

KARL MARX AND MARXISM

Difficult to imagine a participative society in which the means of production are owned by a few persons who have capital and who reserve important decisions for themselves – the organization of the economy is the crucial difference between a non participative and participative one¹

Fromm, Erich (1961, 1966) *Marx's Concept of Man*, with a translation from Marx's ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS, by T. B. Bottomore and Afterword by Erich Fromm; New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.

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¹ Bordenave quoted in Servaes and Arnst, 1999:116

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- Marx's philosophy was, in secular, nontheistic language, a new and radical step forward in the tradition of prophetic Messianism; it was aimed at the full realization of individualism, the very aim which has guided Western thinking from the Renaissance and the Reformation far into the nineteenth century. 3
- ...the very aim of Marx is to liberate man from the pressure of economic needs, so that he can be fully human; that Marx is primarily concerned with the emancipation of man as an individual, the overcoming of alienation, the restoration of his capacity to relate himself fully to man and to nature; that Marx's philosophy constitutes a spiritual existentialism in secular language and because of this spiritual quality is opposed to the materialistic practice and thinly disguised materialistic philosophy of our age. Marx's aim, socialism, based on his theory of man, is essentially prophetic Messianism in the language of the nineteenth century. 5
- ...socialism is not a society humanly different from capitalism, but rather, a form of capitalism in which the working class has achieved a higher status; it is, as Engels once remarked ironically, "the present-day society without its defects." 6
- "The life-process of society, which is based on the process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan. This, however, demands for society a certain material groundwork or set of conditions of existence which in their turn are the spontaneous product of a long and painful process of development." Marx, K. (1906:91-2) *Capital I*, Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 16
- Labor is the factor which mediates between man and nature; labor is man's effort to regulate his metabolism with nature. Labor is the expression of human life and through labor man's relationship to nature is changed, hence through labor man changes himself. 16
- At one point of history (and according to Marx in the near future), man will have developed the productive sources of nature to such an extent that the antagonism between man and nature can be eventually solved. At this point "the prehistory of man" will come to a close and truly human history will begin. 19
- It is exactly the blindness of man's conscious thought which prevents him from being aware of his true human needs, and of ideals which are rooted in them. Only if false consciousness is transformed into true consciousness, that is, only if we are aware of reality, rather than distorting it by rationalizations and fictions, can we also become aware of our real and true human needs. 21-22
- Marx did not believe, as do many contemporary sociologists and psychologists, that there is no such thing as the nature of man; that man at birth is like a blank sheet of paper, on which the culture writes its text. Quite in contrast to this sociological relativism, Marx started out with the idea that man *qua man* is a recognizable and ascertainable entity; that man can be defined as man not only biologically, anatomically and physiologically, but also psychologically. 24

- History is the history of man's self-realization; it is nothing but the self-creation of man through the process of his work and his production: "the *whole of what is called world history* is nothing but the creation of man by human labor, and the emergence of nature for man; he therefore has the evident and irrefutable proof of his *self-creation*, of his own *origins*." E.P. MSS., p.139 26
- For Marx, "*Communism* is the *positive* abolition of *private property*, of *human self-alienation*, and thus the real *appropriation* of human nature through and for man. It is, therefore, the return of man himself as a *asocial*, i.e., really human being, a complete and conscious return which assimilates all the wealth of previous development. Communism as a fully developed naturalism is humanism and as a fully developed humanism is naturalism. It is the *definitive* resolution of the antagonism between man and nature, and between man and man. It is the true solution of the conflict between existence and essence, between objectivication and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity, between individual and species. It is the solution of the riddle of history and knows itself to be this solution." E.P. MSS., p. 127. 34
- For Marx the aim of socialism was the emancipation of man, and the emancipation of man was the same as is self-realization in the process of productive relatedness and oneness with man and nature. The aim of socialism was the development of the individual personality. 38
- Marx's central criticism of capitalism is not the injustice in the distribution of wealth; it is the perversion of labor into forced, alienated, meaningless labor, hence the transformation of man into a "crippled monstrosity." Marx's concept of labor as an expression of man's individuality is succinctly expressed in his vision of the complete abolition of the lifelong submersion of a man in one occupation. Since the aim of human development is that of the development of the total, universal man, man must be emancipated from the crippling influence of specialization. In all previous societies, Marx writes, man has been "a hunter, a fisherman, a shepherd, or a critical critic, and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood; while in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever become hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic." Marx, Karl and F. Engels, ed. with an introduction by R. Pascal (1939:1c, p. 22) *German Ideology*, New York: International Publishers, Inc. 42
- "An enforced *increase in wages* (disregarding the other difficulties, and especially that such an anomaly could only be maintained by force) would be nothing more than a *better remuneration of slaves*, and would not restore, either to the worker or to the work, their human significance and worth. "Even the *equality of incomes* which Proudhon demands would only change the relation of the present-day worker to his work into a relation of all men to work. Society would then be conceived as an abstract capitalist." E.P. MSS., p. 107. 43

- The central theme of Marx is the transformation of alienated, meaningless labor into productive, free labor, not the better payment of alienated labor by a private or “abstract” state capitalism. 43
- Alienation (or “estrangement”) means, for Marx, that man does *not* experience himself as the acting agent in his grasp of the world, but that the world (nature, others, and he himself) remain alien to him. They stand above and against him as objects, even though they may be objects of his own creation. Alienation is essentially experiencing the world and oneself passively, receptively, as the subject separated from the object. 44
- Labor is alienated because the work has ceased to be a part of the worker’s nature and “consequently, he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well-being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. 47-48
- Marx stresses two points: 1) in the process of work, and especially of work under the conditions of capitalism, man is estranged under the conditions of capitalism, man is estranged from his own creative powers, and 2) the *objects* of his own work become alien beings, and eventually rule over him, become powers independent of the producer. 48

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- “The essence of what the prophets call ‘idolotry’ is not that man worships many gods instead of only one. It is that the idols are the work of man’s own hands – they are things, and man bows down and worships things....He transfers to the things of his creation the attributes of his own life, and instead of experiencing himself as the creating person, he is in touch with himself only by the worship of the idol.” Fromm, Erich (1961:44) *Marx’s Concept of Man*, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co. 13
- Just as the idol becomes a power over man by obscuring the real source of his strength and creativity, so, under capitalism, the commodities and the instruments of production which man himself creates are seen as possessing powers over him. But this is the same sort of illusion as seeing a creative force in an idol. To shatter this illusion and disclose the power behind the instruments of production became one of Marx’s central objectives in his analysis of the capitalist system. 13
- “Marx’s aim was the spiritual emancipation of man, of his liberation from the chains of economic determinism, of restituting him in his human wholeness, of enabling him to find unity and harmony with his fellow man and with nature. Marx’s philosophy was, in secular, non-theistic language, a new and radical step forward in the tradition of prophetic messianism; it was aimed at the full realization of individualism, the very aim which has guided Western thinking from the Renaissance and the Reformation far into the nineteenth century.” Fromm, Erich (1961:3) *Marx’s Concept of Man*, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co. 23

- “Communism is the positive abolition of *private property*, of *human self-alienation*, and thus the real *appropriation of human nature* through and for man. It is, therefore, the return of man himself as a *social*, i.e., really human, being, a complete and conscious return which assimilates all the wealth of previous development. Communism as a fully-developed naturalism is humanism and a fully-developed humanism is naturalism. It is the *definitive* resolution of the antagonism between man and nature, and between man and man. It is the true solution of the conflict between existence and essence, between objectification and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity...” Marx, Karl (1961:127) *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 25
- Marx came to stress the role of labor as basic in the *creation of men*, in the changes wrought in the forms of their social organization, and in bringing about the society of the future. 25-26
- In order to grasp Marx’s conception of the capitalist system, an understanding of its mode of production is necessary. Only by considering this mode of production in detail is it possible to uncover the process of change as Marx saw it. 34
- His interest was society as a whole and especially the process of social change. 34
- The theory of surplus-value indicates the sources of revenue of the classes under capitalism; and it accounts for the change and development of the capitalist system through the expansion of capital made possible by the appropriation and reinvestment of the surplus-value. The significance of the theory may best be seen in the function Marx understood the surplus-product to perform in the capitalist system. 43
- In considering social change, a distinction must always be made between the “material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic – in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out.” Marx, Karl (1904:12) *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. 124

Berger, Peter L. (1969) (Ed.) *Marxism and Sociology: Views from Eastern Europe*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Igor S. Kon, “The Concept of Alienation in Modern Sociology,” pp. 146-167

- *In what is alienation manifested?* The concrete answers to this question are so varied that it is altogether impossible to reduce them to a system. However, the main point is whether it is an objective, or subjective (psychological) phenomenon. Marxists say the first, implying a tangible social process which exists regardless of the degree to which people take cognizance of it. Herbert Marcuse is of the same mind. He believes alienation ‘has become entirely objective: the subject which is alienated is swallowed up by its alienated existence. There is only one dimension and it is everywhere and in all forms.’ The fact that people are unaware of their lack of liberty is precisely proof of the totality of alienation. In the eyes of other authors, on the contrary, alienation is exclusively or primarily a psychological phenomenon, and they are interested in

- the inner emotions of the individual. Marcuse, Herbert (1964:11) *One-Dimensional Man*, Boston. 150
- Melvin Seeman regards alienation exclusively “from the personal standpoint of the actor.” Alienation in this case is expressed in the individual’s feeling of his powerlessness, in feeling that his life is meaningless, and so on. All characterization of the objective situation engendering such emotions is deliberately eliminated, since these situations may vary. This psychological interpretation of alienation currently dominates in empirical sociology in the United States. Melvin Seeman, “On the Meaning of Alienation,” *American Sociological Review*, XXIV, 1959, p. 784. 150
 - When, for instance, a Marxist says the worker is alienated from means of production he does not at all imply that the worker once possessed these means of production and then lost them....What is the dynamic factor of alienation? Or, in other words, is the subject himself alienated from certain relations, norms and values, or vice versa? The concept of alienation of the subject gives priority to an analysis of the subject’s attitude to the appropriate phenomenon, and this attitude explains his behavior. If relations, norms and values are seen as being alienated from the subject, it is external social conditions that emerge as the alienating factor and these are to be investigated. 150-151
 - *What are the causes of alienation?* Answers differ radically. Some authors deduce alienation from over-all conditions of human existence, others – from certain definite social factors such as private ownership, the social division of labor, or scientific and technical progress – while still others proceed from individual psychological factors, including neuroticism. 151
 - *What ways and means exist for overcoming alienation?* The answer plainly stems from all that has been said before. If alienation derives from the over-all conditions of human existence, there is no problem at all. If alienation has concrete social causes, it can be overcome only by changing the social conditions. Finally, if alienation is an individual psychological phenomenon, it is enough to alter the appropriate personal attitudes – by psychotherapy, for instance – to overcome it. 151

Althusser, Louis (trans. By Ben Brewster) (1970) *For Marx*, New York: Vintage Books.

- By theory, in this respect, I shall mean a *specific form of practice*, itself belonging to the complex unity of the ‘social practice’ of a determinate human society. Theoretical practice falls within the general definition of practice. It works on a raw material (representations, concepts, facts) which it is given by other practices, whether ‘empirical’, ‘technical’ or ‘ideological’. In its most general form theoretical practice does not only include *scientific* theoretical practice, but also pre-scientific theoretical practice, that is, ‘ideological’ theoretical practice (the forms of ‘knowledge’ that make up the prehistory of a science, and their ‘philosophies’). The theoretical practice of a science is always completely distinct from the ideological theoretical practice of its prehistory: this distinction takes the form of a ‘qualitative’ theoretical and historical discontinuity which I shall follow Bachelard in calling an ‘epistemological break’. 167-168

Parsons, Howard L. (1971) *Humanism and Marx's Thought*, Springfield, IL and Fort Lauderdale, FL: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher.

- A dictionary provides this meaning of the term “revolution”: “The overthrow and replacement of a government or political system by those governed... The essential idea of *revolution* [in this definition] is a change in the form or government or constitution, or a change of rulers, otherwise than as provided by existing laws of succession, election, etc.; while such change is apt to involve armed hostilities, these make no necessary part of a *revolution*, which may be accomplished without a battle.” (1958) *Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, international ed. New York: Funk and Wagnalls. 187
- Revolutionary practice must begin with the concrete, specific conditions that stand over against man. It must know them, select and reorganize them, and transform them in the direction of a world that progressively removes destructive contradictions and in the process fulfills man. 188
- ...student activists tend to be more flexible, tolerant and realistic; less dependent upon authority, rules or rituals for managing social relationships. In their values, activists tend to be concerned with self-expression, intellectual orientation, sense of community with and responsibility for their fellow men, while the non-activists tend to be more success-oriented, self-denying, conventional, competitive, self-controlled, foresighted and orderly.” Katz, Joseph, in a monograph printed by the United States Office of Education, 1967. Cited in *The New York Times*, June 19, 1967, p. 29. 332
- Anarchist groups (such as Blacks who want no cooperation with whites) often reflect the hostility and despair that are born of a background of economic and educational poverty, whereas certain bohemian and anarchist groups among the New Left express the emotional and intellectual emptiness of bourgeois upbringing. Young progressives appear to come from both lower and middle income groups, but their radical feelings of nonconformance toward society have acquired form and a constructive direction from the ideas to which they have been exposed. In all likelihood, these ideas have emanated from university communities, which are the chief, but not only, sources of ideological dissent and criticism in the United States today. It is possible that an effective radical ideology for America will be shaped by groups like the Blacks (such as the Black Panthers) and the leaders of the industrial workers, whose base is outside the university. 334
- “Man’s nature makes it possible for him to reach his fulfillment only by working for the perfection and welfare of his society. If a person works only for himself he can perhaps be a famous scholar, a great wise man, a distinguished poet, but never a complete, genuinely great man. History calls those the greatest men who ennobled themselves by working for the universal. Experience praises as the most happy the one who made the most people happy. Religion itself teaches us that the ideal for which we are all striving sacrificed itself for humanity, and who would dare to destroy such a statement?” [no reference provided] 357
- To be creative, youth must be independent in direct relation to the creative tendencies of its social tradition. It must assimilate its past, it must discover the best of that tradition, the most human and the most durable, and seek to extend it.

In the United States this means, I think, the tradition of humanism (in both religious and secular forms), of democracy, of liberation movements of the oppressed (Blacks, laborers, women, minorities), of socialism, of diversity. Today, more than one hundred and fifty years after his birth, we are still talking about the young Marx – not because of blind veneration, but because of our realization that the makers of the human future are the young people of every generation and because we can see in the young Marx a worthy model. That does not mean that he was perfect and cannot and should not be transcended. It simply means that he shows every generation that the link that holds the long chain of the human species together through history is the young person who, being entrusted with the heritage of his race, carries it forward with courage, fidelity, love, and commitment. 402

Wellmer, A. (1971) *Critical Theory of Society*, New York: Herder and Herder.

- This union of theory and meta-theory is only another expression of the union of theory and practice (praxis), which critical theory has made its own. In the controversy about method the actual political struggle is reproduced as a battle of minds: accordingly, critical theory treats the expectation of a resolution of this conflict in the pure medium of the mind as a bourgeois illusion. 15

Tucker, Robert C. (1972) (2nd Ed.) *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx*, London: Cambridge at the University Press.

- *The philosopher, himself an abstract form of alienated man, sets himself up as the measure of the alienated world. Karl Marx (1844) flyleaf*
- “The aim of knowledge is to divest the objective world that stands opposed to us of its strangeness, and, as the phrase is, to find ourselves at home in it: which means no more than to trace the objective world back to the notion – to our innermost self.” Hegel, G. W. F. (1950:335) *The Logic of Hegel*, translated from *The Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences* by William Wallace; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege. 49
- ...if man externalizes his being or human essence in the material things that he produces, then working man made propertyless by ‘theft’, i.e. proletarian man, is self-alienated man *par excellence*. And if, further, society is now generating in the proletariat a rebellious propertyless mass, this is proof that self-alienated man is striving to overcome his alienation and recover his human nature by overthrowing the world order that has made him an alienated being. Consequently, communism, although it is the class ideology of the proletariat, is destined to serve not alone the material interest of this own class but the universal spiritual need of man to end his self-estrangement. 117
- “Every self-alienation of man from himself and nature appears in the relation in which he places himself and nature to other men differentiated from himself. Thus, religious self-alienation necessarily appears in the relation of the layman to the priest, or again to a mediator, etc., since we are here dealing with the intellectual world. In the real practical world self-alienation can only appear through the [practical real relation to other men. The means through which alienation takes place is itself *practical*. Thus through alienated labor man not

- only engenders his relation to the object and the act of production as to powers that are alien and hostile to him; he also engenders the relation in which other men stand to his production and to his product, and the relation in which he stands to these other men.” Marx, K. and Engels, F., *Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Erste Abteilung*, (MEGA), Vols. I-V, eds. D. Rjazanov and V. Adoratski in 1927-1932; Berlin: Marx-Engels Verlag G.M.B.H., Vol. III, pp. 89, 91. 148
- Alienation is the hallmark of his history from beginning to end. 152

Walton, Paul and Andrew Gamble (1972) *From Alienation to Surplus Value*, London: Sheed and Ward Ltd.

