

THE COLUMBIA CENTER FOR CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL THOUGHT

AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

PUBLIC SEMINAR:

REVOLUTION 13/13

(2021-2022)

Bernard E. Harcourt
Isidor and Seville Sulzbacher Professor
Law, Political Science, and ICLS
Jerome Greene Hall, Suite 603
cccct@law.columbia.edu
(212) 854-1997

CCCCT Executive Coordinator
Fonda Shen
Jerome Greene Hall, Room 611
cccct@law.columbia.edu
(212) 853-2138

WEDNESDAYS 6:00 PM TO 8:00 PM
13 SESSIONS SPREAD OVER THE 2021-2022 ACADEMIC YEAR

Seminar Description

Each year, this seminar focuses on a different set of topics at the heart of contemporary critical thought. During the 2015-2016 academic year, the seminar focused on Michel Foucault's Collège de France lectures and produced the [Foucault 13/13 series](#). During the 2016-2017 academic year, the seminar focused on critical readings of Friedrich Nietzsche and produced the [Nietzsche 13/13 series](#). During the 2017-2018 academic year, the seminar focused on modalities of uprisings and produced the [Uprising 13/13 series](#). During the 2018-2019 academic year, the seminar focused on the relationship between critical theory and praxis, and produced the [Praxis 13/13 series](#). During the 2019-2020 academic year, the seminar returned to the fundamental texts of critical theory, and produced the [Critique 13/13 series](#). During the 2020-2021 academic year, the seminar went completely virtual due to the pandemic and focused on the history, theory, and future of abolition, and produced the [Abolition Democracy 13/13 series](#).

The upcoming seminar for 2021-2022 will focus on the ideas and manifestos of 13 “worldly philosophers” who ignited revolutions. The new series is designed in conversation with the literary critic and cultural theorist, Professor Biodun Jeyifo, who will open the series on September 22, 2021. In a [review essay](#) on the broad project of these 13/13 seminars, published recently in the [British Journal of Sociology](#) (vol. 73, issue 3, June 2021), Biodun Jeyifo

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urges us to turn our attention to these “worldly philosophers” because, by contrast to the more academic critical philosophers, “they have not been studied enough as a historic, global and comparative phenomenon.” As he rightly insists, there is a difference between returning to Sartre and Foucault, or instead turning to Kwame Nkrumah and Ho Chi Minh. How is it that some ideas and manifestos, more so than others, have ignited, animated, or galvanized people to rise in revolution? What is it about these ideas and their theoretical moves—and not others? What can they tell us about critique and praxis? These are the questions we will explore this year in Revolution 13/13.

This year’s 13/13 seminar will be a public seminar open to Columbia University faculty, students, and staff in-person and to non-CU affiliates virtually. If you are interested in signing-up for the seminar (to get all the information and readings, to participate actively in the conversation, and to write or provide resources for the blog), please sign-up on the Google form.

We will be holding the formal 13/13 seminars on Wednesday evenings this coming year, generally from 6:00pm to 8:00pm EST. The seminars will begin with a short introduction, followed by guest presentation(s) (15-20 minutes) and a commentary, and then open discussion with participants for over an hour.

Books and Texts

The texts for the course will be assigned readings, mostly available at Book Culture or on the [Revolution 13/13 website](#). All digital materials will be posted to the Revolution 13/13 website. Books and articles will include, for instance:

C.L.R. James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution* [1977].

Biodun Jeyifo, “[Inside and Outside the Whale](#), ‘Bandung’, ‘Rwanda’, Postcolonial Studies.” February 2011.

Rosa Luxemburg, *Reform or Revolution* [1899].

Kwame Nkrumah, *Towards Colonial Freedom* [1962].

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, ed. *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combabe River Collective* [2017].

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SEMINAR SCHEDULE AND READINGS

1/13 THE CONGRESSES OF BLACK WRITERS AND ARTISTS (1956 AND 1959) AND THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE (1955)

Wednesday, September 22, 2021 6:00 – 8:00 pm at Columbia University

Guest: Biodun Jeyifo (Harvard University)

Please read:

James Baldwin, "[Princes and Powers](#)" [1956].

Franz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952).

Franz Fanon, "[Racism and Culture](#)" [1956].

Franz Fanon, "[Reciprocal Bases of National Culture and the Fight for Freedom](#)" [1959].

Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961).

Biodun Jeyifo, "[Inside and Outside the Whale, 'Bandung', 'Rwanda', Postcolonial Studies](#)" (February 2011).

Biodun Jeyifo, "[In the Wake of Colonialism and Modernity](#)," *Anglophonia/Caliban*, n°7, 2000. Seuils / Thresholds. Les littératures africaines anglophones / Anglophone African literatures pp. 71-84.

Richard Wright, "[Indonesian Notebook](#)," *Encounter* (August 1955): 24-31.

Richard Wright, "[Tradition and Industrialization: The Plight of the Tragic Elite in Africa](#)," *Présence africaine*, n° 8-10 (numéro spécial) (1956): 347-360.

Additional Primary Resources:

Materials from the Bandung Conference: *Asia-Africa Speaks from Bandung* (Djakarta: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1955).

Le I^{er} Congrès international des écrivains et artistes noirs : Paris, Sorbonne, 19-22 septembre 1956 : compte-rendu complet, Paris, *Présence africaine*, n° 8-10 (numéro spécial), juin-novembre 1956, 408 p.

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Contributions au 1^{er} Congrès des écrivains et artistes noirs, no. 14/15, Paris, Présence africaine, juin-septembre 1957, 363 p.

Deuxième Congrès des écrivains et artistes noirs : Rome, 26 mars-1^{er} avril 1959, tome 1 : L'unité des cultures négro-africaines, Présence africaine, n° 24-25 (numéro spécial), février-mai 1959, 436 p.

Deuxième Congrès des écrivains et artistes noirs : Rome, 26 mars-1^{er} avril 1959, tome 2 : Responsabilités des hommes de culture, Présence africaine, n° 27-28 (numéro spécial), 1959, 368 p.

Additional References:

Biodun Jeyifo, "[English is an African Language – Ka Dupe](#)," *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 30, no. 2 (2018).

Brian Russell Roberts, Keith Foulcher, ed., *Indonesian Notebook: A Sourcebook on Richard Wright and the Bandung Conference* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1995).

2/13 KWAME NKRUMAH, C.L.R. JAMES, AND GEORGE PADMORE

Wednesday, October 13, 2021 6:00-8:00 pm at Columbia University

Guest: Adom Getachew (University of Chicago)

Please read:

C.L.R. James, [Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution](#) [1958-1977].

Kwame Nkrumah, [Towards Colonial Freedom](#) [1947].

George Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution: The Struggle of an African People from Slavery to Freedom* [1953].

Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* [2019].

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**3/13 ANTONIO GRAMSCI, JEAN-PAUL SARTRE, AND THE “ENGAGED”
PHILOSOPHER**

Wednesday, October 27, 2021 12:00-2:00 pm

Guest: Étienne Balibar (University of Paris, Nanterre)

Please read:

Gramsci, Antonio. *Prison Notebooks* [1947] ([excerpts](#)).

Sartre, Jean-Paul. [Presentation des Temps Modernes](#) [1945].

Sartre, Jean-Paul. [Qu'est ce que la littérature](#) in *Situations II* [1948]; [What is Literature?](#), trans. Bernard Frechtman [1950].

Sartre, Jean-Paul. [Préface de Orphée Noire](#) [1949]; [Black Orphens](#) [1964-1965].

Additional References:

Weber, Max. “[Science as a Vocation](#)” [1922].

Weber, Max. “[Politics as a Vocation](#)” [1919].

4/13 THE COMBAHEE RIVER COLLECTIVE STATEMENT

Wednesday, November 10, 2021 6:00 – 8:00 pm at The People’s Forum

Guest: Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor (Princeton University)

Please read:

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta, ed. *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective* [2017].

Additional References:

Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. “[Until Black Women Are Free, None Of Us Will Be Free.](#)” *New Yorker*, July 20, 2020.

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Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahtta. "[Joe Biden, Kamala Harris, and the Limits of Representation](#)." *New Yorker*, August 24, 2020.

5/13 ROSA LUXEMBURG IN CONVERSATION WITH VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN AND EDUARD BERNSTEIN

Wednesday, December 15, 2021 6:00 – 8:00 pm at St. Mary’s Church in Harlem

Guest: Amy Allen (Pennsylvania State University)

Please read:

Luxemburg, Rosa. *Reform or Revolution* [1899].

