Government 6075 Cornell University Fall 2020 Professor Patchen Markell markell@cornell.edu

FIELD SEMINAR IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Fridays, 3:15-5:40 pm Eastern time

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES:

Among all of the subfields of political science, political theory probably maintains the closest, most self-conscious relationship to its own history. Political theorists, trying to make sense of politics in the present, often do so in part by reading, invoking, interpreting, and/or criticizing the work of earlier writers we also identify as political theorists (even if they did not use that term themselves, or wrote before the formation of political science as an academic discipline, or were not professional academics at all). And when we introduce our subject to students, we also often do so by way of courses in the history of political thought.

At one level, this field seminar is an example of this approach: we will read works by several authors long treated as part of a retrospectively constructed "canon" of political thought, including Aristotle, Hobbes, Rousseau, and Marx. We will ask what we can learn from these works about political questions of enduring significance—questions about power, sovereignty, violence, justice, the state, democracy, revolution, capitalism, and the nature of the "political" itself, among others. And we will consider some of the ways in which these works have been interpreted, used, and criticized by others.

At another level, however this seminar is also an occasion to ask what we are doing, and why, when we read the history of political thought, especially when we do so with reference to a "canon" that has itself been shaped by such forces as white supremacy, patriarchy, and hostility to popular power. Is it enough, in response, to expand the canon? What is gained and lost by focusing on "political questions of enduring significance," as opposed to those that might be seen as of merely momentary or local import? By assuming that political theory worth studying is the product of exceptional individuals? By making familiarity with a canon into a marker of professional distinction and academic authority? Do the answers to these questions depend on *how* we read this history and what we do with it? What are the alternatives?

This course is not a complete survey—there *is* no "complete" survey—of the history of political thought; but it will introduce students to important theoretical terms and concepts; to phenomena that have been of fundamental concern to political theorists; to continuities and differences between theories of politics over time and space; and to varying approaches to the interpretation of theoretical texts. It will provide a foundation for further study in preparation for the field examination in political thought, and it will prepare students to reflect critically on the politics of the practice of political theory as they do this.

TEXTS AVAILABLE FOR PURCHASE:

Aristotle, *Politics*, Lord trans., 2nd ed., University of Chicago Press Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Curley, Hackett Publishers Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Major Political Writings*, Scott trans., University of Chicago Press Karl Marx, *Later Political Writings*, ed. Carver, Cambridge University Press Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, University of Minnesota Press

Please use *these specific editions* of these texts, so that we will be working with the same translation and can stay (literally) on the same page in our discussions. Other readings are available in the "Files" tab of our Canvas site and via the live links on the syllabus (links to Canvas will require authentication; for links to JSTOR and journal websites, use Cornell's Passkey).

SEMINAR FORMAT AND PROCEDURES:

This is a seminar course; there will be no lectures. Each week, at the scheduled 135-minute class time, the seminar will meet on Zoom. (A Zoom link will be distributed to all students registered for the course in advance of the first meeting.) Each session will be divided into two roughly equal parts, with a 10-minute break between them. After the first week, the first half of each seminar will be guided by a short (*max* 10-minute) presentation by one student on the week's reading, which should identify one or more salient issues in the reading for discussion, explain where these issues arise in the texts and why they matter, and suggest possible avenues for further discussion. The second half of each seminar, which might sometimes begin with brief questions or comments by me, will provide an opportunity to continue this discussion, to shift focus to other issues in the reading, to step back and synthesize, etc. as appropriate. You should come prepared to pose constructive questions based on one or more of the week's readings, and to explain the stakes of these questions for the rest of us, even if it is not your week to present. These sessions will *not* ordinarily be recorded, though under special circumstances I may ask the class if they are willing to have the session recorded to help an absent colleague, and will only do so if everyone agrees.

