

CARLETON UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY  
**SOCIOLOGY 5804: MODERN MARXIST THEORY**  
WINTER 2025

Professor Justin Paulson  
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Office hours: [Book an appointment](#) on Carleton's Office365

Seminar meetings: Tue 2:35-5:25  
Delivery method: in person.

Prerequisite: *A basic familiarity with Marx's critique of capitalism (and of classical political economy) is recommended.*

### Seminar Description

In this heavily reading-based seminar we will examine foundational and more recent influential Marxian approaches to such topics as ideology and class consciousness, class and identity formation, capitalism and settler colonialism, racial capitalism, social reproduction, capitalism and sexuality, and resource extraction. The seminar will provide students with a general familiarity with the field of 'western Marxism' as well as more recent developments in Marxist theory from the South.

### Seminar Requirements

1. **Attend all seminar meetings, being prepared to discuss the reading for that week.** *This is a reading-intensive seminar taught at an advanced level; thoughtfully completing the assigned reading on time is an absolute requirement.* (In some weeks we will be reading entire books; if this is too much, the seminar is probably not for you.) Always bring the texts, and your notes on the text(s), to the seminar meeting.

2. **Response papers and seminar presentations:**

No fewer than twice during the semester, you will prepare a seminar paper reflecting on or building on the texts and themes for that week. Please distribute copies of your paper to the seminar via email by 5pm on the Sunday prior to the seminar meeting.

Three times during the semester, you will make a presentation (15-20 minutes) to the seminar on the week's text(s). Presentations should explicate the key concepts and debates in the week's reading, and will be broader than the papers. You may present on the same weeks you write a paper. Together they will set the stage for the seminar discussion that follows.

☞ *A seminar paper is a well-written set of thoughtful reflections that demonstrates a rich understanding of the reading material. It is NOT a "book report" – merely a broad summary or overview of the text(s) – nor is it a term paper. It may be focussed narrowly on a particular theoretical point, or it may be an exploratory paper that applies the theory to a subject that interests you. Papers must engage with required texts and at least one of the supplementary texts for the week (your choice). Lengths may vary, but as a rule a paper of 6 single-spaced pages is generally fine; 4pp. is too short, and 10pp. is too long.*

3. **Read through and consider your peers' papers before the seminar meets. Be prepared to respond directly to papers and presentations.**

### Assessment:

**Your grade for the seminar will be based on the level and quality of your participation (50%, including both presentations and weekly participation), and the quality of your seminar papers (50%). Revisions to seminar papers are allowed until the end of the seminar.**

Work in this seminar will be graded according to the following scheme:

**A+** : Outstanding work – clearly presented and demonstrating an excellent grasp of the material. Elements of the paper may be publishable.

**A** : excellent, highly insightful work; engagement with the text(s) consistently meets all expectations, and in many instances exceeds them.

**A-** : the work is generally quite strong, and you would clearly be able to hold your own in a discussion about the material—but it may be uneven in places, or it may require further editing. Careful, close readings, or greater attention to analysis (rather than summary), may help.

**B+** : some good insights; ability to understand and engage with the text(s) is apparent, although the work may be uneven, unsustained, or there may be a significant oversight

**B** : level of engagement with the material and overall quality of work falls below expectations. It is given when a piece of work reflects a poor grasp of theory, an inability to develop a basic argument, and/or poor writing skills.

Grades will be averaged at the end of the term using the 12-point system.

- Late Work:** Late work will not be accepted, and presentations cannot be rescheduled after the second week of the seminar.
- Paper standards:** Seminar papers should be typed, proofread, and written in a standard font. They should also be consistent in their use of a citation method. (Proper in-text or footnoted citations of the texts are important, and are required. A bibliography is not.) The Sociology default (also my own favourite) is the CHICAGO MANUAL OF STYLE.
- Academic honesty:** Please see the end of the course outline for the University's policies about plagiarism. Note that academic honesty is crucial in the environment of a small graduate seminar, and I take it very seriously, without consideration of extraneous circumstances.
- Cell phones:** **Cell phones should be off** for the duration of the seminar. Transgressing cell phones will be impounded and have their ringtones replaced by Laibach's "Capital" or Justin Bieber's greatest hits, whichever you find more aurally offensive.
- Computers:** **Laptop computers should not be used in seminar except with documentation from the PMC that a computer is required for note-taking.** Access to the internet should be disabled. Seminar participants are expected to give attention to each other and to their note-taking, not to transcribing nor to any of the variety of distractions available from the internet.
- Questions:** Questions about the course material that don't come up in seminar are best handled with each other, on a Brightspace discussion board, or with me in office hours, rather than over email. If it is impractical or impossible to schedule an office hour appointment, then you are encouraged to email your question and I will get back to you as soon as possible.

