# **Decolonised reading list for Cambridge Politics course**

*[Compiled by graduates in September 2018]*

The first year politics course at the University of Cambridge is divided into three parts. The first seeks to define “the modern state [as] the predominant basis on which political authority and power are constructed across the world today to try to avoid disorder”; the second traces the history and critiques of representative democracy as the preeminent form of the modern state today; and the third examines “the coherence and persuasiveness of a number of political critiques of the modern state and representative democracy and the nature of disagreement in politics.” Each of these parts includes a number of set texts that are deemed essential to an understanding of the thematic content. In order to achieve a high mark, candidates are expected firstly to have an in-depth knowledge of the arguments of the texts in question, and secondly to supplement (rather than critically evaluate, critique or assess) this knowledge with historical secondary literature.

The paper guide includes the following disclaimer about the structure of the course: “These texts are not there to be analysed as texts per se but to be considered for the arguments they contain. We have chosen these texts for this paper not because they represent a canon but because they engage with some of the fundamental questions of modern politics.” We appreciate the attention that has been given to addressing the fact that the texts taught in the course are not meant to be exhaustive and representative of global political thought. We offer this reading list as a respectful parallel resource for students who are interested in understanding what lies beneath the surface of what is conventionally seen as “valuable” and “important” knowledge. Decolonization is not merely about the inclusion of authors from the Global South; that is to say, it is not merely, or even primarily, about content. Rather, decolonisation is above all a certain approach to learning. It is about de-centering and de-stabilizing the idea of a singularly “modern” politics, and upholding an ethic of intellectual integrity and honesty in studying and evaluating the authors of the established canon, to the end of understanding the reasons why relations of power political, power intellectual, power cultural, and power moral (in Edward Said’s formulation) have been, and continue to be, the way that they are. The ultimate aim is to introduce new and liberatory ways of seeing, knowing, and being.

**General recommendations:**

* Susan Buck-Morss, [‘Hegel and Haiti’](https://www.jstor.org/stable/1344332?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents), *Critical Inquiry*, 26:4 (2000), pp.821-865 [on the erasure of race in the history of political thought]
  + See also the full book: Buck-Morss (2009) *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press
* Political Philosophy focused
  + Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, [*Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader*](https://www.wiley.com/en-us/Race+and+the+Enlightenment%3A+A+Reader-p-9780631201366)[compilation of important writings on race that emerged in the Enlightenment period]
  + Mills, Charles W., 2015. [*Decolonizing Western Political Philosophy*](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/07393148.2014.995491), New Political Science 37
* Wallerstein, Immanuel, 1983. [Historical Capitalism](https://libcom.org/files/immanuel-wallerstein-historical-capitalism.pdf). London: Verso [1996 Ed]. See especially the first chapter, *The Commodification of Everything: Production of Capital*.
* Anievas, Alexander and Kerem Nişancıoğlu, 2015. *How the West Came to Rule: the Geopolitical Origins of Capitalism*. London: Pluto Press
* Paul Gilroy, 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*
* Partha Chatterjee, 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories.*
* Ranajit Guha, 1997. *Dominance without Hegemony.*
* Nancy Leys Stepan, 1998. [Race, Gender, Science and Citizenship.](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1468-0424.00088) *Gender and History* 10 (1): 26-52.
* Anderson, Benedict, 2007. Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination. London: Verso

**Recommendations for each topic (we have included the topic on the curriculum, and then listed our recommendations below each):**

**1-2 Hobbes and the problem of order** | Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. Richard Tuck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), parts I and II:

* Problems with the Contract
  + Pateman, C. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Cambridge: Polity Press
  + Mills, C. W. 1997. *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca, NY.: Cornell University Press
  + People of the Democratic Autonomous Regions of Rojava, 2014. [*The Social Contract*](http://www.jonasstaal.nl/site/assets/files/1180/nwa5_stateless_democracy.pdf), in Stateless Democracy: New World Academy Reader #5: pp131-158.
  + Goldberg, D.T. 2002. *The Racial State.* Cambridge: Blackwell.
* ‘Order’ for Who? See **9-10 Fanon and the imperial modern state** below
  + Kennedy, Dane, 2008. [*Decolonization and Disorder*](https://www.loc.gov/today/cyberlc/feature_wdesc.php?rec=4350). Keynote lecture for the Third International Seminar on Decolonization.

