Capital, Labour and Space

(Previously known as: Space, Place and Capitalism: Themes in Historical-Geographical Materialism)

York University, Winter 2024

(GEOG 5375; ENVS5475, SOCI 6794)

Instructor: Raju J Das¹

Class Time: Tuesday: 11:30-2:30 Class Location: FC105

Office hours: Tuesday 2.30-4.30 Office location: 244A, HNES

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'[Capital is] without question the most terrible missile that has yet been hurled at the heads of the bourgeoisie (landowners included).' (Karl Marx, 1867)

'[T]his historical moment, the one we're living in now, is the best not the worst, the most not the least appropriate moment to bring back Marx... Marx is more relevant than ever, because he, more effectively than any other human being then or now, devoted his life to explaining the systemic logic of capitalism.' (Ellen M. Wood in *Monthly Review*, 1997)

'I think Marx is more relevant today than ever before. When Marx was writing, capital was not dominant in the world. ... Now it's dominant everywhere. So, I think Marx's analysis of what capital is and its contradictions is more relevant now than ever' (David Harvey in *Jacobin*, 2019).

'We do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the science which socialists must develop in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life' (Lenin in 'Our Programme', 1899).

'There is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining its luminous summits' (Marx's 1872 Preface to the French edition of *Capital 1*).

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The course is a <u>basic</u> introduction to some of the key ideas in Marxist theory. Standing on three intellectual foundations (dialectical-materialist philosophy, historical-materialist social theory, and political economy), Marxist theory is an organic whole. It reflects the totality it studies that it seeks to shape. That totality is the class-society, and more specifically, the capitalist class society, which has now become a truly global system, making Marx more relevant than ever.

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The dominant focus of the course is on political economy as laid out in *Capital 1*. We will read *Capital 1* in the spirit in which its author had written it: to primarily promote a scientific and critical understanding of capitalism, in terms of its conditions, mechanisms and effects. The course will treat *Capital 1* basically as a *scientific* text about the world as it exists objectively, from which one can, of course, draw useful practical conclusions.

Such an intellectual endeavor is necessary for the struggle to transcend this world, which is marked by crass commercialization, intense exploitation of labour of different gender, age, racial and nationality backgrounds, alienation, unceasing imperialistic oppression, deepening economic-spatial inequalities, and irreversible environmental damage. We need to understand why capitalism is better than forms of society that have preceded it and why it is beyond its shelf-life now.

Offered in a hybrid pedagogic mode (i.e. students' discussion of the readings and my lecture), the course requires a spirit of self-education or active learning. *Capital 1* is a difficult text to master: it demands hard scientific labour. This involves reading it many times, thinking about it, discussing it with others, and writing about it.²

There is a (contradiction-ridden) world that is, more or less, independent of the (philosophical, etc.) ways in which we perceive/understand it. Its inter-connected inner mechanisms and their concrete effects on our lives urgently cry out for a scientific explanation and a critique.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE COURSE

There are at least seven distinctive characteristics of the course:

The emphasis on production: In contrast to much political economy thinking that overemphasizes the extra-economic aspect of capitalism and/or its exchange and finance relations, the focus of this course is on production of the capitalist form of wealth. Yet, attention will also be paid to the other two elements of the totality of capitalism, of which production is the key part: (extra-economic dispossession (of small-scale producers) and economic class-differentiation. In terms of capitalist production, special attention will be given to two *inter-related* mechanisms that form elements of Marx's main theory of economic crisis: exploitation and technical change.

Class Perspective: In contrast to much political economy which uses macro-economic categories applicable to geographical aggregates (e.g. nations and regions) and abstracts from classes, this course focuses on political economy from the *vantage-point* of class theory: topics will be explored from the standpoint of capitalists' and workers' interests which are fundamentally mutually incompatible. The class perspective of the course takes seriously oppression based on race and gender.

Politics of production and exchange: In contrast to an economistic understanding of society, the course emphasizes the mutual relation between the economic and the political, where the political involves the state and class struggle. It takes seriously the politics – and geopolitics – of production and exchange: political forces behind, and political implications of, production and exchange.

