List of Figures and Tables viii Acknowledgements ix

- 1 Introduction 1
- 2 Analytical Marxist Theory of Class 22
 - 1 Main Concepts in Analytical Marxist Theory of Class 24
 - 2 Connecting Core Class-Concepts, and Levels of Class-Analysis 51
 - 3 Class Analysis, Struggle for Socialism, and Socialist Strategies 54
 - 4 Conceptual Advantages of Wright's Theory of Class 60
 - 5 Wright's Class Theory in Relation to His Marxist Social Theory 65
 - 6 Conclusion 70
- 3 Anti-essentialist (Post-structuralist) Marxist Theory of Class 74
 - 1 Post-structuralist Marxist Notion of Class Relation 76
 - 2 Class Agency/Struggle and Geography of Capitalism 83
 - 3 Class Theory as a Part of Marxist Social Theory in Anti-essentialist Marxism: The Principle of Non-dominance 89
 - 4 The Politics of Anti-essentialist Marxism or Class Politics of Distribution 98
 - 5 Semiotic/Linguistic/Emotional Resistance and Intervention 106
 - 6 Conclusion 109
- 4 A Critique of Theories of Class in Analytical and Anti-essentialist Marxisms 111
 - 1 Class and Property 112
 - 2 Class, Surplus, and Exploitation 118
 - 3 The Primacy of Class and of Capitalist Class Relations 125
 - 4 Problematic Conception of Class-Agency and Anti-capitalism 134
 - 5 A Reformist View of Post-capitalist Politics 145
 - 6 Class Character of Revisions to the Marxist Theory of Class: Theories and Interests 159
 - 7 Conclusion 164
- 5 Philosophical Foundations of Class Theory 175
 - 1 Marxist Philosophy: A Brief Statement of Basic Principles 175
 - 2 Philosophy and Class Theory 199
 - 3 Conclusion 208
- 6 Class Theory at a Trans-historical Scale 212
 - 1 Class in All Class Societies: Class, Property, and Exploitation 213
 - 2 Historically Specific Form of Class: Class in Pre-capitalist Society 228
 - 3 Objective Conditions, Class Struggle, Class Consciousenss and Transition in Class Form of Society 233
 - 4 Class and the State: Political Oppression as a Part of Class Relation 239
 - 5 Conclusion 243
- 7 Marxist Theory of Capitalism as Class: A Dialectics of Exchange,

Property and Value Relations 249

- 1 Capitalist Class Relation as Exchange/Money Relation 252
- 2 Capitalist Class Relation as Property Relation 258
- 3 Capitalist Class Relation as a Relation of Value 262
- 4 Money Relation, Property Relation, and Value Relation all Internally Connected 273
- 5 Concrete Map of Class Relations in Capitalist Social Formation 288
- 6 Objective Effects of Class Relations on the Working Class: Suffering and Immiserization 306
- 7 Conclusion 313
- 8 Subsumptions of Labour by Capital: Theory of Capitalist Class Relation from an International Perspective 340
 - 1 How is Capitalism Conceptualized? 342
 - 2 Formal and Real Subsumptions of Labour as Forms of Capitalist Class Relation 345
 - 3 Transition from Formal Subsumption, and the Mediation of Class Struggle 353
 - 4 Imperialism, Subsumption of Labour under Capital, and Class 359

- 5 Misconceptions about Subsumption of Labour and Dominant Contradiction in Modern Society 367
- 6 Summary, and Theoretical and Political Implications 376
- 9 The Capitalist State as Constitutive of Capitalist Class Relation: Class Exploitation and Political Oppression 391
 - 1 The Capitalist State and the Capitalist Class Relation 392
 - 2 Democratic State Form and the Capitalist Class Relation 399
 - 3 Capitalist Class Relations and Barrier to Working Class Access to State Power 402
 - 4 Conclusion 409
- 10 Dialectics of Class Consciousness 415
 - 1 Consciousness of the Bourgeoisie 417
 - 2 Consciousness of the Working Class and Its Multiple Forms 428
 - 3 Capitalist Class Relation and Working Class Consciousness 438
 - 4 Class Consciousness, Objectivism and Workers' Struggle: Somegeneral Considerations 453
 - 5 'Marxist Elitism' and Class Consciousness 462
 - 6 Conclusion 471
- 11 Trade Unionist Struggle and the Proletariat 483
 - 1 Struggle from Above and Struggle from Below 484
 - 2 'Primitive' Revolts of the Working Class 487
 - 3 Trade Union Struggle 489
 - 4 What Makes (Spontaneous or Trade Unionist) Struggle Necessary and Possible? 493
- 12 Class Struggle and the Proletariat 509
 - 1 A Marxist Critique of Spontaneous Trade Unionist Struggle 510
 - 2 Trade Union Struggle is a (Subordinate) Part of Class Struggle 514
 - 3 Revolution as the Ultimate Form of Class Struggle 525
 - 4 Revolutionary Role of the Proletariat 535
 - 5 Political Hegemony of the Proletariat 545
 - 6 Political Vehicles for Class Struggle 550
 - 7 Conclusion 556
- 13 Conclusions, and Further Reflections on the Political Implications of Class Theory 566
 - 1 Marxist Philosophy and Class Theory at a Trans-historical Level 579
 - 2 The Totality of the Capitalist Class Relation 586
 - 3 The Capitalist Class Relation, Internationally Speaking 605
 - The State and the (Capitalist) Class Relation 613
 - 5 (Working) Class Consciousness and (Working) Class Power 616

Works Cited 635 Index 662

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

- 1 Wright's view on the two-class model and the complexity in capitalist society 35
- 2 Model of Inter-connections among class structure, class formation and class struggle 52
- 3 Wright's views on exploitation and resistance in the workplace 64
- 4 Wright's view of the place of class theory in his Marxist social theory 65
- 5 Class processes in anti-essentialist Marxist theory 77
- 6 View of society in anti-essentialist Marxist class theory 89
- 7 Dialectics of the material and the non-material 185
- 8 Levels of generality for examining class society 205
- 9 Forms of exploitation 227
- 10 Class relations, fettering of productive forces, class struggle and crisis 236
- 11 The state as an arm of class 240
- 12 Inter-class relation and intra-class relation 301

- Marx's general formula for capital and two forms of subsumption of labour 350 13
- 14 History of capitalist class relation: dominance of different forms of class relations over time 352
- 15 Number of times 'dispossession' and 'capitalism' have been used (2008-2015) 375
- 16 Class, capitalism, and subsumption of labour 378
 17 Capitalism, class struggle and uneven developme
 18 Theorizing peripheral capitalism 388 Capitalism, class struggle and uneven development 381
- Capitalist class and capitalist state: An internal relation 393 19
- Steps to class consciousness 429
- 21 Three strata of the working class on the basis of consciousness 453

Tables

- Wright's theory of multiple forms of class-exploitation 33
- 2 Contradictory class consciousness of class society 417
- 3 Forms of working class consciousness 432