Econ 250. Radical Political Economy: A Critical Examination of US Capitalism

Spring 2025 Lewis and Clark College Department of Economics

Time: TTH: 09:40AM - 11:10AM Instructor: Éric Tymoigne

Location: Howard 102 **Office Hours:** T/TH 11:30AM-1PM or by appt.

Prerequisite: ECON 100 Office: Howard 323 or Zoom Credits: 4 Email: etymoigne@lclark.edu

Website: Log on Moodle **Phone:** 503-768-7629 (do not leave a message)

Textbook:

Radical Political Economy: A Concise Introduction by Charles A. Barone. New York: Routledge, 2015.

Recommended Books (bedtime reading):

Carey, A. Taking the Risk Out of Democracy: Corporate Propaganda versus Freedom and Liberty. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Ewen, S. 1976. Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture. New York: Basic Books, 2001

Gourevitch, A. 2014. From Slavery to the Cooperative Commonwealth: Labor and Republican Liberty in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lenin, V.I. 1917. State and Revolution. New York: Penguin book.

Losurdo, D. 2014. Liberalism: A Counter History. Chicago: Verso.

Pauwells, J.R. 2005. The Myth of the Good War: America in the Second World War (revised edition). Toronto: Lorimer and Co.

Sahlin, M. 2008. The Western Illusion of Human Nature. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.

Schoeffel, J. and Mitchell, R. 2002. *Understanding Power: The Indispensable Chomsky* edited by. New York: New Free Press.

Zinn, H. 2015. A People's History of the United States by Howard Zinn. New York: Harper Collins.

There are also three files on Moodle compiled by Professor John F. Henry from California State University Sacramento that contain many readings classified by topics and suggested reading orders.

Course Description:

Political economy emphasizes that socio-politico-economic outcomes are heavily influenced by the power structure that prevails among social classes with conflicting economic interests. As such, a proper economic analysis requires understanding what the power structure is, where it comes from, how it is preserved in order to reproduce the existing socio-politico-economic system, and its impact on socio-politico-economic outcomes. While there are several ways to perform this analysis, radical political economy uses the work of Marx and his followers to provide a damming critique of capitalism as well as an alternative framework of analysis to standard economics.

While capitalism has been very successful at lifting the standard of living of billions of individuals, it has done so with tremendous negative side effects on society and the environment. Capitalism is a violent, alienating, irrational, exploitative and unstable economy system that is full of contradictions and conflicts. It is an economic system focused on monetary gains and property accumulation with little consideration for anything else. It uses a political system that reduces freedom to private ownership and non-interference and that aims at protecting property and ensuring that "the people who own the country ought to govern it" as John Jay put it. Overall, capitalism is not an economic system based on competition and rational choice. Everything is done by capitalists to promote irrational thinking and irrational choices by the rest of the population and to promote private planning for their own benefits with, as Adam Smith noted long ago, no consideration for the welfare of others.

In order to avoid a complete breakdown of society, radical political economists argue that the socio-politicoeconomic system should be reorganized. The political system should be democratized further to let individuals who own little to no property have significant input in the political agendas set before elections. The production process should be democratized in order to let non-monetary considerations influence what is produced, how it is produced and how it is distributed. People, not property, should be at the foundation of the socio-politico-economic system and freedom involves cooperation and non-domination by others. This view is in direct conflict with the economic interests of capitalists and with the way the current socio-economic system is organized to preserve the dominance of that social class. This view is also radical because it asks its readers to critically review and self-examine their habits of thoughts and ways of life that have been inculcated since birth to help reproduce the prevailing socio-politico-economic system.

Given the emphasis on the role of the power structure in shaping socio-economic outcomes, radical political economy also questions several premises of standard economics. Radical economists rejects the premises of given preferences, given endowment, and the firm as a black box. How the initial process of allocation of resources occurred to create the power structure, how preferences, habits and thoughts of individuals are shaped and managed to meet the requirement of the mode of production, and how the production process ("the firm") is organized to maintain the power structure, are all worthy of economic inquiries. Radicals recognize that the individual is socially "constructed," which opens the door to an analysis of just how and why this construction takes place and its relevance for economic and political outcomes. People are not naturally driven to consume more, to work for a wage, to seek constantly wealth accumulation, to be slaves, or to have prejudices against others. Neither the working class nor the capitalist class did exist (except in rudimentary form) until the 16th/17th centuries. The modern consumer did not exist until the late 19th century. Modern racism emerged in the 17th/18th century, and sexism has been shaped through time to reflect the needs of the mode of production.