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² This is partly why auditing the course is not an available option as it would not serve the pedagogic purpose of the course.

Global-scale character of capitalism: Capitalism is treated as a global system ('world economy'), which is not merely the sum of national parts and which is therefore a mighty distinct unit of analysis. This global system of capitalism is marked by imperialism. Empirical materials from the Global South, from the Global North, and from the world economy, will be used to illustrate the theoretical arguments. We will discuss the similarities and differences between the capitalism of Marx's times and ours'.

Space, and uneven development, and nature: Marx's political economy was, more or less, an aspatial agenda. It also did not adequately examine capitalism's environmental aspects. Marxism after Marx has also been largely aspatial, although useful spatial insights have been produced by MELLT figures such as Lenin (on imperialism), Luxemburg ('non-capitalist spaces'), and Trotsky (uneven and combined development).

Therefore, a geographical reading of Marx and later Marxists – i.e. injecting into Marxism a dose of what Harvey calls *geographical imagination* — is essential. In other words, there is a need for a special form of historical materialism, i.e. historical-geographical materialism, as Harvey calls it. The literature that deals with space, place and scale will be discussed. Similarly, we will discuss Marxist views on nature/environment and the body.

'Full spectrum' Marxism: Marxism is not equal to Marx. The course is placed in the tradition of the Marxism of Marx-Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg and Trotsky ('MELLT') and their genuine intellectual legacy as developed by other Marxists (the names here represent intellectual tendencies rather than treated as persons who are above criticism).³

Post-Marx literature: We discuss not only Marx's and other classical Marxists' texts, but also the texts written by contemporary Marxists drawn from different geographical areas of the world (and not just from Western Europe and North America), and from different disciplinary backgrounds.

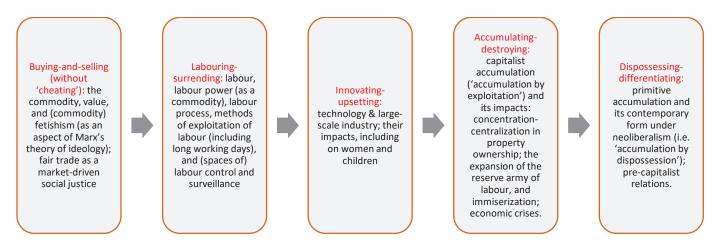
Marxist philosophy: The discussion is informed by ideas from Anglo-American Marxist philosophy (mainly materialist dialectics, but also critical realism).⁴

³ The MELLT tradition is self-consciously dialectical-materialist and thoroughly internationalist. It is critical of the class-exploitation and social oppression (expressed as an attack on the democratic rights of oppressed groups such as low-income women and racialized/ethnic minorities). It is critical of the various ways of understanding the world and changing it such as: free-market economics, liberalism, 'identity politics', social-democracy, economistic trade union-*ism*, nationalism, statism (developmental statism), and Stalinism (Stalinist or 'mainstream' Marxism).

⁴ Marxist philosophy emphasizes the idea that there are things that exist independently of consciousness which in turn shapes these things, that different aspects of the world are inter-related, constituting a totality which shapes, and is shaped by, its parts, that the world has contradictions within it, that the world is subjected to constant change which can be qualitative or quantitative and that quantitative change can result in qualitative change (a leap), and so on.

The course has two parts.⁵ Part 1 deals with basics concepts in Marxist philosophy and some of the main themes of Marx's *Capital vol. 1* (as represented in the diagram below). These concepts will be spatialized and refined, where necessary, through a reading of the post-Marx literature.

The course has **two parts**. Part 1 begins with Marxist philosophy. Its focus is on the main themes of Marx's *Capital vol. 1* (as represented in the diagram below). These concepts would be spatialized and refined through a reading of the post-Marx literature within geography and other disciplines, where necessary.