In addition to the weekly Zoom session, all members of the seminar will be invited to a Slack workspace to use for informal off-hours conversation about the material and the issues raised in the seminar; this will be a good way to refine ideas, to sustain continuity in the conversation from week to week, and to discuss issues that we didn't have time for in class. Participation is voluntary; this is meant to be a resource, not a burden. A transcript of the Slack workspace will be preserved as part of my instructor's record of the course, but the workspace itself will be permanently deleted after the end of the semester.

SHAPING THE SYLLABUS AND COMPILING A BIBLIOGRAPHY:

I've assigned readings to accompany the texts by Aristotle, Hobbes, Rousseau and Marx in the first two weeks of each three-week unit, but not in the third week of each unit. (I call these "side dishes" rather than "secondary" readings, since the distinction between "primary" and "secondary" works is a little fuzzy.) During the first two weeks of each unit, each student should spend some time surveying journals available online (especially academic journals in political theory*, though sources from other disciplines, as well as non-academic sources, are also welcome) looking for promising articles that seem like they might shed light on the work we're reading or on issues we have discussed in class. These will often be *about* the author in question, but they can be relevant without being focused on the main text we're reading. By Monday morning of the third week of each unit, each student should email me to nominate one or more articles as side dishes for the week, with a link or PDF included; your email should include a brief explanation of why these items are especially interesting to you and relevant to the class. I'll draw on these nominations to flesh out the reading assignments for the third week. I encourage you to share these nominations, and other interesting material you find, in the Slack workspace; at the end of the semester, I will compile links to all the material shared on Slack into a bibliography, with some additions of my own, which will be a useful starting point for exam preparation.

*Some of the journals you might consult for this purpose, and which are in any case good for political theorists to look at regularly, include *Contemporary Political Theory*, *European Journal of Political Theory*, *History of Political Thought*, *Political Theory*, and *Theory* & *Event*, as well as discipline-wide political science journals that regularly publish good work in political theory, like *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *Political Research Quarterly*, and *Polity*. You will also find relevant work in a wide variety of journals across the social sciences and humanities; I am happy to make recommendations depending on your interests, but you should also simply spend time browsing journals that have published work you find engaging!

RESPONSE PAPERS:

Over the course of the seminar, each student must complete five short response papers; I strongly encourage spreading these out over the course of the semester. Response papers for each week are due before that week's session of the seminar (submitted to me by email); you may not submit response papers on the week(s) that you are giving a presentation in seminar, and late response papers won't be accepted. These papers should be 1000–1250 words in length (around 3–4 pages) and closely tied to one or two (not all!) of the week's readings. They should use these readings to identify an non-obvious question about the meaning of a text, its theoretical implications, and/or its political significance, explain the larger ramifications of this question, and either propose a possible answer or at least indicate how you would go about answering the question (what other subsidiary questions would you pose? what else would you investigate or read?). These response papers will be graded "plus," "check," or "minus"; your lowest-scoring response paper will not count toward your final grade. You are welcome to test out ideas for your response papers in the Slack workspace, and to draw on your own prose from Slack discussions; if you do so, however, be careful not to use others' words, or ideas that you encountered in someone else's post, without attribution. If people make use of the collaborative possibilities of Slack to develop ideas, there may be substantive convergence among different students' response papers; this is fine, as long as you give due credit; but you must still present your own version of the ideas in your own words!

FINAL EXAM:

There will be a 72-hour, open-book, take-home final exam at the end of the semester. The exam will take place from **6 PM FRIDAY DECEMBER 11 TO 6 PM MONDAY DECEMBER 14.** This exam will require you to write three essays that deal synthetically with multiple texts, theorists, and/or concepts from the seminar. It will be similar in form to the Government Department's Q exam in political thought.

GRADES:

Final exam: 50% Response papers: 25% Oral presentation(s): 10%

Seminar participation: 10% (including participation in the Slack workspace if you so choose)

Contributions to the syllabus and bibliography: 5%

OFFICE HOURS:

I'll hold regular office hours on Zoom on Tuesdays from 3:30–5pm, starting week 2 (and will send a link to members of the seminar after the first session on September 4. These will be "drop-in" to start (with a waiting room); I may switch to an appointment system if these become crowded. I'm also happy to meet online at other times if you can't make these office hours.

