Contents

PRE	FACE	1
INT	RODUCTION: BRINGING WORKERS BACK IN	5
SOC	PTER ONE: THE LABOUR PROCESS IN CAPITALIST IETY	21
1.		
2.	Capitalist Control: Essence and Appearance	
3.	Class: In Itself or For Itself?	
4.	Technology: Innocent or Tainted?	
5.	Totalities: Expressive or Structured?	
6.	The Specificity of the United States	
СНА	PTER TWO: KARL MARX AND THE SATANIC MILLS	85
1.	Marx's Prototype: Market Despotism	0.5
2.	Lancashire: From Company State to Patriarchy	
3.	Lancashire: From Patriarchy to Paternalism	
4.	New England: From Paternalism to Market Despotism	
5.	Russia: Migrant Labour and the Company State	
6.	From the Satanic Mills to the Russian Revolution	
7.	The Revolution Against Capital	
СНА	PTER THREE: THE CHANGING FACE OF FACTORY	
REG	IMES UNDER ADVANCED CAPITALISM	122
1.	From Despotic to Hegemonic Regimes	
2.	Factory Politics at Jay's and Allied	
3.	Production Apparatuses and State Apparatuses	
4.		
CHA	PTER FOUR: WORKERS IN WORKERS' STATES	.56
1.	Capitalism and State Socialism	
2.	Red Star Tractor Factory	
3.	Varieties of Factory Politics	
4.	Class Struggles under State Socialism	

CHA	PTER FIVE: THE HIDDEN ABODE OF UNDER-	
DEV	ELOPMENT	209
1.	Production and Politics in Theories of Underdevelopment	
2.	From Primitive Accumulation to Expanded Reproduction	
	The Labour Process and the Colonial Legacy	
4.	The Rise and Fall of Colonial Despotism	
5.	The Disjuncture Between Labour Process and Production	
	Apparatuses	
6.	From Production Politics to State Politics	
7.	Transitions in a Capitalist World Economy	
CON	CLUSION: TOWARD A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE	253
INDEX		270

Preface

The origins of this book go back to 1968, when I became a research officer in the Zambian Copper Industry Service Bureau. For one and a half years I watched two multinational mining corporations respond to the new Zambian regime, installed four years earlier. I was able to observe managerial decisions made in relation to both the union and the government. I was also able to study what was going on in the mines themselves when I fielded a large social survey of the labour force with Zambian personnel officers as interviewers. I subsequently moved to the University of Zambia, where for two and a half years I undertook the research that forms the empirical basis of Chapter Five of this book. During the summer of 1971 I was joined by Abel Pandawa, Nat Tembo and Tony Simusokwe.

While at the University of Chicago I again took a job in industry, this time as a machine operator in the engine division of a multinational corporation that I called Allied. Although management knew of my research interest, I was treated like any other worker. This was 1974, and I held the job for ten months. I told my fellow-workers that I was doing this for my PhD thesis, but they either didn't care or didn't believe me. This was certainly not their idea of a university education.

By a stroke of fortune I had followed in the footsteps of one of the most astute and experienced field workers to have passed through the University of Chicago. Donald Roy had been a radial drill operator in the same plant thirty years earlier. His studies of 'Geer' were not only a base of comparison but also an inspiration to my own work. Don Roy died in 1980, just as he was putting together thirty years of studying union organizing in North Carolina. He was one of the few sociologists who managed to straddle the world of the industrial worker and the world of the academic — although at considerable personal cost. The comparison of my own study with Don's is more fully worked out in Manufacturing Consent. Here, in Chapter Three, I am more con-