
- Korsch, Karl, *Marxism and Philosophy, 1923* (Monthly Review Press ed., 1971).
- \*Leopold, David, *The Young Karl Marx. German Philosophy, Modern Politics, and Human Flourishing* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Lichtheim, George, *Marxism: an Historical and Critical Study*, (1961; Columbia,1982), Part 1.
- \*Löwith, Karl, *From Hegel to Nietzsche* (Anchor, 1967).
- \*MacIntyre, Alasdair, "The Theses on Feuerbach: A Road Not Taken", in Knight, Kelvin (ed.), *The MacIntyre Reader* (Polity, 1998).
- \*Megill, Allan, *Karl Marx: The Burden of Reason*(Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), esp. ch.1.
- \*Neuhouser, Frederick, *Foundations of Hegel's Social Theory: Actualizing Freedom* (Harvard, 2000).
- Ollman, Bertell, *Dialectical Investigations* (Routledge, 1993), chs. 1, 2.
- \*Plamenatz, John, *Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), ch. 3-6.
- Plant, Raymond, *Hegel* (Allen & Unwin, 1973).
- Rosen. Michael, *Hegel's Dialectic and its Criticism* (Cambridge, 1982)
- \*Stedman Jones, Gareth, Introduction to Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (Penguin, 2002), esp. pp.74-144.
- Taylor, Charles, *Hegel* (Cambridge, 1975), chs. 1-3, 14-16.
- \*Taylor, Charles, *Hegel and Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1979).
- Wartofsky, Marx, *Feuerbach*, (Cambridge, 1977)
- Wood, Allen, *Karl Marx* (Routledge, 1981, second edition 2004), Part 5.
- \*Wood, Allen, *Hegel's Ethical Thought* (Cambridge, 1990),

## Week 2. Marxism and Morality

### Questions

- Q: Why should some Marxists deny that their critique of capitalism is at root a moral critique? Can that denial be taken seriously?
- Q: What is the "paradox of morality" in Marxism? Can it be resolved??
- Q: 'Law, morality, religion are to [the proletarian] so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.' (*The Communist Manifesto*) Discuss.

Q: 'The capitalist phase of society, though distasteful, is necessary for the realisation of communist society. Marxists, therefore, should not condemn its infelicities.' Discuss.

Q: If it is true that Marx eschewed explicit moral condemnation of capitalism, what might explain his reluctance?

Q: 'Marx may not have had a theory of justice, but he missed no opportunity to condemn capitalism for its barbarism, both in its genesis, and in the indignities inflicted on the weakest members of society.' Discuss.

## Selections

McLellan, David (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford, 1977; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2000), Chs. 6, 10, 14, 17, 18, 22, 29, 30, 32, 40, 44.

## Texts

Marx, On the Jewish Question, 1843 (CW 3, KM, ME)

\*Marx and Engels The German Ideology, 1846 (CW 5, KM, ME, SW 1).

\*Marx, "Wage Labour and Capital" 1847 in McLellan, David (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (1977), Part 2.

\*\* Marx, *Capital* (1887), Vol.1, chs.1, 2, \*6, \*7, 10, \*23, \*24, \*25, 26, 27, \*31, \*32 (CW 35, Penguin ed.1976).

\*Marx, Critique of the Gotha Programme, 1875 (CW 24, KM, ME).

\*Marx and Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848* (CW 6, KM, ME, SW 1).

Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, 1880 (CW 24, ME, FE, SW 3), also chapter 3 of *Anti-Dühring*, 1894, (1972).

Trotsky, Leon *Their Morals and Ours* (1938) and in Trotsky, Leon *The Basic Writings* ed. Howe, Irving (1964).

## Secondary

\*Buchanan, Alan E, "Marx, Morality and History: an assessment of recent analytical work on Marx", in *Ethics*, 98 (1987), pp104-136.

Buchanan, Allen E, *Marx and Justice: the Radical Critique of Liberalism* (1982) Chs. 3 & 4.

Elster, Jon, *Making Sense of Marx* (Cambridge, 1985), ch.4.

