

RETHINKING MARXISM

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Editors' Introduction	1
TRANSITION AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA	
Transition, Telos, and Taxonomy S. Charusheela	8
On <i>Transition and Development in India</i>, by Anjan Chakrabarti and Stephen Cullenberg Maliha Safri	18
Class Analysis and Economic Development Stephen Resnick	24
Revisiting <i>Transition and Development in India</i> Anjan Chakrabarti and Stephen Cullenberg	30
Multitude, Surplus, and Envy Slavoj Žižek	46
Economy, Labor, and Cultural Memory: The Work of Seung Wook Koh Young Min Moon	59
The Left and the Reign of God Anna L. Peterson	72
The Associate Vice Provost in the Gray Flannel Suit: Administrative Labor and the Corporate University Jeffrey T. Nealon	92
On Lenin's "Usability," Or, How to Stay on the Edge Michael Marder	110
REMARX	
State Capitalism and Public Authorities in the United States Ross Weiner	128
The Nullarbor Actually Has Trees In It Paul Magee	134

REVIEWS

<i>The Politics of Critical Theory</i>, by George Snedeker John Conley	138
<i>Writing Politics: Left Discourse in Contemporary India</i>, by Devesh Vijay Steven Sherman	139
<i>Firing Back: Against the Tyranny of the Market 2</i>, by Pierre Bourdieu Richard D. Wolff	142
<i>War, Evil, and the End of History</i>, by Bernard-Henri Lévy James J. Brittain	143
Notes on Contributors	146

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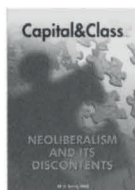
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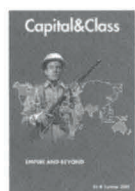
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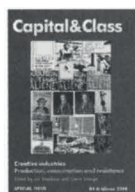


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Editors' Introduction

In this issue assembled for publication as we put the finishing touches on preparations for the Rethinking Marxism 2006 conference in Amherst, we are pleased to present the final symposium that was originally rehearsed at our preceding conference, "Marxism and the World Stage." This symposium, the product once again of the patient and unstinting labor of former editor and current editorial board member Jack Amariglio, comprises a set of commentaries on the categories and critical modes of analysis elaborated in *Transition and Development in India* by Anjan Chakrabarti and Stephen Cullenberg.

S. Charusheela opens the conversation by first identifying what she considers to be the theoretical advances contained in Chakrabarti and Cullenberg's unique critique of the long history of Marxist debates concerning development and transition as well as their formulation of an alternative conception of development, then argues that the authors' approach based on "class sets" ultimately overlooks a key issue—that of subaltern subjectivity. Charusheela explains how, on the plus side, Chakrabarti and Cullenberg utilize the lessons learned from poststructuralism and postcolonialism to deconstruct traditional Marxist approaches to agrarian development and the transition to capitalism in India. She credits, for example, the authors with dismantling and moving beyond the "determinism, essentialism, teleology, and Eurocentrism" that have served as the basis for the ongoing debates, and thus with opening the space for a different way of thinking about causality, transition, and development. She continues by showing how, in rejecting developmentalism but attempting to retain some notion of development, the authors present a disaggregated conception of "class sets" in order to formulate an innovative notion of an ideal society, "expanded communism," which combines due attention to both material needs and social relations. Still, Charusheela expresses her concern that—notwithstanding, and perhaps even because of, the strengths of the authors' conceptual approach (including their distancing from the problematic category of feudalism, which "continues to map Europe's history onto the Third World")—Chakrabarti and Cullenberg fall short of developing an alternative conception of non-Western or subaltern subjectivity.