- “Human emancipation will only be complete when the real, individual man has absorbed himself into the abstract citizen; when, as an individual man, in his everyday life, in his work, in his relationships, he has become a species-being; and when he has recognized and organized his own powers as social powers....” Marx, *Frühe Schriften* 1, 479, cited in McLellan, David (1969) *The Young Hegelians and Karl Marx*, London: Macmillan, p. 104. 10
- ...there are three principal structures of alienated existence in Marx’s theory.
 - (i) *Alienation of labour from its product.* The institutions of private property, contingent upon the division of labour, necessitated certain property relations. Dominant groups within the species possessing a monopoly over productive property reproduce their assets and provide for the subsistence of the species only by appropriating the products of human labour-power. In the sphere of political economy (the sum total of human labour in a given period), objectification thus becomes ‘a loss of the object and bondage to it; appropriation as estrangement, as alienation’. Marx, Karl *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*, trans. M. Milligan, ed. D. Struik, New York: International Publishers, (1961); London: Lawrence & Wishart (1970), 108
 - (ii) *Human self-alienation.* The producer’s activity, his powers, do not obey his own dictates, but those of another for whom he is a productive vehicle. ‘It is the loss of his self.’ (EPM, p. 111) In his human functions, man is reduced to an animal; only in his animal functions (sex, nutrition, etc.) can man feel freely active and therefore human. ‘But abstractly taken, separated from the sphere of all other human activity and turned into sole and ultimate ends, they are animal functions.’ EPM, p. 111.
 - (iii) *Alienation of man from man.* Producers no longer produce use-values assigned to satisfy specific needs for others. He produces exchange-values which only satisfy needs distantly, under impersonal market conditions. Money as ‘men’s estranged, alienating and self-disposing species nature...the alienated ability of mankind’ acts as the ‘pimp between man’s needs and the object’. EPM p. 168, 165. Man becomes a means and not an end for other men. The conflicting interests arising within the productive system establish competitive relations between them. As stated earlier, this structure of alienation involves the dehumanization of man. Together, then, these three structures combine to allow Marx to state that man is alienated from his species nature. 14-15

- *Feudal alienation*, as distinct from capitalist alienation, presented only two structures of the alienated condition of the species. First, it comprised alienation of man from himself insofar as feudal man was incapable of controlling the conditions for his self-production. Secondly, it comprised alienation of the producer from his product insofar as anything which he produced over and above his own subsistence was appropriated by his lord, who in turn acted toward the peasant not as a human being in his own right but in his capacity as appropriator. 20
- "...the tendency to view Marxism exclusively as a theory of society, as social philosophy, and hence to ignore or repudiate it as a theory of nature..." Lukacs, Georg (1971) *History and Class Consciousness*, London/Merlin/Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press., Preface to the new edition, xvi. 23
- "What Marx means by 'human science' is a science of concrete synthesis, integrated with real life. Its standpoint is the ideal of non-alienated man whose *actual human* – as opposed to both 'speculatively invented' and to practically dehumanized, 'abstractly material' – needs determine the line of research in every particular field. The achievements of the particular fields – guided right from the beginning by the common frame of reference of a non-fragmented 'human science' – are then brought together into a higher synthesis which in its turn determines the subsequent lines of investigations in the various fields..." Meszaros, I. (1970:101) *Marx's Theory of Alienation*, London. 122
- Alienation is rooted in the conditions of capitalist production, which continually reproduce it. 131
- "By the introduction of machinery the division of labour inside society has grown up, the task of the worker inside the workshop has been simplified, capital has been concentrated, human beings have been further dismembered. Marx, Karl (1956:141) *The Poverty of Philosophy*, London: Lawrence & Wishart. 131
- "...the character of independence and estrangement which the capitalist mode of production as a whole gives to the instruments of labor and to the product, as against the workman, is developed by means of machinery into a thorough antagonism. Therefore it is with the advent of machinery that the workman for the first time brutally revolts against the instruments of labour." Marx, Karl (1954:432) *Capital*, Vol.1; Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 131
- Alienation is much more than a psychological disorder or a speculative philosophical notion. It is one of the general concepts of Marx's theoretical system, which he uses to analyse the various ways in which labour has been constrained in history. 132
- At the same time the capitalist mode of production represents the most complete form of alienation, because it alienates the worker from his product, from his work, and from his fellow men. 141
- "Marx treats the social movement as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of human will, consciousness and intelligence, but on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence." [Quoted by

Karl Marx in (1954:18) *Capital*, Vol.1; Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House. 141

- The increasing reliance on the state to create the conditions for profitable production signals the infirmity of the whole capitalist system: “Each crisis is more severe than the one preceding it because of the growing interdependence of production and of social life generally. In another sense, each successive crisis faces greater opportunities because the breadth of structural changes required for capitalism’s further expansion becomes ever greater.” Mattick, Paul (1969:83) *Marx and Keynes: The Limits of the Mixed Economy*, Boston: Porter Sargent. 215

Bottomore, Tom (1973) (ed.) *Karl Marx*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. Isaiah Berlin, “Historical Materialism,” pp. 56-68

- Alienation – the substitution of imaginary relations between, or worship of, inanimate objects or ideas for real relations between, or respect for, persons – will come to an end only when the final class – the proletariat – defeats the bourgeoisie. Then the ideas which this victory will generate, will automatically be those expressive of, and beneficial to, a classless society, that is, all mankind. 62
- All frustration, for Marx, is the product of alienation – the barriers and distortions that are created by the inevitable war of classes, and shut out this or that body of men from the harmonious cooperation with one another for which their nature craves. 63

Shlomo Avineri, “The Proletariat,” pp. 102-112

- Man needs a many-sided, even an all-rounded, sphere for his activity, limited and restricted as this activity itself may be...But if the division of labour, as it is now being practiced in the big cities and the manufacturing and mining areas, cuts-up free man into wheels, cogs, cylinders and shuttles, imposes on him one sphere of activity in the course of his many-sided search for one object – how can one expect this segmented segment to be adequate to the full and fulfilled life or right and law? How can partial forms, which are cut out from the full circle of activity and are being divorced from one another, how can they fit into the full circle of political life and its laws? This is the miserable outcome of the division of labour in all the branches of private industry. A. Müller, “Die heutige Wissenschaft der Nationalökonomie kurz und fasslich dargestellt,” *Ausgewählte Abhandlungen*, ed. J. Baxa (Jena, 1921), p. 46. 105
- “From the relation of alienated labor to private property it also follows that the emancipation of society from private property, from servitude, takes the political form of the *emancipation of the workers*; not in the sense that only the latter’s emancipation is involved, but because this emancipation includes the emancipation of humanity as a whole. For all human servitude is involved in the relation of the worker to production, and all the types of servitude are only modifications or consequences of this relation.” Marx, *Early Writings*, pp. 132-33. 109

Leszek Kolakowski, "Ideology and Theory," pp. 119-122

- Thus ideology and science are in perpetual conflict with each other, and this conflict cannot be eliminated by expressions of god will, for goodwill does not abolish social regularities. 122

Marx, K. and Engels, Frederick, (1843-44, 1975) *Karl Marx Frederick Engels: Collected Works: Volume 3 1843-1844*, New York: International Publishers.

Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law," pp. 3-129

- The family and civil society appear as the dark natural ground from which the light of the state arises. The material of the state is taken as comprising the *concerns* of the state, namely, the family and civil society, insofar as they form parts of the state and participate in the state as such. 7
- *Rationally interpreted*, Hegel's propositions would only mean this: The family and civil society are parts of the state. The material of the state is distributed amongst them "by circumstances, caprice and the individual's own choice of vocation". The citizens of the state are members of families and embers of civil society. 9
- The political constitution is the organism of the state, or the organism of the state is the political constitution. That the various aspects of an organism stand to one another in a necessary connection arising out of the nature of the organism is sheer tautology. That if the political constitution is defined as an organism, the various aspects of the constitution, the various authorities, behave as organic features and stand to one another in a rational relationship, is likewise a tautology. It is a great advance to treat the political state as an organism and therefore to look upon the variety of authorities no longer as something [in]organic, but as a living and rational differentiation. But how does Hegel present this discovery?
 - 1) "This *organism* is the development of the idea into its distinct aspects and their objective actuality." It does not say: this organism of the state is the development of the state into distinct aspects and their objective actuality. The genuine thought is this: the development of the state or the political constitution into distinct aspects and their actuality is an *organic* development. The *actual distinct aspects* or *various facets of the political constitution* are the premise, the subject. The predicate is their characterisation as *organic*. 11-12
- Democracy is the truth of monarchy; monarchy is not the truth of democracy. Monarchy is necessarily democracy inconsistent with itself; the monarchical element is not an inconsistency in democracy. Monarchy cannot be understood in its own terms; democracy can. In democracy none of the elements attains a significance other than what is proper to it. Each is in actual fact only an element of the whole demos [people]. In monarchy one part determines the character of the whole. The entire constitution has to adapt itself to this fixed point. Democracy is the genus Constitution. Monarchy is one species, and a poor one at that. Democracy is content and form. Monarchy is *supposed* to be only a form, but it falsifies the content. In monarchy the whole, the people, is subsumed under one of its particular modes of being, the political constitution. In democracy the *constitution itself* appears only as *one* determination, that is, the self-

determination of the people. In monarchy we have the people of the constitution; in democracy the constitution of the people. Democracy is the solved *riddle* of all constitutions. Here, not merely *implicitly* and in essence but *existing* in reality, the constitution is constantly brought back to its actual basis, the *actual human being*, the *actual people*, and established as the people's *own work*. The constitution appears as what it is, a free product of man. It could be said that in a certain respect this applies also to constitutional monarchy; but the specific distinguishing feature of democracy is that here the *constitution* as such forms only *one* element in the life of the people—that it is not the *political constitution* by itself which forms the state. 29

- Hegel starts from the state and makes man the subjectified state; democracy starts from man and makes the state objectified man. Just as it is not religion which creates man but man who creates religion, so it is not the constitution which creates the people but the people which creates the constitution. In a certain respect the relation of democracy to all other forms of state is like the relation of Christianity to all other religions. Christianity is the religion [*par excellence*], the *essence of religion*—defined man as a *particular* religion. Similarly, democracy is the *essence of all state constitutions*—socialised man as a *particular* state constitution. Democracy stands to the other constitutions as the genus stands to its species; except that here the genus itself appears as an existent, and therefore as one *particular* species over against the others whose existence does not correspond to their essence. To democracy all other forms of state stand as its Old Testament. Man does not exist for the law but the law for man—it is a *human manifestation*; whereas in the forms of state man is a *legal manifestation*. That is the fundamental distinction of democracy. 29-30

Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," pp. 146-174

- The German Jews desire emancipation. What kind of emancipation do they desire? *Civic, political* emancipation. Bruno Bauer replies to them: No one in Germany is politically emancipated. We ourselves are not free. How are we to free you? You Jews are *egoists* if you demand a special emancipation for yourselves as Jews. As Germans, you ought to work for the political emancipation of Germany, and as human beings, for the emancipation of mankind, and you should feel the particular kind of your oppression and your shame not as an exception to the rule, but on the contrary as a confirmation of the rule.

Or do the Jews demand the same status as *Christian subjects of the state*? In that case they recognize that the *Christian state* is justified and they recognize too the regime of general oppression. Why should they disapprove of their special yoke if they approve of the general yoke? Why should the German be interested in the liberation of the Jew, if the Jew is not interested in the liberation of the German? The *Christian state* knows only *privileges*. In this state the Jew has the privilege of being a Jew. As a Jew, he has rights which the Christians do not have. Why should he want rights which he does not have, but which the Christians enjoy? In wanting to be emancipated from the Christian state, the Jew is demanding that the Christian state should give up its *religious* prejudice. Does he, the Jew, give

up *his* religious prejudice? Has he then the right to demand that someone else should renounce his religion? 146

- *By its very nature*, the Christian state is incapable of emancipating the Jew; but, adds Bauer, by his very nature the Jew cannot be emancipated. So long as the state is Christian and the Jew is Jewish, the one is as incapable of granting emancipation as the other is of receiving it. The Christian state can behave towards the Jew only in the way characteristic of the Christian state, that is, by granting privileges, by permitting the separation of the Jew from the other subjects, but making him feel the pressure of all the other separate spheres of society, and feel it all the more intensely because he is in *religious* opposition to the dominant religion. But the Jew, too, can behave towards the state only in a Jewish way, that is, by treating it as something alien to him, by counterposing his imaginary nationality to the real nationality, by counterposing his illusory law to the real law, by deeming himself justified in separating himself from mankind, by abstaining on principle from taking part in the historical movement, by putting his trust in a future which has nothing in common with the future of mankind in general, and by seeing himself as a member of the Jewish people, and the Jewish people as the chosen people.

On what grounds then do you Jews want emancipation? On account of your religion? It is the mortal enemy of the state religion. As citizens? In Germany there are no citizens. As human beings? But you are no more human beings than those to whom you appeal. 147

- How then does Bauer solve the Jewish question? What is the result? The formulation of a question is its solution. The critique of the Jewish question is the answer to the Jewish question. The summary, therefore, is as follows:
We must emancipate ourselves before we can emancipate others.
The most rigid form of the opposition between the Jew and the Christian is the *religious* opposition. How is an opposition resolved? By making it impossible. How is *religious* opposition made impossible? By *abolishing religion*. As soon as Jew and Christian recognize that their respective religions are no more than *different states in the development of the human mind*, different snake skins cast off by history, and that *man* is the snake who sloughed them, the relation of Jew and Christian is no longer religious but is only a critical, *scientific* and human relation. *Science* then constitutes their unity: But contradictions in science are resolved by science itself. 147-148
- Only in the North American states—at least in some of them—does the Jewish question lose its *theological* significance and become a really *secular* question. Only where the political state exists in its completely developed form can the relation of the Jew, and of the religious man in general, to the political state, and therefore the relation of religion to the state, show itself in its specific character, in its purity. The criticism of this relation ceases to be theological criticism as soon as the state ceases to adopt a *theological* attitude towards religion, as soon as it behaves towards religion as a state, i.e., *politically*. Criticism then becomes *criticism of the political state*. 150
- But if a man, although a Jew, can be emancipated politically and receive civic rights, can he lay claim to the so-called *rights of man* and receive them? Bauer

denies it: “The question is whether the Jew as such, that is, the Jew who himself admits that he is compelled by his true nature to live permanently in separation from other men, is capable of receiving the *universal rights of man* and of conceding them to others.”

“For the Christian world, the idea of the rights of man was only discovered in the last century. It is not innate in men; on the contrary, it is gained only in a struggle against the historical traditions in which hitherto man was brought up. Thus the rights of man are not a gift of nature, not a legacy from past history, but the reward of the struggle against the accident of birth and against the privileges which up to now have been handed down by history from generation to generation. These rights are the result of culture, and only one who has earned and deserved them can possess them.”

“Can the Jew really take possession of them? As long as he is a Jew, the restricted nature which makes him a Jew is bound to triumph over the human nature which should link him as a man with other men, and will separate him from non-Jews. He declares by this separation that the particular nature which makes him a Jew is his true, highest nature, before which human nature has to give way.”

“Similarly, the Christian as a Christian cannot grant the rights of man.” Bauer, Bruno, (1843) “Die Fähigkeit der heutigen Juden und Christen, frei zu werden,” In *Einundzwanzig Bogen aus der Schweiz*, hrsg. Von Georg Herwegh. Zürich und Winterthur: Erster Theil. pp. 19, 20. 160

- The Jew has emancipated himself in a Jewish manner, not only because he has acquired financial power, but also because, through him and also apart from him, *money* has become a world power and the practical Jewish spirit has become the practical spirit of the Christian nations. The Jews have emancipated themselves insofar as the Christians have become Jews. 170

Karl Marx, “Comments on James Mill, ‘Éléments D’Économie Politique’, trans. By J. T. Parisot, Paris, 1823; pp. 211-228

- But Christ is *alienated* God and alienated *man*. God has value only insofar as he represents Christ, and man has value only insofar as he represents Christ. It is the same with money. 212

Karl Marx, [Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844f], [First Manuscript] “Wages of Labor”, pp. 235-246

- Wages are determined through the antagonistic struggle between capitalist and worker. Victory goes necessarily to the capitalist. The capitalist can live longer without the worker than can the worker without the capitalist. Combination among the capitalists is customary and effective; workers’ combination is prohibited and painful in its consequences for them. Besides, the landowner and the capitalist can make use of industrial advantages to augment their revenues; the worker has neither rent nor interest on capital to supplement his industrial income. Hence the intensity of the competition among the workers. Thus only for the workers is the separation of capital, landed property, and labour an inevitable, essential and detrimental separation. Capital and landed property need not remain fixed in this abstraction, as must the labour of the workers. 235

- Whilst according to the political economists it is solely through labour that man enhances the value of the products of nature, whilst labour is man's active possession, according to this same political economy the landowner and the capitalist, who *qua* landowner and capitalist are merely privileged and idle gods, are everywhere superior to the worker and lay down the law to him. Whilst according to the political economists labour is the sole unchanging price of things, there is nothing more fortuitous than the price of labour, nothing exposed to greater fluctuations. Whilst the division of labour raises the productive power of labour and increases the wealth and refinement of society, it impoverishes the worker and reduces him to a machine. Whilst labour brings about the accumulation of capital and with this the increasing prosperity of society, it renders the worker ever more dependent on the capitalist, leads him into competition of a new intensity, and drives him into the headlong rush of over-production, with its subsequent corresponding slum. 240
- Whilst the interest of the worker, according to the political economists, never stands opposed to the interest of society, society always and necessarily stands opposed to the interest of the worker. According to the political economists, the interest of the worker is never opposed to that of society: (1) because the rising wages are more than compensated by the reduction in the amount of labour time, together with the other consequences set forth above; and (2) because in relation to society the whole gross product is the net product, and only in relation to the private individual has the net product any significance. 240

Karl Marx, [*Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844f*], [*First Manuscript*] "*Estranged Labour*," pp. 270-282

- Till now we have been considering the estrangement; the alienation of the worker only in one of its aspects, i.e., the worker's *relationship to the products of his labour*. But the estrangement is manifested not only in the result but in the *act of production* within the producing activity itself. How could the worker come to face the product of his activity as a stranger, were it not that in the very act of production he was estranging himself from himself? The product is after all but the summary of the activity, or production. If then the product of labour is alienation, production itself must be active alienation, the alienation of activity, the activity of alienation. In the estrangement of the object of labor is merely summarized the estrangement, the alienation, in the activity of labour itself. 274
- What, then, constitutes the alienation of labour? First, the fact that labour is *external* to the worker, i.e., it does not belong to his intrinsic nature; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mind. The worker therefore only feels himself outside his work, and in his work feels outside himself. He feels at home when he is not working, and when he is working he does not feel at home. His labour is therefore not voluntary, but coerced; it is *forced labour*. It is therefore not the satisfaction of a need; it is merely a *means* to satisfy needs external to it. Its alien

character emerges clearly in the fact that as soon as no physical or other compulsion exists, labour is shunned like the plague. External labour, labour in which man alienates himself, is a labour of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Lastly, the external character of labour for the worker appears in the fact that it is not his own, but someone else's, that it does not belong to him, that in it he belongs, not to himself, but to another. Just as in religion the spontaneous activity of the human imagination, of the human brain and the activity of the human imagination, of the human brain and the human heart, operated on the individual independently of him—that is, operates as an alien, divine or diabolical activity—so is the worker's activity not his spontaneous activity. It belongs to another; it is the loss of his self. 274

Engels, Frederick, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy," pp. 418-443