\*[Geras, Norman, : 'The Controversy about Marx and Justice' in his \*Literature Of Revolution\* \(1985\), ch.1; or in \*New Left Review\*, 150 \(1985\); or in Alex Callinicos \(ed\) \*Marxist Theory\* \(1989\)](#)

\*Lukes, Steven *Marxism and Morality* (Oxford, 1985)

Miller, Richard, *Analyzing Marx: Morality, Power and History* (1984) Ch 3 and 4.

Roemer, John (ed) *Analytical Marxism* (1986) ch.6, 12-14.

\*Wood, Allen, *Karl Marx* (Routledge, 1981, new edition 2004), Part 3.

Wood, Allen, 'Marx and Equality', *Analytical Marxism*, edited by John Roemer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

## Week 3. Alienation

### Questions

Q: Is Marx's theory of alienation anything more than a metaphor for the human condition?

Q: 'The argument of the first volume of *Capital* rests on the intellectual foundations of the theory of alienation.' Does it?

Q: 'Marx's theory of alienation depends on a metaphysical conception of the human essence. It has no role in his account of historical materialism.' Discuss.

Q: Is it satisfactory to equate alienation with lack of autonomy?

Q: What are the different types of alienation in Marx, and how are they related?

Q: Who is alienated, proletarians, bourgeoisie, or both?

Q: 'Not only is Marx's theory of alienation less a theory than a motif, it fails to identify anything genuinely troubling about capitalist society.' Discuss

## Selections

\*McLellan, David (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford, 1977; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2000), Chs. 6, \*8, \*10, 12, 14, 18, \*29, 33.

Marx, *Capital* (1887), Vol.1, chs. \*1, 23, 25, \*32. (CW 35, Penguin ed.1976).

## Texts

Marx, *On The Jewish Question, 1843* (CW 3, KM, ME)

Marx, *Notes on James Mill, 1844* (CW 3, KM)

\*Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (CW 3, KM, ME)

Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach, 1845* (CW 5, KM, ME)

\*Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology, 1846* (CW 5, KM, ME, 1970).

\*Marx, *Grundrisse, 1958*, (KM, ME): Penguin ed. 1973, esp. pp.83-111, 156-168, 266-72, 405-21, 451-8. Also selections in McLellan, David (ed), *Karl Marx's Grundrisse* (1973).

\*Marx, *Capital* Vol.I, 1867, esp. ch 1, sections 4, 13, 24, 25 and appendix to Penguin 1976 ed. (CW 35).

## Secondary

Arthur, Christopher, *Dialectics of Labour: Marx and his Relation to Hegel* (Blackwell, 1986) esp. chs.6, 9.

Avineri, Shlomo, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx* (Cambridge, 1968) esp. pp.105-123.

Berman, Marshall, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience Of Modernity* (Verso 1983).

\*Cohen, G. A. *History, Labour and Freedom*, (Oxford, 1988), ch 10; [also in *Philosophy And Public Affairs*, 1974].]

\*Cohen, G. A., *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence* (Oxford, 1978) ch. 5.

Elster, Jon, *Making Sense of Marx*, (Cambridge, 1985), sections 2.2 and 2.3.

Geras, Norman, *Marx and Human Nature: Refutation of a Legend* (Verso, 1983)

Heller, Agnes, *The Theory of Need in Marx* (Allison & Busby, 1976).

Israel, Joachim, *Alienation from Marx to Modern Sociology: a macrosociological analysis*, (1979).

Kolakowski, Leszek, *Main Currents of Marxism* (Oxford, 1978) Vol.1: chs. 4 and 5-7.

Maguire, John, *Marx's Paris Writings* (Dublin, 1972).

Mészáros, István, *Marx's Theory of Alienation* (Merlin, 1970).

\*Ollman, Bertell, *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in a Capitalist Society* (Cambridge, 1971).

Peffer, R.G., *Marxism, Morality, and Social Justice* (Princeton, 1990)

\*Plamenatz, John, *Karl Marx's Philosophy of Man* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), ch. 3-6.

Schacht, Richard *Alienation* (Allen & Unwin, 1971), ch 3.

\*Stedman Jones, Introduction to Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (Penguin 2002), pp.120-139.

Walton, Paul and Andrew Gamble, *From Alienation To Surplus Value* (Sheed & Ward, 1976).