SEMIFINAL WEEK (WEEK 12):

For the Fall of 2020, Cornell has instituted a "semifinal week" prior to Thanksgiving, at the point at which some courses will be switching from in-person to online. We will not be having a semifinal in this class; nevertheless, we are not supposed to conduct instruction during semifinal week. Instead, during the regular class time during Week 12, I will hold voluntary office hours in which students who wish to discuss that week's material informally with me and each other can do so. *No one is required to do anything for this class during semifinal week other than keep up with the reading.*

WEEKLY READING ASSIGNMENTS:

Week 1 (Sept. 4): Introduction (no assigned reading)

Week 2 (Sept. 11): Aristotle, I: Citizenship, slavery, and the polis

- 1. Aristotle, *Politics*, books I and III.1–5.
- 2. Peter Garnsey, "Aristotle," chap. 8 in *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*, pp. 107–27.
- 3. Jill Frank, "Citizens, Slaves, and Foreigners: Aristotle on Human Nature," *American Political Science Review* (2004).
- 4. Page DuBois, "On Aristotle, or the Political Theory of Possessive Mastery," chap. 9 in *Slaves and Other Objects*, pp. 189–205.
- 5. Sara Monoson, "Recollecting Aristotle: Pro-Slavery Thought in Antebellum America and the Argument of *Politics* Book I," in *Ancient Slavery and Abolition*, ed. Hall et al., pp. 247–73.
- 6. Sara Brill, "Aristotle's Meta-Zoology: Shared Life and Human Animality in the *Politics*," in *Antiquities Beyond Humanism*, ed. Bianchi, et al., pp. 97–121.

Week 3 (Sept. 18): Aristotle, II: Constitutions and change

- 1. Aristotle, *Politics*, books III.6–18, IV–VI.
- 2. Melissa Lane, "Popular Sovereignty as Control of Office-Holders: Aristotle on Greek Democracy," in *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective*, ed. Bourke and Skinner, pp. 52–72.
- 3. Sheldon Wolin, "Norm and Form: The Constitutionalizing of Democracy," in *Athenian Political Thought and the Reconstruction of American Democracy*, ed. Euben, et al., pp. 29–58.
- 4. Mary Dietz, "Between Polis and Empire: Aristotle's Politics," *American Political Science Review* (2012).
- 5. Orlando Patterson, "The Emergence of Slave Society and Civic Freedom," in *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture*, pp. 64–81.
- 6. Emily Greenwood, "Between Colonialism and Independence: Eric Williams and the Uses of Classics in Trinidad in the 1950s and 1960s," in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, ed. Hardwick and Stray, pp. 98–112.

Week 4 (Sept. 25). Aristotle, III: Utopias, ideals, prayers

- 1. Aristotle, *Politics*, books II, VII-VIII.
- 2. Steven Salkever, "Whose Prayer? The Best Regime of Book 7 and the Lessons of Aristotle's *Politics*," *Political Theory* (2007).
- 3. Judith Swanson, "Women, the Public, and the Private," in *The Public and Private in Aristotle's Political Philosophy*, pp. 44–68.
- 4. Özgüç Orhan, "Engaging Nature: Phusis, Praxis, and the Good," in *Environmentalism and the Political Theory Canon*, pp. 45–64.
- 5. Jordan Jochim, "Aristotle, Tyranny, and the Small-Souled Subject," Political Theory (2020).
- 6. Caleb Basnett, "From 'Fugitive Democracy' to 'Fugitive Justice': Cultivating a Democratic Ethos," *Contemporary Political Theory* (2020).

