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<sup>i</sup> C1: 92.

<sup>iii</sup> II.2: 283; G: 717.

<sup>iv</sup> 33: 493.

<sup>v</sup> 30: 106.

<sup>vi</sup> C1: 280; see also 30: 106; and R: 989.

<sup>vii</sup> C1: 477; 30: 310; M: 943.

<sup>viii</sup> Armen A. Alchian and Harold Demsetz, Production, Information Costs, and Economic Organization, *American Economic Review* 62, no. 5 (1972): 777–95. See Giulio Palermo, The Economic Debate on Power: A Marxist Critique, *Journal of Economic Methodology* 21, no. 2 (2014), for an overview and compelling critique of these debates within mainstream economics.

<sup>ix</sup> 34: 29.

<sup>x</sup> C1: 450.

<sup>xi</sup> 33: 491.

<sup>xii</sup> Michael Burawoy, *The Politics of Production: Factory Regimes under Capitalism and Socialism* (London: Verso, 1985).

<sup>xiii</sup> See Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Gregory Elliott (London: Verso, 2018); Peter Fleming, *Authenticity and the Cultural Politics of Work: New Forms of Informal Control* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Frédéric Lordon, *Willing Slaves of Capital: Spinoza and Marx on Desire*, trans. Gabriel Ash (London: Verso, 2014); Andrew Sturdy, Peter Fleming, and Rick Delbridge, Normative Control and Beyond in Contemporary Capitalism, in *Working Life: Renewing Labour Process Analysis*, ed. Paul Thompson and Chris Smith (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 113–35.

<sup>xiv</sup> Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2011). Carlo Vercellone, From Formal Subsumption to General Intellect: Elements for a Marxist Reading of the Thesis of Cognitive Capitalism, *Historical Materialism* 15, no. 1 (2007): 13–36.

<sup>xv</sup> Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (London: Verso, 2013), 117.

<sup>xvi</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>xvii</sup> See Boltanski and Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*; Trent Cruz, *Creative Management: Disciplining the Neoliberal Worker* (PhD diss., University of Western Ontario, 2016), available at <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5862&context=etd>; Fleming, *Authenticity and the Cultural Politics of Work*; Peter Fleming and Andrew Sturdy, “Just Be Yourself!”, *Employee Relations* 31, no. 6 (2013); Sturdy, Fleming, and Delbridge, Normative Control and Beyond in Contemporary Capitalism.

<sup>xviii</sup> See also Heinrich, *An Introduction*, 114f.

<sup>xix</sup> Mike Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London: Verso, 2017).

<sup>xx</sup> Elizabeth Anderson, *Private Government: How Employers Rule Our Lives (and Why We Don't Talk about It)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), xix, 135ff. Anderson's critique contains some good insights and examples, but her opposition between despotism in the workplace and the allegedly egalitarian spirit of the market is pure ideology. The despotism of the workplace is, as we have seen, an *effect* of the anarchy of the market, not its opposite.

<sup>xxi</sup> C1: 550. In the factory code, the capitalist formulates his autocratic power over his workers like a private legislator, and purely as an emanation of his own will (C1: 549f). In another passage from *Capital*, Marx compares the directing authority of the production process to a conductor of an orchestra (C1: 448f). In that passage, however, he is discussing direction and coordination in an entirely general sense, i.e., independently of its capitalist form. The image of an orchestra could thus be read as the communist alternative to the militaristic and despotic capitalist. See also 30: 263.

<sup>xxii</sup> 30: 260.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Chakrabarty, quoted in Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory*, 105.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory*, 120ff.

<sup>xxv</sup> *Ibid.*, 117ff.

<sup>xxvi</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>xxvii</sup> *Ibid.*, 123f.

<sup>xxviii</sup> M: 943; see also 30: 94.

<sup>xxix</sup> M: 943; see also R: 989; 34: 122; R: 1053f; 34: 123; and C1: 450.

<sup>xxx</sup> R: 1025f; see also 1021.

<sup>xxxi</sup> 34: 96.

<sup>xxxii</sup> R: 1032; see also 9: 203. According to William Clare Roberts, this conception of the power of the capitalist is directly contained in Marx's concept of despotism – Marx inherited this from Hegel, for whom it referred to a specific form of tyranny in which constant flux in the person of the despot did nothing to disturb the overall structure of society. See William Clare Roberts, *Marx's Inferno: The Political Theory of Capital* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 167.