Luxemburg, Rosa. *Accumulation of Capital* [1913].

Lenin, Vladimir. *State and Revolution* [1917].

Bernstein, Eduard. *The Preconditions of Socialism* [1899].

6/13 STUART HALL, MANNING MARABLE, AND CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Wednesday, January 19, 2022 6:00 – 8:00 pm

Guest: Kendall Thomas (Columbia University)

Please read:

Stuart Hall, *Familiar Stranger* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

Stuart Hall, *The Fateful Triangle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

Stuart Hall, "[Culture, Resistance, and Struggle](#)," in *Cultural Studies 1983: A Theoretical History*, ed. Jennifer Daryl Slack and Lawrence Grossberg (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

Manning Marable, "[The Third Reconstruction: Black Nationalism and Race in a Revolutionary America](#)," *Social Text*, no. 4 (Autumn, 1981): 3-27.

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Kendall Thomas, “[Equality and Diversity Lecture 2020](#),” University of Oxford, 2020.

Kendall Thomas, “[Racial Justice: Moral or Political?](#),” in *Looking Back at Law’s Century*, ed. Austin Sarat, Bryant Garth, Robert A. Kagan (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, [Introduction to Critical Race Theory](#) (New York: New Press, 1995).

**7/13 GEORGE JACKSON, ALBERT WOODFOX, PAUL REDD, AND
REVOLUTIONARY PRISON WRITING AND PRAXIS**

Wednesday, February 9, 2022 6:00 – 8:00 pm at The People’s Forum

Guests: Albert Woodfox (author), Paul Redd (organizer), Darryl Robertson (Culture Editor at *Esquire*), Joy James (Williams College)

Please read:

George Jackson, *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1994).

George Jackson, *Blood In My Eye* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1990).

Albert Woodfox, *Solitary: Unbroken by Four Decades in Solitary Confinement* (New York: Grove Press, 2019).

Joy James, *The New Abolitionists: (Neo)slave Narratives And Contemporary Prison Writings* (New York: SUNY Press, 2005).

Joy James, *Writings and Works*, <https://sites.williams.edu/jjames/police-and-prison-abolitionism/>.

[Writings on the Short Corridor Collective](#)

Michel Foucault & The Prisons Information Group, *Intolerable 3. The Assassination of George Jackson*, in *Intolerable: Writings from Michel Foucault and the Prisons Information Group (1970–1980)*, ed. Kevin Thompson and Perry Zurn, trans. Perry Zurn and Erik Beranek (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2021).

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“Episode 61: August 21, 1971,” *Earbustle* (podcast),
<https://www.earbustlesq.com/episodes/2021/9/8/august-21-1971>.

8/13 BECOMING NUMEROUS: LEGACIES OF QUEER AND TRANS REBELLION

Wednesday, March 2, 2022 6:00 – 8:00 pm at The People’s Forum

Guests: Che Gossett (IJS, Columbia University) and Jack Halberstam (Columbia University)

Please read:

Jason Baumann, *The Stonewall Reader* (New York: Penguin, 2019).

Che Gossett, “[Che Gossett on AIDS activist Kiyoshi Kuromiya’s legacy and the intersections between all movements for liberation](#),” June 13, 2010.

Jack Halberstam, *Trans*: A Quick and Quirky Account of Gender Variability* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018).

Vito Russo, “[Why We Fight](#),” Albany, NY, May 9, 1988.

Eric Stanley, Introduction to *Atmospheres of Violence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2021).

Bernard E. Harcourt, “[You Are Entering a Gay and Lesbian Free Zone: On the Radical Dissents of Justice Scalia and Other \(Post-\) Queers \[Raising Questions About Lawrence, Sex Wars, and the Criminal Law\]](#),” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 94, no. 3 (Spring 2004): 503-550.

Primary Sources:

AIDS Network, Vito Russo, “The ACT UP Founding Document and Speech,” March 1987, May 8, 1988, <https://www.georgeaumoithe.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/ACT-UP-Aumoithe.pdf>.

“[NYU Occupation: Street Transvestites for Gay Power Statement](#),” October 1970, <https://thespiritwas.tumblr.com/post/43780113854/nyu-occupation-street-transvestites-for-gay-power>.

“[Sylvia Goes to College & STAR Takes Over NYU](#),” February 20, 2012, <https://thespiritwas.tumblr.com/post/17984686264/sylvia-goes-to-college-star-takes-over-nyu>.