**2-3 Constant and modern liberty** |Benjamin Constant, ‘On the liberty of the ancients and the liberty of the moderns,’ AND ‘Principles of politics applicable to all representative governments’ in *Constant: political writings*, ed. Biancamaria Fontana (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988);

* Benjamin Constant, ‘[*On the Perfectibility of the Human Race*](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=bOgNAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA346&dq=On+the+Perfectibility+of+the+Human+Race+benjamin+constant&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjNrYyrotvcAhUGM8AKHSCGBGsQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=On%20the%20Perfectibility%20of%20the%20Human%20Race%20benjamin%20constant&f=false)*’*
* Marcel Gauchet, ‘Liberalism’s Lucid Illusion’, in H. Rosenblatt (ed), The Cambridge Companion to Benjamin Constant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 23-46 (E)
* Jeremy Jennings ‘Constitutional Liberalism in France’, in ‘The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Political Thought’, eds. Gareth Stedman Jones and Gregory Claeys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 349-373
* Hesse, Barnor, 2014. [*Escaping Liberty: Western Hegemony, Black Fugitivity*](http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0090591714526208). Political Theory 42(3): 288-313.
* On liberalism generally:
  + Losurdo, Domenico, 2011. Liberalism A Counter-History. London: Verso. See particularly Ch2: *Liberalism and Racial Slavery: A Unique Twin Birth*, Ch5: *The Revolution in France and San Domingo*
  + Mills, Charles W., 2008. [Racial Liberalism](https://www.jstor.org/stable/25501942?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents), PMLA. 123(5)
  + Raymond Geuss, 2002, “Liberalism and its discontents”
  + John Gray, *The Two Faces of Liberalism*
  + Edmund Fawcett, *Liberalism: The Life of an Idea*
  + Katrina Forrester, [“Liberalism Doesn’t Start With Liberty”](https://www.thenation.com/article/liberalism-doesnt-start-liberty/)
  + Duncan Bell, 2014, “What is Liberalism”
  + "Superior People: the Narrowness of Liberalism from Mill to Rawls", The Times Literary Supplement, 25 Feb (1994).

**3-4 Weber and political leadership** | Max Weber, “The profession and vocation of politics,” in *Weber: political writings*, ed. Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 309-369

* Zimmerman, A. 2006. [“Decolonizing Weber”](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13668250500488827?scroll=top&needAccess=true)
* Blaut, J. M. [“Max Weber: Western Rationality”](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Iw0udCJ8XdLez8YSHM2oXKVkLeeFr6j-/view?usp=sharing). *Eight Eurocentric Historians.* New York: The Guildford Press, 2000. 19-30.
  + Possible also: Gorz, André. 1989. *Critique of Economic Reason*. London: Verso
* Öcalan, Abdullah, 2011. [*Democratic Confederalism*](http://www.freeocalan.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Ocalan-Democratic-Confederalism.pdf)[summary on pp32-34]
* Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri, 2017. *Assembly*. Oxford: OUP. See generally Part I: *The Leadership Problem* and Ch8: *Weber in Reverse*.
* Wright EO (2002) The shadow of exploitation in Weber’s class analysis. American Sociological Review: 832–853;
* Ashcraft R (1972) Marx and Weber on Liberalism as Bourgeois Ideology. Comparative Studies in Society and History 14(2): 130–168.

**5-6 Schmitt and the nature of the political** | Carl Schmitt, *The concept of the political*, trans. George Schwab, with a foreword by Tracy B. Strong (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996)

* Hussain (2003), *The Jurisprudence of Emergency*
* Butler, Judith and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (2007) *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging*. Oxford: Seagull Books

**7-8 Hayek and economic liberty** | Friedrich Hayek, *The road to serfdom* (London: Routledge, 1986)

* Orwell, G. 1944. [Review. *The Observer*](https://maudestavern.com/2008/10/09/george-orwell-review/)
* Hansen, J. 1945. [‘Hayek Pleads for Capitalism’. *Fourth International*](https://www.marxists.org/archive/hansen/1945/06/hayek.htm)
* Mattick, P. 1946. [‘Serfdom in a Free Society’. *Western Socialist*](https://www.marxists.org/archive/mattick-paul/1946/09/serfdom.htm)