**Email turnaround time:** *I do the best I can. Please come to office hours!*

**Please don't hesitate to meet with each other over a meal, a pint, coffee, or tea, to discuss the material or just to get to know each other.**

## Academic Regulations and Accommodations

University rules regarding registration, withdrawal, appealing marks, and most anything else you might need to know can be found on the university's website:

<https://calendar.carleton.ca/undergrad/regulations/academicregulationsoftheuniversity/>

But here are a few required tidbits:

### Accommodations

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. Carleton is committed to providing academic accessibility for all individuals. You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. The accommodation request processes, including information about the Academic Consideration Policy for Students in Medical and Other Extenuating Circumstances, are outlined on the Academic Accommodations website:

### Student Mental Health

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

**Emergency resources (on and off campus):** <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

### Carleton resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

### Off campus resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>
- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

## Plagiarism

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own.*” This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source. It also includes all computer- and AI-generated content. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, ChatGPT, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course's instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of “F” for the course, academic suspension, or other more severe penalties. For more details of what constitutes plagiarism, the potential penalties and the procedures, please refer to the section on Instructional Offences in the Graduate Calendar.

### Other Important Information

- Student or professor materials created for this seminar (including presentations, posted notes, assignments, etc.) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal, academic use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).
- Students must always retain a hard copy of all work that is submitted.
- All final grades are subject to the Dean's approval.
- Carleton University is committed to protecting the privacy of those who study or work here (currently and formerly). To that end, Carleton's Privacy Office seeks to encourage the implementation of the privacy provisions of Ontario's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FIPPA) within the university. In accordance with FIPPA, please ensure all email communication with staff and faculty is via your Carleton email account.
- **Important Dates:**
  - January 31 is the last day to withdraw with a full fee adjustment.
  - February 17-21 is Reading Week (no classes).
  - March 15 is the deadline to withdraw without penalty.
  - April 8 is the last possible date to hand in work.

### Required and Suggested Texts

By the end of the course, you will have become familiar with the traditions of thought often lumped together under the name "Western Marxism": Georg Lukács, Antonio Gramsci, the Frankfurt School, and the Birmingham School. You will also become familiar with the work of more contemporary theorists and currently-vibrant theoretical traditions of Marxism. The seminar will collectively decide on a final reading list at the first meeting of the seminar; last year's reading list, with some modifications, will be our starting point (and is mostly reproduced below), but as some texts experience surges of interest in some years, and fall flat in others, I will be gauging your interest in particular topics and texts before the seminar begins. Nearly all of the material will be available online or at the library, but you are strongly encouraged to purchase your own copies of as much of the material as you can.

Expect to read 8-9 books and >30 articles or chapters in this seminar.

**Books (anticipated) - most are available through Octopus Books ([octopusbooks.ca](http://octopusbooks.ca)):**

Antonio Gramsci, <u>The Modern Prince and Other Writings</u> (Int'l Publishers)	(\$21)
(If this is unavailable, try Forgacs, ed., <u>A Gramsci Reader</u> (NYU Press)	
Herbert Marcuse, <u>One Dimensional Man</u> (Beacon Press)	(\$34)
Tithi Bhattacharya, ed., <u>Social Reproduction Theory</u> (Pluto)	(\$38)
Ashley J. Bohrer, <u>Marxism and Intersectionality: Race, Gender, Class and Sexuality Under Contemporary Capitalism</u> (Transcript Press)	(\$59)
Andreas Malm & the Zetkin Collective, <u>White Skin, Black Fuel</u> (Verso)	(\$40)
Georg Lukács, <u>The Destruction of Reason</u> (reprint by Verso)	(\$55)
Alberto Toscano, <u>Late Fascism</u> (Verso)	(\$34)
Glen Sean Coulthard, <u>Red Skin, White Masks</u> (Minnesota)	(\$36)
Kevin Anderson, <u>Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies</u> (Chicago)	(\$41)

**Articles and book chapters (there will be many!) will be available from the library or from the professor.**

Volume I of Marx's Capital is an important reference, if you don't already own it; several copies are in stock at Octopus Books.