Maliha Safri, like Charusheela, believes that Chakrabarti and Cullenberg have succeeded in pushing beyond an "unfruitful deadlock" concerning the relationship between capitalism and its noncapitalist other. In her view, their work also leads in two new directions: to a new dialogue between subaltern studies and postmodern Marxism, and to a new theorization of the social surplus. On the first point, Safri explains that "these two agendas need each other": subaltern studies would benefit

by incorporating the decentered class analysis formulated by Chakrabarti and Cullenberg; at the same time, the kind of “detailed thinking about power” that is central to subaltern studies has the potential of enriching Marxian class analysis. As for the surplus, Safri argues that the approach adopted by the authors overlaps with the work of others (such as J. K. Gibson-Graham, David Ruccio, and George DeMartino) that has appeared in *RM*. More than that, Chakrabarti and Cullenberg elaborate an ethics of the social surplus, which connects the producers, appropriators, and distributors of surplus in one class site to other social fields. On this view, a communist relation to the surplus finds no parallel in bourgeois rights but involves “a qualitatively different type of ethics, politics, and subjectivity.”

Stephen Resnick, for his part, recognizes the originality of Chakrabarti and Cullenberg’s book in providing a way of achieving two different needs—alleviating poverty and eliminating class exploitation—while, at the same time, “recognizing and elaborating the contradictions and potential conflicts their relationship presents.” Thus, Resnick reads the title of the authors’ book as signifying both a transition to a society without class exploitation *and* the development of wealth to satisfy the needs of the poor. But, for Resnick, their approach raises additional questions. First, if each and every site in society is conceived to be always already in transition, how is it possible to identify the transition from one kind of society to another? Presumably, only by choosing and prioritizing a subset of social processes—such as changes in surplus appropriation and wealth distribution. Second, if some distributions of the surplus (e.g., for satisfying basic needs or engaging in extravagant consumption) jeopardize the very existence of the surplus, is it not the case that the desired class structures (and thus the sources of the surplus) may be quite fragile? The third issue concerns the authors’ critique of essentialism in both historical materialism and subaltern studies. In Resnick’s view, categories such as the “peasantry” retain little if any meaning after Chakrabarti and Cullenberg produce their critical review of the Indian modes of production debate. Finally, Resnick applauds the authors’ analysis of India’s new economic policy, since they reject the arguments both for and against free trade, and thus the shared terrain of “too many” neoclassical and radical economists.

In their response, Chakrabarti and Cullenberg begin by explaining both the context of their initial exploring of the “Marxist-postcolonial lineage” and what their project means to them in retrospect. They then take up the issues raised by each commentator. In regard to Safri, they express their fundamental agreement with the importance of analyzing the mutually constitutive relations of power and class, but reiterate their view that there is no “one-to-one correspondence” between these relations; they therefore continue to reject what they consider to be the “power theory of class” elaborated within subaltern studies. On the issue of the social surplus, Chakrabarti and Cullenberg explain that their approach attempts to bridge the gap between needs-based distributions of the surplus and the mode of appropriating that surplus, which the idea of expanded communism is intended to capture. As for subjectivity, the authors express their agreement with both Safri and Charusheela: on one hand, they aimed to make subjectivity an open question; on the other hand, they sought to relate the problem of subject formation to expanded communism. In later work, they expand this approach by producing an alternative

representation of the colonial subject of the Third World, which they name the “world of the third.” Chakrabarti and Cullenberg conclude their response by focusing on the intersection of poverty, ethics, and subjectivity: only an expanded communism that represents an “intolerance to poverty” constitutes the appropriate goal of transition and development, in India and around the world.

Slavoj Žižek adopts a fundamentally different view of the surplus: for him, collective appropriation (as opposed to private, capitalist appropriation) remains inscribed within the logic of capital. Therefore, Žižek concludes, the search for revolutionary potential needs to abandon the Marxian proletariat and move, instead, to the slums of the world’s megalopolises where the signs of the “new forms of social awareness” can be found. This stance puts him at odds not only with the political options associated with traditional Marxism and the class analysis of postmodern Marxism but also with the notion of the multitude that serves as the model for resistance to global capitalism in the recent work of Michael Hardt and Toni Negri. In fact, Žižek notes what he considers to be the perhaps ironic coincidence between the visions set forth by Marx and by Hardt and Negri: in both cases, capitalism contains the seeds of its own demise and supersession. The question Žižek poses to both projects—proletariat and multitude, socialization of the surplus and absolute democracy—is whether their conceptions of resistance and the alternatives they put forward are not, in the end, expressions of the “ultimate capitalist fantasy.” Žižek is similarly critical of two other contemporary projects, outlined in the work of Giorgio Agamben and of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, which, while seemingly opposed, both presuppose a “Utopian point.” But it is exactly a notion of Utopia that is missing from recent protests, such as the riots in France. For Žižek, there was no program in the burning Paris suburbs, nothing comparable to May ’68, just an attempt to gain “visibility” and a demand for “recognition.” If in Žižek’s view Hardt and Negri’s framework cannot effectively explain events like the Paris riots, it is because they are still too close to traditional Marxism, too reliant on the “Marxist scheme of historical progress,” including the tension between the relations of production and the productive forces. Therefore, Žižek chooses to look beyond the proletariat and the multitude to locate the equivalent of the “universal individual”—or, with Alain Badiou, today’s authentic “evental sites”—in the slums of Lagos and across the Third World.