Hayek and the Chilean dictatorship

* Farrant, A., McPhail E., and Berger, S. 2012. ‘Preventing the "Abuses" of Democracy: Hayek, the "Military Usurper" and Transitional Dictatorship in Chile?’. The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 71 (3): pp. 513-538
* Caldwell, B. and Montes, L. 2014. “Friedrich Hayek and his Visits to Chile”. The Review of Austrian Economics, 28 (3). pp. 261-309

Hayek and neoliberalism

* Naomi Klein. 2007. *The Shock Doctrine.* London: Penguin Group
* Amadae, S.M., 2003. *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy: The Cold War Origins Of Rational Choice Liberalism*. Chicago, IL.: University of Chicago Press
* MacLean, N. 2017. *Democracy in Chains.* New York, NY.: Viking Press
* Harvey, D. 2005. [“Chapter 1: Freedom’s Just Another Word…”](http://www.cmecc.com/uploads/%E8%AF%BE%E6%9C%AC%E5%92%8C%E8%AE%BA%E6%96%87/%5B9%5D%5B%E5%A4%A7%E5%8D%AB%E5%93%88%E7%BB%B4%5D.David.Harvey.(2005).A.Brief.History.of.Neoliberalism.pdf). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. 5-63. Oxford: Oxford University Press
* Gamble, A. 1996. *Hayek: The Iron Cage of Liberty.* Cambridge: Polity Press. [[link to Ch. 3 “Markets”]](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1d4c7Wy1TkTcfL13T_qdrbtflOvdjkF4q/view?usp=sharing)

**9-10 Fanon and the imperial modern state** | Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, new edition (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 2001).

*N.B. 2018-2019 is the first year that Fanon will be taught as an independent topic. Previously, he was studied alongside Hannah Arendt, focusing on violence in politics. The 2018-2019 topic addresses the legacy of imperialism and colonialism on the history of the modern state.*

* Mbembe, Achille (2003). "Necropolitics". Public Culture. 15 (1): 11–40. [on violence]
* Nanjala Nyabola, ‘Eulogy for Pan-Africanism: Long Live Man-Africanism’, <https://thenewinquiry.com/eulogy-for-pan-africanism-long-live-man-africanism/>
* Cesaire, Aime, 1955. [Discourse on Colonialism](http://abahlali.org/files/_Discourse_on_Colonialism.pdf). New York: Monthly Review Press
* Hussein A. Bulhan, [“Stages of Colonialism in Africa: From Occupation of Land to Occupation of Being”](https://jspp.psychopen.eu/article/view/143/139)
* Tracy Denean Sharpley-Whiting, 1998, *Frantz Fanon: Conflicts and Feminisms* 
  + White, Aaronette M., 2007. [*All the Men Are Fighting for Freedom, All the Women Are Mourning Their Men, but Some of Us Carried Guns: A Raced‐Gendered Analysis of Fanon’s Psychological Perspectives on War*](https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/513021). Signs 32(4): 857-884
* Nash, Andrew (2002) [*Third Worldism*](https://www.jstor.org/stable/24487379). African Sociological Review. 7(1)
* See also:
  + Blautt, J.M., 1993. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. New York: Guilford Press.
  + Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed. See Ch1: *Imperialism, History, Writing, and Theory*
  + Alavi, H., 1972. The State in Post- Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh. New Left Review, I(74), pp. 59-82.
  + Haag, D., 2011. Mechanisms of Neo-colonialism: Current French and British influence in Cameroon and Ghana, Barcelona: Institut Català Internacional per la Pau

**13-14 The creation of the American federal republic** | James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist with letters of ‘Brutus’* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 1, 10, 14, 37-39, 47-48 51, 57-58, 63, 78 AND Brutus, “Letters” in James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist with letters of ‘Brutus’* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) I-VII and XI.