From economic incentives to educational and cultural institutions, several means have been used to persuade people to conform to the existing socio-politico-economic norms. Throughout the history of modes of production. intellectuals have played important role in normalizing the power structure by arguing that contemporary institutions and behaviors are natural. Slavery was argued to be natural in a slave-based society in the same way a work-consumption-driven life is argued to be natural under a capitalist society. Both are highly repressive classsocieties that involve the exploitation and domination of some groups although the process of normalization may not make that obvious to most of their members; so much so that freed slaves aimed at owning slaves and workers have aimed at becoming capitalists. Individuals aim at improving their economic well-being by competing to become the exploiter rather than by removing exploitation and promoting cooperation. While institutions are in place to persuade individuals to conform to the norms of their society, it does not mean that individual behaviors are completely socially determined. Some groups of individuals have rejected the prevailing socio-politicoeconomic organization, have rejected the norms inculcated since birth, and have not been persuaded by intellectual arguments. Slaves, peasants, workers and other oppressed groups have organized to oppose prevailing societal norms and to fight exploitation and domination. They have done so, peacefully or violently, and have made their voice heard to change the system, either progressively through reform or rapidly through revolution. They have been subject to forceful and deadly oppositions but, at times, have been successful.

The first part of this course presents the toolkit used by radical political economists to practice economics and uses it to analyze the existing structure of power in the United States, its origins and its economic impacts. This power structure has resulted in a high concentration of income, of wealth and of the control of the production process and natural resources. What is produced, how it is produced and how it is distributed is decided by a core of elite capitalists who control natural resources, the use of the labor force, methods of production and income distribution. It is a form of private centralized planning in which most of the population has only a marginal say about the way the socio-politico-economic system is run.

The second part of the course presents the different means that have been used by US capitalists to preserve the structure of power. These means involve economic incentives (raising the standard of living of most of the population), educating and subverting the mind of the population (getting people to accept the capitalist mindset, and disorganizing opposition by planning education and promoting irrational thinking such as consumerism, sexism, racism and chauvinism), and using force through wars, murders, purges, and imprisonment of untamable opponents.

The third part presents some of the key political economic issues of the capitalist economic system such as labor and its organization, the environment, and alternatives to capitalism. In doing so, this part presents an alternative view of freedom, human nature and the role and structure of government and the economy.

Course content and organization: While this class does not have any exam or regular assignments, you should expect it to be time consuming because it involves a lot of constant independent reading. Not only will you need to read all the required readings (on which you will have short quizzes at the end of each section) but you will also read many other articles for your research paper and reaction papers. This is a reading- and writing-intensive class coupled with some presentations and discussions. I will lecture quite a bit too. The required readings of a section are to be read, in no particular order, at any time while on that section (Road map on PowerPoint slides suggests a reading order). Unless a paper is presented by a group, you have questions about a reading, or the paper comes up in the following discussion, we will not directly discuss the required readings. Lectures will touch on the required readings but also go beyond them and aim at presenting broad aspects, ideas, and points of radical political economics.

A note of caution: The course (especially during Weeks 11 to 13) will read aloud quotes that use deeply offensive language and present highly disturbing opinions (e.g., the N-word for African Americans, the R-word for Native Americans, derogatory opinions about women and other groups, opinions that justify massacring entire populations, among others). These quotes (by US Presidents, US Senators, prominent US and foreign intellectuals, and other influential members of US and European societies) will always be presented in context. We will use them to show how the prevailing intellectual discourse was used to reinforce prejudices and dehumanize. This intellectual discourse was used, in turn, to justify government policies that were required to sustain capitalism (as well as other modes of production), but that led to tremendous physical and psychological suffering for some segments of the population in the US and abroad. These quotes in no way reflect my personal views, I fully reject the ideas and opinions they express.

Course Goals: This course aims at 1) familiarizing students with an alternative framework of analysis to pure economics 2) using that framework to explain some recent economic trends that create tensions in the capitalist economic system 3) using the framework to understand why capitalism is an unstable economic system 4) studying the means that capitalists have used to ensure the reproduction of the capitalist economy despite its instability 5) presenting what progress looks like in terms of mode of production and the alternatives that have been sketched by radical political economists 6) developing critical thinking.

Students Learning Outcomes: At the end of the class, students should be able 1) to understand the importance of class and power for the analysis of the economy 2) to understand that politics and economics are linked and interact with each other mostly for the benefit of the capitalist class 3) to be more aware of the non-economic forces at play in economic dynamics 4) to understand that capitalism is not the only possible mode of production and that deep conflicts exist in that economic system 5) to understand that capitalism will not be the last mode of production 6) to understand why exploited classes may resist change to the mode of production.