Young Min Moon presents and critically interrogates the meanings—the work at play, and the play at work—in two examples of the recent cultural performances of Korean artist Seung Wook Koh. The series of images from “Playing in the Vacant Lot” and “For Elise” show Koh alternatively excavating and sitting in a hole in the frozen landscape of Seoul and pulling, with lines attached to his ears, a platform on which a female pianist is playing the popular Beethoven composition. For Moon, Koh’s bodily interventions represent an “anticonceptual” engagement with the cultural memories of contemporary Koreans, especially those associated with the military dictatorships: injunctions to work and to avoid the evils of rest and playing; the drive to obtain Westernized, “sophisticated and cultured” standards of living; the attraction to and ultimate perversion of Far Eastern spiritual traditions; and much more. He also sees Koh’s active involvement in the everyday as challenging not only the commodification of creative practices but also the extent to which those practices are inscribed within

accepted artistic norms. So, what is it in the desires felt or expressed by Koreans that Koh succeeds in capturing and revealing in his performances? And what is it in his performances—composed of various dimensions and levels of the mundane and the grotesque—that turns his labors into an effective critique of Korean society?

Does Utopia have a role to play in contemporary socialist and left praxis? Anna L. Peterson states up front that she sides with those (such as David Harvey, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Norman Geras) who believe both that Utopianism “still has a vital place . . . and that it requires substantial revision.” And, in her view, the project of reviving and revising Utopian thinking can fruitfully be carried out by engaging the resources that religious Utopianism—“especially Christian images of and reflections about the reign of God”—have to offer. The concrete source of Peterson’s reflections can be found in the contributions of the Catholic left in Central America, with respect to such movements as the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation and the Sandinista Front for National Liberation. What Peterson finds is that, in addition to traditional left concerns (e.g., concerning national independence, agrarian reform, and the improvement of basic services), Catholicism has contributed an emphasis on “solidarity” (emphasizing democracy, freedom from repression, and equality), which defines the “promised land” that participants in Central American revolutionary movements imagined and struggled for. While acknowledging the clear obstacles—that the Central American national liberation movements did not (or have not yet) achieved their ultimate goals, that the reign of God serves as a “detailed guide to life in the world” for a small minority within Christian history, and that Christian thinkers such as Jean Bethke Elshtain criticize all Utopian visions in the name of realistic politics—Peterson believes that radical Utopian thinking can serve to counter so-called neoliberal and pro-war realists and serve as a resource that “teaches us to desire better: to understand what is wrong about the status quo and to envision and work for better alternatives.”

The damaging effects of the corporatization of North American universities have been extensively discussed and well documented. Jeffrey T. Nealon intervenes in this debate neither to affirm nor to condemn the “corporate university” but to identify the lessons academics might learn from the process of corporatization itself. In particular, Nealon notes that, while new corporate strategies have led to a shrinking of the ranks of middle management and the creation of a flexible command structure, the corporatization of the academy has “bloated itself on rigid layers of paper-shuffling administration” and increased the amount of casualized, part-time labor. What, then, is to be done? Nealon’s view is that, instead of scapegoating university faculty (either for generally ignoring administrative responsibilities or, among the elite faculty, for creating a Faustian bargain to decrease their own teaching loads at the expense of part-time faculty) or rejecting a standard of excellence (since that’s how many left professors have acquired and retained their positions), faculty and students should take a page from corporate economic discourse itself and seek to “cut the fat” of university administration. In other words, he believes that the “corporate university isn’t corporate enough,” that the corporate university has adopted an anachronistic model of management-driven corporatization. Therefore, instead of siding with cultural conservatives (to defend “true higher learning”), Nealon looks elsewhere, to economic conservatives, whose strategy would be to