### **COST (required by the Ministry):**

If you purchase the anticipated required texts above new and get the rest from the library:	\$358
Are used copies okay?	YES
Can you get the books from the library instead?	YES
Can you get PDFs from online piracy sites?	The instructor does not condone the use of such sites.

## NOTE REGARDING DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION IN LEARNING:

"Most of the Marxists in the world are not white, are not men, and do not live in the north."

— Ruth Wilson Gilmore

The first half of this seminar is oriented around the intellectual history of a particular, foundational branch of Marxist theory that comes out of Europe (principally Germany, Italy, and the UK). So-called 'Western Marxism' is the school of thought in which I was trained, and my own mentors impressed upon me its continued importance and relevance. The second half of the seminar, however, explores the kind of work these and other Marxist concepts can do for understanding critical North American social problems and social change today. This half of the seminar aims to emphasize the work of BIPOC and women theorists coming out of or engaging directly with the Marxist tradition.

No seminar on Marxism should be about white men, and neither is this one, although several weeks of the first half might appear that way. It is, however, a seminar that focuses on theory developed in the context of the global north and west. This is a limitation that must be kept in mind while reading the material. Throughout the seminar I hope we can collectively develop a further reading list of related material coming out of regions such as Latin America, Africa, India, Palestine and the middle East, and Asia, and think about what might be theorized similarly or differently in the 'global south'.

In putting together the course outline, I am guided by the work of Angela Davis, who is always worth quoting at length:

"In my mind, as long as capitalism persists in determining the future of this planet, Marxism will continue to be relevant — as critiques of existing political economies; as approaches to the philosophy of history that emphasize the impermanence of history, even as proponents of capitalism insist on representing it as the inalterable backdrop of the future; and especially a reminder of human agency and the possibility of revolutionary transformation... Those who value the Marxist tradition—and I certainly count myself among those who do—will also value critical engagements with Marxist theory based on new insights regarding the forces of history.

Although the term 'racial capitalism' as first used by political scientist Cedric Robinson was originally proposed as a critique of the Marxist tradition grounded in what he called the Black radical tradition, it can also be a generative concept for new ways of holding these two overlapping intellectual and activist traditions in productive tension. If we set out to examine the many ways in which capitalism and racism have been intertwined, from the eras of colonialism and slavery to the present... I think that we are not so much 'stretching Marxism' [as Frantz Fanon proposes in *The Wretched of the Earth*] as we are continuing to build upon and critically engage with its insights... In both his works of philosophy and political economy, Marx always emphasized critique—and, of course, this became the primary approach of the Frankfurt School: critical theory... What I have always appreciated is the openness of Marx's work, its implicit invitation to push it in new directions...

[N]ew developments in global capitalism, including the increasing importance of women's labour—in manufacturing, as well as in reproductive and care labour, and especially in the global South—have pushed us to develop different categories and different methodological approaches. At a time when there is a great deal of dissatisfaction with capitalism, I think it is extremely important to expose students (either in institutionalized academic settings or in the context of movement-building education) to Marxist ideas, and especially to Marxist-inflected, anti-racist feminist approaches."

— Angela Y. Davis, to Brenna Bhandar and Rafael Ziadah, in *Revolutionary Feminisms* (Verso, 2020), pp. 205-6.

***A final note: the seminar will be intellectually challenging, but all participants must commit to ensuring that their participation contributes to a welcoming, inclusive, and respectful environment for all.***

## Seminar meetings and preliminary schedule of topics

### PART I: Introduction

#### **JANUARY 7: Introductions and intellectual biographies. Discuss schedule of readings.**

##### **Schedule presentations.**

##### **Marx (and key concepts in Marxist theory)**

Karl Marx, Capital, vol. I ch. 1 [1867] – chapters 1, 10, 16, 25, and part VIII.

*(Use the Fowkes translation (Penguin or Vintage). Skim the historical sections.)*

Karl Marx, part I of The German Ideology (Int'l Publishers – any edition [1845])

Sheila Rowbotham, "Dear Dr. Marx: A Letter from a Socialist Feminist," *Socialist Register* 1998, 1-17.