- Political economy came into being as a natural result of the expansion of trade, and with its appearance elementary, unscientific huckstering was replaced by a developed system of licensed fraud, an entire science of enrichment. This political economy or science of enrichment born of the merchants' mutual envy and greed, bears on its brow the mark of the most detestable selfishness. 418
- When more had been exported than imported, it was believed that the difference had come into the country in ready cash, and that the country was richer by that difference. The art of the economists, therefore, consisted in ensuring that at the end of each year exports would show a favourable balance over imports; and for the sake of this ridiculous illusion thousands of men have been slaughtered! Trade, too, has had its crusades and inquisitions. 419
- The eighteenth century, the century of revolution, also revolutionized economics. But just as all the revolutions of this century were one-sided and bogged down in antitheses—just as abstract materialism was set in opposition to abstract spiritualism, the republic to monarchy, the social contract to divine right—likewise the economic revolution did not get beyond antithesis. The premises remained everywhere in force: materialism did not attack the Christian contempt for and humiliation of Man, and merely posited Nature instead of the Christian God as the Absolute confronting Man. In politics no one dreamt of examining the premises of the state as such. It did not occur to economics to question the *validity of private property*. Therefore, the new economics was only half an advance. It was obliged to betray and disavow its own premises, to have recourse to sophistry and hypocrisy so as to cover up the contradictions in which it became entangled, so as to reach the conclusions to which it was driven not by its premises but by the humane spirit of the century. Thus economics took on a philanthropic character. It withdrew its favour from the producers and bestowed it on the consumers. It affected a solemn abhorrence of the bloody terror of the mercantile system, and proclaimed trade to be a bond of friendship and union among nations as among individuals. All was pure splendour and magnificence—yet the premises reasserted themselves soon enough, and in contrast to this sham philanthropy produced the Malthusian population theory—the crudest, most barbarous theory that ever existed, a system of despair which struck down all those beautiful phrases about philanthropy and world citizenship. The premises

- begot and reared the factory system and modern slavery, which yields nothing in inhumanity and cruelty to ancient slavery. Modern economics—the system of free trade based on a Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations*—reveals itself to be that same hypocrisy, inconsistency and immorality which now confront free humanity in every sphere. 419-420
- But was Smith’s system, then, not an advance? Of course it was, and a necessary advance at that. It was necessary to overthrow the mercantile system with its monopolies and hindrances to trade, so that the true consequences of private property could come to light. It was necessary for all these petty, local and national considerations to recede into the background, so that the struggle of our time could become a universal human struggle. It was necessary for the theory of private property to leave the purely empirical path of merely objective inquiry and to acquire a more scientific character which would also make it responsible for the consequences, and thus transfer the matter to a universally human sphere. It was necessary to carry the immorality contained in the old economics to its highest pitch, by attempting to deny it and by this lay in the nature of the case. We gladly concede that it is only the justification and accomplishment of free trade that has enabled us to go beyond the economics of private property; but we must at the same time have the right to expose the utter theoretical and practical nullity of this free trade. 420
 - The inconsistency and ambiguity of liberal economics must of necessity dissolve again into its basic components. Just as theology must either regress to blind faith or progress towards free philosophy, free trade must produce the restoration of monopolies on the one hand and the abolition of private property on the other. 421
 - The immediate consequence of private property is *trade*—exchange of reciprocal requirements—buying and selling. This trade, like every activity, must under the dominion of private property become a direct source of gain for the trader; i.e. each must seek to sell as dear as possible and buy as cheap as possible. In every purchase and sale, therefore, two men with diametrically opposed interests confront each other. The confrontation is decidedly antagonistic, for each knows the intentions of the other—knows that they are opposed to his own. Therefore, the first consequence is mutual mistrust, on the one hand, and the justification of this mistrust—the application of immoral means to attain an immoral end—on the other. Thus, the first maxim in trade is secretiveness—the concealment of everything which might reduce the value of the article in question. The result is that in ignorance, the trust, of the opposing party, and likewise to impute qualities to one’s commodity which it does not possess. In a word, trade is legalized fraud. Any merchant who wants to give truth its due can bear me witness that actual practice conforms with this theory. 422
 - But science increases at least as much as population. The latter increases in proportion to the size of the previous generation, science advances in proportion to the knowledge bequeathed to it by the previous generation, and thus under the most ordinary conditions also in a geometrical progression. And what is impossible to science? But it is absurd to talk of over-population so long as “there is enough waste land in the valley of the Mississippi for the whole

- population of Europe to be transplanted there”; so long as no more than one third of the earth can be considered cultivated, and so long as the production of this third itself can be raised sixfold and more by the application of improvements already known. Alison, A. (1840) *The Principles of Population and their Connection with Human Happiness*, Vols. 1-2, London, p548. 440
- Thus, competition sets capital against capital, labour against labour, landed property against landed property; and likewise each of these elements against the other two. In the struggle the stronger wins; and in order to predict the outcome of the struggle, we shall have to investigate the strength of the contestants. First of all, labour is weaker than either landed property or capital, for the worker must work to live, whilst the landowner can live on his rent, and the capitalist on his interest, or, if the need arises, on his capital or on capitalized property in land. The result is that only the very barest necessities, the mere means of subsistence, fall to the lot of labour; whilst the largest part of the products is shared between capital and landed property. Moreover, the stronger worker drives the weaker out of the market, just as larger capital drives out smaller capital, and larger landed property drives out smaller landed property. Practice confirms this conclusion. The advantages which the larger manufacturer and merchant enjoy over the smaller, and the big landowner over the owner of a single acre, are well known. The result is that already under ordinary conditions, in accordance with the law of the stronger, large capital and large landed property swallow small capital and small landed property—i.e., centralization of property. In crises of trade and agriculture, this centralization proceeds much more rapidly. 440-441
 - This law of the centralization of private property is as immanent in private property as all the others. The middle classes must increasingly disappear until the world is divided into millionaires and paupers, into large landowners and poor farm labourers. All the laws, all the dividing of landed property all the possible splitting –up of capital, are of no avail: this result must and will come, unless it is anticipated by a total transformation of social conditions, a fusion of opposed interests, an abolition of private property. 441

Frederick Engels, “The Condition of England: The English Constitution,” pp. 489-513

- But democracy by itself is not capable of curing social ills. Democratic equality is a chimera, the fight of the poor against the rich cannot be fought out on a basis of democracy or indeed of politics as a whole. This stage too is thus only a transition, the last purely political remedy which has still to be tried and from which a new element is bound to develop at once, a principle transcending everything of a political nature. This principle is the principle of socialism. 513

Plamenatz, John (1975) *Karl Marx’s Philosophy of Man*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- For the idea of alienation is more than just the idea of a human condition – more, at least, if that condition is taken to be a mood or emotion, however intense and persistent, a ‘state of the soul’, something ‘spiritual’ in the sense of an attitude to itself and its environment possible only to a self-conscious rational being. Hegel believed that the spiritual condition of alienated man is revealed in several religions, and in none more powerfully than in Judaism and Christianity. He saw

these religions not only as symptoms of alienation; he also saw in some of their dogmas and myths the condition of alienated man symbolically expressed. Theology, especially Christian theology, has taken large notice of this condition; and theology, as many social theorists and psychologists would today admit (even the religious skeptics among them) expresses some of man's deepest and most enduring feelings towards himself. The sophisticated believer differs from the sceptic, not in denying that theology does this, but in denying that man's attitude to God is really at bottom *no more* than his attitude to himself and to his personal and social predicament. 87

- Alienation, according to Marx, arises with production for exchange, and will not be overcome until the workers collectively take over control of production. Yet he admitted, at times, not in so many words but implicitly, that it is less production for exchange than the scale of production and of exchange that produces the attitude to productive work that he deplures. 133

Swingewood, Alan (1975) *Marx and Modern Social Theory*, London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

- A social theory which lacks adequate mediation, that is, one which dissolves man and his activity into a mere reflex of external conditions and objective historical and social laws, failing to grasp the complex relationships between man's material and cultural environments, will tend to be contradictory and inconsistent. 13
- "all that is necessary to achieve scientific progress is the recognition of the logical principle that the negative is just as much positive or that what is self-contradictory does not resolve itself into a nullity, into abstract nothingness, but essentially only into the negation of its *particular* content, in other words, that such a negation is not all and every negation but the negation of a specific subject matter which resolves itself, and consequently is a specific negation, and therefore the result essentially contains that from which it results...Because the result, the negation, is a *specific* negation it has a *content*. It is a fresh notion but higher and richer than its predecessor; for it is richer by the negation or opposite of the latter, therefore contains it, but also something more, and is the unity of itself and its opposite." Hegel (1970:54) *Science of Logic*. 20
- "At the end of every labor process, we get a result that already existed in the imagination of the laborer at its commencement. He not only effects a change in the form of the material on which he works, but he also realizes a purpose of his own that gives the law to his own *modus operandi*, and to which he must subordinate his will. And this subordination is no mere momentary act. Besides the exertion of the bodily organs, the process demands that, during the whole operation, the workman's will be steadily in consonance with his purpose." Marx, Karl (1958:178) *Capital*, Vol. 1, Moscow. 29
- For Marx, the concept of totality embraces social, economic and political institutions as well as all forms of social action, and a tense balance always exists between consciousness and social structure. Marx's totality is one which stresses the role of human *praxis*, of social consciousness, of men transforming the social world and it is these actions, when they take revolutionary form, which conflict

with economic and political institutions. To use the language of modern functionalism, Marx's totality is a 'moving equilibrium'.⁴²

- "...the essence of the method of historical materialism is inseparable from the 'practical' and 'critical' activity of the proletariat: both are aspects of the same process of social evolution. So, too, the knowledge of reality provided by the dialectical method is likewise inseparable from the class standpoint of the proletariat." Lukács, G. (1971:20-21) *History and Class Consciousness*. 78
- Marx's theory of alienation became more precise because more scientific as he moved from the predominantly critical philosophical standpoint of the *Paris Manuscripts* to the mature social theory of *Capital*. In the *Paris Manuscripts* Marx had written of the 'inhuman power' dominating social life, frustrating man's essential powers and transforming him into mere object. 111

Axelos, Kostas (trans. By Ronald Bruzina) (1976) *Alienation, Praxis, and Technē in the Thought of Karl Marx*, Austin and London: University of Texas Press.

- At the core of all the different dimensions of alienation (*economic* alienation, the basically determinant one, *political* alienation, in the state and bureaucracy, *ideological* alienation, in religion, art and philosophy) lies *human alienation*, properly speaking, the alienation of human being, to which the whole of being and man's own being as well are become alien and inimical. It is thus man that Marxian humanism wishes to dealienate, abolishing everything that prevents man—the social animal of reason—from satisfying his vital, social, and spiritual needs: in short, his *human* needs. 132
- "all alienation of the human essence is...nothing but <alienation> of *self-consciousness*. The <alienation> of self-consciousness is not regarded as an *expression [Ausdruck]* of the *real* <alienation> of the human being—its expression reflected in the realm of knowledge and thought. Instead the *real* <alienation>--that which appears real—is according to its *innermost*, hidden nature (a nature first brought to light by philosophy) nothing but the *manifestation [Erscheinung]* of the <alienation> of the real essence of man, of *self-consciousness*. The science which comprehends this is therefore called *Phenomenology*." Karl Marx, *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, ed. Dirk J. Struik, trans. Martin Milligan, New York: International Publishers, 1964, p. 178-179. 135
- At the heart of all these alienations, then, lies human alienation, the alienation of the essential forces of man's objective subjectivity. In the course of the development of productive technique, man only alienated himself from his being, from his activity, and from the products of that activity. Man feels more deeply the increasing unsatisfaction of his needs. His making is hobbled, and the totality of what is, is refused him. In the propagation of the species, in (bourgeois) love, and in the family he is alienated as well, and in the hold that having has upon things his being is stifled. The awareness he has of himself is inadequate, and his self-consciousness is not truthful. Morality, lastly, contributes to the preservation of alienation, giving him but one way out: revolutionary practice. 141
- Alienation means alienating man's activity, robbing and dispossessing his being. Man has always up to now been alienated man, sometimes more, sometimes less. 217

- Since alienation is a radical thing, affecting the very roots of man, that is, his natural and social humanity, the resolution of the antagonisms by which Nature, Man, and Society appear as distinct powers in conflict can only be total; it would allow man to regain his essence, to show it forth in his existence, and to stop separating the totality of what is from being, that is, from the being of the world as indissolubly natural, human, and social. Man would thus be reconciled with the World, the world being, according to Marx, the totality of what is revealed (what becomes visible, as he puts it) and made thanks to the total activity of man, who is the essentially practical being, the one who brings about realization. 239
- “Communism is the position as the negation of the negation, and is hence the *actual* phase necessary for the next stage of historical development in the process of human emancipation and rehabilitation. *Communism* is the necessary pattern and the dynamic principle of the immediate future, but communism as such is not the goal of human development—which goal is the structure of human society.” Karl Marx, *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, ed. Dirk J. Struik, trans. Martin Milligan, New York: International Publishers, 1964, p. 146. 334
- “It takes *actual* communist action to abolish actual private property. History will come to it; and this movement, which in *theory* we already know to be a self-transcending movement, will constitute *in actual fact* a very severe and protracted process. But we must regard it as a real advance to have gained beforehand a consciousness of the limited character as well as the goal of this historical movement—and a consciousness which reaches out beyond it.” Karl Marx, *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, ed. Dirk J. Struik, trans. Martin Milligan, New York: International Publishers, 1964, p. 154. 335
- “Communism differs from all previous movements in that it overturns the basis for all earlier relations of production and intercourse, and for the first time consciously treats all natural premises as the creatures of hitherto existing men, strips them of their natural character and subjugates them to the power of the united individuals. Its organization is, therefore, essentially economic.” Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1964) *The German Ideology*, ed. and trans. S. Ryazanskaya, Moscow: Progress Publishers, p. 86-87. 335
- “Communism is a highly practical movement, pursuing practical aims by practical means...” Karl Marx and Frederick Engels (1964) *The German Ideology*, ed. and trans. S. Ryazanskaya, Moscow: Progress Publishers, p. 231. 335

Bauman, Zygmunt (1976) *Socialism: The Active Utopia*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

- Socialism descended upon nineteenth-century Europe as utopia. This statement is bound to provoke one of two responses: either of angry protests from those who feel safer on a sturdy jeep of historical necessity than on a flying carpet of human will; or of friendly smiles from those who feel that the world we live in would be a much happier place were it never haunted by the abortive venture into equality. 9

Luard, Evan (1979) *Socialism Without the State*, London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

- The sense of community is not *only* a function of size. It is possible to have a sense of community even among a large population if they are genuinely informed by common goals, as in a society in revolution or a nation at war for example. But it must inevitably be normally the case that the larger the numbers in a society the greater the proportion of total strangers, the wider the diversity of interests, views and concerns, and the harder therefore to create a sense of common purpose, still more a sense of neighbourliness. 48
- Some might seek to establish a highly egalitarian community, while others would stress diversity; some would seek a great deal of communal social activity, while others would leave its members the maximum of privacy and independence; some would establish an authoritarian, others a libertarian community. Local communities, rather than nations, might then determine the character of society for their members; and so make it possible once more that diversity in social style that today is being everywhere lost. And because authority was at last closer, some of the original ideals of democratic theory – the provision for the citizen of a sense of control over his own destiny – might begin to be restored. 106
- “In what does the alienation of labour consist? First, that the work is *external* to the worker, that it is not a part of his nature, that consequently he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery, not of well-being, does not develop freely a physical and mental energy, but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker therefore feels himself at home only during his leisure, whereas at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary but imposed, *forced labour*. It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a *means* for satisfying other needs. Its alien character is clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there is no physical or other compulsion it is evaded like the plague. Finally, the alienated character of work for the worker appears in the fact that it is not his work, but work for someone else, that in work he does not belong to himself but to another person.” Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. 110
- If the danger of centralization is that it creates excessive subordination, alienation and uniformity, one obvious remedy is deliberately to decentralize, to break up the organization, to provide the maximum autonomy for its sub-units; and so to maintain, promote and encourage the maximum possible *diversity*. 150

Rader, Melvin (1979) *Marx's Interpretation of History*, New York: Oxford University Press.

- Alienation and disfunction spread, conflicts intensity, and the polarization and fracture of social life are expressed in ideology—the largely unconscious and therefore uncontrolled reflection in thought of the schisms in the economic foundations of life. This conflict between the forces and relations of production intensifies until, in a period of revolutionary upheavals, the social relations are reorganized so as to harmonize with the productive forces. Thereby the forces are unfettered, the productivity of the economy again surges ahead, and the superstructure is radically altered. 13

- “Man must prove the truth, that is, the reality and power, the this-worldliness of his thinking in practice. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely scholastic question.” “Thesis on Feuerback,” in Marx/Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, 1976, p. 3, New York: International Publishers. 30
- “Natural science has penetrated all the more practically into human life through industry. It has transformed human life and prepared the emancipation of humanity, even though its immediate effect was to accentuate the dehumanization of man. Industry is the actual historical relationship of nature, and thus of natural science, to man....Natural science will...abandon its abstract materialist, or rather idealist, orientation, and will become the basis of a human science, just as it has already become—though in an alienated form—the basis of actual human life. One basis for life and another for science is *a priori* a falsehood.” Bottomore, T. B. (1963) (Ed. and Trans.) “Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts,” in *Marx: Early Writings*, pp. 163-164; London: C.A. Watts & Co., Ltd. 31
- “Ideology is a process accomplished by a so-called thinker consciously, indeed, but with a false consciousness....He works with mere thought material which he accepts without examination as the product of thought; he does not investigate further for a more remote process independent of thought.” Letter of Engels to Franz Mehring, July 14, 1893, in Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence 1846-1895I*, p. 511. 42
- “alienation appears not merely in the result but also in the process of production....How could the worker stand in an alien relationship to the product of his activity if he did not alienate himself in the act of production itself?....The alienation of the object of labour merely summarizes the alienation in the work activity itself.” *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, p. 124. 103
- As Marx declared, alienation in work and alienation of the worker from his products are two sides of the same coin. Human beings create the products of industry, but these products then have a “life” and “will” of their own. “The object produced by labour, its product, now stands opposed to it as an alien being, as a power independent of the producer....The more the worker expends himself in work the more powerful becomes the world of objects which he creates in face of himself....The worker puts his life into the object, and his life then belongs no longer to himself but to the object.” *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, p. 122. 105
- Alienation of men from the products of their labor has been a constant feature of history: “This fixation of social activity, this consolidation of what we ourselves produce into a material power above us, growing out of our control, thwarting our expectations, bringing to naught our calculations, is one of the chief features in historical development up till now.” “The German Idology,” in Marx/Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 47-48; New York: International Publishers.
- Marx characterizes primitive man’s awareness of nature as a form of alienation: “Consciousness is...from the very beginning a social product, and remains so as long as men exist at all....At the same time it is consciousness of nature, which first confronts men as a completely alien, all-powerful and unassailable force, with which men’s relations are purely animal and by which they are overawed

- like beasts....” “The German Ideology,” in Marx/Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pg. 44; New York: International Publishers. 108
- “The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is...directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men—the language of real life....Consciousness can never by anything else than conscious being, and the being of men is their actual life-process.” “The German Ideology,” in Marx/Engels, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pg. 36; New York: International Publishers. 135
 - “Though man is a unique individual—and it is just his particularity which makes him an individual, a really individual communal being—he is equally the whole, the ideal whole, the subjective existence of society as thought and experienced. He exists in reality as the representation and real mind of social existence, and as the sum of human manifestations of life. “ *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*, p. 158. 167
 - “Since the essence of man is the true community of man, men, by activating their own essence, produce, create this human community, this social being which is no abstract, universal power standing over against the solitary individual, but is the essence of every individual, his own activity, his own life, his own spirit, his own wealth....Men, not as abstractions, but as real, living, particular individuals, are in this community. As they are, so it is too...” “Excerpts from James Mill’s *Elements of Political Economy*,” in Marx (1975) *Early Writings*, trans. By Rodney Livingstone and Gregor Benton, p. 265; New York: Random House. 218
 - “Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents implement it while combating its reality; they want to appropriate for themselves as a most precious ornament what they have rejected as an ornament of human nature. No man combats freedom; at most he combats the freedom of others. Hence every kind of freedom has always existed, only at one time as a special privilege, at another as a universal right.” Rheinische Zeitung, May 12, 1842 in Marx/Engels (1975) *Collected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 155; New York: International Publishers. 223

Singer, Peter (1980) *Marx*, Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

- “The more the worker exerts himself, the more powerful becomes the alien objective world which he fashions against himself, the poorer he and his inner world become, the less there is that belongs to him. It is the same in religion. The more man attributes to God, the less he retains in himself. The worker puts his life into the object; then it no longer belongs to him but to the object...The externalization of the worker in his product means not only that his work becomes an object, an external existence, but also that it exists outside him, independently, alien, an autonomous power, opposed to him. The life he has given to the object confronts him as hostile and alien. (EPM 78-9) 25
- The central point is more pithily stated in a sentence preserved in the notebooks Marx used when studying the classical economists, in preparation for the writing of the 1844 manuscripts: “It is evident that economics establishes an alienated form of social intercourse as the essential, original and natural form.” (M 116) 25

- “The propertied class and the class of the proletariat represent the same human self-alienation. But the former feels comfortable and confirmed in this self-alienation, knowing that this alienation is its own power and possessing in it the semblance of a human existence. The latter feels itself ruined in this alienation and sees in it its impotence and the actuality of an inhuman existence.” 29

Worsley, Peter (1982) *Marx and Marxism* [Rev. Ed.] London and New York: Routledge.