“unlock shareholder value” by trimming the administrative bureaucracy, investing that excess cash into the “core business” of the university, and turning the university back to the true shareholders: the faculty and students.

While noting with some approval the contemporary “returns to Lenin” (via, for example, the work of Žižek and of Hardt and Negri), Michael Marder expresses his concern that the failure to address Lenin’s insights on the subject of usability itself—what Marder calls the prepragmatic domain—has limited our understanding of Lenin’s usefulness in the current conjuncture. Marder offers a different, Derridean reading of Lenin’s texts (based, in turn, on Marder’s own translations), particularly *State and Revolution* and *What Is to Be Done?* that seeks to find in Lenin’s words a direct, unmediated application to the present political conjuncture. Instead, Marder focuses on a series of thematic clusters—work before work, the complexity of the present, the importance of attunement to and attunement of a given situation, and the lifting of quotation marks—that, in his view, “enunciate the most pressing lessons of Leninism today.” Work before work: without any predetermined succession of stages, devoid of any teleology and marked by a double delay, work (whether in the theoretical, political, or economic spheres) is neither purely destructive nor is it productive of something other than more work. The present: the temporality of the revolutionary movement requires both strict vigilance with respect to the given possibilities of the moment and intervening to create the necessary conditions within the present moment. Attunement to, in the sense of hearing and seeing the “transposition and modulations” of the current situation, and attunement of, by adjusting the party’s mood with respect to that situation. And, finally, the lifting of quotation marks: for example, around the state, so that its role in mediating class conflict is laid bare, thereby presaging a “withering away of the state.” For Marder, these four modalities are Lenin’s way of positing the “self-erasure of the present that diverges from itself and, thereby, creates a space for revolutionary subjectivity.”

In the first of the two essays that comprise the Remarx section, Ross Weiner demonstrates that, contra the discourse of privatization and free markets in the United States, there is a burgeoning public sector made up of state capitalist enterprises. The origin of these “public authorities” can be traced back to the New Deal, in that they represented a way of carrying out publicly funded projects by borrowing funds outside the usual limitations placed on the debt burden carried by cities and states. This also allows public authorities to utilize both debt and the surplus they extract from their workers in the production of commodities—utilities, healthcare, mass transit, and so on—in ways that are not directly accountable to the public. In Weiner’s view, the only major difference between these state capitalist entities and private capitalist enterprises is the way the board of directors is composed. The result is that public authorities “have brought a (not so) little of the former USSR into the American heartland.”

Paul Magee’s Remarx essay is a paean to boredom—of Utopian literature and architecture, the Nullarbor desert in Australia, of unemployment. Taking Fredric Jameson’s analysis of the politics of Utopian literature as his guide, Magee sees the boredom that has been attributed to texts such as Thomas More’s *Utopia*—where everyone dresses the same, where both pain and pleasure are absent—not as a drawback, an unfortunate experience or a waste of time, but, rather, as an opening to

difference. For Magee, that's what makes boredom political: it signals the process of learning; it announces the presence of a way of being "we do not, indeed cannot, know." In other words, the encounter with boredom opens our eyes to the possibility that we and the world in which we live could be "completely and utterly different."