* David Waldstreicher, 2013, [The Beardian Legacy, the Madisonian Moment, and the Politics of Slavery](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.1086/673134.pdf?refreqid=search%3Ab380d8b7741f676b17e2e6fa3c3bcee4)
* See again Hesse, Barnor, 2014. [*Escaping Liberty: Western Hegemony, Black Fugitivity*](http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0090591714526208). Political Theory 42(3): 288-313.
* Charles Beard, ‘An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States’

**15-16 Democratic society and democratic adaptability** | Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (London: Fontana Press, 1994 [orig 1835]): Vol 1, part I, chs 3-6 part II, chs. 1, 4, 6-9; Vol. 2, part II, chs. 1, 5-9, 13 part III, 21- 26 part IV, chs. 1-8.

*N.B. 2018-2019 is the first year that Tocqueville’s chapter on ‘The Probable Future of the Three Races that Inhabit the Territory of the United States’ has been added to the set text, and that explicit instructions have been made that students can draw on Tocqueville’s arguments about American racial politics and democracy in assessing whether democracy is a singularly adaptable form of politics. It is also the first year that a separate section on secondary readings pertaining to slavery and race have been included.*

* Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903) *The Souls of Black Folk*. Oxford: OUP [2007 paperback ed.]
  + See also: Du Bois, W.E.B., 1935. *Black Reconstruction*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company
* Malcolm X, 1964. *The Black Revolution*, in Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements. George Breitman (ed). New York: Grove Press
* Seale, Bobby, 1970. *Party Programs: Serving the People*, in Seize the Time: The Story of The Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton.
  + See also Tracey, James, 2012. *Hillbilly Nationalists, Urban Race Rebels and Black Power: Community Organizing in Radical Times*. New York: Melville House Publishers
* Wolfe, Alan (1997). [*The Limits of Legitimacy: Political Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism*](https://archive.org/details/limitsoflegitima00wolf)*.* New York: Free Press.
* On ‘the public sphere’ and who is included in the polity
  + Fraser, Nancy, 1990. [Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy](https://www.jstor.org/stable/466240). Social Text 25/26: p56-80.
  + Black Public Sphere Collective, 1995. *The Black Public Sphere*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
  + Squires, Catherine R., 2006. [Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2002.tb00278.x). Communication Theory 12(4)

**17-18 Representative democracy and the competitive struggle for power** | Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, socialism and democracy* (London: Routledge, 1994), part iv.

* Medearis, J. 1997. ‘Schumpeter, the New Deal and Democracy’, *American Political Science Review.* 91, pp. 819–32
* Amin S. 2011. [“The Democratic Fraud and the Universalist Alternative.”](https://monthlyreview.org/2011/10/01/the-democratic-fraud-and-the-universalist-alternative/) *Monthly Review* 63(5)
* Purcell, E. 1973. *The Crisis of Democratic Theory*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky
* Luxemburg, Rosa, 1908. *Reform or Revolution?*. Chicago: Haymarket Books [2008 English Ed.]
* Reinert, Hugo and Erik S. Reinert. 2006. *Creative Destruction in Economics: Nietzsche, Sombart, Schumpeter*. In: Backhaus J.G., Drechsler W. (eds) Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900), vol 3. Springer, Boston, MA
  + *Makes the argument that Schumpeter and others drew on Indian philosophy for their theorising - more about economics than politics though, but similar ideas*
* Mignolo, Walter, 2002. [*The Zapatistas's Theoretical Revolution: Its Historical, Ethical, and Political Consequences*](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/40241550.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A43d1c9766c95c3c72114b3df682ccb50). Review of the Fernand Braudel Center. 25(3)
* Lundström, Markus, 2018. Anarchist Critique of Radical Democracy: The Impossible Argument. London: Palgrave
  + Marlinspike, Moxie and Windy Hart (2018) [An Anarchist Critique of Democracy](https://libcom.org/library/anarchist-critique-democracy)

**19-20 Parties and voters: democracy’s bads or the democratic solution to politics?** | Nancy Rosenblum, *On the side of angels: an appreciation of parties and partisanship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), chapters 3, 7-9 and conclusion AND Bryan Caplan, The myth of the rational voter: why democracies choose bad policies, new edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008), introduction, and chapters 1-2, 4-7