These topics raise numerous foundational questions about life and society.6

In Part 2, we will discuss the concepts that Marx did not deal with explicitly or in much detail in *Capital Vol 1* (or indeed elsewhere). On many of these topics, among other things, selected writings of Vladimir Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky will be discussed. These topics are:

- Space and place -1: (urban) geographical dynamics of capitalism, and production of places/spaces under capitalism; (new) imperialism and indefinite war
- •Space and place 2: uneven & combined development at multiple scales; development/under-development;
- •Nature and the body: nature and the labouring body as means and strategies of capitalist accumulation
- Class/capitalism/gender/race: class theory; special oppression in class/capitalist society; (geography of) class struggle and consciousness
- The state: the state and its territorial-capitalist logic in relation to class and capitalism; the state and revolution.

⁵ These two parts, more or less, happen to be the subject matter of two book manuscripts on *Capital volume 1* that I am in the process of completing.

⁶ For example: why do human relations increasingly lack depth?; why are most of us treated like things?; how do people lose control over the conditions of their lives and become commodity-like?; why does buying and selling (to make more money) appear to be in our natural instinct?; how is our language to describe the world changing according dynamics of fetishism?; what happens when people have nothing but the power of their body and mind to sell?; why do we have to work under someone-else' control?; why do we have to make someone else rich as a way of satisfying our very basic needs?; why has work become uninteresting and alienating?; how are we and our planet impacted by rapid technological changes and large-scale industrialization controlled by the profit-motive?; why do millions live in poverty when there is so much wealth in the world and when a few people and a few areas bask in an unimaginable level of affluence?, why do we have to waste our productive energy in fighting for every little thing we need?; and so on.

The course has the following major *specific* <u>learning outcomes</u>:

- 1. To learn Marx's views on some of the essential aspects of capitalism and to see capitalism as a material-dialectical <u>relation-process</u> with its progressive and problematic features;
- 2. To explore spatial and ecological implications of concepts in Marxist thought;
- 3. To reflect on Marx's views in relation to other writers since Marx, including those influenced by post-structuralism *and* feminist and anti-racist thought;
- 4. To understand capitalism as a <u>global</u> system and to familiarize oneself with Marxist ideas of scholars from (and/or working on) *both* more developed and less developed countries, and thus to learn to view Marxist political economy as a 'global' discourse with multiple spatial origins and to engage in a <u>non-Eurocentric</u> reading of these ideas; and
- 5. To recognize that the economic/material has a political and discursive dimension, although the economic cannot be collapsed into either of these, and has a certain degree of primacy.

The course has several general learning outcomes as well. These include:

- 1. To appreciate the nature of geographical imagination that bridges and intellectually synthesizes the study of human and natural environments;
- 2. To analyze events, phenomena and processes in relation to their socio-spatial contexts and human-nature dynamics;
- 3. To comprehend the roles played by social relations of domination and resistance in the production and reproduction of places, spaces, and landscapes;
- 4. To use critical perspectives, research tools, information sources, and analytical techniques to comprehensively approach an original research problem;
- 5. To contextualize original research within the current scholarly literature and justify its contribution to the production of knowledge;
- 6. To develop/support a sustained argument about original research in writing and verbally;
- 7. To clearly and concisely summarize, evaluate, synthesize and critique scholarly literature from diverse theoretical perspectives;
- 8. To apply concepts to think independently, creatively and analytically.

WHAT THE COURSE IS NOT AND WHO MAY BE INTERESTED IN IT?

'If we think in terms of the academic categories we are used to today, then Marx's *Capital* appears to be more an historical and sociological, rather than an economic theory.' (Karl Korsch)

So, this is not a course in economics as it is taught in economics department, nor is it a course on the history of economic ideas. The course avoids technical discussions on economic matters.

It is a course on Marxism, with the focus on Marxist *political* economy, that is, the discourse on the dialectical connection between the economic, including production/accumulation of wealth and the conflictual relations of production and exchange, and the political (including the state and struggle over production and inequalities).

An advanced (=college level) knowledge of economics or mathematics is **not** necessary. One also does not need formal training in Geography or Environmental Studies or Sociology, etc. to benefit. Everyone with an interest in understanding the capitalist *system* and the way in which it affects us (in positive and adverse ways) may benefit from the course. One has to be a little open-minded about learning an alternative (and often counter-intuitive) way of understanding our world!