Week 5 (Oct. 2). Hobbes, I: The state of nature

- 1. Hobbes, Leviathan, book I.
- 2. Carole Pateman, "'God Hath Ordained to Man a Helper': Hobbes, Patriarchy, and Conjugal Right," *British Journal of Political Science* (1989).
- 3. Quentin Skinner, "A Third Concept of Liberty," Proceedings of the British Academy (2002).
- 4. Carole Pateman, Quentin Skinner, Nancy Hirschmann, and Joanne Wright, "Hobbes, History, Politics, and Gender: A Conversation with Carole Pateman and Quentin Skinner," in *Feminist Interpretations of Thomas Hobbes*, ed. Hirschmann and Wright, pp. 17–37.
- 5. Davide Panagia, "Delicate Discriminations: Thomas Hobbes's Science of Politics," *Polity* (2003).
- 6. Christopher Warren, "Leviathan and the Airway: Black Lives Matter and Hobbes with the History Put Back," *Medium* (June 26, 2020).

Week 6 (Oct. 9). Hobbes, II: The sovereign and the commonwealth

- 1. Hobbes, Leviathan, book II.
- 2. Sophie Smith, "Democracy and the Body Politic from Aristotle to Hobbes," *Political Theory* (2018).
- 3. Daniel Luban, "Hobbesian Slavery," Political Theory (2018).
- 4. John McCormick, "Fear, Technology, and the State: Carl Schmitt, Leo Strauss, and the Revival of Hobbes in Weimar and National Socialist Germany," *Political Theory* (1994).
- 5. Jeanne Morefield, "Urgent History: The Sovereignty Debates and Political Theory's Lost Voices," *Political Theory* (2017).
- 6. Banu Bargu, "Sovereignty as Erasure: Rethinking Enforced Disappearances," Qui Parle (2014).

Week 7 (Oct. 16). Hobbes, III: The kingdoms of God and of Darkness

- 1. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, books III–IV (selections): chaps. 41(3–5); 42 (4–11); 43, (1–3, 11, 22–24); 46 (32, 35–36); 47 (all); 47 (Latin version, 28–29); Review and Conclusion.
- 2. James Martel, "Strong Sovereign, Weak Messiah: Thomas Hobbes on Scriptural Interpretation, Rhetoric, and the Holy Spirit," *Theory & Event* (2005).
- 3. Deborah Baumgold, "The Difficulties of Hobbes Interpretation," *Political Theory* (2008).
- 4. Deborah Baumgold, "Trust' in Hobbes's Political Thought," Political Theory (2013).
- 5. Theodore Christov, "The Invention of Hobbesian Anarchy," *Journal of International Political Theory* (2017).
- 6. Audra Simspson, "Borders, Cigarettes, and Sovereignty," in *Mohawk Interruptus*, pp. 115–45. [endnotes here]

Week 8 (Oct. 23). Rousseau, I: Nature, artifice, and (in)equality

- 1. Rousseau, "Discourse on the Origin and the Foundations of Inequality Among Men," in *Major Political Writings*, including notes VI, IX, X, XV, XVI.
- 2. Judith Shklar, "Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Equality," Daedalus (1978).
- 3. Tommy Curry, "From Rousseau's Theory of Natural Equality to Firmin's Resistance to the Historical Inequality of Races," *The CLR James Journal* (2009).
- 4. Sharon Stanley, "Unraveling Natural Utopia: Diderot's Supplement to the Voyage of Bougainville," Political Theory (2009).
- 5. Christopher Brooke, "Nonintrinsic Egalitarianism, from Hobbes to Rousseau," *Journal of Politics* (2020).

6. Charles Mills, "Rousseau, the Master's Tools, and Anti-Contractarian Contractarianism," *The CLR James Journal* (2009).

Week 9 (Oct. 30). Rousseau, II: The social contract

- 1. Rousseau, "On the Social Contract," books I-II, in Major Political Writings.
- 2. Richard Tuck, "Democratic Sovereignty and Democratic Government: The Sleeping Sovereign," in *Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective*, ed. Bourke and Skinner, pp. 115–141.
- 3. Bonnie Honig, "Between Decision and Deliberation: Political Paradox in Democratic Theory," *American Political Science Review* (2007).
- 4. Melissa Schwartzberg, "Voting the General Will: Rousseau on Decision Rules," *Political Theory* (2008).
- 5. Tracy Strong, "The General Will in Rousseau and After Rousseau," in *The General Will: Evolution of a Concept*, ed. Farr and Williams, pp. 307–329.
- 6. Jason Frank, "Rousseau's Silent Assemblies," MS.