Critical reviews of four recent books complete this issue of *RM*. According to John Conley, George Snedeker's *The Politics of Cultural Theory* is a valuable attempt to reinvigorate the critical potential of sociology: by introducing readers to the work of key thinkers—such as Georg Lukács, Edward Said, Raymond Williams, and Oliver C. Cox—and demonstrating the "necessity of literary criticism for any sociology worth the name." While Conley believes the book should have included a more sustained discussion of literary theory, he sees it as a useful introduction to "some of the key exemplars" of the kind of transgressive methodology that is central to Snedeker's work and to the revitalization of critical sociology. Steve Sherman is less positive about Devesh Vijay's *Writing Politics: Left Discourse in Contemporary India*. While he recognizes Vijay's effort to clarify the concepts employed by a wide range of writers on the Indian left, Sherman finds the treatment ultimately superficial, failing to discuss the political context and implications of those concepts. As for *Firing Back: Against the Tyranny of the Market 2*, Richard Wolff lauds Pierre Bourdieu's insights into the "hypocrisies and ruses of multinational capital," as well as his call for a radically different form of globalization and the need for collective action. Wolff, however, laments Bourdieu's distancing of his arguments from communism and Marxism, in a manner that misses many of the contradictions of neoliberalism and how an oppositional politics might exploit them. Finally, James J. Brittain offers his views on Bernard-Henri Lévy's *War, Evil, and the End of History*: although the writing is "exquisite, masterful and intriguing," the argument is "much less satisfying." Brittain faults Lévy with offering a postmodern discourse on contemporary geopolitics and yet doing so "without concrete evidence, a loaded political-theoretical position, and an openly anti-Marxist tone." The result is that, in Brittain's view, Lévy neither advances postmodern analysis nor does he explain why conflict continues to exist in the modern world.

The program for Rethinking Marxism 2006 is now complete: more than 460 people are scheduled to present their work in over 150 different panels, plenary sessions, and artistic events. And we expect hundreds more scholars, students, and activists from around the United States and across the globe will arrive in Amherst to participate in this event. Clearly, while Bush's war in Iraq continues to exact its miserable toll, and U.S. midterm electoral campaigns are demonstrating the weak opposition offered by official politicians, *RM06* demonstrates that Marxism and other forms of critical thought continue to play a vital role in the world today. Readers of *RM* will encounter selected papers from the conference in future issues.

The Editors

SYMPOSIUM

**On *Transition and Development in India*,
by Anjan Chakrabarti and
Stephen Cullenberg**

**S. Charusheela
Maliha Safri
Stephen Resnick
Anjan Chakrabarti and
Stephen Cullenberg**

Transition, Telos, and Taxonomy

S. Charusheela

Anjan Chakrabarti and Stephen Cullenberg's Transition and Development in India provides a thorough critical discussion of Marxist debates about transition and development. Taking on board recent poststructuralist and postcolonial critiques, it builds an innovative alternative, using the concept of class sets, which avoids assuming that a society is dominated by a single mode of production. But while their approach successfully meets critiques about totalization and telos raised by metropolitan poststructuralist and postmodern scholars, its engagement with the subaltern studies school and postcolonial thought is less conclusive. The authors offer acute critical discussion of the postcolonial literature on subaltern subjectivity. But their class sets approach, by its nature, ultimately avoids the question of subjectivity altogether. This essay suggests that on-going difficulties in our approaches to subaltern subjectivity may be rooted in long-standing definitional problems with the detritus category "feudal" itself.

Key Words: Modes of Production, Subaltern Subjectivity, Feudalism

How, now, after poststructuralist and postmodern critiques of historicism, essentialism, and determinism in Marxist analyses of societal relations, and postcolonial critiques of Eurocentric telos and modernism in Marxist approaches to development, do we do Marxist class analysis? Anjan Chakrabarti and Stephen Cullenberg (2003) provide a compelling answer in *Transition and Development in India*. Their innovative deployment of class sets addresses the problems of historicism, essentialism, and determinism raised by poststructuralist and postmodern critics of classical Marxism. Through the concept of expanded communism, they provide an alternative notion of transition and development that eschews the Eurocentric telos and modernism of classical Marxism highlighted by postcolonial critics. Through their use of this framework to analyze the impacts of the new economic policies of the Indian state, they show us that it is possible to provide analytically robust, ethically and politically grounded, Marxist analysis that takes up the challenge of poststructural and postcolonial critique. This review essay argues that their project can be carried further by confronting questions about nonmodern subjectivity raised by the Marxist modes of production debates.