Highly suggested: Ernest Mandel, "Introduction" to volume 1 of Capital

##### *Suggested:*

chapters 4 and 7 of Capital

Peter Gose & Justin Paulson, "Economic Laws in *Capital*: Determination, Praxis, and the Human Science/Natural Science Question", in Reading Capital Today (Pluto, 2017)

David Harvey, podcast lectures on Capital at davidharvey.org

Herbert Marcuse, "The Foundations of Historical Materialism" [1932], in Studies in Critical Philosophy (Beacon Press)

Michael Heinrich, An Introduction to the Three Volumes of Marx's Capital (MR Press, 2012)

Michael Heinrich, Karl Marx and the Birth of Modern Society (MR Press, 2019)

Hadas Thier, A People's Guide to Capitalism: An Introduction to Marxist Economics (Haymarket, 2020)

#### **JANUARY 14: Luxemburg, Lenin, and early Marxism**

Rosa Luxemburg, "Reform or Revolution" [1900] (avail. at marxists.org)

Rosa Luxemburg, "The National Question" [1908-09] (avail. at marxists.org)

##### *Suggested:*

Rosa Luxemburg, "The Junius Pamphlet" (avail. at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org))

V. I. Lenin, "Theses on the National Question" (avail. at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org))

V. I. Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self Determination" (avail. at [marxists.org](http://marxists.org))

### PART II: "Western Marxism"

#### **JANUARY 21: Lukács**

Georg Lukács, "Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat," from History and Class Consciousness (MIT Press, 1973 [1923]), pp. 83-222.

##### *Suggested:*

Georg Lukács, "Class Consciousness," in History and Class Consciousness

Georg Lukács, A Defense of History and Class Consciousness [1920s] (Verso, 2002)

Martin Jay, "Georg Lukacs and the Origins of the Western Marxist Paradigm," ch. 2 of Marxism and Totality (UC Press, 1984)

Daniel Lopez, "10 Questions on Georg Lukács" (online - 2021)

#### **JANUARY 28: Critical Theory: Adorno & Horkheimer**

Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception," from Dialectic of Enlightenment (Stanford, 2007 [1944-47])

Theodor Adorno, "Progress," from Critical Models (Columbia, 1998 [1969]), pp. 143-160

##### *Suggested:*

Theodor Adorno, "Culture Industry Reconsidered" and "Culture and Administration," in The Culture Industry: Selected Essays

Max Horkheimer, "Traditional and Critical Theory," in Critical Theory

Stuart Hall, "The Supply of Demand" [1960]

Angela Davis, "Introduction to Negative Dialectics" - seminar paper (1967; translated 2021)

**FEBRUARY 4: Critical Theory: Herbert Marcuse and Angela Davis**

Herbert Marcuse, "A Note on Dialectic" [1960] (preface to Reason and Revolution or incl. in The Essential Frankfurt School Reader, ed. Arato & Gebhardt (Continuum, 1982))  
 Herbert Marcuse, One-Dimensional Man [1964] (Beacon)  
 Angela Y. Davis, "Unfinished Lecture on Liberation" and "Women and Capitalism: Dialectics of Oppression and Liberation"

*Suggested:*

Herbert Marcuse, "Some Social Implications of Modern Technology" [1941]  
 Angela Y. Davis, Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement (2015)  
 Theodor Adorno, "Culture Industry Reconsidered" and "Culture and Administration," in The Culture Industry: Selected Essays  
 Herbert Marcuse, "On the Philosophical Foundation of the Concept of Labor in Economics" (*Telos* 16:9-37, 1973).  
 Herbert Marcuse, Counterrevolution and Revolt [1972] (the follow-up text to *ODM*)  
 Herbert Marcuse, any selections from Negations [1930s-1960s]  
 Douglas Kellner, Critical Theory, Marxism, & Modernity

**FEBRUARY 11: Antonio Gramsci**

Antonio Gramsci, The Modern Prince and Other Writings, parts II and III [1920s] (Int'l Publishers)  
 Antonio Gramsci, "Some Aspects of the Southern Question" [1926] (Selections from Political Writings, ed. Hoare, Lawrence and Wishart, 1978).