Week 10 (Nov. 6). Rousseau, III: Law and government

- 1. Rousseau, "On the Social Contract," books III-IV, in Major Political Writings.
- 2. Joseph Lane and Rebecca Clark, "The Solitary Walker in the Political World: The Paradoxes of Rousseau and Deep Ecology," *Political Theory* (2006).

Note: for this week, there will be no student presentation; instead, each member of the seminar should come prepared to suggest one specific passage in books III-IV of "On the Social Contract" for us to discuss during the first half of class. In the second half of class, we will turn to the Lane & Clark piece, both for substantive discussion and criticism, and also to understand *how the article works* as a piece of academic writing published in a reputable journal. To aid in your reflection on this question, you may wish to read the following either before or after reading Lane and Clark:

3. Samuel Chambers, "Editing and Curation," Contemporary Political Theory (2016).

Week 11 (Nov. 13). Marx, I: Critique

- 1. Marx, "On the Jewish Question," part 1, in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Tucker, pp. 26–46.
- 2. Marx, "Preface' to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," in Later Political Writings.
- 3. Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*: Introduction," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, pp. 53–65.
- 4. Jürgen Habermas, "Natural Law and Revolution," in *Theory and Practice*, pp. 82–120
- 5. Wendy Brown, "Rights and Losses," in States of Injury, pp. 96–134.
- 6. Kenneth Baynes, "Rights as Critique and the Critique of Rights," and Wendy Brown, "Revaluing Critique," in *Political Theory* (2000).

Week 12 (Nov. 20). Marx, II: Capitalism, labor, and and expropriation

*** Reminder: this is "semi-final" week, so there will be no class; instead, as described above, I will hold *voluntary* office hours during the regular class time, which students who wish to discuss this material may attend. ***

- 1. Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, chaps. 1, 4–6, 26–27, 31–33. (If you don't have access to the Fowkes translation, published by Vintage, you can read the Moore/Aveling version at marxists.org.)
- 2. Moishe Postone, "Rethinking Marx (in a Post-Marxist World)," in *Reclaiming the Sociological Classics*, ed. Camic, pp. 45–80.
- 3. Angela Y. Davis, "Women and Capitalism: Dialectics of Oppression and Liberation," in *The Black Feminist Reader*, ed. James and Sharpley-Whiting, pp. 146–82.
- 4. Nancy Fraser, "Behind Marx's Hidden Abode: For an Expanded Conception of Capitalism," *New Left Review* (2014).
- 5. Michael Dawson, "Hidden in Plain Sight: A Note on Legitimation Crises and the Racial Order," *Critical Historical Studies* (2016).
- 6. Sara-Maria Sorentino, "The Abstract Slave: Anti-Blackness and Marx's Method," *International Labor and Working-Class History* (2019).
- 7. Rob Nichols, "Theft is Property! The Recursive Logic of Dispossession," *Political Theory* (2018).

Week 13 (Nov. 27). NO CLASS; Thanksgiving break

Week 14 (Dec. 4). Marx, III: Politics and revolution

- 1. Marx and Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in Later Political Writings.
- 2. Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in Later Political Writings.
- 3. Terrell Carver, "Translating Marx," Alternatives (1997).

Week 15 (Dec. 11): "Let's begin at the beginning...."

1. Jacques Rancière, Disagreement (all).

But wait, there's more!

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS ON CANONICITY:

These readings in political theory and adjacent fields, including history and literary studies, reflect more or less explicitly on what it means to call a text "canonical," on why and how political theorists (and others) read "canonical" texts, and on the political, social, and institutional conditions and consequences of canon-formation. These are not required for any particular week in the seminar, but you should read some or all of them over the course of the term.