The Transition Debates: Essentialism, Determinism, Telos, and Eurocentrism

The first five chapters of *Transition and Development in India* provide one of the most thorough critical discussions available of the Marxist debates about transition and development. These debates focus on the question of agrarian development and transition to capitalism in developing (or colonized and decolonizing) economies. The underlying issues range from definitions of capitalist (and precapitalist) modes of production, to discussions about the nature of transition from one mode to another in a historical timeline, to questions about Marxist comprehensions of peasant consciousness and agrarian radicalism.

Transition debates are a product of classical Marxist conceptions of economy, social totality, and history, which can be summarized as follows. Marx provided a taxonomy of modes of production: primitive communist, ancient, slave, Asiatic, feudal, capitalist, and communist. Modes were distinguished by their social relations of production, performance, and appropriation of surplus, and were arranged in a teleological time line. History was the unfolding telos by which new, more 'advanced' (in the sense of an advance in the forces and relations of production as well as an advance in consciousness) modes emerged as a result of the accumulating contradictions in the previous mode. The time line ran from precapitalist modes to feudalism to capitalism, and would, in the unfolding of History, bring us to the communist mode. The revolutionary agent was the industrial working class (read Western, modern subject). While no doubt the exploited in precapitalist modes of production had some apprehension of their oppression, they lacked sufficient consciousness of the social totality, and of the overall process of class domination, to be the true agents of revolutionary change.

Within this framework, Third World societies were often seen as nonmodern, governed by feudal agrarian relations: a peasantry was exploited by feudal landlords in various types of bondage such as debt peonage. A concentration in agrarian sectors, backward technologies, and tradition-governed psyches, rather than industrialization, advanced technologies, and modern reason-governed psyches, characterized the presumed state of the less developed nations. Development was the project of bringing modern industry, modern technology, and modern capitalist relations governed by rights and law to the developing nation. It was assumed or hoped that this process would modernize psyches and sweep away the constraints of tradition and culture.

Transition debates in the context of development, then, entailed figuring out whether the transition from feudalism to capitalism had taken place yet, especially in agriculture. As Chakrabarti and Cullenberg observe, the political stakes are high, as the answer to this question shapes one's approach to state-led development projects. If a nation were already capitalist, a Marxist would oppose pro-capitalist projects and support agrarian radicalism in hopes of propelling the transition to communism. But if the social totality remained feudal, then the nation was unready for communist transition, still needing the cleansing force of capitalist development and modernization to free up its productive forces, break the hold of feudal social relations, and

sweep away feudal mentalities. Thus, Chakrabarti and Cullenberg foreground the ways in which Marxists' positioning on this issue linked directly to their perspective on agrarian radicalism. The debates revealed underlying problems of analysis—questions of how one conceptualized a mode of production, how one analyzed a social totality, and how one defined transition.

Chakrabarti and Cullenberg provide a convincing critique of the determinism, essentialism, teleology, and Eurocentrism that underlay the debates themselves. They are mindful of the poststructuralist and postmodern critiques of the functionalism and determinism of the base/superstructure formulation that assumed that issues of consciousness, psyche, and so on could be “read off” from the economic “base.” This line of critique is important, but it has been driven primarily by the concerns of Western activist-scholars who assumed that capitalism had arrived and wondered why the next stage, communism, had not yet emerged. The question that has most vexed Marxist scholars in Western societies has been the failure of the working class to emerge as the revolutionary agent. Their question, thus, was one of what Marxist thought had missed in its analysis of ‘advanced’, ‘modern’ Western industrial societies.