* D’Eramo M. 2013. [“Populism and the New Oligarchy”](https://newleftreview.org/II/82/marco-d-eramo-populism-and-the-new-oligarchy). *New Left Review 82*
* Political Parties or Insurgent Citizens?
  + Holston, James, 2008. Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
  + Brown, Julian, 2015. South Africa's Insurgent Citizens: On Dissent and the Possibility of Politics. London: Zed Books
* Malcolm X, 1964. *The Ballot or the Bullet*, in Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements. George Breitman (ed). New York: Grove Press
* A Collective of Anarchist Geographers, 2017. [Beyond electoralism: reflections on anarchy, populism, and the crisis of electoral politics](https://www.acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/1571). ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies 16 (4), 607-42
* Lenin, V.I., 1920. [*"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*](http://ciml.250x.com/archive/lenin/english/lenin_1920_left_wing_communism-an_infantile_disorder-1940-.pdf). 1940 English ed. New York: International Publishers

**21-22 Representative democracy and material prosperity** | Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, *Why nations fail: the origins of power, prosperity and poverty* (London: Profile 2013).

* Rodney, Walter (1972) How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press (1982 ed.)
* See the Dependency Theory and World Systems Theory schools of International Political Economy (they don’t always speak specifically to representative democracy, but they’re important in challenging the idea that each polity/country has its own nice independent development and depending on how that goes, the politics/economics link internally)
  + Dependency Theory: See e.g. [Baran](https://www.jstor.org/stable/1812357?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents), [Sweezy](http://www.hetwebsite.net/het/profiles/sweezy.htm), [Gunder Frank](https://www.colorado.edu/geography/class_homepages/geog_3682_f08/Articles/FrankDevofUnderdev.pdf)
  + World-Systems Theory: See e.g. [Wallerstein](https://thebasebk.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/The-Modern-World-System.pdf), [Samir Amin](https://africasacountry.com/2018/08/the-core-of-samir-amin), [Arrighi](http://krieger.jhu.edu/arrighi/about/giovanni-arrighi-1937-2009/), [Gunder Frank](https://archive.monthlyreview.org/index.php/mr/article/view/MR-018-04-1966-08_3/1604)
* Chang, Ha-Joon, 2002, [*Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective.*](http://www.anthempress.com/kicking-away-the-ladder)
  + Chang, Ha-Joon, 2008. [“The Lexus and the olive tree revisited: Myths and facts about globalisation”](https://analepsis.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/badsamch12.pdf). *Bad Samaritans* (pp. 1-48). London: Random House.
* Block, F. & Evans, P. (2005). “The State and the Economy”. [*The Handbook of Economic Sociology*](https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/1000207/mod_resource/content/1/%5BNeil_J._Smelser%2C_Richard_Swedberg%5D_The_Handbook_Economic%20sociology.pdf). Eds. Smelser, N. J. & Swedberg, R. (pp. 505-526). Princeton: Princeton University Press
* Evans, P. (1979). [“Imperialism, Dependency, and Dependent Development”.](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1HCfuMV8mncWPS2yZcbUry9g5DL0TzRcF/view?usp=sharing) *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil* (pp. 14-54). Princeton: Princeton University Press.
* Hamilton, Lawrence. (2016) *Empire and Economics: Decolonising Colonialism and Its Legacies in Africa*. Theoria 63(147)

**23-24 Representative democracy and the class distribution of wealth** | Martin Gilens, *Affluence and influence: economic inequality and political power in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2012)

* Domhoff, G. William (2012). [*The Class-Domination Theory of Power.*](https://whorulesamerica.ucsc.edu/power/class_domination.html)
* Wolfe, Alan (1997). [*The Limits of Legitimacy: Political Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism*](https://archive.org/details/limitsoflegitima00wolf)*.* New York: Free Press.
* Lenin, V. I. (1965). [First Congress of the Communist International.](http://www.marx2mao.com/PDFs/Lenin%20CW-Vol.%2028.pdf) *Lenin Collected Works, Volume 28* (J. Riordan trans.), pp. 455-477. Moscow: Progress Publishers
  + Lenin, V.I. (1904) [Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism](https://www.readingfromtheleft.com/Books/Classics/LeninImperialism.pdf)
* Smith, John, 2016. [*Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century: Globalization, Super-Exploitation, and Capitalism’s Final Crisis*](https://monthlyreview.org/product/imperialism_in_the_twenty-first_century/). New York: Monthly Review
  + Perhaps pair with something close to home: Norfield, Tony, 2017. [*The City: London and the Global Power of Finance*](https://www.versobooks.com/books/2457-the-city).
  + *Note: these provide contemporary analyses of the political economy of imperialism - they do not explicitly link to representative democracy, but are closely related*

**25-26 Communism** | Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The communist manifesto*, edited by Gareth Stedman-Jones (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2004).