As far as Geography students at York are concerned, this course, a key component of the suite of critical human geography courses, will be an important foundational course for economic, cultural and political geographers and political-ecologists who need to know about Marxists' contribution to the understanding of place, space, scale and environment.

Given that the course aims to provide an understanding of basic political-economic ideas on imperialism, the global periphery, ecological issues, etc., it will also be useful for the growing numbers of students at York and other Toronto-based universities interested in development and environment issues who are in Geography as well as Environmental Studies, Development or International/Area Studies programs.

This course will help students in Geography and in allied disciplines (e.g. sociology, political science, anthropology, etc.), who wish to develop what Marxist geographer, David Harvey calls 'geographical imagination', to be able to argue their own theoretical positions with non-geographers better, whether they want to be historical-geographical materialists or postmodern urban landscape analysts or neoclassical location specialists.

If you would like to sharpen your conceptual tools against Marx and Marxism, this course may also be for you! A critic must know her enemy well!

You can sample the Marxist discourse in these journals which supply a part of the reading material for the course: Capital and Class, Science and Society, New Left Review, Monthly Review, Review of Radical Political Economics, Historical Materialism, Socialist Register, Human Geography: A New Radical Journal, World Review of Political Economy and Antipode. There are also several online sites, including www.wsws.org, www.socialistproject.ca, www.radicalnotes.com, https://www.jacobinmag.com/, and www.links.org.au. [There is no implication that all these online sites are 'equally Marxist'!].

READINGS:

- 1. Marx, K. Capital Vol 1. Edited versions of the chapters will be supplied.
- 2. We will read a few articles and/or book chapters every week.

These readings will be made available to you at the course moodle site (please register) or through the university library system. You do not have to go to the market-place to access the readings!

ASSESSMENT AND COURSE ORGANIZATION RULES:

Rules for a harmonious and productive functioning of a system that satisfies the needs of all are important to adhere to. The seminar is such a system and it has certain rules/requirements. Students will be evaluated on the basis of the following requirements (members of the seminar may make suggestions for some changes in these through a democratic discussion in the first meeting).

Mark Breakdown		
Class participation and weekly reflection papers	10% + 25% = 35%	
Essay 1 ('The Marx essay')	40%	
Essay 2 (The 'post-Marx' essay)	25%	

a) Class participation and weekly reflections papers (10% + 25% = 35%):

Students **must actively participate** in the weekly class-discussions. They will be expected to discuss the readings every week, ask and answer questions. Each participant is expected to have enough material with her/him to speak for about 5 minutes every week.

Each student is expected to submit by email by 11.30 Tuesday a typed (double-spaced) reflection paper (length: 400 words for weeks 1-7, and 800 words for weeks 8-12). These papers will provide a summary of the main points from the set of weekly readings, and include a few questions and critical comments on them. A given number of papers per student will be randomly selected for assessment. A missing paper carries **minus 2%.** An email submission is not accepted.

- b) Essay 1 ('the Marx essay'): (40% of the grade): You will be provided a number of concepts from Marx around which you will write a 4000-word essay. In this essay you are expected to:
 - i. provide Marx's definition of each concept and point out the essential aspects of each concept (following a format like this: what is x, what is x caused/conditioned/governed by and what does x tend to be responsible for or lead to?);
 - ii. elaborate at least a few of these essential aspects, including by providing <u>quotes</u> from Marx (You must cite the <u>Marx readings supplied to you</u>, and not from other sources), iii. present brief comments on Marx, in the light of the weekly non-Marx Marxist readings;
- iv. discuss the ways in which the concepts are inter-connected to produce a 'discursive whole' reflecting the capitalist system;
- v. provide your own 4-line summary of *Capital volume 1* that captures its essence;
- vi. attach an appendix of 15 questions which you would ask workers, in an interview, to find out about their views on how capitalism works and how they experience capitalism. These questions must be derived from *Capital 1* and connected to the concepts you discuss. Each question will carry a reference to a specific page/paragraph of your essay.