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NYU LGBTQ+, “Occupy Weinstein Hall 50: From Occupation to Present-Day LGBTQ+ Life at NYU,” October 24, 2020, <https://events.nyu.edu/event/276396-occupy-weinstein-hall-50-from-occupation-to>.

Ortez Alderson, “On Being Black, Gay, and in Prison: “There Is No Humanity,”“ https://sth-archon.bu.edu/motive/issues/1972_GayMensLiberation/assets/basic-html/page-28.html#.

Additional Readings:

José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: NYU Press, 2019).

Stephen Dillon, *Fugitive Life: The Queer Politics of the Prison State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

Regina Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). Sarah Schulman, *Let the Record Show: A Political History of ACT UP New York, 1987-1993* (New York: Macmillan, 2021).

9/13 HANS-JÜRGEN KRAHL, THE SDS (SOZIALISTISCHE DEUTSCHE STUDENTENBUND) STUDENT MOVEMENT, AND THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL

Tuesday, March 22, 2022 6:00pm-8:00pm at the Institute for Social Research at Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

Guest: Martin Saar (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt).

Please read:

Hans-Jürgen Krahl, “[The Political Contradictions in Adorno’s Critical Theory](#),” originally published in Hans-Jürgen Krahl, *Konstitution und Klassenkampf* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Neue Kritik, 1971), pp. 285-288. English translation by Pat Murray and Ruth Heydebrand: *Telos* Fall 1974 no. 21, pp. 164-167.

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Hans-Jürgen Krahl, "[The Philosophy of History and the Authoritarian State](#)," *Viewpoint Magazine*, September 25, 2014.

Hans-Jürgen Krahl, "[Personal Information](#)," translated by Dave Mesing, *Viewpoint Magazine*, April 14, 2018.

Hans-Jürgen Krahl, "[Czechoslovakia: the Dialectic of the 'Reforms'](#)," *New Left Review* I, no. 53 (Jan/Feb 1969): 3-12.

Theodor W. Adorno and Herbert Marcuse, "[Correspondence on the German Student Movement](#)," trans. Esther Leslie, *New Left Review*, no. 233 (January/February 1999): 123-136.

Secondary Readings:

Dave Mesing, "[Hans-Jürgen Krahl, For and Against Critical Theory: Introduction](#)," *Viewpoint Magazine*, April 14, 2018, <https://viewpointmag.com/2018/04/14/hans-jugen-krahl-for-and-against-critical-theory-introduction/>.

Massimiliano Tomba, "[Hans-Jürgen Krahl: New Emancipative Desires \(1943-1970\)](#)," *Viewpoint Magazine*, April 14, 2018, <https://viewpointmag.com/2018/04/14/hans-jurgen-krahl-new-emancipative-desires-1943-1970/>.

[Dossier of writings on Krahl](#) in *Viewpoint Magazine*, edited by Fabio Angelelli, Dave Mesing, and Elia Zaru.

Jordi Maiso, "[Hans-Jürgen Krahl: Social Constitution and Class Struggle](#)," in *The SAGE Handbook of Frankfurt School Critical Theory*, vol. 1, 335-350.

10/13 MALCOLM X WITH BRANDON TERRY AND CORNEL WEST

Wednesday, April 20, 2022 6:00 – 8:00 pm at The People's Forum

Guests: Brandon Terry (Harvard University) and Cornel West (Union Theological Seminary)

Please read:

Malcolm X, [Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements](#), ed. George Breitman (New York: Grove Press, 1969).

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Malcolm X and Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcom X* (New York: Ballantine, 1992).

Brandon M. Terry, "[Malcolm's Ministry](#)," *New York Review of Books*, February 25, 2021. [PDF](#).

Brandon M. Terry, "[What Dignity Demands](#)," *New York Review of Books*, March 11, 2021. [PDF](#).

Secondary Readings:

Peniel E. Joseph, *The Sword and the Shield* (New York: Basic Books, 2020).

Les Payne and Tamara Payne, *The Dead Are Arising: The Life of Malcolm X* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2020).

Les Payne, "[The Night I Stopped Being a Negro](#)," in *When Race Becomes Real: Black and White Writers Confront Their Personal Histories*, ed. Bernestine Singley (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008).