Grade: Grades will be determined in the following way (rounded to the first decimal, e.g., 94.94 is a 94.9 so A-, 94.95 is a 95 so A):

Numeric Score	Letter Grade	
94 - 100	A	
90 - 93	A-	
87 - 89	B+	
83 - 86	В	
80 - 82	B-	
77 – 79	C+	
73 - 76	С	
70 - 72	C-	
60 - 69	D	
0 - 60	F	

The following weights will be applied (all elements are worth 100 points): Participation: 25%

Presentations, Summaries, Q&As: 25%

Reaction Papers: 25% Research Paper: 25%

It is your responsibility to keep all records of work done, emailed correspondences, and grades obtained. This will come handy if you think your grade is not accurate.

Expectations: You are expected to participate and to focus on the lecture (turn off your cellular phone, have the appropriate material, do not chat, arrive on time, etc.). Do not hesitate to ask questions about the readings, to make pertinent remarks, or to give your opinion about a concept presented in class; this may lead to a fruitful discussion. If you have any problems regarding the class, you can come to my office or you can send an email to me. In the latter case, if appropriate, I will reply by sending the answer to all the students of the class.

Participation: Active oral participation in the course is crucial. Participation is based on involvement in class that is, answering questions asking questions, making pertinent remarks. Involvement also means doing the required work on time, reading the syllabus carefully before asking a question regarding the course, and coming to my office if you have a problem to understand what was discussed in class. Attending the class is also part of participation but perfect attendance only will <u>not</u> give you 100% of the participation grade. The participation grade is calculated in the following way: 30% for attending the class, 25% for paying attention (no cellphone or other distractions) and for completing your work on time, 45% for answering questions, asking questions, making relevant comments (a relevant comment is not necessarily a valid statement; it may be incorrect but it may help to enlighten the discussion), and participating in discussions. This means that being in class and staying quiet only gives you a 55 out of 100 on the participation grade (i.e. you are failing on participation). Minimal oral participation will not improve your participation grade much. The best way to improve your participation grade is to read the required papers (even quickly), read summaries send by other students and be prepared for discussions by thinking of the discussion questions in advance.

Presentation and Q&As: Groups (number of students per group will vary with the class size to ensure that there are between four and six groups) must present three papers from the required or suggested readings; the presentation should occur during the proper topic. Any reading after Week 2 is acceptable as long as it is a long essay or chapters of a book (for example Clement 2018 is not appropriate, nor is any newspaper article). Your presentation should be about 15-20 minutes long and you must lead a Q&A session for 10-15 minutes. As a discussion leader, your group is in charge of being the first to answer any question other students and I may have regarding the paper. If you cannot answer (that is fine) the discussion widens to the rest of the class. You can make a presentation based on your reaction paper as long as no other group presented that paper. Choice of papers to present are on a first come, first serve basis. If no volunteer comes ahead by week 2, I will assign presentations and dates. Your oral presentation should be structured in the following way:

- 1- A summary of the paper (7-10 min).
- 2- An assessment of the paper (opinions, interpretations, deductions or comments) that includes a link to two other readings of the class (note similarities, complementarities, and other things you find relevant) (7-10 min).
- 3- Discussion with the class (10-15 min).

Summary and discussion questions: <u>Before a presentation</u>, your group must provide a one-page single-spaced summary including three discussion questions (put the questions below the summary). <u>THE DOCUMENT MUST BE EMAIL TO THE CLASS 24 HOURS BEFORE YOUR PRESENTATION (OTHERWISE YOUR PRESENTATION IS CANCELLED)</u>. A strong summary identifies the important points in the text and restates the text in your own words (**no quote**). Include the following in your summary:

- The title and author of the paper
- An introductory sentence that states the main subject/topic
- A sentence about the problematic of the paper (question the author poses relative to the subject/topic).
- The main thesis restated in your own words (position of the author/answer to the question).

- All the major points but none of the details (i.e. none of the illustrations or explanations provided by the author).
- All critical information (key names, dates, places, ideas, events, words and numbers).
- A small paragraph (four lines max) to conclude.
- No generalities and vague statements.
- <u>None</u> of your own opinions, interpretations, deductions or comments (Do that in presentation and Q&As).

Reaction papers: You must write two reaction papers based on the required or suggested readings (see deadlines in the schedule). Any reading is acceptable as long as it is a long essay or chapters of a book (for example Clement 2018 is not appropriate). Reactions must be double-spaced with a 1-inch margin, in font 12 Times New Roman, and four-page long. No reaction longer than four pages will be accepted. The reaction paper should consist of a one-page summary (see above for details but condense more because here it is double-spaced) and a one-page personal reaction about the paper, two-page reaction relative to other papers in the class.