You may imagine that you are doing a dictionary of key *Capital vol 1* concepts for an educated intelligent audience (e.g. advanced sections of the class conscious working class eager to understand Marx). If you write a few paragraphs every week about the concepts as we discuss them over the first

five weeks, these can form the raw material for your short essay. The Marx essay is due by email on Feb 27. There is a **lateness** penalty (5%/week).

- c) Essay 2 (the 'post-Marx' essay): (30% of the grade): Students will show that in order to adequately understand the topic of their choice, one must have a thorough knowledge of Marx's and Marxist ideas (i.e. historical materialist ideas which are broadly rooted in and/or consistent with Marx's approach to capitalism in *Capital vol 1*). The essay requirements are the following:
 - a. The topic of the essay must be from the weekly list of topics from the second part of the course (weeks 8-12);
 - b. You will <u>critically</u>*review up to 8 articles/chapters of standard length (at least 6000 words) including at least 6 from the further reading list on your chosen topic (to be supplied);
 - c. Your review of the topic will identify and discuss 3-4 aspects of the topic;
 - d. You must make your *own* intellectual stance on the literature clear by answering the question, 'what do you make of the literature?'. You must draw intellectual (and political conclusions, where possible), of your review;
 - e. An excellent essay would relate the discussion to ideas of Marx in *Capital vol 1*(topics discussed in the first part of the course) and connect to an aspect of the current conjuncture;
 - f. From the standpoint of equity, the paper will be 5000 words for Ph.D. students and 4000 words for Master's students;
 - g. The essay is due by email on April 2. There is a **lateness** penalty (5%/week).

*Before you write the essay, you might want to consult, on the topic of critique, the one-page philosophy litmus test (to be supplied) and this article: https://radicalnotes.com/2012/12/25/thinkingwriting-theoretically-about-society/
For more details on the topic of critique: see Das. R. 2023. https://links.org.au/how-think-and-write-theoretically-about-society

The York library system has excellent research resources, including:

- (1) Geography Research Guide http://researchguides.library.yorku.ca/geography. This provides information on how to search for journal articles, newspaper articles, books and other resources in the discipline of Geography.
- (2) Economics Research Guide http://researchguides.library.yorku.ca/economics. This provides information on how to search for journal articles, newspaper articles, books and other resources in the discipline of Economics.

GRADING SCHEME

A+: > 90% A: 85-89.9 A-: 80-84.9 B+75-79.9

B: 70-74.9 C: 60-69.9 F: <60%

WEEKLY TOPICS AND REQUIRED READINGS
(Minor changes in the reading list may be made in January)

I. Introduc	ction to the Course; Discussion on Marxist Philosophy
Week 1 (Jan 9):	 Marx and others. Writings on Philosophy. Ollman, B. 2014. 'Dialectics and World Politics', Globalizations, 11:5, 573-579. Harvey, D. The nature of environment: the dialectics of social and environmental change. Socialist register.pp32-42 Das, R. 2017. 'Philosophical Foundations' in Marxist Class Theory (Chapter 5)
II. (Spaces	s of) Commodity, Commodification, and Commodity Fetishism: Marx's Value Theory
Week 2 (Jan 16):	 Marx, K. Capital Vol 1: Chapter 1 ('The Commodity'). Bidet, J. 2006. 'Fetishism, a structural category of the ideology of commodity production' in his Exploring Marx's Capital, Brill: Leiden, pp. 260-271
III. Labou	r power as a (peculiar) Commodity; Labour Process, and Theory of Exploitation
Week 3 (Jan 23):	 Marx, K. <i>Capital</i> vol 1. Chapters: 4-8. Hensman, R. 2011. 'Revisiting the Domestic-Labour Debate', <i>Historical materialism</i>, 19(3), pp.3-28.
IV.	Twin Forms of Exploitation (1): Prolongation of the Working day (and 'lowering wages')
Week 4 (Jan 30):	 Marx, K. <i>Capital</i> volume 1: Chapter 10; and. Chs. 19-21 Lebowitz, M. 2006. 'The silences of <i>Capital</i>' in his <i>Following Marx</i>, Brill: Leiden, pp. 303-318
V. Twin Fo	orms of Exploitation (2): Cooperation; Technological change and Labour control
Week 5 (Feb 6):	 Marx, K. Capital volume 1: Chapters 12-16. Smith, T. 2010. 'Technological change in capitalism: Some Marxian Themes', Cambridge Journal of Economics, 34:1, pp. 203-212. Tinker, T. 2002. 'Spectres of Marx and Braverman in the twilight of postmodernist labour process', Work, employment and society, 16(2), pp. 251-281.