- “The simple fact [is] that human beings must have food, drink, clothing and shelter first of all, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion and the like. This implies that the production of the immediate material means of subsistence, and consequently the degree of economic development of a given people or epoch, form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, the art, and even religious ideas are built up. It implies that these latter must be explained out of the former, whereas the former have usually been explained as issuing from the latter.” Engels, from his speech given at the graveside of Karl Marx on March 17, 1883. 39
- Marx believed that authentic socialism would emerge in economically advanced countries, which had developed the economic resources which could make better material living standards possible for all, and where political rights had been won, organization perfected and the political consciousness of the working class had matured. In such societies, a working class coming to power would not be faced with having to institute ruthless control in order to mobilize the people for modernization, for they would be taking over already developed economies. They would also have a richer tradition of popular participation in the running of the whole gamut of social institutions at every level, including a highly diversified range of popular organizations – parties, trade unions, voluntary associations and local government organs. These hard-won rights, established in valued institutions over time, are not easily given up. Further, criticism and opposition become ingrained; regarded not as crimes, but as civic rights and duties. In the epoch of the nuclear Cold War, during the Cuba missile crisis, a scenario that Marx had dimly imagined as a *class* scenario, ‘the mutual ruin of the contending classes’ suddenly appeared a real threat to human survival, not merely the climax to the classic conflict between capital and labour, but the prospect of Armageddon between States and blocs prepared to pull down the whole temple by provoking nuclear war rather than giving way. Since then, the historic conflicts between capitalism and communism, and between imperialism and anti-colonial ‘liberation movements’, have been displaced by new confrontations: between new States and their neighbours, between Islamic States and the West, and by attack on the unique Superpower, the USA, by a political ‘entity’, Al Qaida, which is not a state at all. At the end of his life, Mao Tse-tung contemplated the prospect of Armageddon, which he thought would derive from the ‘principal contradiction’ – that between the Superpowers. His own indomitable optimistic belief – that evolution would start all over again – has not convinced many people as being at all realistic. 99-100 Worsley, Peter (1982)

Lash, Nicholas (1982) *A Matter of Hope: A Theologian's Reflections on the Thought of Karl Marx*, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

- “Man’s freedom from natural necessity must always remain a relative achievement, however high a degree it may reach.” Mészáros, István (1975:155) *Marx's Theory of Alienation*, Merlin. 192

Barbalet, J. (1983) *Marx's Construction of Social Theory*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- man's alienation is a consequence of the nature of civil society, and emancipation from alienation requires the total transformation of civil society, which its democratization is incapable of achieving. 129

Brenkert, George G. (1983) *Marx's Ethics of Freedom*, London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- ...there are three different, though interrelated, aspects of Marx's view of freedom: (a) self-determination requires self-objectification through one's desires, capacities, and talents; (b) one's self-objectification must be a concrete self-objectification with regard to other people and nature; and (c) self-determination is only possible within harmonious, communal relations to others. In short, for Marx freedom is self-determination of a particular kind. 89
- The first aspect of Marx's view of freedom as self-determination is that one is free to the extent that one essentially determines the concrete totality of desires, capacities, and talents, which constitute one's self-objectification. This view, that freedom is characterized as self-determination, the self-determination of one's own objectification, is a plausible view. Stated in non-Marxist terms, it is the view that a person essentially determines for himself what he will be. As we have seen, it is related even to bourgeois freedom. Marx does, however, develop this notion in a unique way. Marx's views on self-objectification are crucial here. Self-objectification, for Marx, signifies that man, given his various desires, capacities, and talents, objectifies or creates himself in his (productive) activities, his relations, and in the systems of thought he constructs by which he understands himself. 90-91

Self-determination, or freedom, then, requires identifying those forces and relations which are amenable to human control and direction – whether they are truly natural forces or relations but still capable of being mastered, or whether they only seem to be natural and as social or historical forces and relations can be mastered. Thus, self-determination implies a knowledge and understanding of the nature of one's life conditions and relations how they arose and how they operate. Self-determination cannot be measured in terms of just any purposes the individual might fix for himself, since the individual might be falsely conscious of himself and his relations. Accordingly, self-determination involves individual control of one's affairs in light of a rational understanding of the situation in which one lives and the nature of the processes underlying that situation. 101

- “Only within the community has each individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions; hence personal freedom becomes possible only within the community. In the previous substitutes for the community, in the state, etc. personal freedom has existed only for the individual who developed under the conditions of the ruling class, and only insofar as they were individuals of this class. The illusory community in which individuals have up till now combined always took on an independent existence in relation to them, and since it was the combination of one class over another, it was at the same time for the oppressed class not only a completely illusory community, but a new fetter as well. In the real community the individuals obtain their freedom in and through their association.” Marx/Engels (1975) *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 78; New York: International Publishers. 116
- ...the notion of treating others as an end, or as a necessary part of one’s own nature – i.e., Marx’s view of community – has much more to do with the harmonization or unity (CECW, 5:81) of desires and interests among people in the first place – the overcoming of the separation and antagonism between individual interests. It concerns the extent to which [a person] in his individual existence is at the same time a social being’ (MECW, 3:296). A community exists, that is, to the extent that the separateness of individual interests is overcome in the self-conscious realization of individuals that their lives as particular beings reflect and are essentially part of, a larger social and rational order.
 “Only when the real, individual man re-absorbs in himself the abstract citizen, and as an individual human being has become a *species-being* in his everyday life, in his particular work, and in his particular situation, only when man has recognized and organized his ‘*forces propres*’ as *social forces*...only then will human emancipation have been accomplished.” (MECW, 3:169) 119

Appelbaum, Richard P. (1988) *Karl Marx*, from Masters of Social Theory Series, Vol. 7, Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.

- “We began with a fact of political economy, the alienation of the worker and his production. We have expressed this fact in *conceptual* terms: *alienated*, *externalized* labor. We have *analyzed this concept*, and thus analyzed a purely economic fact.” [in McClellan, D. (1977:83; emphasis added) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, London: Oxford. 71
- Marx deduces the many interrelated facets of alienation from an analysis of the concept of labor: alienation from the products of one’s labor, from the labor process, from one’s fellow, and ultimately, from human nature itself. Alienation from one’s product results from the fact that what workers produce can be taken by others and used as an instrument of the workers’ own domination. This domination takes several forms. Most obviously, workers produce the very machinery that, in Marx’s view, is then used to enslave them and their children. Labor produces capital, the principal means of domination in capitalistic society. Less obviously, worker’s products in capitalist society take the form of commodities that are bought and sold for a profit. Workers may produce the society’s wealth, yet in order to enjoy the fruits of that wealth they must first buy

- back the very commodities that their labor has produced. Workers in Marx's time were held to starvation wages while they produced a degree of wealth never before seen in history. Finally, the very existence of a commodity society creates additional demands for consumption: Even when our subsistence requirements are satisfied, we become prisoners of a vicious cycle of work and consumerism, slaves to the products we produce. 72
- “The animal is immediately one with his vital activity. It is not distinct from it. They are identical. Man makes his vital activity itself into an object of his will and consciousness...It is true that the animal, too, produces. It builds itself a nest, a dwelling, like the bee, the beaver, the ant, etc. But it only produces what it immediately needs for itself or its offspring; it produces one-sidedly whereas man produces universally; it produces only under the pressure of immediate physical need whereas man produces freely from physical need and only truly produces when he is thus free. [in McClellan, D. (1977:82) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, London: Oxford.] 72
 - Alienation occurs because, under capitalism, this free, vital activity is lost: Workers produce under compulsion, and with no control over the labor process at all. Instead of this being an end in itself, alienated labor “makes [man's] vital activity and essence a mere means to his existence” [in McClellan, D. (1977:82) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, London: Oxford.] The labor process is fractionalized and rationalized, with workers reduced to the status of appendages to machines – to mere human forms of physical capital. Conscious control over the labor process rests with the managers. 73
 - This suggests a third form of alienation: from one's fellow workers. Marx believed human beings to be fundamentally sociable creatures who derive enjoyment from cooperative enterprises oriented toward common, consciously derived goals. Capitalism, Marx argued, denies this essential sociability, pitting worker against worker in the competition for scarce jobs, and worker against capitalist in a continual fight for control over both the labor process and the fruits of the workers' production. 73
 - Under capitalism in particular we become stultified and dull, losing our essential humanity as we are increasingly reduced to the status of machines. To reverse this state of affairs – to restore full human potential – one must abolish the division of labor, and thereby alienation. This cannot be done without first abolishing private property and class society – a conclusion Marx had already drawn in his 1843-1844 *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, when he announced his discovery of the proletariat as the universal “class with radical chains...formed [not] by the poverty produced by natural laws but by artificially induced poverty... [demanding] the negation of private property.” [in McClellan, D. (1977:72-73) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, London: Oxford.] 73
 - In his discussion of *alienation*, Marx returns to one of his earliest themes, now refracted through the prism of 15 years of economic research. It is therefore interesting to note that in key respects his earlier views have changed but little. Much of Marx's discussion recasts his earlier argument from the *Manuscripts* in terms of the labor theory of value (see Chapter 3). While Marx continues to talk of labor objectifying itself in alienated form, he is principally concerned to show

that labor is the source of all value, including capital, and that as a consequence labor produces the conditions for its own domination. Marx first notes that labor produces a *surplus value* (beyond the value of goods necessary for its own subsistence): “The point is that the working time necessary for the satisfaction of absolute necessities leaves some free time (which varies at the various stages of the development of the productive forces), so that surplus produce can thus be created if surplus labor is done.” [in McClellan, D. (1977:369) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, London: Oxford.] 75-76

- This surplus value is then alienated from the worker and used as a means of his or her enslavement: “Now this surplus labor appears objectified as surplus product, and this surplus product, in order to valorize itself as capital, divides itself into a double form: as objective labor conditions (material and instrument) and as subjective labor conditions (food) for the living labor now to be put to work...All the factors which were opposed to the living labor power as forces which were alien, external, and which consumed and utilized the forces which were alien, external, and which consumed and utilized the living labor power under definite conditions which were themselves independent of it, are now established as its own product and result.” [in McClellan, D. (1977:365-366) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, London: Oxford.] 76
- In other words, labor experiences a twofold enslavement at its own hands: First, it is enslaved to the capital produced by an earlier generation of workers; and second, it is enslaved by the need to buy back its subsistence goods – commodities also produced by labor. In Marx’s earlier (1844) formulation, these two forms of enslavement refer to labor’s alienation from both the labor process and its products. 76
- Human nature is thus sociologically constituted in the forces and relations of production, which are themselves historically given, at least in the short run. In Marx’s view of history, the forces of production may gradually change as science and technology evolve, but the relations of production are much more rigid, serving as an “Integument” that binds the forces of production into a relatively small number of different socioeconomic types that Marx refers to as “modes of production.” Each mode of production is characterized by the dominance of a specific productive force, and by a set of social relations that serve initially to develop that force. Principal among these relations are property relations, giving rise to social classes. For any given mode of production there are two primary classes, based on the principal type of property that predominates in subsistence production: One class will control access to (and sometimes ownership of) that property, while the other’s labor will be used to produce wealth from that property. Thus, in any mode of production, one type of property will be of decisive importance in determining the predominant class relations in a two-class model. 93
- In *The German Ideology*, Marx identifies five different stages or modes of production that, in his view at the time, all societies have traversed:
 - Tribal ownership (primitive communism), characterized initially by nomadic hunting and gathering, with the relative absence of private property (except for stone hand tools), and a correspondingly highly

- rudimentary division of labor; this phase ends with the development of settled agriculture, the production of an economic surplus, and the emergence of private property and class structure.
- Classical slavery, with the principal form of property being slaves and the tools they use to operate the mines and farm the lands, and with slaveowners and slaves being the two chief classes
 - Feudalism, in which land serves as the principal form of property, with landlords and serfs (landless peasants legally tied to the property they work for the benefit of the landlord) the predominant classes
 - Capitalism, in which machinery (capital) is the principal form of property, with capitalists (Marx uses *bourgeoisie* interchangeably) and proletarians (workers) the two dominant classes
 - Communism, in which both property and class are abolished, since all of society will hold communal title to the principal means of production. 93-94
- Social change is thus violent and abrupt, and is engineered by the social class that will become dominant in the succeeding stage. Thus, for example, “from the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed” (*Communist Manifesto*; in McClellan, D. (1977:222) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, London: Oxford). And, in a parallel fashion, the proletariat of the capitalist mode of production are seen as the key to the communist society of the future, since it is the first social class whose economic function is highly strategic: “A class is called forth, which has to bear all the burdens of society without enjoying its advantages, which, when ousted from society, is forced into the most decided antagonism to all other classes; a class which forms the majority of all members of society, and from which emanates the consciousness of the necessity of a fundamental revolution, the communist consciousness.....In all revolutions until now the mode of activity always remained unscathed and it was only a question of a different distribution of this activity.” [*The German Ideology*; in McClellan, D. (1977:179) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, London: Oxford]. 95
 - “This ‘alienation’ (to use a term which will be comprehensible to the philosophers) can, of course, only be abolished given two practical premises. For it to become an ‘intolerable’ power, i.e., a power against which men make revolution, it must necessarily have rendered the great mass of humanity ‘propertyless,’ and produced, at the same time, the contradiction of an existing world of wealth and culture...and furthermore, because only with this universal development of productive forces is a universal intercourse between men established, which produces in all nations simultaneously the phenomenon of the ‘propertyless man’...makes each nation dependent on the revolutions of the others, and finally has put world-historical, empirically universal individuals in place of local ones.” [*The German Ideology*; in McClellan, D. (1977:179) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, London: Oxford.] 95-96
 - Marxism is always an ‘applied science’ in that it regards theory and practice as mutually constitutive. In the words of Marx’s last thesis on Feuerbach – engraved on his tombstone – “philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various

ways; the point is to change it.” When one seeks to change the world armed with a theory mantled with the legitimacy of science, the political and human costs of theoretical error can be high indeed. A skeptical attitude toward all proffered claims to truth is not only in the best tradition of scientific inquiry; it is a partial safeguard against potential political disaster. 147

Nielsen, Kai (1989) *Marxism and the Moral Point of View: Morality, Ideology, and Historical Materialism*, Boulder and London: Westview Press.

- “Every member of society, performing a certain part of socially necessary labour, receives a certificate from society to the effect that he has done such and such an amount of work. And with this certificate, he draws from the social stock of means of consumption, a corresponding quantity of products. After deduction of the amount of labour which goes to the public fund, every worker, therefore, receives from society as much as he has given to it.” Lenin, *State and Revolution*, p. 78. 79
- “Historical materialism tenders a sociological theory of morality. According to it, different types of society are characterized by different and distinctive moral codes, values, and norms, and these moral systems change as the societies with which they are linked evolve. Morality is not something immutable and eternal, rather, it is part of “the general process of social, political and intellectual life” – part of the social consciousness – which is conditioned by the general mode of production of material life. It is no accident, but rather a functional requirement, that different forms of moral consciousness accompany different modes of production. Moreover, since all existing societies have been class societies, their moralities have been class moralities in the sense that they sustain and reflect the material relations that constitute the basis of the different forms of class rule. Although the moral outlook of subordinate classes may diverge from that of the ruling class, the perspective of the dominant class tends to prevail throughout society.” William Shaw, “Marxism and Moral Objectivity,” in Nielsen and Patten (eds.) *Marx and Morality*, pp. 19-44. 138

Schweitzer, David and R. Felix Geyer (1989) (Ed.) *Alienation Theories and De-Alienation Strategies: Comparative Perspectives in Philosophy and the Social Sciences*, Middlesex, England: Science Reviews Ltd.

