

# *Readings and Resources*

January 20, 2014

The purpose of this list is to provide resources for comrades looking to develop their grounding in Marxist theory. As such, it is not an introduction to either Marxism or radical politics in general.<sup>1</sup> Rather, it is meant to provide avenues of education to people who already have some familiarity with the basics of Marxism. The emphasis is on theoretical matters, not history or analyses of contemporary politics, as quality readings on those matters are often easier to locate. Almost all of the readings, with the exception of those listed under ‘Further Reading,’ are article-length texts. This has been done not to denigrate the importance of longer readings, but rather to attempt to provide resources that furnish the most intellectual payoff for the least commitment of time or resources. Links to readings available online are indicated in blue.

## **Political Economy**

### **Introductory**

- [Alex Callinicos - \*The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx\*, Ch. 6](#)
- [Ernest Mandel - \*An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory\*](#)

### **Intermediate**

- [Anwar Shaikh - “An Introduction to the History of Crisis Theories”](#)
- [Claus Offe - “The Political Economy of the Labor Market”](#)

### **Advanced**

- [Robert Brenner and Mark Glick - “The Regulation School: Theory and History”](#)
- [Duncan Foley - “Recent Developments in the Labor Theory of Value”](#)

### **Further Reading**

- [Howard Botwinick - \*Persistent Inequalities: Wage Disparities Under Capitalist Competition\*](#)
- [Andrew Kliman - \*Reclaiming Marx’s Capital: Refuting the Myth of Inconsistency\*](#)
- [David Harvey - \*A Companion to Marx’s Capital\*](#)

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<sup>1</sup>For readers looking for such introductions, I would suggest Alex Callinicos’ - *The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx* or Howard Zinn’s *A People’s History of the United States*. Paul D’Amato’s *The Meaning of Marxism* is also a readable introduction to Marxism, with an emphasis on the political implications for activists today.

- Paul Sweezy - *The Theory of Capitalist Development*
- Alfredo Saad-Filho - *The Value of Marx: Political Economy for Contemporary Capitalism*

## The State

### Introductory

- Vivek Chibber - *Capitalism and the State*
- Ralph Miliband - “Marx and the State”

### Intermediate

- Fred Block - “The Ruling Class Does Not Rule”
- Claus Offe and Volker Ronge - “Ten Theses on the Theory of the State”
- Colin Barker - “A Critique of Nicos Poulantzas”

### Advanced

- Clyde Barrow - “Ralph Miliband and the Instrumentalist Theory of the State - The (Mis)Construction of an Analytic Concept”
- Claus Offe - “The Theory of the Capitalist State and the Problem of Policy Formation”

### Further Reading

- Clyde Barrow - *Critical Theories of the State: Marxist, Neomarxist, Postmarxist*
- Ralph Miliband - *The State in Capitalist Society*
- Thomas Ferguson - *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems*

## Revolutionary Socialist Organization

### Introductory

- Jennifer Roesch - “Spontaneity and Organization”
- Joel Geier - “Socialists and Movements”
- Brian Jones - *Marxism and Organization: Why We Need a Revolutionary Party*
- Colin Barker - “Dynamics of Mass Movements”

### Intermediate

- Charlie Post - “What is Left of Leninism: New European Left Parties in Historical Perspective”
- Ernest Mandel - *The Leninist Theory of Organization and its Relevance for Today*

## Advanced

- John Eric Marot - “Class Conflict, Political Competition, and Social Transformation: Critical Perspectives on the Social History of the Russian Revolution”
- Colin Barker - “Class Struggle, Movement, Party - Some Problems and Possible Solutions”
- Wayne Au - “Vygotsky and Lenin on Learning”

## Further Reading

- Paul LeBlanc - *Lenin and the Revolutionary Party*
- Neil Harding - *Lenin's Political Thought: Theory and Practice in the Democratic and Socialist Revolutions*

## Women's Oppression

### Introductory

- Sue Ferguson - “Building on the Strengths of the Socialist Feminist Tradition”
- Sharon Smith - “Marxism, Feminism, and Women's Liberation”
- Sue Ferguson - Lise Vogel and Social Reproduction Theory

### Intermediate

- Johanna Brenner and Maria Ramas - “Rethinking Women's Oppression”
- Paul Smith - “Domestic Labor and Marx's Theory of Value”

### Advanced

- Martha Gimenez - “Capitalism and the Oppression of Women: Marx Revisited”
- Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong - “Beyond Sexless Class and Classless Sex: Towards Feminist Marxism”