Robin D.G. Kelley, "[House Negroes on the Loose: Malcolm X and the Black Bourgeoisie](#)," *Callaloo* 21, no. 2 (1998):419-435.

11/13 TONI NEGRI: "PHILOSOPHY AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM HAVE ALWAYS BEEN EMBEDDED IN MY LIFE"

Friday, March 18, 2022 at Toni Negri's home in Paris.

Guest: Toni Negri (worldly philosopher, activist thinker, leading member of Autonomia Operaia, fugitive, prisoner, and renowned author of now classics of radical philosophy).

Please read:

Max Henninger, "From Sociological to Ontological Inquiry: An Interview with Antonio Negri": <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/204838/pdf>

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Jerome Roos, “Toni Negri: from the refusal of labor to the seizure of power,” *ROAR*, January 18, 2015, <https://roarmag.org/essays/negri-interview-multitude-metropolis/>.

Hans Ulrich Obrist, “In Conversation with Antonio Negri,” *e-flux* no. 18, September 2010, <https://www.e-flux.com/journal/18/67464/in-conversation-with-antonio-negri/>.

Julius Gavroche, “The Paris Commune: Antonio Negri,” *Autonomies*, April 8, 2021, <https://autonomies.org/2021/04/the-paris-commune-antonio-negri/>.

Interview in French with France Culture “Toni Negri – Entretien (Les Chemins de la philosophie)”: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bkWQrWVFzeY>

Francesca Cadel, “Exile: Interview with Toni Negri,” *Rethinking Marxism* Vol. 18, Iss. 3, (Jul 2006): 353-366,469.

Timothy S. Murphy and Abdul-Karim Mustapha, ed., *Resistance in Practice: The Philosophy of Antonio Negri* (London: Pluto Press, 2005).

Toni Negri, “*Lire Harcourt Exposed*” (2016)

Antonio Negri in English (useful resource with bibliography): <https://antonionegriinenglish.wordpress.com/category/interviews/>

12/13 ABOLITION FEMINISM WITH SARAH HALEY

Wednesday, June 1, 2022 6:00 – 8:00 pm at The People’s Forum

Guest: Sarah Haley (Columbia University)

Please read:

Angela Davis, Gina Dent, Erica R. Meiners, Beth E. Richie, *Abolition. Feminism. Now.* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2022).

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Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

**13/13 ON “CRITICAL GENEALOGY”: AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION
“WHAT GOOD IS GENEALOGY FOR PRAXIS?”**

Saturday, June 11, 2022, at the University of Warwick, UK

A Keynote Address by Bernard E. Harcourt (Columbia University/EHESS)

Please read:

Allen, Amy. 2016. *The End of Progress: Decolonizing the Normative Foundations of Critical Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Amy Allen, “[Foucault, Psychoanalysis, and Critique](#),” *Angelaki* 23, no.2 (April 2018): 170-186.

Foucault, Michel. 2015. *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*. In *Michel Foucault: Œuvres*, Vol. 2. Ed. Bernard E. Harcourt. Paris: Gallimard/La Pléiade.

Bernard E. Harcourt, “[On Critical Genealogy: An Answer to the Question 'What Good Is Genealogy for Praxis?'](#).”

Koopman, Colin. 2013. *Genealogy as Critique: Foucault and the Problems of Modernity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.

Colin Koopman, “[Problematization in Foucault’s Genealogy and Deleuze’s Symptomatology: or, how to study sexuality without invoking oppositions](#),” *Angelaki* 23, no.2 (April 2018): 187-204.

Daniele Lorenzini, “[On possibilising genealogy](#),” *Inquiry* (2020): 1-22.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1967. *On the Genealogy of Morals*. Ed. Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage Books.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1997. *Untimely Meditations*. Ed. Daniel Breazeale. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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Martin Saar, “[Genealogy and Subjectivity](#),” *European Journal of Philosophy* 10, no. 2 (2002): 231–245.

Secondary Readings:

Agamben, Giorgio. 2021. *Where Are We Now? The Epidemic as Politics*. Trans. Valeria Dani. Rowman & Littlefield.

Adam Kotsko, “What Happened to Giorgio Agamben?” *Slate*, February 20, 2022, <https://slate.com/human-interest/2022/02/giorgio-agamben-covid-holocaust-comparison-right-wing-protest.html>.