David Schweitzer, “Forward,” pp. 1-12

- ...all theories and concepts of alienation – including the modern scientific, non-essentialist, or value-neutral ones – contain certain underlying evaluative assumptions and more or less hidden ideological commitments concerning (1) the character of a genuinely human life and therefore a normative conception of the way things ideally *ought* to be, (2) the undesirability of the way certain established conditions *are*, and how the gap between (1) and (2) can be reduced or eliminated. One of the objectives of this volume is to begin to readdress this imbalance between theory and practice. 3-4

Mihailo Marković, “Marx’s Critique of Alienation and its Emancipatory Consequences,” pp. 57-77

- Indeed it could be shown that all specific limitations of class societies that Marx speaks about are embraced by the notion of alienation. The basic meaning of the term is that, in virtue of certain unfavorable historical conditions, human beings are *actually not* what they *potentially could be*. This loss of basic human identity, this conflict between actual existence and potential being, is manifested in several ways that Marx analyzed in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*. Thus one dimension of alienation is the loss of control over the products of human activity. Another is the pathological character of social relationships: envy, competitiveness, mistrust, hatred, and hostility replace possible collaboration, reciprocity, meaningful communication, and care about the satisfaction of the needs of other people. The third dimension is the waste of a potential for creative activity. The fourth is the loss of self-identity, an inner split into parts that are alien to each other. A fifth dimension could be added: alienation of man from nature. 66
- According to Marx all that characterizes the relations of production does indeed fall within one of these dimensions. Economic and political domination is a specific case of alienated human relations. The turning of produced goods into commodities governed by market forces, the passing of surplus value from the producer to the capitalist, the accumulation of capital and the concentration of property in a few private hands – all of these are specific forms of the loss of control over human products. (The same holds for such political institutions as the state, the political party.) Labor that has been turned into hated toil, into drudgery that has not use of workers’ capacities for thinking, problem solving, and creativity, is a drastic waste of human capacities for free, creative activity (*praxis*). Both workers and capitalists lose their human identity; the former because they are compelled to sell their bodies, their labor force, and since their true life begins only when the working hours are over; the latter because all their human senses are reduced to one sense of *having*, which eventually imposes on one’s life all kinds of artificial characteristics, roles, and images that do not correspond to one’s real individual powers. Politics and culture in bourgeois society abound in specific forms of self-alienation. Professional politicians and apologetic intellectuals sell their minds and exercise an instrumental rationality, whatever the basic purposes heteronomously imposed may be. Philosophers separate and isolate reason, experience, morality, will, and practice from each other. Artists adapt to the demands of the market and follow fashions that have nothing to do with their creative inclinations. The concept of alienation is so broad and general that it accommodates all of these critical humanistic insights. 66-67 Mihailo Marković, 1989
- It is true that the term “alienation” has had many different meanings in its history. In Aristotle the appropriate Greek terms mean “excluded from community” (ἀλλότριος) or “transfer of property” (ἀπαλλωτριωσις). In Christian theology one is “alienated” from God. The obvious case of *alienus* is Satan. Fallen angels and men who commit sins also belong here. Since Origen, the concept is also used in the sense of a split between a sinful body and an independent free spirit. In Augustine, both meanings are present. Alienation (in the negative sense) is the situation of all human individuals who, as a consequence of original sin, have an

inborn drive towards sensual passions and risk being alienated from God. However – and this is a positive meaning of alienation – one could be saved if one resisted passions and alienated oneself from mortal bodily things. In mystical theology, alienation is liberation from earthly constraints through spiritual ecstasy; therefore it is the precondition of the pure knowledge of supernatural truth. In Meister Eckhart this meaning is preserved: in alienation the soul returns to itself from its enslavement in nature. Aquinas distinguishes three meanings of alienation: (i) a sick state of the spirit, (ii) liberation from the sense, and (iii) a state of *ekstasis*, projection beyond oneself. 67-68

- One more example that illustrates the enormous ambiguity of the concept is, of course, the meaning that Hegel gives to *Entfremdung*. Each objectification of the spiritual in the natural, in the world of objects in space and time, is alienation. Marx is very critical of Hegel's interpretation, especially when, for a while, it became a vogue amongst German professors of philosophy after Hegel's death. One pretended to be radically critical by overcoming alienation. However, from Hegel's point of view, transcendence of alienation is a mere return to the spirit, which becomes conscious of its objectification in nature and human history. A "radical" neo-Hegelian critique would consist merely in the discovery of the rational structure of reality – and of course not everything that existed was rational. Marx separated alienation from the objectification implicit in all political activity. Only that practice produces an alienated reality which is inhuman, and which wastes human potential. Therefore, in order to abolish alienation it is not enough to establish how reason is or could be embodied in reality; it is necessary to practically abolish inhuman structures, institutions, and social relations. 68
- The most serious difficulty concerning the need for the concept of alienation is its apparent presupposition of a static and normative idea of human nature. It looks as if something must first *be* in order to *be alienated*. That is how it was in all the interpretations of alienation before Marx. A citizen first belonged to a community, then he was alienated from it. A piece of property first belonged to an owner, then it was alienated from him. Adam and Eve first lived close to God, then they were rejected and alienated from Him. In Hegel alienation is preceded by a full logical development of the Absolute spirit, but this precedence is logical, not temporal. The logical structure of the Absolute spirit expressed in Kantian language, is the condition of the possibility of its alienation in nature and history. Many followers of Marx have believed that his idea of alienation presupposes forms of life (in primitive communism) in which a human essence was fully realized before alienation occurred (in class society). This idealization of a primitive collective community is too naïve to be seriously considered. Ollman in his monograph on alienation went to the other extreme. Alienation is seen as absence of unalienation (!) and unalienation is the life man leads in the future, in communism. This is a very crude and misleading formulation of a sound idea: that which we are alienated from is a *human possibility* which is wasted in the present, but could be realized in the future. Now, if this possibility is a set of individual dispositions that is unique for each person, then the meaning of alienation would be different in each case;

“alienation” would never be a communicable social concept but merely a word in a private language (if something like that is at all possible). Again if alienation is relative to the particular dispositions of a group, its meaning would vary from group to group and would lack any identity. What is designated, then, using the term “alienation”, is a set of universal human dispositions. The assumption here is that every human individual has certain characteristic capacities, and can bring them to life if the appropriate conditions obtain. Such capacities include communicating in symbols (more specifically speaking a language), conceptual thinking in accordance with some logical rules, making choices that are not mechanically determined, acting in new ways, producing ever new objects, living in stable, harmonious communities governed by consciously accepted rules; they involve a sense of identity and a consciousness of one’s past, of the negative in reality and in oneself, of future projects. 69-70

- ...there are forms of alienation which could in principle be transcended if future generations of human beings choose to act accordingly. Since there is no guarantee of anything in history, those possibilities might be wasted. Humanity might end up in all kinds of “mixed societies”. True production for human needs and a fully developed democracy of councils might never be realized. Some forms of alienation might stay with us indefinitely, since there is no natural or historical *logos* according to which human beings would “inevitably” bring to life their optimal possibilities. 76
- ...there are subjective psychological aspects of human relations which could be characterized as alienation, and whose complete disappearance we can hardly imagine. Two persons in friendship or love may become alienated from each other. Any object in which we externalize our thoughts and feelings may in various ways become alienated from us. Even in a fully self-governed society an elected delegate could temporarily become alienated from the community that chose him. However, these forms of alienation cannot be established, institutionalized, and turned into legitimate public structures that determine our lives. That is what Marx had in mind when he characterized our epoch as the epoch of transition from alienated to emancipated humankind. 76

Peffer, R. G. (1990) *Marxism, Morality, and Social Justice*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- By an “adequate” moral and social theory I mean one that is based on a correct set of empirical, social-scientific theories and on an adequate (i.e., correct) moral theory. By an “adequate” or “correct” moral theory I mean one that is most in wide reflective equilibrium with our considered moral judgments. (Whether there is one unique theory that is in wide reflective equilibrium with everyone’s judgments or whether morality is in some sense relative is discussed in chapter 7.) 3
- Marx’s theory of freedom can be rationally reconstructed as follows: (1) freedom is essentially the opportunity for self-determination and is based, in the final analysis, on the moral value of autonomy; (2) self-determination entails both negative freedom (i.e., freedom from the undue interference of others) and positive freedom (i.e., the opportunity to determine one’s own life to as great an

- extent as is compatible with a like opportunity for all); and (3) the opportunity to determine one's own life entails both (a) the right to equal participation in all social decision-making processes that affect one's life and (b) the right of equal access to the means of self-realization. 123
- By “self-determination” philosophers have meant either (1) determination of one's self in accordance with one's essential nature (as the sort of being one happens to be) or (2) the determination of one's self in accordance with the laws (or imperatives or plans) one legislates or chooses for one's self. 123
 - “Self-determination...is the free and conscious shaping of the *conditions* of one's life, which makes possible the further free and conscious shaping of *oneself* through the development of this or that specific capacity; it is what has sometimes been called positive freedom, being able *to do* things—those things, including effecting one's will upon circumstances, that accord with self-consciously arrived at choices. Put in these terms...the capacity for self-determination or positive freedom is fundamental in that without it one is not in a position to deliberately achieve or even aim at anything else.” Aronovitch, Hilliard, “Marxian Morality,” *CJP*, vol. 10 no. 3 (Sept. 1980), p. 366. 129
 - Self-determination, the free and consciously directed shaping of the conditions of one's life, obviously connotes freedom, and individual freedom, of a certain basic kind. The kind counts for very much. What is especially important is that freedom is specified not just in terms of the absence of coercion but in the more positive terms of actually being able to effect one's will, and that circumstances are not treated as fixed things to which I must adapt my will and within which I must find some residual area of choice: rather, my freedom on this conception is to be measured in crucial part by the extent to which I can effect my will upon them.” Aronovitch, Hilliard, “Marxian Morality,” *CJP*, vol. 10 no. 3 (Sept. 1980), p. 370-371. 129-130
 - Marx refused to put forward an explicit moral theory—something agreed to by all sides. What is the difference between (1) condemning a social system on the grounds that it “starves, enslaves and alienates people,” that it “frustrates human self-actualization, prosperity, and other nonmoral goods,” without using the word “moral” or having a philosophical theory about the relation of the moral and non-moral good, and (2) condemning a social system on precisely the same grounds while making explicit use of this term or having an explicit theory relating the moral and nonmoral good? 183

Geyer, Felix and Walter R. Heinz, (1992) (eds.) *Alienation, Society and the Individual: Continuity and Change in Theory and Research*, New Brunswick, USA and London, UK: Transaction Publishers.

Felix Geyer and Walter R. Heinz, “Introduction,” pp. xi-xxxiii

- Schacht refuses to sociologize the idea of self-alienation, and instead reminds us of the philosophical task to reflect about the quality of human life. He uses self-alienation as a yardstick for defining the scope of unrealized or repressed human possibilities, and does so by creating alternative visions of how to improve the quality of social life and promote self-realization. xiii

- Marx's theory of alienation is organized around his fourfold concept of alienated labor: people are alienated from the product of their labor, from the act of production, from themselves (their "essence" or "species character"), and from other people. Alienated labor is caused by private ownership and control of the means of production, the social division of labor, and market commodity exchange. Self-alienation was an important dimension for Marx, even though he abandoned the metaphysical, essentialist ideas associated with it originally. xv
- Communitarian theories of alienation depart from the assumption that humans are innately social, and need social identities to flourish (cf. Hegel's citizenship as discussed by Schacht). De-alienation strategies, from this perspective, tend to be socially conservative. Alienation is caused by a lack of a sense of what one is, or a sense of social exclusion, or the absence of a sense of possession toward one's community or work place. Xvi
- Three principal and partially overlapping aspects of work alienation can be identified:
 - 1) *Power-related*: a sense of powerlessness and lack of autonomy; the remedy lies in making the workplace less hierarchical and expanding the scope for worker self-determination;
 - 2) *Technology-related*: work processes that are intrinsically unsatisfying and therefore "self-estranging"; in this case, the remedy lies in adopting technologies conducive to the development and exercise of worker skills;
 - 3) *Isolation-related*: feelings of social isolation and anomie; here, the remedy lies in expanding the scope of small group interactions and developing the bases of identification with and commitment to the work group and the enterprise. xxiii-xxiv
- The *demand* for less alienating jobs increases with level of education (a taste-changing process which in turn increases the importance of aesthetic experience in work), with higher income or standard of living (which makes room for "higher-order needs"), and when the worker has to sacrifice less in terms of salary and other job benefits. The *supply* of less alienating work increases with declining real resource costs; with the presence of institutional conditions that increase the cost of alternative methods of attracting workers and increasing their work motivation; and in capitalist employment relationships, with the competitiveness of product markets, since inefficient labor designs can persist where product market competition or competition for workers is weak. It generally decreases when the hierarchical concentration of power in existing organizations of production is higher. Xxiv

David Schweitzer, "Marxist Theories of Alienation and Reification: The Response to Capitalism, State Socialism and the Advent of Postmodernity," pp. 27-52

- Emancipation and the overcoming of alienation at its roots in private property is at once a radical precondition for de-alienation and the emancipation of all people in all spheres of human life in the existing world.. De-alienation is a world-historical process requiring a total solution to a totalizing, world-embracing problem. It involves a dynamic praxis-centered synthesis of emancipatory consciousness and revolutionary action. The transformation of consciousness as a

cognitive process is necessarily connected with the human need for a practical transformation of the existing material world. The envisaged future of society entails a dialectical progression towards a new world of humanism, where “existence” is brought into harmony with “essence” and alienation is overcome. 41

- De-alienation does not necessarily follow from the transformation of private property into state property. The party and the state under Soviet-type socialism lost sight of the fundamental humanistic concerns which gave original impetus to the revolution and to plans for socialist development. New or modified forms of alienation and reification surfaced, and the state re-emerged as a new repressive force. 42

Harris, Richard L. (1992) *Marxism, Socialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Boulder/San Francisco/Oxford: Westview Press.

- “*Marxism has penetrated so profoundly into our history that, in some way or other, at times without realizing it, we are all Marxists. Our moral judgements and categories, our ideas of the future, our opinions about the present or about justice, peace and war, everything – including our negations of Marxism – is impregnated with Marxism. It is now part of our intellectual lifeblood and our moral sensibility.*” Octavio Paz 1
- “Marxism is the contemporary theoretical tradition that – whatever its limitations – confronts organized social dominance, analyzes it in dynamic rather than static terms, identifies social forces that systematically shape social imperatives, and seeks to explain human freedom both within and against history. It confronts class, which is real. It offers both a critique of the inevitability and inner coherence of social injustice and a theory of the necessity and possibilities of change.” MacKinnon, Catherine (1989:ix) *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1-2
- “Marxism allows us to think of democracy not simply as a cultural-ideological or political-institutional state, but as an integral process which involves the social base as well: the productive forces and their development and the social relations of production. As a consequence, we begin to think of *integral democracy* as *socialism* – as a mode of production and as ‘intellectual and moral reform’ – as a historical project of constructing a new civilization.” Vasconi, Tomás (1990:34) “Democracy and Socialism in Latin America,” *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Spring); 25-38. 208

Hann, C. M. (1993) (ed.) *Socialism: Ideals, Ideologies, and Local Practice*, London and New York: Routledge.

Pat Caplan, “Socialism from Above in Tanzania: The View from Below,” pp. 77-91

- In a socialist Tanzania, then, our agricultural organization would be predominantly that of cooperatives living and working for the good of all. This means that most of our farming would be done by groups of people who live as a community and work as a community. ...A nation of such village communities would be a socialist nation. For the essential element in them would be equality

of all members of the community, and the members' self-government in all matters which concerned only their own affairs.

...Yet socialist communities cannot be established by compulsion...For a farmer may well be suspicious of the Government official or Party leader who comes to him and says, 'Do this'; he will be more like to listen to the one who says 'This is a good thing to do for the following reasons and I am myself participating with my friends in doing it'....[I]t is vital that whatever encouragement Government and TANU give to this type of scheme, they must not try to run it; they must help the people to run it themselves.

...What is here being proposed is that we in Tanzania should move from being a nation of individual peasant producers who are gradually adopting the incentives and the ethics of the capitalist system. Instead we should gradually become a nation of ujamaa villages where the people cooperate directly in small groups and where these small groups cooperate together for joint enterprises." Nyerere, J.K. (1968: 351-365) "The Arusha Declaration, 1967" and 'Ujamaa Vijijini: Socialism and Rural Development 1967' both in Nyerere *Freedom and Socialism: Uhuru na Ujamaa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. 83

McLellan, D. (1995) *The Thought of Karl Marx*, London: Papermac.
The Correspondence of 1843

- Man must recognize his own forces as social forces, organize them and thus no longer separate social forces from himself in the form of political forces. Only when this has been achieved will human emancipation be completed. 19

Paris Manuscripts

- That the necessary result of competition is the accumulation of capital in a few hands, and thus a more terrible restoration of monopoly; and that finally the distinction between capitalist and landlord, and that between peasant and industrial worker disappears and the whole of society must fall apart into the two classes of the property owners and the propertyless workers. 23
- Supposing that we have produced in a human manner; each of us would in his production have doubly affirmed himself and his fellow men. I would have: (1) objectified in my production my individuality and its peculiarity and thus both in my activity enjoys an individual expression of my life and also I looking at the object have had the individual pleasure of realizing my personality was objective, visible to the senses and thus a power raised beyond all doubt. (2) In your enjoyment or use of my product I would have had the direct enjoyment of realizing that I had both satisfied a human need by my work and also objectified the human essence and therefore fashioned for another human being the object that met his need. (3) I would have been for you the mediator between you and the species and thus been acknowledged and felt by you as a completion of your own essence and a necessary part of yourself and have thus realized that I am confirmed both in your thought and in your love. (4) In my expression of my life I

- would have fashioned your expression of your life, and thus in my own activity have realized my own essence, my human, my communal essence. (23)
- It [Communism] is the genuine solution of the antagonism between man and nature and between man and man. (24)

On the Jewish Question, 1843-4

- Revolution in general - the overthrow of the existing power and dissolution of previous relationships - is a political act. Socialism cannot be realized without a revolution. But when its organizing activity begins, when its peculiar aims, its soul comes forward, then socialism casts aside its political cloak. 25
- Man must recognize his own forces as social forces, organize them and thus no longer separate social forces from himself in the form of political forces. Only when this has been achieved will human emancipation be completed. (215)
- From the political point of view the state and any organization of society are not two distinct things. The state is the organization of society. In so far as the state admits the existence of social abuses, it seeks their origin either in natural laws that no human power can control or in the private sector which is independent of it or in the inadequacy of the administration that depends on the state...
- The state cannot abolish the contradiction which exists between the role and good intentions of the administration on the one hand and the means at its disposal on the other, without abolishing itself, for it rests on this contradiction. It rests on the contrast between public and private life, on the contrast between general and particular interests. The administration must therefore limit itself to a formal and negative activity, for its power ceases just where civil life and work begin.