VI. Dynamics of Capitalist Accumulation and its Effects on Workers' Immiserization; Crisis

Week 6

(Feb 13):

- Marx, K. Capital vol. 1: Chs. 23-25; and, Capital Vol 3. Part 3 (selected pages).
- Smith, M. 2019. 'Value, Economy and crisis' in his *Invisible Leviathan: Marx's law of value in the twilight of capitalism* (pp.195-222)
- Roberts, M. 2015. 'The Marxist theory of economic crises in Capitalism'

NO CLASS ON FEB 20

VII. History and Geography of (Re)Commodification and (on-going) Primitive Accumulation

Week 7

(Feb 27):

- Marx, K. *Capital* vol 1. Chapters on 'So-called primitive accumulation'.
- Harvey, D. 2007. 'Neo-liberalism as creative destruction', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610:1 (may read only 33-43).
- Das, R. 2017. 'David Harvey's Theory of Accumulation by Dispossession: A Marxist Critique', World Review of Political Economy. 8:4, pp. 590-616

VIII. Spatiality of Capitalism: Geographically Uneven development

Week

(Mar 5):

- Harvey, D. 2001. *Spaces of Capital*, Routledge: New York (pp. 312-316; 237-266).
- Harvey, D. 2010. 'Uneven geographical developments and the production of space', in his *Seventeen Contradictions*.
- Das, R. 2017. 'David Harvey's Theory of Uneven Geographical Development: A Marxist Critique'. Capital & Class 41:3, pp. 511-536
- Trotsky, L. 'Uneven and Combined development'; and on 'scale'.

IX. Spatiality of Capitalism: Imperialism and the 'Hidden Abode' of 'Peripheral Capitalism'

Week 9

- Das, R. 2017. 'Subsumptions of labour by capital:...capitalist class relation from an international perspective', in *Marxist Class theory*... (chapter 8).
- Lenin, V. 1939. *Imperialism: the highest stage of capitalism* (chs 7-8).
- Harvey, D. 2007. 'In what ways is 'The New Imperialism' really new?', *Historical materialism*, 15(3), pp. 57-70.
- Patnaik, Harvey, et al: 'Is imperialism a relevant concept today?'

(Mar 12)

X. Environ Week 10: (Mar 19)	 Burkett, P. 1999. Marx and nature, St. Martin's press, New York, pp. 107-143. Foster, J. 1999. 'Marx's theory of metabolic rift', American journal of sociology, 105(2), pp. 366-405. (read especially: 378-390). Fracchia, J. 2008. 'The Capitalist Labour-Process and the Body in Pain: The Corporeal Depths of Marx's Concept of Immiseration', Historical Materialism, 16(4), pp. 35-66. Das, R. 2018. 'Anti-materialism, capitalism, and violence against the human body: some preliminary comments Das, R. 2018. 'A Marxist perspective on sustainability', Links, 'http://links.org.au/marxism-ecological-sustainability-social-inequality
XI. Class a	and Capitalism 1: Class/capitalism, Race and Gender
Week 11: (Mar 26)	Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg and Trotsky. On class and special oppression.
XII. Class	and Capitalism 2: Class, the State, and the Struggle
Week 12: (Apr 2)	 Lenin, V. The state (from his 1919 lecture and 1917 book) Das, R. 2022. Marx's Capital, Capitalism and Limits to the State; chapters 1-4 Cox, K. The state and historical geographical materialism Trotsky, L. Three Conceptions of the Russian Revolution; and the Transition program