*Suggested:*

Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, esp. the Buttigieg trans.  
 Ralph Miliband, "Counter-hegemonic Struggles" (*Socialist Register* 1990)

**FEBRUARY 25: Stuart Hall and the Birmingham School**

Stuart Hall, "The Problem of Ideology: Marxism Without Guarantees" (1983)  
 Stuart Hall, "The Great Moving Right Show" [1979] in The Hard Road to Renewal (Verso, 1988)  
 Stuart Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity" (1986)

*Suggested:*

Stuart Hall, Selected Writings on Marxism (Duke, 2021) — especially chs. 1 & 2.  
 Stuart Hall, The Fateful Triangle: Race, Ethnicity, Nation (Harvard, 2017)  
 Stuart Hall, "The Life and Times of the First New Left" (*New Left Review* 61)  
 Stuart Hall et al, Policing the Crisis (esp. recommended for those in crim!)  
 Carolyn Steedman, Landscape for a Good Woman

**PART III: Contemporary Interventions****MARCH 4: Class theory: pick any THREE texts from the following list (others optional)**

Joan Acker, Class Questions, Feminist Answers (Rowan & Littlefield, 2006), chapters 2 and 3.  
 David Camfield, "Re-Orienting Class Analysis: Working Classes as Historical Formations," *Science and Society* 68:4 (2005), 421-446.  
 —, "The Multitude and the Kangaroo: A Critique of Hardt and Negri's Theory of Immaterial Labour", *Historical Materialism* 15 (2007), 21-52.  
 Angela Davis, Women, Race, and Class (Vintage, 1981)  
 Daniel Drache, "The Formation and Fragmentation of the Canadian Working Class 1820-1920", *Studies in Political Economy* 15 (1984), 43-89.  
 Stuart Hall, "The 'Political' and the 'Economic' in Marx's Theory of Classes" (1977)  
 bell hooks, Where We Stand: Class Matters (Routledge, 2000).  
 Alan Hunt, ed., Class and Class Structure (Lawrence & Wishart, 1977)  
 Melissa Gira Grant, Playing the Whore: The Work of Sex Work (Verso/Jacobin, 2014)  
 Rolf Knight, Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia (1996)  
 Ron Ramdin, The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain (Verso, [1987])  
 David Roediger, Class, Race, and Marxism (Verso, 2019) or The Sinking Middle Class (Haymarket, 2022)  
 Göran Therborn, "Class in the 21st Century", *New Left Review* 78 (2012), 5-29.  
 E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Vintage [1963]), especially chapters 6, 8, 9, 14, 16.  
 Mario Tronti, Workers and Capital (Verso, 2019 [1966])  
 Kathi Weeks, The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries (Duke, 2011).  
 Erik Olin Wright, Understanding Class (Verso, 2015), especially chapters 1 and 7.

**MARCH 11: Theorizing Racial Capitalism**

Vanessa Wills, "Marxism and White Privilege: Building on Du Bois", *Spectre* 1:1 (2020), pp. 39-47.  
 Robin D.G. Kelley, "What did Cedric Robinson Mean by Racial Capitalism?" *Boston Review* (2017):  
<http://bostonreview.net/race/robin-d-g-kelley-what-did-cedric-robinson-mean-racial-capitalism>  
 Stuart Hall, "Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance." *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), 305-344.

*Suggested (see also the list of texts from March 9):*

Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, 2nd ed. (2000 [1983])  
 Owen Toews, *Stolen City: Racial Capitalism and the Making of Winnipeg* (ARP, 2018), especially chapters 1-2.  
 Black Agenda Report, "Racial Capitalism, Black Liberation, and South Africa" (2020):  
<http://www.blackagenda.com/racial-capitalism-black-liberation-and-south-africa>

**MARCH 18: Marxist Social Reproduction Theory**

Any 3 chapters from Tithi Bhattacharya, ed., *Social Reproduction Theory* (Pluto)  
 Ashley J. Bohrer, *Marxism and Intersectionality* ([Transcript], 2020) - selections