\*Wood, Allen, *Karl Marx* (Routledge, 1981; new edition 2004), chs 1-4.

## Week 4. Exploitation, and the Labour Theory of Value

### Questions

Q: If the value of a commodity is determined by the labour-time socially necessary for its production, how is that labour-time to be measured?

Q: What may be said for and against the labour theory of value?

Q: What is the point of Marx's distinction between "absolute" and "relative surplus value"?

Q: 'Marx's theory of exploitation rests on his labour theory of value, and for that reason fails as a critique of capitalist society.' Discuss.

Q: What is the significance of Marx's distinction between labour and labour power?

Q: 'Capitalism is sustained by the theft of surplus value from the proletariat.' Really? So what?

Q: 'The labour theory of value is an unfortunate anomaly in Marx's work, it is integral to neither his analysis, nor his critique of capitalist society.' Discuss.

Q: Is Marx's critique of capitalist society predominately libertarian or egalitarian?

### Selections

\*Tucker, Robert (ed.) *Marx-Engels Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1978), esp. Part II.

\*David McLellan (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 345-387.

### Texts

\*Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (CW 3, KM, ME)

\*Marx, *Capital* Vol.I: chs.1-12, 19, 24-25, 33, 1867 (CW 35, 1976)

\*Marx, *Capital* Vol III: Chs. 1-4, 8-10, 13-18, 1881 (CW 37, 1981)

Marx, *Letter To Dr Kugelmann*, 11 July 1868 (KM), in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence* (1975).

Marx, ed. Dragstedt, Albert, *Value: Studies* (1976).

Marx, *The Grundrisse, 1858*, (KM, ME).

### Secondary

Carter, Alan, *Marx: A Radical Critique* (Wheatsheaf, 1988), ch 3.

\*Cohen, G.A. "The Labour Theory of Value and the Concept of Exploitation", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 1979, reprinted in his *History, Labour and Freedom* (Oxford, 1988), ch. 11.

Elson, Diane (ed.), *Value: the Representation of Labour in Capitalism* (CSE Books, 1979), esp. Elson's essay.

\*Elster, Jon *Making Sense Of Marx* (Cambridge, 1985), ch.3.

Fine, Ben, *Marx's Capital* (Macmillan Education, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1989).

Foley, Duncan, *Understanding Capital: Marx's Economic Theory* (Harvard, 1986).

Harvey, David, *The Limits to Capital* (Verso, 1982; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1999).

Kolakowski, Leszek, *Main Currents of Marxism* (Oxford, 1978) Vol 1, chs.12-13.

\*Meek, Ronald, *Studies in the Labour Theory of Value* (Monthly Review Press, 1976).

Pilling, Geoffrey, "The Law of Value in Ricardo And Marx", in *Economy and Society*, 1, 3 (1972).

\*Reiman. 'Exploitation, Force, and the Moral Assessment of Capitalism' *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 16:1 (1987).

\*Roemer. 'Should Marxists Be Interested in Exploitation?' *Analytical Marxism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

\*Roemer. 'Reply to Jeffrey Reiman', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 18:1 (1989).

\*Roemer, John E, *A General Theory of Exploitation and Class* (Harvard, 1982).

Roemer, John E, *Free to Lose* (Harvard, 1988)

Rosdolsky, Roman, *The Making of Marx's Capital* (Pluto, 1977, 1989).

\*Rubin, Isaak, *Essays On Marx's Theory of Value, 1928* (Our Generation Press, 1972).

Schwartz, Justin, "What's Wrong with Exploitation?", *Nous* 29 (June 1995). [Available through JSTOR.]

Smith, Tony, *The Logic of Marx's Capital: Replies to Hegelian Criticisms* (SUNY, 1990).

Steedman, Ian (ed.), *The Value Controversy* (Verso, 1981)

Sweezy, Paul, *The Theory of Capitalist Development: Principles of Marxian Political Economy* (Monthly Review Press, 1942).

## Week 5. Marx's Ideal of Communist Society

### Questions

Q: "They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant." (*The Civil War in France*)  
Discuss.

Q: Did Marx have an ideal of communist society? If not, is that a problem?