Postcolonial theorists, by contrast, have been particularly concerned with the ways in which History came to be understood as Europe's history, and Europe's history became the model for understanding contemporary non-Western societies. They have questioned the assumption that much of the non-West suffered from ‘nonmodern’ or ‘precapitalist’ psyches and ‘backward’ tradition and culture. Thus, while postcolonial scholars resemble poststructuralist and postmodern scholars in Europe and the United States in that they ask about causality, determinism, telos, Historicism, and subjectivity, their background concern has not been the failure of a capitalist society to move to communism, but the ongoing hold of Eurocentric modernism in the ways that Marxism has approached non-Western societies, and the role of this Eurocentric modernism in creating and maintaining neocolonial control. For postcolonial scholars, therefore, subjectivity is posed as a different problem. The problem is the persistent assumption, by the colonial rulers and their contemporary successors, that non-Westerners suffered from a fundamentally damaged consciousness. This assumption has been built into theoretical frameworks of many different kinds. My argument, developed below, is that while Chakrabarti and Cullenberg's alternative goes a considerable and important distance toward undoing a Eurocentric historicism that denies the possibility of non-Western (or, more accurately, subaltern) agency, that historicism still lingers in some of the categories used, especially that of “feudalism.”

Class Sets: An Alternative Ground for Marxist Analysis

“But, you cannot deny that capitalist globalization is responsible for modern slavery!” This was a statement posing as a question at the end of a recent talk I gave on the limits of the concept of “modes of production,” particularly “capitalism” and “feudalism,” in some varieties of Marxist thought. The statement is interesting as it demonstrates some of the analytical issues that plague the

deployment of Marxist categories of modes of production. I have no difficulty in agreeing that there is 'modern-day' slavery. But, what does it mean to analyze this as part of *capitalist* globalization—that is, to argue that the dynamics of contemporary capitalist accumulation are driven not by wage labor, but by the sale of people? The specifically Marxist analysis that explores the dynamics of capitalist exploitation through the generation of surplus value in the relationship between wage labor and capital suddenly becomes irrelevant to analyses of capitalism!

Of course, capitalism as deployed above is not meaningless. Rather, it is used to gesture at something. The question is, what? The analytical difficulty noted above, of course, is the presumed unity of the social totality, driven by a single essential motor of history and locus of transformation ('capitalist globalization'), and the effort to 'fit' all that does not fit that form ('modern-day slavery') into the unfolding singular logic of the unified social totality. If 'capitalism' above has any meaning, then, it seems to be that it acts as a stand-in for a presumed motor of history within a unified social totality. But the actual nature of such a 'motor of history' is effectively obscured, if not analytically bypassed altogether—and, incidentally, the analytically and ethically valuable insights about exploitation in the social relation between wage labor and capital that are fundamental contributions of Marxist analysis are similarly given short shrift—by calling it 'capitalism' in this loose, gestural way.

An alternative way to proceed, which is analytically more coherent, is to refuse the notion that a social totality contains one, and only one, mode of production, and that the 'nature' of the social totality can be read off the logic of that mode. This is the move to a more disaggregated social totality posited by postmodern Marxists. The analytical resolution then becomes easy at one level, but hard at another. One can easily argue that a social formation contains multiple modes (capitalist and slave) which overdetermine each other (so that capitalism provides a condition of existence for slavery and vice versa). But one can no longer invoke the singular trajectory of capitalist development and transition. A different way of thinking about causality, transition, and development becomes necessary.

This is the analytical project of chapters 6 and 7 of Chakrabarti and Cullenberg's book. They begin by agreeing with critics of the essentialist and determinist perspectives of earlier Marxist debates about class and development in India. But they part company with critics who, in the course of rejecting developmentalism, avoid any discussion of economy or exploitation, and flirt with relativist culturalism. Instead, Chakrabarti and Cullenberg want to reject developmentalism but retain development. They want an analytics that can grapple with the variability of forms of exploitation, and identify spaces for intervention.

They approach the social totality as a disaggregated whole with a variety of social relations of producing/performing, appropriating, and distributing surplus. These, following the terminology developed by Resnick and Wolff (1987), are termed the fundamental (producing/performing-appropriating surplus) and subsumed (distributing surplus) class processes. In addition to these processes, the social totality consists of a variety of nonclass economic processes (nonclass revenues and distributions within the economy across varied sites and agents), as well as noneconomic processes (cultural, ideological, natural, political). The task of the analyst is to map the class structure of an economy and find the ways in which class processes overdetermine