*Suggested:*

Carrie Freshour, "'Ain't No Life for a Mother: Racial Capitalism and the Crisis of Social Reproduction'", *Society+Space* (2017): <https://www.societyandspace.org/articles/aint-no-life-for-a-mother-racial-capitalism-and-the-crisis-of-social-reproduction>  
 Kevin Floyd, "Automatic Subjects," in *Historical Materialism* 24:2 (2016)  
 Rebecca Jane Hall, "Reproduction and Resistance," in *Historical Materialism* 24:2 (2016)  
 Susan Ferguson, *Women and Work: Feminism, Labour, and Social Reproduction* (Pluto, 2019)  
 Cinzia Arruzza, *Dangerous Liaisons: The Marriages and Divorces of Marxism and Feminism*  
 Kate Doyle Griffiths, "Labor Valorization and Social Reproduction: What is Valuable about the Labor Theory of Value?" *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 22.2 (2020)  
 Rosemary Hennessy, *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism* (2nd ed. - 2017)  
 Kathi Weeks, *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries* (2011) - introduction & ch. 3  
 Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation* (2004)  
 Abigail Bakan, "Marxism, Feminism, and Epistemological Dissonance," *Socialist Studies* 8:2 (2012)  
 Angela Davis, "Women and Capitalism: Dialectics of Oppression and Liberation" (1977)

**MARCH 25: Capitalism, Ecological Crisis, and the Climate Emergency**

Laura Pulido, "Flint, Environmental Racism, and Racial Capitalism" (*Capitalism, Nature, Socialism* 27:3 2016) <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2016.1213013>  
 Greg Albo, "The Limits of Eco-Localism: Scale, Strategy, Socialism" (*Socialist Register* 2007)  
 Andreas Malm and the Zetkin Collective, *White Skin, Black Fuel* (Verso, 2021)  
 Also look through at least one text from the list below:

*Suggested:*

James O'Connor, *Natural Causes: Essays in Ecological Marxism* (1998)  
 Kohei Saito, *Marx in the Anthropocene: Towards the Idea of Degrowth Communism* (Cambridge, 2023)  
 —, *Karl Marx's Ecosocialism: Capital, Nature, and the Unfinished Critique of Political Economy* (Monthly Review, 2017)  
 Martín Arboleda, *Planetary Mine: Territories of Extraction under Late Capitalism* (Verso, 2020)  
 Andreas Malm, *Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming* (Verso, 2016)  
 —, *The Progress of This Storm* (Verso, 2018)  
 —, *Corona, Climate, and Chronic Emergency: War Communism in the 21st Century* (2020)  
 —, *How to Blow Up a Pipeline* (Verso, 2021)  
 John Bellamy Foster, *Marx's Ecology: Materialism and Nature* (MR Press, 2000)  
 Ian Angus, *Facing the Anthropocene: Fossil Capitalism and the Crisis of the Earth System* (MR, 2016)

**APRIL 1: Fascism**

Georg Lukács, *The Destruction of Reason* (selections)  
 Gaspar Tamás, "On Post-Fascism" (<https://www.bostonreview.net/articles/g-m-tamas-post-fascism/>)  
 Alberto Toscano, *Late Fascism: Race, Capitalism, and the Politics of Crisis* (Verso, 2023)

*Suggested:*

Enzo Traverso, *The New Faces of Fascism: Populism and the Far Right* (2019)  
 Herbert Marcuse, "33 Theses" (from the collection *Technology, War, and Fascism*)  
 Clara Zetkin, *Fighting Fascism: How to Struggle and How to Win* (Haymarket)



**APRIL 8: Decolonizing Marx (potluck seminar)**

Glen Sean Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks (Minnesota, 2014)

Kevin Anderson, Marx at the Margins (Chicago, 2010)

Justin Paulson and Julie Tomiak, "Original and Ongoing Disposessions: Settler Capitalism and Indigenous Resistance in British Columbia", *Journal of Historical Sociology* (2022); DOI: 10.1111/johs.12365

***plus one of the following:***

The Red Nation, "Communism is the Horizon; Queer Indigenous Feminism is the Way", online at <http://therednation.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/TRN-pamphlet-final.pdf>

Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, "Nishnaabeg Anticapitalism," in As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom Through Radical Resistance (Minnesota, 2017).

Nick Estes, Our History is the Future: Standing Rock Versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance (Verso, 2019)

***Suggested:***

Walter Rodney, Decolonial Marxism: Essays from the Pan-African Revolution (Verso, 2022)

Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Ndlovu, eds., Marxism and Decolonization in the 21st Century (Routledge, 2022)

Thomas & Coburn, eds., Capitalism and Dispossession: Corporate Canada at Home and Abroad (Fernwood, 2022)

Koshi et al, eds., Colonial Racial Capitalism (Duke, 2022)

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