Critical notes on 'The King of Prussia and Social Reform,' 1844

- If the modern state wished to do away with the impotence of its administration, it would have to do away with the contemporary private sphere for it only exists in contrast to the private sphere. 215

1844 Manuscripts

- Communism is completed naturalism is humanism and as completed humanism is naturalism. It is the genuine solution of the antagonism between man and nature and between man and man. It is the true solution of the struggle between an essence, between objectification and self-affirmation, between freedom and necessity, between individual and species. It is the solution to the riddle of history and knows itself to be this solution. 242

The Holy Family, 1844-5

- History...does not use man to realize its own ends, as though it were a particular person: it is merely the activity of men pursuing his own objectives. 31

- Ideas never lead beyond the established situation, the only lead beyond the ideas of the established situation. Ideas can accomplish absolutely nothing. To become real, ideas require men who apply a practical force. (")
- If man is by nature social, then he develops his true nature only in society and the power and the power of his nature must be measured not by the power of the single individual but by the power of society. (" , 32)
- If correctly understood interest is the principle of all morals, man's private interest must be made to coincide with the interest of humanity. (" , 126)
- the working class would set up 'an association which excludes class division and which will have no political power properly speaking'. (240)

The German ideology, 1946

- He [man] begins to distinguish himself from the animal the moment he begins to produce his means of subsistence, a step required by his physical organization. By producing food, man indirectly produces his material life itself. 33
- What they [individuals] are, therefore, coincides with what they produce, and how they produce. The nature of individuals thus depends on the material conditions which determine their production. ("34).
- that not criticism but revolution is the driving force of history. (" , 128)
- The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the material intercourse of men, the language of real life.
- Men, developing their material production and their material intercourse, alter, along with their actual world also their thinking and the products of their thinking. (" , 152)
- ...definite individuals who are productively active in a specific way enter into these definite social and political relations. Empirical observation must in each separate instance bring out empirically, and without any mystification and speculation, the connection of the social and political structure with production. The social structure and the state continually evolve out of the life process of definite individuals, individuals...as they work, produce materially, and act under definite material limitations, presuppositions, and conditions independent of their work. (209)
- The material life of individuals, which by no means depends merely on their 'will', their mode of production and form of intercourse, which mutually determine each other - this is the real basis of the State and remains so at all the stages at which division of labor and private property are still necessary, quite independently of the will of individuals. (160)
- Each new class which puts itself in place of the one ruling before it, is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aims, to represent its interest as the common interest of all the members of society...The class making a revolution appears from the very start...not as a class but as a representative of the whole society. (182)

- The extension of trade, the establishment of communications, led the separate towns to get to know other towns, which had asserted the same interests in the struggle with the same antagonist. (189)
- In all revolutions up till now the mode of activity always remained unscathed and it was a question of a different distribution of this activity, a new distribution of labor to other persons, whilst communist revolution is directed against the preceding *mode* of activity, does away with *labor*, and abolishes the rule of all classes with the classes themselves, because it is carried through by the class which no longer counts as a class in society, is not recognized as a class, as is in itself the expression of the dissolution of all classes, nationalities, etc., within present society; and both for the production on a mass scale of this Communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, in a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew. (229)
- In revolutionary activity, the changing of oneself coincides with the changing of circumstances. (225)
- The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-changing can be conceived and rationally understood only as *revolutionary practice*. (230)

The Poverty of Philosophy, 1847

- Are men free to choose this or that form of society for themselves? By no means. 35
- Social relations are intimately bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production, and in changing their mode of production, their manner of making a living, they change all their social relations. (" , 36)
- Because of the simple fact that every succeeding generation finds itself in possession of the productive forces acquired by the previous generation, which serve it as the raw material for new production, a coherence arises in human history, a history of humanity which takes shape is all the more a history of humanity as the productive forces of man and therefore his social relations have been more developed. (" , 129)

Communist Manifesto, 1848

- In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. 45
- The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles.
- Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to

- one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of contending classes. (opening words).
- Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and his social life?
 - What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class. (123)
 - The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. (" , 46)
 - The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. (218)
 - The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being exploded into the air. (231)
 - When in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. (239)

Address to the communist League, 1850

- But they (the proletariat) themselves must do the utmost for their final victory, by clarifying their minds as to what their class interests are... 47

The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, 1852

- In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class. 192
- Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. (232)

Marx to Weydemeyer, 1852

- What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the *existence of classes* is only bound up with *particular historical phases in the development of production*, (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition of the *abolition of all classes* and to a *classless society*. 193

Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy, 1857

- ...is not that production, distribution, exchange and consumption are all identical, but that they are all members of one entity, different aspects of one unit. 65

Grundrisse, 1857

- The assertion that free competition is the final form of the development of productive forces, and thus of human freedom, means only that the domination of the middle class is the end of the world's history... 68
- capital has pushed beyond national boundaries and prejudices, beyond deification of nature and the inherited self-sufficient satisfaction of existing needs confined within well defined bounds, and the reproduction of the traditional way of life. It is destructive of all of this, and permanently revolutionary, tearing down all obstacles that impede the development of productive forces, the expansion of needs, the diversity of production and the exploitation and exchange of natural and intellectual forces. ("69)
- ...an altered means of distribution will derive from an altered new basis of production emerging from the historical process. ("72)

Preface to A critique of Political Economy, 1859

- In broad outlines Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production - antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from the social conditions of life of the individuals; at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation brings, therefore, the prehistory of human society to a close. 164
- In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these productive relations constitutes the economic structure of society - the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or - what is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed.
- No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have developed, and the new higher relations of production never

appear before the conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society...the problem itself only arises when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or at least in the process of their formation. (233)

Theories of Surplus Value, 1862

- from the specific form of material production arises in the first place a specific structure of society, in the second place a specific relation of men to nature. Their State and their spiritual outlook is determined by both. Therefore also the kind of their spiritual production. 165

Inaugural Address, 1864

- like slave labor, like serf labor, hired labor is but a transitory and inferior form, destined to disappear before associated labor plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind and a joyous heart. 178
- that the emancipation of the working class must be conquered by the working class themselves...that the economic subjugation of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of labor...lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms of social misery, mental degradation and political dependence. That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means. That all efforts aiming at this great end have hitherto failed from want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries....for these means the undersigned...have taken the steps necessary for founding the International Working Men's Association. (I. Berlin, 185)

Results of the Immediate Process of Production, 1865

- Thus a total economic revolution is taking place. On the one hand, this process creates first of all the real conditions of the domination of capital over work, perfects them and gives them an adequate form; on the other hand it brings to birth, within the productive forces of labor and the conditions of production and circulation developed at the expense of the workers, the real conditions of a new mode of production, abolishing the antagonistic form of the capitalist mode of production and thus creating the material basis of a new social life, a new type of society. 234

Capital I, 1867

- Labor is, in the first place, a process in which both man and Nature participate, and in which man of his own accord starts, regulates and controls the material reactions between himself and Nature...by thus acting on the external world and changing it, he at the same time changes his own nature. He develops his slumbering powers and compels them to act in obedience to his sway. 170

- The mode of this distribution will vary with the productive organization of the community, and the degree of historical development attained by the producers. (178)
- - It is not the articles made, but how they made, and by what instruments, that enables us to distinguish different economical epochs. 180
- Wherever a part of society possesses a monopoly of the means of production, the worker, free or unfree, must add to the labor necessary for his own maintenance an extra quality of labor in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owner of the means of production. (1976:344 Penguin)

Capital II, 1869

- The last cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces in such a way that only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit. 88
- Trade always has, to a greater or lesser degree, a solvent effect on the pre-existing organizations of production, which in all their various forms are principally oriented to use-value. But how far it leads to the dissolution of the old mode of production depends first and foremost on the solidity and inner articulation of this mode of production itself. And what comes out of this process of dissolution, i.e. what new mode of production arises in place of the old, does not depend on trade, but rather in the character of the old mode of production itself. (1981:449 Penguin)

Drafts for The Civil War in France, 1871

- The Commune does not do away with the class struggles, through which the working classes strive to the abolition of all classes and, therefore, of all class rule (because it does not represent a peculiar interest. It represents the liberation of 'labor', that is the fundamental and natural condition of individual and social life which only by usurpation, fraud and artificial contrivances can be shifted from the few upon the many), but it affords the rational medium in which that class struggle can run through its different phases in the most rational and human way. It could start violent reactions and as violent revolutions. It begins the *emancipation of labor* - its great work of the state parasites, by cutting away the springs which sacrifice a immense portion of the national produce to the feeding of the state monster on the one side, by doing, on the other, the real work of administration, local and national, for workingmen's wages. It begins therefore with an immense saving, with economical reform as well as political transformation. 194
- great strides may be made at once through the communal form of political organization and that the time has come to begin that movement for themselves and mankind. 235

The Alleged Splits in the International, 1872

- By anarchy all socialists understand this: once the aim of the proletariat movement, the abolition of classes, is attained...the state power disappears and governmental functions are transformed into simple administrative functions. 220

Speech in Amsterdam, 1872

- in most of the countries on the Continent, it is force that must be the lever of our revolutions; it is to force that it will be necessary to appeal for a time in order to establish the reign of labor. 234

Marx on Bakunin, 1875

- Where the mass of the peasants are still owners of private property, where they even form a more or less important majority of the population, as they do in the states of the Western European continent, they have not yet disappeared and been replaced by agricultural wage laborers, as in England; in this cases the following situation arises: either the peasantry hinders every workers' revolution and causes it to fail, as it has done in France up till now; or the proletariat (for the landowning peasant does not belong to the proletariat and even when his own position causes him to belong to it, he does not *think* to belong to it) must as a government inaugurate measures which directly improve the situation of the peasant and which thus win him for the revolution; measures which in essence facilitate the transition from private to collective property in land so that the peasant himself is converted for economic reasons; the proletariat must not, however, come into open collision with peasantry by, for example, proclaiming the abolition of inheritance or the abolition of property; this latter is only possible where the capitalist landlord has expropriated the peasant and the real worker of the land is just as much a proletarian wage laborer as the city worker, and thus has directly the same interests. 235

Critique of the Gotha Programme, 1875

- What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally, and intellectually, still stamped with the birth marks of he old society from whose womb it emerges. 249

Circular Letter, 1879

- For almost forty years we have stressed the class struggle as the immediate driving riving power of history, and in particular the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat as the great lever of the modern social revolution; it is, therefore, impossible for us to co-operate with people who wish to expunge this class struggle from the movement. 205

From McLellan (1995)

- Thus the way men produced their means of subsistence conditioned their whole social, political and intellectual life. At a certain stage in their evolution the forces of production would develop beyond the relations of production and these would act as a fetter. Such a stage inaugurated a period of social revolution. These productive forces had to develop to the fullest extent possible under the existing relations of production before the old social order would perish. (74)
- the nature of economic crises...he [Marx] traced to the basic contradiction between the necessity of a capitalist economy to expand its production without taking into account the level of consumption that alone could make it feasible.
- In all fields the common idea was that man had forfeited to someone or something what was essential to his nature - principally to be in control of his own activities, to be the initiator of the historical process. In the different forms of alienation some other entity obtained what was proper to man. P.108
- It is man's nature, according to Marx in the Paris Manuscripts, to be constantly developing, in co-operation with other men, himself and the world about him. 110
- the exploitation and inequality which were inherent in the relations of production were concealed by the appearance of free exchange in the sphere of circulation, concentration on which gave rise to the typically capitalist ideology of freedom, equality and so forth. (155)
- Marx thought that revolutions had occurred when one class had been able to identify its own interest with those of society as a whole. (182)
- Class, like the state or alienation, was a transitory phenomena portrayed to its fullest extent in capitalist society. (182)
- the development of capitalist society was rapidly simplifying the situation by producing two and only two classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat. (183)
- Thus the criterion for belonging to a class is one's position in the prevailing mode of production. (183)
- What he [Marx] did claim was that the gap in resources between those who owned the means of production and those who did not would widen. (183)
- These groups [the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants] seem to render the neat division of the communist manifesto inapplicable, for these two groups obviously merge into bourgeoisie and the proletariat according to how many workers they employ or how much land they own. (184)
- Marx thought that politically the peasants were a reactionary group and was unwilling to group them with the urban proletariat: the most recent peasant movements in Western Europe had had feudal or monarchist inclinations. (184)
- Thus Marx's definition of class seems to vary greatly, not only with the development of his thought but even within the same period. Marx often uses the term, in common with the usage of his time, as a synonym for faction or group. (185)
- A class always viewed its own interests as opposed to those of other groups and had to be organized politically to fight for them. (185)
- Thus Marx has many criteria for the application for the term 'class' and not all of them apply all the time. The two chief criteria are relationship to the prevailing

- mode of production and a group's consciousness of itself as a class with its attendant political organization. (186)
- Marx set out to show that it was an illusion to suppose that the state had a universal character capable of harmonizing the discordant elements of civil society and uniting them on a higher level. (207)
 - The form of government that Marx recommended, in contrast to Hegel, was one where there was no separation between civil society and the state and which directly corresponded to the 'essence of socialized man.' (207)
 - Thus Marx viewed the state, like religion, as a statement of man's ideal aims and also a compensation for their lack of realization. (208)
 - In the course of history each method of production gave rise to a typical political organization furthering the interests of the dominant class. (209)
 - This essence is communal creativity, the fact that man controls the process of his self creation and his relationship to nature, all of which is part of Marx's concept of work. In the future communist society everyone will be a worker: 'with labor emancipated every man becomes a working man, and productive labor ceases to be class attribute. 242
 - For according to Marx, communism sat on the shoulders of capitalism and you cannot arrive at communism unless you had gone through that particular purgatory. (253)
 - The collapse of Communism has taken with it three important doctrines. The first is that of dialectical materialism which offered a total interpretation of the world in a metaphysical, philosophical sense: laws governed everything from the change of quantity to quality in matter right up to the date of the next revolution. The all encompassing metaphysic based upon a crude materialistic interpretation of the world was never taken terribly seriously by most thinking people. But nevertheless it was something which - as rather more simplistic versions of religion have been - was widely propagated and presumably accepted by millions of people. 253
 - any reform which relies either on moral rhetoric or on the law simply, or in the widening of political rights alone is unlikely to get down to the basis of the problem: the lack of economic power of a large proportion of individuals in society and the atomization and anomie that capitalism produces and reproduces. 254
 - Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given, and transmitted from the past. (Marx, 139)
 - the dialectic "includes in its comprehension and affirmative recognition of the existing state of things at the same time also the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking-up; it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature no less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary. (Wrote in 1872, 140)
 - The disappearance of the state as such is reserved for the time when 'all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly', and the exercise of 'political' power is no longer necessitated by economic pressure. 240

Curtis, Michael (1997) (Ed.) *Marxism: The Inter Dialogues*, Second Ed., New Brunswick, U.S.A. and London, U.K.: Transaction Publishers.

Richard Lowenthal, "The Points of the Compass," pp. 63-74

- An underdeveloped country is not one whose people suffer from an innate, biological lack of aptitude for industry and modern organization; nor is it one, as the opposite legend maintains, whose people have been forcibly prevented from developing these aptitudes by foreign imperialist rule. An underdeveloped country is one whose traditional society did not allow the growth of sufficiently strong independent middle classes – the classes which in the West were the main promoters of the accumulation of capital, the creation of industrial enterprise, and the growth of a spirit of rational industrial discipline. 66

Michael Curtis, "The Materialist Conception of History," pp. 195-196

- Many critics of Marxism have equated the materialist conception with historicism – the conviction that the laws of historical development are known and that future developments can be predicted – or with determinism, the belief that the process of history takes an inevitable direction. Karl Popper has even referred to Marxism as “the purest, the most developed, and the most dangerous form of historicism.” 196

Kiely, Ray and Phil Marfleet (1998) (eds.) *Globalisation and the Third World*, London and New York: Routledge.

Ray Kiely, "Introduction: Globalisation, (post-)Modernity and the Third World," pp. 1-22

- Globalisation refers to a world in which societies, cultures, politics and economies have, in some sense come closer together. According to Giddens (1990:64), the concept can be defined as ‘the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa’. Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge: Polity. 3
- But the concept does not just refer to global interconnectedness. Globalisation ‘is best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distancing. Globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations “at a distance” with local contextualities.’ [Giddens, A. (1991:21) *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Cambridge: Polity.] David Harvey (1989: 240), too, refers to the fact that globalization describes our changing experience of time and space, or ‘time-space compression’. These definitions therefore refer to two key factors. First, more and more parts of the world are drawn into a global system and so are affected by what happens elsewhere. I return to this point below. Second, there is a sense that we know what is happening elsewhere more quickly which in turn affects our sense of space and place. 3
- “Globalisation is, in fact, also associated with new dynamics of *re-localisation*. It is about the achievement of a new global-local nexus, about new and intricate

- relations between global space and local space.” Morley, D. and Robins, K. (1995: 116) *Spaces of Identity*, London: Routledge. 4
- “...the networks of social relationships stretched across space are not simply uneven in their global reach, they also work through *geographical difference and diversity*. Geography matters in this instance, precisely because global relations construct unevenness in their wake *and* operate through the pattern of uneven development laid down.” Allen, J. and Hamnett, C. (1995b: 235) “Uneven Worlds,” in J. Allen and C. Hamnett (eds.) *A Shrinking World? Global Unevenness and Inequality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 234-252. 4
 - “‘Genuine’ capitalist development is ruled out by this theory, but this can be done only by having an implicit ‘model’ of what constitutes ‘normal’ capitalist development. In this sense the theory is a ‘mirror image’ of evolutionary theories, where ‘inevitable development’ in the case of modernization is replaced by ‘inevitable stagnation or distortion’ in underdevelopment and dependency.” Kiely, R. (1995:52) *Sociology and Development: The Impasse and Beyond*, London: UCL Press. 8

Ray Kiely, “*The Crisis of Global Development*,” pp. 23-43

- “More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people...I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life...What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing...Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.” Cited in Escobar, A. (1995a: 3) *Encountering Development*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. 25

Suzanne Biggs, “*The Biodiversity Convention and Global Sustainable Development*,” pp. 113-139

- The World commission on Environment and Development claimed that “technology and social organization can both be managed and improved to make way for a new era of economic growth...that humanity has the ability to make development sustainable...through a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs...which needs...include meeting the essential needs of the world’s poor through sustained growth...and effective citizen participation.” World Commission on Environment and Development (1987:8) 115
- The pluralist position separating issues of the environment/conservation, and of development, has been severely weakened. It is now impossible for those concerned about sustainable development to talk about biodiversity without talking about biotechnology. And what are of critical importance for sustainable

development are the economic and political structures within which scientific innovations are emerging. Scientific innovations in the current state of uneven development and in the current neo-liberal economic climate (see Chapter 1) could not only control nature but place it under the control of the West, at the expense of developing countries. An environmental initiative instigated by Northern conservation movements is unlikely to be able to resolve the impending economic and political restructuring of the food and pharmaceutical corporations in favor of sustainable development. 121-122