- 1. George Kateb, "The Adequacy of the Canon," Political Theory (2002).
- 2. Wendy Brown, "At the Edge," Political Theory (2002).
- 3. James Alexander, "A Genealogy of Political Theory: A Polemic," *Contemporary Political Theory* (2018).
- 4. Linda Zerilli, "Feminist Theory and the Canon of Political Thought," *Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, ed. Dryzek, Honig, and Phillips, pp. 106–24.
- 5. Lori Marso, "Women in Western Political Thought," in *The Enyclopedia of Political Thought*, ed. Michael Gibbons.
- 6. Farah Godrej, "Canons, Traditions and Cosmopolitanism," in *Cosmopolitan Political Thought*, pp. 26–49.
- 7. Sara Ahmed, "Introduction: Bringing Feminist Theory Home," in Living a Feminist Life, pp. 1–18.

- 8. John Guillory, "Canonical and Noncanonical: The Current Debate," chap. 1 in *Cultural Capital*, pp. 3–82. (endnotes here)
- 9. Ankhi Mukherjee, "What Is a Classic?": International Literary Criticism and the Classic Question," *PMLA* (2010).
- 10. Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Provincializing Europe: Postcoloniality and the Critique of History," *Cultural Studies* (1992).
- 11. Frederick Cooper, "Postcolonial Studies and the Study of History," in *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, ed. Loomba et al., pp. 401–22.
- 12. Constanze Güthenke and Brooke Holmes, "Hyperinclusivity, Hypercanonicity, and the Future of the Field," in Formisano and Kraus, eds., *Marginality, Canonicity, Passion*, pp. 57–73.

AN ACCIDENTAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FURTHER READING:

This bibliography includes students' "side-dish" recommendations from weeks 4, 7, 10, and 14 that did not make it onto the main syllabus; items that happened to have been mentioned in class or in our Slack conversations; and a some supplementary suggestions of my own, including both recent scholarship that speaks to issues we've discussed, and a *small* handful of works that I've found particularly useful or stimulating in my own readings of these theorists. I've included links for journal articles here when I can, but not for books or book chapters.

I. Aristotle

Allen, Danielle. *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship since* Brown v. Board of Education. Arlen, Gordon. "Aristotle and the Problem of Oligarchic Harm: Insights for Democracy." *European Journal of Political Theory* (2019).

Callard, Agnes. "Should We Cancel Aristotle?" New York Times (2020).

Frank, Jill. A Democracy of Distinction: Aristotle and the Work of Politics.

Garsten, Bryan. "Rhetoric and Human Separateness." POLIS (2013).

Janssens, David. "Easily, At a Glance: Aristotle's Political Optics." Review of Politics (2010).

Meikle, Scott. "Aristotle on Money." Phronesis (1994).

Nussbaum, Martha. The Fragility of Goodness: Luck and Ethics in Greek Tragedy and Philosophy.

Sorentino, Sara-Maria. "Natural Slavery, Real Abstraction, and the Virtuality of Anti-Blackness." *Theory & Event* (2019).

Wilson, James Lindley. "Deliberation, Democracy, and the Rule of Reason in Aristotle's 'Politics'." *American Political Science Review* (2011).

Witt, Charlotte. "Form, Normativity and Gender in Aristotle: A Feminist Perspective." in Alanen and Witt, eds., *Feminist Reflections on the History of Philosophy*, pp. 117–36.

Yack, Bernard. The Problems of a Political Animal.

II. Hobbes

Brett, Annabel. Changes of State: Nature and the Limits of the City in Early Modern Natural Law.

Cooper, Julie. Secular Powers: Humility in Modern Political Thought.

Flathman, Richard. Thomas Hobbes: Skepticism, Individuality, and Politics.

Forsyth, Murray. "Thomas Hobbes and the External Relations of States." British Journal of International Studies (1979).