- Include the following in your one-page personal reaction to the paper:
 - o Relation to problems in our present-day world (do not hesitate to relate to what you read/heard in the news and to add a few reference).
 - o Relation to ideas, points and concerns discussed in the course:
 - O You opinion about the paper. Did you like the paper? Why? Why not? Did the work increase your understanding of a particular issue? Did it change your perspective in any way? Is it missing something important? (This may be done in part with the second part of the reaction)
- Include the following in the two-page reaction to relative to other papers:
 - O How does the paper you react to complements and situates itself with these other papers? What is missing in the paper and how is that addressed in other papers?
 - o How does this paper help you understand the two other papers, and inversely?
 - Any other ways you can link different papers to create a narrative that broaden your understanding of the paper (No need to cite these papers in a bibliography, just refer to them in the text by the author name and title, e.g. Tymoigne's "Fiscal deficit and interest rate")

Please email me your paper, no physical copy, and name it as follows **lastnamefirstnamereaction1.docx**.

Research paper: Teams of two students must write a paper on a subject studied in class. The goal is to deepen your understanding of one of the sections in the schedule below and to have you grapple with the radical literature. The goal is not to formulate policy for reform or to give your opinion about what should be done but rather to review and analyze the radical literature on a specific topic. You can pick whichever section you like and your paper must be directly related to the topic of that section. You should read ahead of the class to familiarize yourself with a section that interests you. A good place to start on a topic is to read all the required and suggested reading and draw on the bibliography of each reading to go further The final version of your paper is due the day of the final exam and no late paper will be accepted. Check the schedule below for other deadlines. Paper should be about 4000-word long, excluding bibliography and title page, and double-spaced. The bibliography should include at least 15 papers from the radical literature (academic journals (https://urpe.org/resource/radical-journals/) and/or suggested readings below). Please email me your paper, no physical copy. You have several intermediate steps to complete for this paper (see deadline on the schedule):

- Step 1: Two-page proposal with at least a total of 5 annotated references from <u>radical</u> literature
- Step 2: First draft of the paper (1000+ words but no introduction or conclusion, outline with a title for each section but some sections can be left blank, at least a total of 10 annotated references from the radical literature)
- Step 3: Second draft due (same as draft 1 but now 2000+ words and at least a total of 12 annotated references from radical literature)
- Step 4: Final paper submission (at least 15 *non-annotated* references from the radical literature in the bibliography) and presentation

Step 1, the proposal, should be included the following

- 1- Title in the form of a question (it shows what you want to study)
- 2- A core section that:
 - a. Contextualizes the question relative to the literature and current events
 - b. Explains its relevance
 - c. Presents your question in more details
 - d. Presents your current hypothesis: How do you plan to answer the question? What is your preliminary answer to the question?
- 3- An annotated bibliography:
 - a. A minimum of five radical sources you plan to use in your research.
 - b. Sources properly annotated. An annotation consists of two or three paragraphs (three or four sentences in each maximum). Annotations are well written, edited, and grammatically correct (i.e., they are not rough notes). You should clearly layout (i) the conclusions of the paper, (ii) the approach used, any critiques and/or thoughts you might have, and (iii) why the paper is important for your research and how you plan to use it in your paper.
- 4- A bibliography that cites the papers in your annotated bibliography and any others. Follow the Chicago style: https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools citationguide.html

Attendance: Attendance is mandatory. I will take a roll at the beginning of every lecture, and, if you miss more than one session, I will discount your participation grade.

Academic Integrity. According to the Lewis & Clark College's Academic Integrity Policy: "Acts of academic dishonesty involve the use or attempted use of any method or technique enabling a student to misrepresent the quality or integrity of his or her academic work. Academic dishonesty with respect to examinations includes but is not limited to copying from the work of another, allowing another student to copy from one's own work, using crib notes, arranging for another person to substitute in taking an examination, or giving or receiving unauthorized information prior to or during the examination. Academic dishonesty with respect to written or other types of assignments includes but is not limited to: failure to acknowledge the ideas or words of another that have consciously been taken from a source, published or unpublished; placing one's name on papers, reports, or other documents that are the work of another individual, whether published or unpublished; flagrant misuse of the assistance provided by another in the process of completing academic work; submission of the same paper or project for separate courses without prior authorization by faculty members; fabrication or alteration of data; or knowingly facilitating the academic dishonesty of another." Plagiarism will result in severe sanctions, starting with an F in the class.

Students with Disabilities: If you have a disability that may impact your academic performance, you may request accommodations by submitting documentation to the Student Support Services Office in the Albany Quadrangle (access@lclark.edu x7192). After you have submitted documentation and filled out paperwork, staff in that office will notify me of the accommodations for which you are eligible.