* Karl Marx, “[On the Jewish Question](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1844/jewish-question/)” and ‘[The British Rule in India](https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1853/06/25.htm)’, 1853
  + Jani, Pranav (2002) *Karl Marx, Eurocentrism, and the 1857 Revolt in British India*. Marxism, Modernity, and Postcolonial Studies, Crystal Bartolovich and Neil Lazarus (eds). Cambridge: CUP
  + Kumar, Ashutosh (1992) [*Marx and Engels on India*](https://www.jstor.org/stable/41855631). Indian Journal of Political Science. 53(4)
* Chibber, Vivek, 2013. *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*. London: Verso
  + Warren, Rosie (ed), 2016. *The Debate on Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital*. London: Verso
  + See also Chibber’s 2017 talk at the University of Cape Town: [*Eurocentrism, the Academy, and Social Emancipation*](https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3373-video-vivek-chibber-eurocentrism-the-academy-and-social-emancipation) [video]
* Federici, Silvia, 2012. *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. Oakland, CA: PM Press. See part II on global dynamics, and part III on social reproduction
* Davies, Carole Boyce, 2008. [*Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*](https://www.dukeupress.edu/left-of-karl-marx). Duke University Press.
* Zhong, Xueping, Wang Zheng, Bai Di, 2001. *Some of Us: Chinese Women Growing Up in the Mao Era*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press
* Prashad, Vijay (2013) Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South. London: Verso.
* Prashad, Vijay (2007) The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World. New York, NY: The New Press
* Prashad, Vijay (2017) Red October: The Russian Revolution and the Communist Horizon (New Delhi: LeftWord Books)
* Prashad, Vijay (2017) Red Star Over the Third World (New Delhi: LeftWord Books).
* Rodney, Walter, 2018. The Russian Revolution: a View from the Third World. Robin D. G. Kelley and Jesse Benjamin (Eds.). London: Verso.

**27-28 Self-Rule** | M.K. Gandhi, ‘Hind swaraj’ in *Hind swaraj and other writings*, ed. by Anthony Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

* Theresa Man Ling Lee, 2014, [“Modernity and postcolonial nationhood: Revisiting Mahatma Gandhi and Sun Yat-sen a century later”](http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0191453714554025).
* Gandhi and Nehru, ‘Letters Gandhi to Nehru and Nehru to Gandhi’, in Gandhi, Hind Swaraj and other writings, ed. Anthony Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). 149-156.
* Nash, Andrew (2004) [*Gandhi in South Africa: An Interpretation*](http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/Gandhi%20in%20South%20Africa.pdf)
* Gandhi, M.K., 1924, [*Satyagraha v. Passive Resistance*](http://www.gandhi-manibhavan.org/eduresources/article12.htm). In The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 3: Satyagraha in South Africa. Narayan, Shriman (ed). Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House(Ch XIII, p152-8)
* Various left internationalist authors on The National Question (South Africa as an example of the ongoing debates).
  + Luxemburg, Rosa, 1909. [The National Question](https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1909/national-question/index.htm), in The National Question - Selected Writings by Rosa Luxemburg. New York: Monthly Review Press
  + Lenin, V.I., 1913. [Theses on the National Question](https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/jun/30.htm), in Lenin Collected Works. Moscow: Progress Publishers
  + South African Communist Party, 1928. [The South African Question](https://www.marxists.org/history/international/comintern/sections/sacp/1928/comintern.htm). Resolution on ‘The South African Question’ adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International following the Sixth Comintern congress
  + Löwy, Michael, 1976. [*Marxists and the National Question*](https://newleftreview.org/I/96/michael-lowy-marxists-and-the-national-question). New Left Review. I(96)
  + African National Congress, 1987. [*Apartheid South Africa: Colonialism of a Special Type*](http://www.anc.org.za/content/apartheid-south-africa-colonialism-special-type).
  + Mbah, Sam and I.E. lgariwey, 1997. African Anarchism: The History of a Movement. Tucson, Arizona: See Sharp Press. See particularly Ch7: *Anarchism’s Future in Africa*, section on *Anarchism and the National Question*
  + Webster, Edward and Karin Pampallis, 2017. *The Unresolved National Question in South Africa: Left thought under apartheid*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