Phil Marfleet, "Globalisation and Religious Activism," pp. 185-215

- For theorists of globalization the increased importance of religion is consistent with socio-cultural change at a world level. Indeed, globalization and religion are said to be intimately connected: in globalization theory, religious resurgence is an important expression of a *unified* world. With nation-states much weakened, it is argued, supranational or transnational ideas and institutions have greatly increased in influence. As part of this process the major world religions have enjoyed an opportunity to make their world-encompassing views more relevant. 186

Engels, F. (1877) *Anti-Duhring: Selected Works*

- But when we see that the three classes of modern society, the feudal aristocracy, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, each have their special morality, we can only draw the one conclusion, that men, consciously or unconsciously, derive their moral ideas in the last resort from the practical relations on which their class position is based - from the economic relations in which they carry on production and exchange. 248
- We maintain on the contrary that all former moral theories are the product, in the last analysis, of the economic stage which society had reached at that particular epoch. 249
- A really human morality which transcends class antagonism and their legacies in thought becomes possible only at a stage of society which has not only overcome class contradictions but has even forgotten them in practical life. 249
- Before the original conception of relative equality could lead to the conclusion that men should have equal rights in the state and in society, before this conclusion could appear to be something even natural and self-evident, however, thousands of years had to pass and did pass. 250
- The idea of equality, therefore, both in its bourgeois and its proletarian form, is itself a historical product, the creation of which required definite historical conditions which in turn themselves presuppose a long previous historical development. 254
- The more the products of the commune assumed the commodity form, that is, the less they were produced for their producers' own use, and the more for the purpose of exchange, the more the primitive natural division of labor was replaced by exchange also within the commune, the more inequality developed in the property of the individual members of the commune, the more deeply was the ancient common ownership of the land undermined, and the more rapidly the

- commune developed towards its dissolution and transformation into a village of small peasants. 267
- all political power is originally based on an economic, social function, and increases in proportion as the members of society, through the dissolution of the primitive community, become transformed into private producers, and thus become more and more separated from the administrators of the general functions of society. 277
 - The materialist conception of history starts from the principle that production, and with production the exchange of its products, is the basis of every social order. 279
 - Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i.e., on the side of the class that *produces its own product in the form of capital*. 289
 - The expansion of the market cannot keep pace with the expansion of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and, as it can yield no solution so long as it does not burst the capitalist mode of production itself, it becomes periodic. 289
 - the mode of production rebels against the mode of exchange; the productive forces rebel against the mode of production, which they have outgrown. 290

Lenin, V. *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*

- If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism We should have to say that the imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism. 689
- Imperialism is capitalism in the stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has taken shape; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world by the international trusts has begun, and in which the partition of all the territory of the earth by the greatest capitalist countries has been completed. 690
- [Kautsky] "Imperialism is a product of highly developed industrial capitalism. It consists in the striving of every industrialist capitalist nation to bring under its control and to annex larger and larger *agrarian* regions, irrespective of what nations inhabit them." 691
- the most deep rooted economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly. 700
- [Sartorius von Waltershausen] The creditor is more firmly tied to the debtor than the seller is to the buyer. 702

Berlin, I. (1963) *Karl Marx: His Life and Environment*, New York: Time.

- He [Marx] concluded that the history of society is the history of man seeking to attain to mastery of himself and of the external world by means of his creative labor. 6
- progress is constituted by the succession of victories of one class over the other, and that man alone is rational who identifies himself with the progressive class in his society, either, if need be, by deliberately abandoning his past and allying

- himself with it, or if history has already placed him there, by consciously recognizing his situation and acting in the light of it. 6-7
- Moral, political, economic, conceptions and ideals alter with the social conditions from which they spring: to regard any one of them as universal and immutable is tantamount to believing that the order to which they belong, in this case the bourgeois order - is eternal. 8
 - If the class war is real, these interests are totally incompatible. 8
 - The manifestoes, professions of faith and programs of action to which he appended his name, contains scarcely any references to moral progress, eternal justice, the equality of man, the rights of individuals or nations, the liberty of conscience, the fight for civilization, and other such phrases which were the stock and trade (and had once genuinely embodied ideals) of the democratic movements of his time; he looked upon these as so much worthless cant, indicating confusion of thought and ineffectiveness in action. 8-9
 - To denounce the process itself - the painful conflicts through and by which mankind struggles to achieve the full realization of its powers - was for Marx a sort of childish subjectivism, due to a morbid or shallow view of life, to some irrational prejudice in favor of this or that virtue or institution; it revealed attachment to the old world and was a symptom of incomplete emancipation from its values. 10
 - For while his realism, his empiricism, his attacks on abstract principles, his demand that every solution must be tested by its applicability to, and emergence out of, the actual situation, his contempt for compromise or gradualism as modes of escape from the necessity of drastic action, his belief that the masses are infinitely gullible and must at all costs be rescued, if necessary by force, from the knaves and fools who impose upon them, make him the precursor of the severer generation of practical revolutionaries of the next century: his rigid belief in the necessity of a complete break with the past, in the need for a wholly new social system as alone capable of saving the individual, who, if left to himself, will lose his way and perish, places him among the great authoritarian founders of new faiths, ruthless subverters and innovators who interpret the world in terms of a single, clear, passionately held principle, denouncing and destroying all that conflicts with it. 16
 - His intellectual system was a closed one, everything that entered was made to conform to a pre-established pattern, but it was grounded in observation and experience. 17
 - he did more than any other man to hasten the process, seeking to shorten the final agony which precedes the end. 18
 - Reason is always right. To every question there is only one true answer which with sufficient assiduity can be infallibly discovered, and this applies no less to questions of ethics or politics, of personal and social life, than to problems of physics and mathematics. Once found, the putting of a solution into practice is a matter of mere technical skill; but the traditional enemies of progress must first be removed, and men taught the importance of acting in all questions on the advice of disinterested scientific experts, whose knowledge is founded on reason and experience. Once this has been achieved, the path is clear to the millennium. 32-3

- Man is an object in nature, and the human soul, like the material substance, is swayed by no supernatural influences and possesses no occult properties; its entire behavior can be adequately accounted for by means of ordinary verifiable physical hypotheses. 33
- in ordinary argument between two opponents, when, in the conflict between two partial falsehoods, new truth is discovered, itself only relative, itself assaulted by a counter-truth, the destruction of each by the other leading once more to a new level in which the antagonistic elements are transfigured into a new organic whole - a process which continues without end. He called this process dialectical. 46
- Reform must spring from historically prepared soil; otherwise it is doomed to failure, condemned in advance by the forces of history which move in accordance with their own logic in their own time and at their own pace. 47
- Whereas competition evokes the worst and most brutal qualities in men, co-operation, besides promoting greater efficiency, moralizes and civilizes them by revealing the true end of communal life. 95
- The only possible region in which to look for the principles of historical motion must be one that is open to scientific, that is empirical, inspection. 104
- The status of an individual is determined by the part which he plays in the process of social production, and this in turn directly depends upon the character of the productive forces and their degree of development at any given stage. 105
- Labor transforms man's world, and himself too, in the course of its activity. 106
- Immense institutions, social, political, cultural, have been created to conserve their possessions in the hands of their present owners, not indeed by deliberate policy, but arising unconsciously out of the general attitude to life of those who govern a given society. 109
- Alienation occurs when the results of men's acts contradict their true purposes, when their official values, or the parts they play, misrepresent their real motives and needs and goals. This is the case, for example, when something that men have made to respond to human needs - say, a system of laws, or the rules of musical composition - acquires an independent status of its own, and is seen by men, not as something created by them to satisfy a common social want (which may have disappeared long ago), but as an objective law or institution, possessing eternal, impersonal authority in its own right, like the unalterable laws of Nature as conceived by scientists and ordinary men, like God for a believer. 114
- The monopoly of the means of production held by a particular group of men, enables it to bind its will on the others and to force them to perform tasks alien to their needs. Thereby the unity of society is destroyed, and the lives of both classes become distorted. 115
- The most oppressive of all, in Marx's demonology, is bourgeois economic science, which represents the movement of commodities or of money - indeed the process of production, consumption and distribution - as an impersonal process, similar to those of nature, an unalterable pattern of objective forces before which men can only bow, and which would be insane to resist. 116
- Alienation - the substitution of imaginary relations between, or worship of, inanimate objects or ideas for real relations between, or respect for, persons - will

- come to an end only when the final class- the proletariat - defeats the bourgeoisie. 117
- All frustration, for Marx, is the product of alienation - the barriers and distortions that are created by the inevitable war of classes, and shut out this or that body of men from the harmonious co-operation with one another for which their nature craves. 118
 - The 'True Socialists' [Grun ad Hess] opposed the doctrine of the necessity of open class war on the ground that it blinded the workers to those rights and ideals for the sake of which they fought. Only as treating men as equal from the beginning, by dealing with them as human beings, that is, by renouncing force, and appealing to the sense of human solidarity, of equal justice and the generous sentiments of mankind, could a lasting harmony of interests be obtained. 120
 - Marx this was the oldest, most familiar, most outworn of all the rationalist fallacies. He had met it in its worst form in the belief of his own father and his contemporaries that in the end reason and moral goodness were bound to triumph, a theory which was utterly discredited by events during the dark aftermath of the French Revolution. 121
 - Whatever his opinions, a man's actions were inevitably guided by his real interests, by the requirements of his material situation; 122
 - But these others, who proclaim their solidarity with the workers, and assume that there always exists universal interests of mankind as such, common to all men - that men have interests independent of, or transcending their class affiliation - spread error and darkness in the proletarian camp itself, and thus weaken it for the coming struggle. 123
 - True freedom is unattainable until society has been made rational, that is, has overcome the contradictions which breed illusions and distort the understanding of both masters and slaves. 129
 - The scientific study of historically evolving economic relations, and of their bearing on other aspects of the lives of communities and individuals, began with the application of Marxist canons of interpretation. 130
 - the Hegelian thesis, according to which the state, even in its present condition, constitutes the most progressive and dynamic function of a collection of human beings assembled to lead a common life. 172
 - Marx, as was made evident from his address to the Central Communist Committee in 1850, considered himself to have erred seriously in supposing that an alliance with the radical bourgeoisie was possible and even necessary before the final victory of the proletariat. 174.
 - Men, emancipated at last from the tyranny both of nature and of their own ill-adapted and ill-controlled and therefore oppressive institutions, will begin to develop their capacities to the fullest extent. 203

Ollman, B. (1976) *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*, 2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- The theory of alienation is the intellectual construct in which Marx displays the devastating effect of capitalist production of human beings, on their physical and mental states and on their social processes of which they are a part. 131
- as a grand summing up, as Marx's conception of man in capitalist society, the theory of alienation can only be set out after its constituent elements have been accounted for. 131
- For Marx, unalienation is the life man leads in communism. 132
- Marx refers to alienation as "a mistake, a defect, which ought not to be" (1844 Manuscripts, 170).
- all classes are considered alienated in the ways and to the degree that their members fall of the communist ideal. 132
- Alienated man...has been reduced to performing undifferentiated work on humanly undistinguishable objects among people deprived of their human variety and compassion. ... There is little that remains of his relations to his activity, product and fellows which enable us to grasp the peculiar qualities of his species. 134
- Marx presents alienation as partaking in four broad relations which are so distributed as to cover the whole of human existence. These are man's relations to his productive activity, his product, other men, and the species. 136
- What, then, constitutes the alienation of labor? Marx offers the following reply. "First, the fact that labor is external to the worker, i.e. it does not belong to his essential being; that in his work, therefore, he does not affirm himself but denies himself, does not feel content but unhappy, does not develop freely his physical and mental energy but mortifies his body and ruins his mine." 136 (73-74).
- [Above] Marx is describing a state where the relations between activity and man's powers exist at a very low level of achievement. 137
- [In] Communist society...man's productive activities engages all his powers and creates ever widening opportunities for their fulfillment. In this manner, work in communism is an affirmation of human nature, while capitalist labor is its denial... 138
- the relations of man's capitalist productive activity to man's species itself, to his body and mind, to his subjective feelings when doing labor, to his will to engage in labor, to the capitalist, too his own human and animal functions and to what productive activity will be like under communism equal alienated labor. 140
- man is alienated from his product because the activity which produced it is alienated. 141
- "the product is but the summary of the activity, of production... In the estrangement of the object of labor is merely summarized the estrangement, the alienation, in the activity of labor itself. (73) 141.
- "The worker put his life into the object" (84) 141
- through alienated labor man not only engenders his relationship to the object and to the act of production as powers that are alien and hostile to him; he also engenders the relationship in which other men stand to his production and to his product, and the relationship in which he stands to these other men. Just as he begets his own product as a loss, as a product not belonging to him; so he begets the dominion of the one who does not produce over production and over the

- product. Just as he estranges himself from his own activity, so he confers the stranger activity which is not his own...a man alien to labor and standing outside it...the capitalist, or whatever one chooses to call the master of labor" (79-80) 148
- pulling in opposite directions, at the command of competing interests, their relations are necessarily antagonistic. 149
 - Species...is the category of the possible denoting the particular those potentialities which mark man off from other living creatures. 150
 - communist man and species man are identical. 150
 - "In tearing away from man the object of his production...estranged labor tears from him his species life, his real species objectivity, and transforms his advantage over animals into the disadvantage that his inorganic body, nature, is taken from him" (76) 150
 - For Marx, "the productive life is the life of the species" (75). Such activity is the chief means through which the individual expresses and develops his powers. 151

From Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, in Fromm and Erich (eds.) (1963), *Marx's Conception of Man*, NY.

Huaco, G. (1999) *Marx and Sociobiology*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

- Philosophical propositions, such as metaphysical, ontological, or epistemological claims, are inherently unverifiable by any empirical evidence. 1
- Marx describes the capitalist market as "a naturally evolved totality fragmenting into a circle of particularities." (1857-61, CW 29: 468)
- Intersubjectivity is a characteristic of primary group activities, and it is pointless to bemoan the fact that a society cannot be a community. 3
- "The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a *practical* question. Man must prove the truth...of his thinking in practice." (1845-47, CW 5:3) 4
- one of the meanings of the word 'materialism' in Marx, will be to remind us that theories can only be verified (or falsified) by empirical facts. 4
- history allows for short-term correlations but not for scientific laws which will always be valid. 8
- "Society does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of the relationships and conditions in which these individuals stand to one another." (1857-61, CW, 28: 195) 9
- Changes in society produces changes in culture, and changes in culture produce changes in society. 9
- "all science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of things coincided." (Marx, 1894, Capital III: 797)
- "Real Sciences "seek to uncover the essence which lies hidden behind commonplace appearances, and which mostly contradicts the form of commonplace appearances (as for example, in the case of the movement of the sun about the earth)." (1861, CW 34:86) 10

- "the sole bond holding" human "together is natural necessity, need and private interests, the preservation of their property and their egoistic selves." (1843, CW 3:164) 14
- "Only when the real, individual man re-absorbs in himself the abstract citizen, and as an individual human being has become a *species-being* in his everyday life, in his particular work, and in his particular situation...only then will human emancipation have been accomplished." (1843-44, CW 3:168) 15
- It is clear that Marx would like to transform societies back into communities, if only that were somehow possible. 15
- Marx argues that 'human nature' (or 'the essential nature of each individual') is membership in what Marx calls 'the *true community*' or "the *human community*." However, in the world of urban industrial capitalism, a "*commercial society*" ruled by "*exchange and trade*," people live in arrangements which are the opposite of a true community. 15
- "To say that man is estranged from himself, therefore, is the same thing as saying that the society of this estranged man is a caricature of his real community, of his true species-life, that his activity therefore appears to him as a torment, his own creation as an alien power, his wealth as poverty, the essential bond linking him with other men as an unessential bond, and separation from his fellow men, on the other hand, as his true mode of existence." (1843, CW 3:217) 15
- boring work, social isolation, and poverty are understood as consequences of the loss of community. 16
- It is not difficult to specify Marx's conception of a real community. It is one which "the producer" has "immediate enjoyment" of his product and uses it to satisfy "personal needs." Furthermore, work "is for him the enjoyment of his personality and the realization of his natural abilities and spiritual aims." (1843, CW, 3:220). 16
- In a real community, "the direct, natural, and necessary relation of a person to person is the *relation of man to woman*." This is the "natural species-relationship." (1843, CW 3:295). Therefore, a real community is a warm primary group of significant others. 16
- In what kind of social world would it be the case that all people are happy in their work and use it to develop their "physical and mental energy"? In what kind of social arrangement would work satisfy the intrinsic human needs of workers and be something other than a means to earn a living? These are the features of Marx's lost ideal community. 18
- Marx says that "estranged labor turns...Man's species-being...into a being alien to him, into a means for his individual existence." (1843, CW, 3:277).
- since community (or species-being) is the "*essential being*" (1843, CW 3:276) or core of human nature, it follows that human living in society are alienated from the core of their human nature. 19
- What is peculiar about Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, is that in this work, the two great themes of loss of community and economic exploitation come together for the first time. 19
- Behind all this [desire for community] is a probable source in Freud's insight about a universal human desire to return to the womb. 20

- families share a common gene pool. The caring and generous behavior is a real community is probably an unconscious defense of a shared gene pool. 21
- While the French centralized and, therefore, abbreviated the reign of terrorism, the Spaniards, true to their traditions, decentralized and, consequently, procrastinated it. Conforming to Spanish tradition, the revolutionary party was not likely to prove victorious by subverting the throne (Marx and Engels, 1854-55, CW 13:659) 147
- Technology is described by Marx as "machines, locomotives, railways, electric telegraphs...the objectified power of knowledge." Above 29:92 25
- "Science, which compels the inanimate members of the machinery, by means of their design, to operate purposefully as an automaton, does not exist in the worker's consciousness, but acts upon him through the machine as an alien force, as the force of the machine itself." (M&E, 1857-61, CW 29:83) 25
- As of 1850, Marx did not mean abolition; all he meant was reduction of state power. 28
- the government is the "social organ for the maintenance of social order." (M&E 1874-83, CW 24:82 28
- Why does Marx want to get rid of what he calls the "state parasite"? Because it had grown "independent of society." Marx wants to replace this state parasite with a decentralized and idealized version of representative democracy. This is very clear in his description and praise of the Paris Commune in 1871. 30
- First, in 1871, Marx still believed in an egalitarian economic order. Second, Marx believed in *representative* democracy. He would have no use for versions of participatory democracy or direct democracy which had been advocated by anarchist thinkers. 31
- The level of development of the forces causally explains the character of the ownership relations. 33
- Slave ownership in the Roman Empire discouraged labor-saving devices, and thus held back an increase in technology. 35
- "the characteristic 'figure' of a crisis in a mode of production is not one in which vigorous (economic) forces of production burst triumphantly through retrograde (social) relations of production, and promptly establish a higher productivity and society on their ruins. On the contrary, the forces of production typically tend to stall and recede within the existing relations of production; these then must themselves first be radically changed and reordered before new productive forces can be created. (Perry Anderson, 1974:204) 37
- "Since we may assume that...a *nomadic way of life*, is the first form of existence; that the tribe does not settle on a certain site but that it grazes off what it finds there and moves on--men are not settled by nature (unless perhaps in such an exceptionally fertile region that they settle on a tree like the monkeys; otherwise they are roaming like wild animals)." (M, 1857-61, CW 28:400) 42
- Anthropologists tell us that the hunters and gatherers worked an average of three hours a day, and had a diet rich in proteins, fruits, and vegetables. 42
- If the entire working day (available working time) of a man (any man) were only sufficient to feed himself (and at best his *family* as well), then there would *be no surplus labor, surplus value, and surplus produce*. (1861-63, M, CW, 33:369) 43