Q: In what sense, for Marx, would communist society be 'beyond justice'?

Q: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.' (*Critique of the Gotha Programme*). Is this a principle of distributive justice? Is it Marx's principle of distributive justice?

Q: Did Marx have a theory of justice?

Q: How would people be more free in communist society than under capitalism?

Q: Did Marx believe communist communities would be morally superior to capitalist ones? If so, how?

Q: How would human nature change in communist society, according to Marx?

Q: Did Marx have an ideal of collective freedom?

Q: Does Marx extol the virtues of communist society on utilitarian, libertarian, egalitarian, or perfectionist grounds?

Q: Make a case for Marx as an Aristotelian perfectionist.

Q: To what extent were Marx's hopes for communist society predicated on achieving material superabundance?

### Texts

\*Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (CW 3, KM, ME)

Marx, On the Jewish Question, 1843 (CW 3, KM, ME)

\*Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, 1846 (CW 5, KM, ME, SW 1).

\*Marx, *The Grundrisse, 1858*, (KM, ME). McLellan Selections will do.

- \*Marx, Critique of the Gotha Programme, 1875 (CW 24, KM, ME).
- \*Marx and Engels, *The Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848* (CW 6, KM, ME, SW 1).
- Marx, *Notes on James Mill, 1844* (CW 3, KM)
- Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (CW 3, KM, ME)
- Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach, 1845* (CW 5, KM, ME)
- \*Marx, *Capital* Vol.I, 1867, esp. ch 1, ch. 32 (CW 35).

## Secondary

- \*Buchanan, Allen E, *Marx and Justice: the Radical Critique of Liberalism* (1982) Ch 3 & 4.
- \*Cohen. *Self-ownership, Freedom, and Equality*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Ch. 5 and 6.
- Husami. 'Marx on Distributive Justice', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 8:1 (1978).
- Lukes, Stephen, *Marxism and Morality*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
- \*Peffer. *Marxism, Morality, and Social Justice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- \*Wood, Allen *Karl Marx* (Routledge, 1981, second edition 2004).
- Wolff, Jonathan, *Why Read Marx Today?* (Oxford 2002).

## Week 6. Ideology

### Questions

- Q: Can Marxist theory offer convincing explanation of nationalisms?
- Q: Does Marx's theory of ideology assume 'the inherent gullibility of the working class' (PARKIN)?
- Q: Does Marx's theory of ideology imply an objective view of human interests?
- Q: Why should subordinate classes **accept** the ideology of ruling classes?
- Q: Would Marx have accepted that Marxism is **itself** an ideology?
- Q: Can ideologies be functionally explained?
- Q: Is the concept of "false consciousness" merely a rationalization of the fact that the proletariat has always failed to be revolutionary?

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## Week 7. History

### Questions

- Q: If contract and property rights, and the modern state, are necessary conditions for capitalist relations of production, how can they be determined by the "economic base"?
- Q: Does the suggestion that Marx conceived the relation between base and superstructure in functional terms render his view more defensible, or less so?
- Q: 'The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life'. What are the main problems arising out of this formulation of historical materialism?
- Q: Does Marx provide a persuasive account of the origins of capitalism?
- Q: Can the base be distinguished from the superstructure?
- Q: What are forces and relations of production, and how do they relate to one another within the theory of historical materialism?
- Q: Is historical materialism a form of determinism?

Q: Can historical materialism account for the strength displayed by religion and nationalism over the course of the century after Marx's death?

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## Week 8. The State

### Questions

Q: 'Marx's utopian belief that the state could wither away in a socialist society is a consequence of his misunderstanding of the role of the state in capitalist society.'  
 Discuss.

Q: 'Freedom consists in converting the state from an organ superimposed on society into one completely subordinate to it.' (MARX) How can the state be a means for realising human freedom rather than 'organising domination'?

Q: 'The distinction between state and civil society is more fruitful than that between base and superstructure.' Is it?

Q: Is Marx an anarchist?

Q: Why might the state be considered an "illusory community"?

Q: Does Marx have a consistent theory of the state?

Q: What is meant by calling politics "relatively autonomous"?

Q: What, precisely, "wither away" if the state "wither away" in the sense intended by Marx and Engels?

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