### Further Reading

- Lise Vogel - *Marxism and the Oppression of Woman: Toward a Unitary Theory*
- Heather Brown - *Marx on Gender and the Family: A Critical Study*
- Johanna Brenner - *Women and the Politics of Class*
- Angela Davis - *Women, Race, & Class*
- Rosalind Pollack Petchesky - *Abortion and Woman's Choice: The State, Sexuality, and Reproductive Freedom*

## Class and Class Analysis

### Introductory

- Hal Draper - “Why the Working Class”
- Sam Farber - Marxism and Class

### Intermediate

- Erik Olin Wright - Class Analysis, from *Class Counts*
- Alex Callinicos - “The New Middle Class and Socialists”
- Harry Braverman - *Labor and Monopoly Capital*
- Martha Gimenez - “Marxism and Class, Gender and Race: Rethinking the Trilogy”

### Advanced

- Erik Olin Wright - *Classes*, Chs. 1-3
- Claus Offe and Helmut Wiesenthal - “Two Logics of Collective Action: Theoretical Notes on Social Class and Organizational Form”
- Geoffrey Ernest Maurice De Ste. Croix - *Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, Ch. 2

### Further Reading

- Erik Olin Wright - *Classes*
- Erik Olin Wright - *Class Counts*
- Alex Callinicos - *Making History: Agency, Structure, and Change in Social Theory*

## Racism and Race

### Introductory

- Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor - “Race, Class, and Marxism”
- Barbara Jeanne Fields - “Slavery, Race, and Ideology in the United States of America”
- Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor - The Political Economy of Racism

### Intermediate

- Barbara Jeanne Fields - “Ideology and Race in American History”
- Barbara Jeanne Fields - “Whiteness, Racism, and Identity”
- Robert Brenner and Johanna Brenner - “Reagan, the Right, and the Working Class”

## Advanced

- Adolph Reed, Jr and Merlin Chowkwanyun - “Race, Class, Crisis: The Discourse of Racial Disparity and its Analytical Discontents”
- Adolph Reed, Jr *et al* - Symposium on “Unraveling the Relation of Race and Class in American Politics”

## Further Reading

- Michael Goldfield - *The Color of Politics: Race and the Mainsprings of American Politics*
- W.E.B. Du Bois - *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*
- Michael Reich - *Racial Inequality: A Political-Economic Analysis*
- Stephen Steinberg - *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America*

## Reformism and Social Democracy

### Introductory

- Robert Brenner - “The Problem of Reformism”
- Ralph Miliband and Marcel Liebman - “Beyond Social Democracy”
- Jonah Birch - Social Democracy: Can We Vote Our Way to Socialism?

### Intermediate

- Leo Panitch - “The Impasse of Social Democratic Politics”
- Robert Brenner - “The Paradox of Social Democracy”

### Advanced

- Adam Przeworski - “Social Democracy as a Historical Phenomenon”
- Jonas Pontusson - “Radicalization and Retreat in Swedish Social Democracy”

### Further Reading

- Jonas Pontusson - *The Limits of Social Democracy: Investment Politics in Sweden*
- Adam Przeworski - *Capitalism and Social Democracy*
- Robin Archer - *Why is There No Labor Party in the United States?*

# Imperialism

## Introductory

- David McNally - “Understanding Imperialism: Old and New Dominion”
- Ellen Meiksins Wood - “Unhappy Families: Global Capitalism in a World of Nation-States”

## Intermediate

- Robert Brenner - “What is, and What is Not, Imperialism?”
- Chris Harman - “Analysing Imperialism”
- Adaner Usmani - “Why Some are So Rich: What’s Imperialism Got to Do with It?”

## Further Reading

- Anthony Brewer - *Marrist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*
- Alex Callinicos - *Imperialism and Global Political Economy*
- Thomas J. McCormick - *America’s Half-Century: United States Foreign Policy in the Cold War and After*

# The Trotskyist Tradition

## Introductory

- Todd Chretien - “Classics of Marxism: The Revolution Betrayed”
- Snehal Shingavi - Trotsky’s Struggle Against Stalinism

## Intermediate

- Tony Cliff - “Trotskyism After Trotsky”
- Duncan Hallas - *Trotsky’s Marxism*
- Duncan Hallas - “Trotskyism Reassessed”
- Daniel Bensaïd - “The Baggage of Exodus: Trotsky, Revolutions, and the Constitution of ‘Original’ Trotskyism”

## Advanced

- John Eric Marot - “Trotsky, the Left Opposition, and the Rise of Stalinism: Theory and Practice”

## Further Reading

- Ernest Mandel - *Trotsky as Alternative*
- Baruch Knei-Paz - *The Social and Political Thought of Leon Trotsky*
- [Alex Callinicos](#) - *Trotskyism*