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- Agamben, Giorgio. 2021. *Where Are We Now? The Epidemic as Politics*. Trans. Valeria Dani. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Agamben, Giorgio. « [L'épidémie montre clairement que l'état d'exception est devenu la condition normale](#). » entretien dans *Le Monde* recueillis par Nicolas Truong, 24 mars 2020.
- Alderson, Ortez. "On Being Black, Gay, and in Prison: 'There Is No Humanity'." https://sth-archon.bu.edu/motive/issues/1972_GayMensLiberation/assets/basic-html/page-28.html#.
- Allen, Amy. 2016. *The End of Progress: Decolonizing the Normative Foundations of Critical Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Allen, Amy. "[Foucault, Psychoanalysis, and Critique](#)." *Angelaki* 23, no.2 (April 2018): 170-186.
- Angelelli, Fabio, Dave Mesing, and Elia Zaru, ed. [Dossier of writings on Krah](#)l in *Viewpoint Magazine*.
- Asia-Africa Speaks from Bandung*. Djakarta: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1955.
- Baldwin, James. *The Price of the Ticket*. New York: St. Martin's, 1985.
- Baumann, Jason. *The Stonewall Reader*. New York: Penguin, 2019.
- Bernstein, Eduard. *The Preconditions of Socialism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993 [1899].
- Boggs, Grace Lee and James Boggs. *Revolution and Evolution in the Twentieth Century*. Monthly Review Press, 1974.
- Cabral, Amilcar. *Resistance and Decolonization*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2016 [1977].
- Castro, Fidel. *The Declarations of Havana*. New York: Verso, 2018 [1962].

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Césaire, Aimé. “And the Dogs Were Silent.” In *Aimé Césaire: Lyric and Dramatic Poetry*, 1946–82. Trans. Clayton Eshleman and Annette Smith, 1–74. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press 1990 [1946].

Césaire, Aimé. *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000 [1955].

Davies, Carol Boyce. *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones* [2008]. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Davis, Angela. “Political Prisoners, Prisons and Black Liberation” [1971], 19-36. In *If They Come in the Morning*. New York: Verso, 2016.

Davis, Angela. *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*. New York: International Publishers Co., 2013 [1974].

Davis, Angela. PhD. Dissertation. University of San Diego.

Davis, Angela, Gina Dent, Erica R. Meiners, Beth E. Richie. *Abolition. Feminism. Now*. Chicago: Haymarket, 2022.

Debray, Régis. “Révolution dans la Révolution.” Paris: Maspéro, 1967 [1967].

Deloria, Vine Victor, Jr. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988 [1969].

Dillon, Stephen. *Fugitive Life: The Queer Politics of the Prison State*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2018.

El Saadawi, Nawal. *Women and Sex* [1969].

El Saadawi, Nawal. *The Nawal El Saadawi Reader* [1972-1997]. New York: Zed Books, 1997.

El Saadawi, Nawal. *Woman at Point Zero*. London: Zed Books, 2007 [1975].

“Episode 61: August 21, 1971,” *Earhustle* (podcast), <https://www.earhustlesq.com/episodes/2021/9/8/august-21-1971>.

Fanon, Frantz. *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays*. Trans. Haakon Chevalier. New York: Grove Press, 1967.

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Fanon, Frantz. *Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 2004 [1961].

Fanon, Frantz. "[Racism and Culture](#)" [1956]. In *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays*. Trans. Haakon Chevalier. New York: Grove Press, 1967.

Fanon, Frantz. "[Reciprocal Bases of National Culture and the Fight for Freedom](#)" [1959]. In *Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 2004 [1961].

Foucault, Michel & The Prisons Information Group. *Intolerable 3. The Assassination of George Jackson*, in *Intolerable: Writings from Michel Foucault and the Prisons Information Group (1970–1980)*. Ed. Kevin Thompson and Perry Zurn. Trans. Perry Zurn and Erik Beranek. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2021.

Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2012 [1968].

Gandhi, Mohandas. *Non-Violent Resistance (Satyagraha)*. New York: Dover Publications, 2001 [1951].

Getachew, Adom. *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Godard, Jean-Luc. *La Chinoise*. Athos Film, 1967.

Goldman, Emma. [The Emma Goldman Papers](#). [1909-1938].

Gossett, Che. "[Che Gossett on AIDS activist Kiyoshi Kuromiya's legacy and the intersections between all movements for liberation](#)." June 13, 2010.

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