Kahn, Victoria. Wayward Contracts: The Crisis of Political Obligation in England, 1640–1674.

Kotef, Hagar. Movement and the Ordering of Freedom.

Martel, James. Subverting the Leviathan: Reading Thomas Hobbes as a Radical Democrat.

Malcolm, Noel. Aspects of Hobbes.

Nacol, Emily. "Experience Concludeth Nothing Universally': Hobbes and the Groundwork for a Political Theory of Risk." In *An Age of Risk*, pp. 9–40.

Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. "Hobbes's Concept of Representation." APSR (1964) [part II]

Skinner, Quentin. "Hobbes and the Purely Artificial Person of the State." *Journal of Political Philosophy* (1999).

Tuck, Richard. Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant.

Wolin, Sheldon. Hobbes and the Epic Tradition of Political Theory.

III. Rousseau

Cooper, Julie. "Self-Love: Rousseau on the Allure, and the Elusiveness, of Divine Self-Sufficiency," in *Secular Powers*, pp. 105–39.

Critchley, Simon. "The Catechism of the Citizen: Politics, Law, and Religion in, after, with, and against Rousseau," *Continental Philosophy Review* (2009).

Gordon, Jane Anna. Creolizing Political Theory: Reading Rousseau through Fanon.

Klausen, Jimmy Casas. Fugitive Rousseau: Slavery, Primitivism, and Political Freedom.

Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. "Rousseau and Fanon on Inequality and the Human Sciences," *The CLR James Journal* (2009)

McCormick, John. "Rousseau's Rome and the Repudiation of Populist Republicanism," *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* (2007).

Muthu, Sankar. "On the General Will of Humanity: Global Connections in Rousseau's Political Thought," in *The General Will: The Evolution of a Concept*, ed. Farr and Williams, pp. 270–306.

Riley, Patrick. The General Will Before Rousseau.

Rotenstreich, Nathan "Between Rousseau and Marx," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research (1949).

Spector, Céline. "Rousseau at Harvard: John Rawls and Judith Shklar on Realistic Utopia," in *Engaging With Rousseau: Reaction and Interpretation from the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, ed. Lifschitz, pp. 152–67.

Starobinski, Jean. Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction.

Wingrove, Elizabeth. Rousseau's Republican Romance.

Zerilli, Linda M. G. Signifying Woman: Culture and Chaos in Rousseau, Burke, and Mill.

IV. Marx

Benhabib, Seyla. Critique, Norm, and Utopia: A Study of the Foundations of Critical Theory.

Chambers, Samuel. There's No Such Thing As the Economy: Essays on Capitalist Value.

Elson, Diane. "The Value Theory of Labour," in Value: The Representation of Labour in Capitalism.

Gibson-Graham, J. K. The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy Harvey, David. A Companion to Marx's Capital.

Ince, Onur Ulas. "Between Equal Rights: Primitive Accumulation and Capital's Violence," *Political Theory* (2017).

Johnson, Sarah, "The Early Life of Marx's 'Mode of Production'," *Modern Intellectual History* (2019). Johnson, Walter. "The Pedestal and the Veil: Rethinking the Capitalism/Slavery Question," *Journal of the Early Republic* (2004).

Postone, Moishe. Time, Labor, and Social Domination.

Roberts, William Clare. Marx's Inferno: The Political Theory of Capital.

Roberts, William Clare. "What was primitive accumulation? Reconstructing the origin of a critical concept." *European Journal of Political Theory* (2020).

Singh, Nikhil. "On Race, Violence, and So-Called Primitive Accumulation," Social Text (2016).

Wood, Ellen Meiksins. Empire of Capital.

V. Miscellaneous

Alpert, Avram. "Racism is Baked into the Structure of Dialectical Philosophy." Aeon (2020).

Graeber, David. Debt: The First 5000 Years.

Green, Toby. A Fistful of Shells: West Africa from the Rise of the Slave Trade to the Age of Revolution.

Wolin, Sheldon. "What Time Is It?" Theory & Event (1997).