**29-30 Human agency and political freedom** | Hannah Arendt, *The human condition*, second edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998)

*N.B. 2018-2019 is the first year that this set text by Hannah Arendt is being taught as an independent topic. Previously, Arendt’s On Violence was studied alongside Steven Pinker’s The Better Angels of our Nature (2015-2016) and Frantz Fanon’s The Wretched of the Earth, in the first section of the paper. Topic 29-30 used to be Friedrich Nietzsche’s On the Genealogy of Morals, under the topic heading “Morality as Historical Creation”.*

* Mantena, Karuna (2010) Genealogies of Catastrophe: Arendt on the Logic and Legacy of Imperialism. In *Politics in Dark Times Encounters with Hannah Arendt*. Seyla Benhabib (ed). Cambridge: CUP
* Callinicos, Alex, 2004. *Making History: Agency, Structure and Change in Social Theory*. Leiden: Brill
* Neocosmos, Michael, 2016. *Thinking Freedom in Africa: Toward A Theory Of Emancipatory Politics*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press
* Roberts, Neil, 2015. *Freedom as Marronage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
  + Roberts, Neil, 2017. *Theorizing Freedom, Radicalizing the Black Radical Tradition: On* Freedom as Marronage *Between Past and Future*. Theory & Event, 20(1): 212-230

**31-32 The persistence of politics** | Jonathan Haidt, *Why good people are divided by politics and religion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2013).

* Wallerstein, Immanuel, 1983. [Historical Capitalism](https://libcom.org/files/immanuel-wallerstein-historical-capitalism.pdf). London: Verso [1996 Ed]. See especially conclusion: *On Progress and Transitions* p95-110
* Smith, John, 2016. *Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century: Globalization, Super-exploitation, and Capitalism’s Final Crisis*. New York: Monthly Review.
* On Jonathan Haidt and Moral Foundations Theory
  + Gray, John, 2012. [The Knowns and the Unknowns](https://newrepublic.com/article/102760/righteous-mind-haidt-morality-politics-scientism) (critique of Haidt)
* On Steven Pinker and the ‘safest point in history’ thesis:
  + Mann, Michael (2018). [Have wars and violence declined?*.*](https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11186-018-9305-y) *Theory and Society, 47,* 37-60.
  + Imperial violence
    - Herman, Edward S. and Peterson, David (2014). [*Reality Denial: Apologetics for Western-Imperial Violence.*](https://www.globalresearch.ca/reality-denial-apologetics-for-western-imperial-violence/32066) Centre for Research on Globalisation.
    - Eqbal Ahmad, 2006. “[The Cold War from the Standpoint of its Victims](http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/eqbalahmadcoldwar.html).” pp. 219-227 in The Selected Writings of Eqbal Ahmad, edited by Carolee Bengelsdorf, Margaret Cerullo, and Yogesh Chandrani (Columbia University Press, 2006).
  + C21st violence
    - Mary Kaldor, 1998. *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Polity Press [2012 ed.]
  + State violence
    - Alexandre Christoyannopoulos, 2008. [*Leo Tolstoy on the state: a detailed picture of Tolstoy's denunciation of state violence and deception*](https://www.academia.edu/228658/Leo_Tolstoy_on_the_State_A_Detailed_Picture_of_Tolstoys_Denunciation_of_State_Violence_and_Deception)*.* Anarchist Studies 16(1) 20-47.
    - Brief critique: [Steven Pinker, the history of violence, and the misuse of 'anarchy'](https://libcom.org/blog/steven-pinker-his-obsessive-misues-anarchy-07112011) (there’s a lot more in the anarchist tradition against the violence of the state, and from the perspective of the (settler) colonial state, all the more so)
    - See also afropessimist critiques of the (US) state; e.g. in [Afropessimism: An Introduction](https://rackedanddispatched.noblogs.org/files/2017/01/Afro-pessimism2_imposed.pdf) (2017), the 2015 chapter by Frank B. Wilderson, III, entitled *Blacks and the Master/Slave Relation*