- Why did nomadic hunter-gatherer society end and why did it change into traditional class society? Marx points to two factors: 1) "the increase in population" and 2) "the impact of war and conquest." (M, 1857-61, CW, 28:410) 43
- "A conquering people divides the land among the conquerors and in this way imposes a definite mode of distribution and form of landed property, thus determining production. Or it turns the conquered into slaves, thus making slave labor the basis of production." (M, 1857-61, CW, 28:33). 44
- Capitalist industrial class society raises the standard of living for most classes and groups, and doubles the average life span (from 35 years to 70 plus). The producers are neither peasant farmers, nor serfs, nor slaves, but largely urban "formally free" workers who own their physical and mental labor power (M, 1861-64, CW, 34:95, 100, 118). 47
- industrial capitalism creates the first society that becomes an enemy of nature. "For the first time nature becomes an object for men, nothing more than an object of utility. It ceases to be acknowledged as a power in itself" (M, 1857-51, 28:337); and "The view of nature attained under the dominion of private property and money is a real contempt for and practical debasement of nature." (M&E, 1843-44, 3:172) 48
- On September 8, 1872, Marx gave a speech in Amsterdam in which he said that in the United States and Britain change toward socialism will be peaceful and not by violent revolution (M&E, 1871-1874, 23:255). 49
- This clearly indicates that Marx's final view was that industrial capitalism that is also a representative democracy will change by peaceful means. In his day, capitalist industrialism and representative democracy were present only in Britain and the United States. Today, they exist throughout the entire urban-industrial world. So, if violent revolution is not on the historical agenda for the urban-industrial sector of the planet, what does the future hold? The answer is automation. 49
- "In England, strikes have regularly given rise to the invention and application of new machines. Machines were, it may be said, the weapon employed by the capitalists to quell the revolt of specialized labor. The *self-acting mule*, the greatest invention of modern industry, put out of action the spinners who were in revolt. If combinations and strikes had no other effect than that of making the efforts of mechanical genius react against them, they would still exercise an immense influence on the development of industry." (M&E, 1845-1848, 6:207) 49-50
- "A development of productive power which reduced the absolute number of workers, i.e. in fact enabled the whole nation to execute its total production in a smaller period of time, would bring about revolution, because it would demonetize the majority of the population." (M, 1861-63, 33: 142) 50
- The survival of capitalist industrial society depends of effective consumer demand from *within* the industrial world. 51
- "a principle may appear "sound" on the part of the economist and the classes of which he is the theoretical mouthpiece, and may, nevertheless, not only prove

- contrary to all the laws of human conscience, but like a cancer, eat into the very vitals of the whole generation." (M&E, 1858-60, 16:191) 51
- "Today as always, men fall into two groups: slaves and free men. Whoever does not have two-thirds of his day for himself, is a slave, whatever he may be: a statesman, a businessman, an official, or a scholar." (Nietzsche, 1984, [1878]: 171, para. 283) 52
 - Basically, Marx wanted public or "common ownership of the means of production" (M&E, 1874-83, 24:85), and he wanted a planned economy or a "society organized as a conscious and planned association" (Marx, 1962, [1895] Capital III: 645). 56
 - Unfortunately the idealized original human community is long gone and never to return. 56
 - "The development of culture and of industry in general has ever evinced itself in such energetic destruction of forests that everything done by it conversely, for their preservation and restoration appears infinitesimal." (M, [1893] 1961, Capital II: 244) 59
 - "Even a whole society, a nation, or even all simultaneously existing societies taken together, are not the owners of the globe. They are only its possessors, its usufructuaries, and...they must hand it down to succeeding generations in an improved condition." (M, 1962 [1895] Capital III: 757) 59
 - The short-term real threats of world-wide overpopulation seem to be (a) an increase in crowding, poverty, and a lowering of the quality of life in both the industrial and non-industrial areas; (b) the extermination of the rain forests and plant life; (c) the extermination of non-human animals. 60
 - If all human, worldwide, were limited to having a maximum of two biological children per couple, then world population would return eventually to a level, where it could be stabilized by having allowable births match the number of deaths. This would provide a margin for the survival of other life forms. 61
 - The immediate problem facing urban-industrial societies are such as to require powerful and effective central governments. In this context, Marx's hope and expectation that the political state and political domination would disappear sometime in the future, can be seen to be little more than an anarchist illusion. 61
 - What remains of the rain forests can only be saved by some rather extreme and drastic measures: the countries of the industrial societies would probably have to engage in concerted military intervention to place entire areas of the planet off-limits to further human encroachment. 62
 - "Without the great alternative phases of dullness, prosperity, overexcitement, crises and distress, which modern industry traverses in periodically recurring cycles, with the up and down of wages resulting from them, as with the constant warfare between masters and men closely corresponding with those variations in wages and profits, the working classes of Britain, and of all Europe, would be heart-broken, a weak minded, a worn out, unresisting mass, whose self-emancipation would prove as impossible as that of the slaves of Ancient Greece and Rome." (M&E, 1853-4, 12:169) 67
 - reducing the economic matrix (e.g., reducing the size of the underclass) would reduce that particular type of criminal activity. Specifically, Marx rejected

- Bakunin's romantic notion that a criminal brigand is some kind of revolutionary hero (M&E, 1871-4, 23:519-555) 68
- If the cause of racism is conquest and colonialism, then it can only be undone by decolonization or economic restitution. However, in the long run, prospects are less sanguine. Given the predatory aggression of the human species, which Marx acknowledged (M, 1936 [1867] Capital I: 785), we will always have warfare. If we have warfare, we will have conquest and colonialism in one form or another. If we have conquest and colonialism, then the recurrent ideology of racism is likely to be with us for the foreseeable future. 69
 - "The bureaucracy is a circle from which no one can escape. Its hierarchy is a *hierarchy of knowledge*. The top entrusts the understanding of detail to the lower levels, whilst the lower levels credit the top with the understanding of the general, and so all are mutually deceived." (M&E, 1843-4, 3:46-47) 70
 - ideology is "mental production as expressed in the language of politics, laws, morality, religion, metaphysics, etc. of a people (M&E, 1845-7, 5:30, 36)." 77
 - The fact that Marx starts his analysis of ideology with a focus on written and spoken language, tells us that for him, ideology is a trans-individual cultural group phenomenon. 77
 - ideology is more than an aspect, feature, or dimension of written and spoken language, ideology is an aspect of *cultural discourse*. 79
 - Since scientific knowledge is one of the four forces (in the hidden structure of society), it follows that it is excluded from ideology. However, this only applies to pure scientific knowledge that can be expressed in mathematical notation. To the extent that scientific knowledge is expressed in verbal or written language, it too becomes part of the phenomenon of ideology. 78
 - Marx is saying that Darwin organized his scientific data with the help of a vision of society, projected on to nature. 78
 - Isomorphism may be defined as the deployment of a pattern of the phenomenal surface of society, and the replication or reflection of that same pattern in some sector of culture. 82
 - for Marx, ideology is a feature, aspect or dimension of written or spoken language. It includes non-linguistic forms such as painting or sculpture, but it excludes pure scientific knowledge. 83
 - It is the old illusion that changing existing relations depends only on the good will of people, and that existing relations are ideas. The alteration of consciousness divorced from actual relations -a pursuit followed by philosophers as a profession, i.e., as a *business*--is itself a product of existing relations and inseparable from them. 85
 - "The social principles of Christianity preach cowardice, self-contempt, abasement, submissiveness and humbleness, in short, all the qualities of the rabble." (M&E, 1845-8, 6:231)
 - The world of external reality remains independent, indifferent, and more powerful and longer-lasting than human beings. Marx would reject Nietzsche's exaggerated linguistic determinism. Language does not create all of reality. Language does not create truth or subject and object. 86

- For Marx, conceptual thought is internalized language: "Ideas do not exist apart from language" (M, 1857-61, 28:99). Marx is right for we do think in a language. However, his further claim that "language is as old as consciousness" (M&E, 1845-7, 5:43-44), is very doubtful. 87
- "Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him to remain unknown to him, otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process." (Feuer et. M&E, 1959:408)
- If the thinker becomes conscious of what was previously unconscious, then his thinking is no longer "an ideological process." 89
- There are two main problems with the use of the term false consciousness as a definition of ideology. First, it shifts the locus on attention from the class or group to the individual. Second, it shifts attention from the external, objective world shared with others, to the internal, subjective, private, introspective domain whose contents cannot be inspected by others. This second problem is fatal. It contradicts Marx's definition of ideology as something in socially shared written or spoken language (and non-verbal forms of cultural discourse), and therefore as something *external* which can be examined by others. 90
- Conservatives are critical of the social present and would like to return to the past. Liberals feel that the social present can be fixed with a few minor changes. Left-wing radicals are critical of the past and of the present and focused on the future. 94
- men, developing their material production and their material intercourse alter, along with the actual world, also their thinking and the products of their thinking. It is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness. (M&E, 1845-7, 5: 36-7). 97
- Since the Turks are an Islamic people, and predestination identifies Calvinist Christianity, Marx is saying that puritan Protestant Christianity favored capitalist industrialism, while Islam does not. 106
- Let us take, for example, the relation of Greek art, and that of Shakespeare, to the present time. We know that Greek mythology is not only the arsenal of Greek art, but also its basis (M&E, 1857-61, 28:47). 110
- The beginning of a high culture seems to be made up mostly of believers, the end of civilization seems to be made up mostly of atheists. 111
- The population abandons the countryside and crowds into gigantic world-cities where it demands bread and circuses (or welfare and entertaining spectacles). 117
- Marx wanted an industrial society without poverty and without economic exploitation. He believed that surplus transfer from producers to owners could be stopped if the market were replaced by economic planning and if capitalists were eliminated by replacing them with government ownership of the means of production. We know that these proposals are failures because they produce bureaucratic stagnation in the economy and give overwhelming power to the central government. Nevertheless, the possibility of creating an industrial society without poverty and without economic exploitation remains. We could retain a market and could retain competitive entrepreneurs but outlaw most economic inheritance. 122

- Stop and reverse the human population explosion by setting limits on human reproduction. Set limits to economic inheritance and confine it to direct descendants. Use most of the recovered surplus to eliminate poverty. I call this democratic socialism. Someone else may call it a reformed and humanized capitalism. Both are right. 122
- Marx had a philosophy, but it was unoriginal and relatively unimportant. What is important is his testable social theory (i.e., his model of society and culture and associated hypotheses), and this is a work of a genius which towers above the competition in the last two centuries. 123

Walker, David M. (2001) *Marx, Methodology and Science: Marx's Science of Politics*, Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.

- Political economy proceeds from the fact of private property. It does not explain it. It grasps the *material* process of private property, the process through which it actually passes, in general and abstract formulae which it then takes as *laws*. It does not *comprehend* these laws, i.e. it does not show how they arise from the nature of private property. Political economy fails to explain the reason for the division between labour and capital, between capital and land. For example, when it defines the relation of wages to profit it takes the interests of the capitalists as the basis of its analysis; i.e. it assumes what it is supposed to explain. Similarly, competition is frequently brought into the argument and explained in terms of external circumstances. Political economy teaches us nothing about the extent to which these external and apparently accidental circumstances are only the expression of a necessary development. 16
- “Natural science will in time subsume the science of man just as the science of man will subsume natural science: there will be *one* science.” Marx, Karl (1975:355) *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*. 65
- “...the development of the economic formation of society is viewed as a process of natural history...” Marx, Karl [1867] *Capital*, Volume I translated by B. Fowkes (1976: 92) Harmondsworth: Penguin. 65
- “...a scientific analysis of competition is possible only if we can grasp the inner nature of capital, just as the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are intelligible only to someone who is acquainted with their real motions, which are not perceptible to the senses.” Marx, Karl [1867] *Capital*, Volume I translated by B. Fowkes (1976: 433) Harmondsworth: Penguin. 65
- “nonclassical definitions of truth...became one of the points of departure for idealism according to which the world accessible to cognition is not taken to be the true reality; that world is reduced to the role of a construction of thought and thus to a kind of fiction different from poetic fiction only in being constructed according to some regular criteria on which we finally rely in making judgements.” Ajdukiewicz, K. (1973: 21) *Problems and Theories of Philosophy*, Translated by H. Skolimowski and A. Quinton; London: Cambridge University Press. 71
- “Everything has self-identity, being-in-itself, but the matter does not end there for nothing is merely self-identical and self-contained, except what is abstract,

- isolated, static and unchanging. All real, concrete things are part of the world of interaction motion and change; and for them we must recognize that things are not merely self-subsistent, but exist essentially in relation to other things.” Norman, R. and S. Sayers (1980:3) *Hegel, Marx and Dialectic: A Debate*, Brighton: Harvester Press. 94
- “In all sciences, the ordinary approach is from the effects to the causes. The effect raises the problem – the problem to be explained, the explicandum – and the scientist tries to solve it by constructing an explanatory hypothesis.” Popper, Karl (1972: 115) *Objective Knowledge: An Evolutionary Approach*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. 115
 - “The fundamental idea of conventionalism may be stated as follows: certain scientific propositions, erroneously taken for descriptions of the world based on the recording and generalization of experiments, are in fact artificial creations, and we regard them as true not because we are compelled to do so for empirical reasons, but because they are convenient, useful, or even because they gave aesthetic appeal. Conventionalists agree with the empiricists on the origin of knowledge, but reject empiricism as a norm that allows us to justify all accepted judgments by appealing to experience, conceived of as a sufficient criterion of their truth...the data of experience always leave scope for more than one explanatory hypothesis, and which one is to be chosen cannot be determined by experience.” Kolakowski, L. (1972: 158-159) *Positivist Philosophy*, Harmondsworth: Penguin. 119
 - This definition suggests three distinctive features of conventionalism:
 - 1) Scientific statements/theories are not descriptions of an external reality, and as such either true or false. Rather, they are ‘artificial creations’ or constructions devised by the scientist.
 - 2) Theory acceptance or rejection is based on subjective considerations, not on any universal, rational criterion.
 - 3) Theories are always under-determined by the empirical evidence; their truth or falsity cannot be determined by a straightforward appeal to the empirical data. 119
 - “Experience arises together with theoretical assumptions not before them, and an experience without theory is just as incomprehensible as is (allegedly) a theory without experience: eliminate part of the theoretical knowledge of a sensing subject and you have a person who is completely disoriented and incapable of carrying out the simplest action. Eliminate further knowledge and his sensory world (his ‘observation language’) will start disintegrating, colours and other simple sensations will disappear until he is in a stage even more primitive than a small child.” Feyerabend, P. K. (1988:155) *Against Method*, Revised Ed. (orig. 1978); London: Verso. 120
 - Bhaskar writes of Marxism (and other social theory): “[It] is non-neutral in two ways. It always consists in a practical intervention in social life and sometimes (other things being equal) it logically entails values and actions. In these circumstances, the standard fact/value and theory/practice distinctions break down. Thus, if we accept Marx’s critique of political economy, which is also a critique of the illusory or false consciousness which capitalist society generates,

we may – indeed must – pass immediately to a negative evaluation of those structures and to a positive evaluation of action rationally directed to changing them.” Bhaskar, R. A. (1989:5) *Reclaiming Reality: A Critical Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy*, London: Verso. 146

- “...a scientific analysis of competition is possible only if we grasp the inner nature of capital, just as the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are intelligible only to someone who is acquainted with their real motions, which are not perceptible to the senses.” Marx, Karl [1867] *Capital*, Volume I translated by B. Fowkes (1976: 433) Harmondsworth: Penguin. 147

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Neil Maycroft, “Henri Lefebvre: Alienation and the Ethics of Bodily Reappropriation,” pp. 116-143

- ...the first dimension of alienation identified by Lefebvre is the ‘alienation of the worker as an *object*’. This refers to the way in which individual workers are turned into objects within the relations of production. In terms of the worker’s body, this dimension represents the fixing of the ‘open totality’ of the body as a thing in a clearly defined set of productive relations – economic, legal, geographical and sociological. The workers find themselves to be in the position of having the formal, bourgeois ‘freedom’ to sell their labour-power, which in effect is their body and their time, to the owners of capital. The body is removed from its former creative and productive location into one specifically fabricated and legally identified as the location for a particular form of production. The bodies of the proletariat have been shifted between geographic locations with their particular and culturally bounded relationships to place, as well as across legal and other representational codes. Lefebvre terms this process ‘*chosification*’ (thingification). Such processes still obtain with great force both within national economies and within the context of globalization. 122-123
- The second dimension of alienation is defined by Lefebvre as ‘the alienation of productive activity, in other words of labour itself.’ [Lefebvre, Henri (1991:61) *Critique of Everyday Life*, London: Verso.] This refers to the division of labour that is characteristic of industrial capitalist production. Here the body is subjected to several divisions that flow from the organization of productive activity itself. The clear division of manual from mental labour tends to elevate conceptually the value of mental forms whilst assigning the fundamental creativity of manual labour a subservient role. This conceptual demarcation is reflected in the actual division of labour in production. 123
- The body is increasingly seen to be an appendage to the machinery it tends and therefore of less value than the dead labour of fixed capital. Individual bodies are set against each other both horizontally and vertically throughout the factory organization with their clear zones of activity and demarcated roles. The split between mental and manual labor tends to reinforce the idea that the body is the private property of the mind and this adds to the sense in which each body is something socially distinct from all other bodies though they are all actively formed in this way through one dominant form of productive relations. 123

- Lefebvre's third dimension of alienation comprises the 'alienation of man as species-being, member of the human species – as a system of *humanized species need*'. [Lefebvre, Henri (1991:62) *Critique of Everyday Life*, London: Verso, emphasis in original.] Here Lefebvre is referring to the blocking of the possibilities to realize one's species-being through freely chosen creative activity. The fragmented and increasingly 'disappropriated' body cannot realize its species-being within capitalist productive relations. 123-124