Writing Center and Math Skills Center: If you would like to get some help to improve your English or your math skills do not hesitate to go to the Writing Center in the Watzek Library room 227A (writing@lclark.edu or x7505) and the Symbolic and Quantitative Resource Center located in Howard 134 (eosullivan@lclark.edu or x7570).

Course Withdrawals: You may drop this course on Webadvisor by Friday of the second week of class and no W grade will appear on your transcript. After the second week and before 4pm on Friday of the 10th week, you can withdraw from the course by submitting a Course Withdrawal form to the Registrar's Office. In this case, a W grade will appear on your transcript. It is not possible for me to authorize your withdrawal from the course after Week 10. At that point, you will need to complete the course and take whatever grade you have earned (as

usual, all academic rules can be petitioned through the registrar). If you have questions or concerns about your performance in the course, please talk with me before the 10th week.

Festival of Scholars and Artists. The Festival of Scholars and Artists is a campus-wide celebration of student work. It is an opportunity to discuss research, to exhibit, perform, or appreciate art, and to cross disciplinary boundaries. The Festival will be held on **Friday, April 8, 2022**. Classes will be canceled on that day, but you are still required to participate in the Festival, either by presenting your work or attending presentations by your fellow students.

Sources for Radical Economics:

https://portside.org/
https://urpe.org/

https://www.jacobinmag.com

https://monthlyreview.org/

Sample of academic journals that publish articles that use the analytical framework of radical political economics: Review of Radical Political Economics, International Journal of Political Economy, Historical Materialism. A more comprehensive list is available here: https://urpe.org/resource/radical-journals/

		<u>Tentative</u> Class Schedule	Spring 2025	
Weeks		Topics	Required Readings	Remarks, Additional readings
Week 1	21-Jan 23-Jan	What is Radical Political Economy? Class, Surplus,	Barone 1, 2/Caporaso and Levine, 3/Hymer 1971	Palgrave 1987
Week 2	28-Jan 30-Jan 4-Feb	Exploitation and Other Core Elements of Marxian Economics		Marx 1865 Sherman 1995
Week 3	6-Feb 11-Feb	The World of Work: What Happens Inside the "Firm"?	Barone 3, 5	Weise 2018/Prash 2003
Week 4	13-Feb 18-Feb		Marx 1867/Kuczynski 1967/Gilens and Page 2014/Henry 2015/	2018/Boatright 1941/Ware 1924/Zint 1980/Crozier et al. 1975/Desmond
Week 5 Week 6	20-Feb	Property over People: Primitive Accumulation, Exploitation, and the Constitution in the USA		2019/Myers 1910/Taft and Ross 1969/ Knox 1786/Beard 1921//Hahnel 2009/ Lecture of Chomsky
	25-Feb 27-Feb			Two-page proposal due by the end of Week 5 with an annotated bibliography with 5 references Kapur et. 2005/Johnson
Week 7 Week 8	2.14	Power and its distribution in Modern USA: Income and Wealth Inequality (continued)	Baron 5/Domhoff 2017/Tcherneva 2015/ Galbraith 2016/Darity et al 2018	2006/Picketty and Zucman 2014/Clement 2018/Macfarland 2018/ First Reaction Paper Due at the end of Week 7 (choose something
	3-Mar 5-Mar	Power and its distribution in Modern USA: Monopoly	Domhoff et al	from week 1 to 7)
	10-Mar 12-Mar	Capitalism and the Private Planning of Production and Finance	2013/Munkirs and Knoedler 1987/Foster and Holeman 2010	Cronin 2011/Munkirs 1985, 4, 5/Sweezy 1939
Week 9	17-Mar 19-Mar	Maintaining Socio-Economic Order through Economic Means: Private Planning of Consumption and Happiness Machines	Galbraith 1958/Robbins 2014, 1/ <u>Curtis 2002</u>	Ewen 1976/2001 First Draft of the paper (1000+ words, road map, at least 10 annotated references)
Week 10	24-Mar 26-Mar			Spring Break
Week 11	31-Mar 2-Apr 7-Apr	Maintaining the Socio-Economic Order through Ideological Means: Artificial Stupidity, Education, and Manufactured Consent	Barron 4/Sherman 1987, 5/ Herman 2018/Farrington 1965/Carey 1997	Schreker 1986/Chomsky 2018/Boull 1988/BBC 2018/Risen 2018/Prestor and Ray 1983/Swiss Propaganda
Week 12	9-Apr			Research 2016/Chomsky 1989/Barrow 1990, 2,3,7/ Briffault 1932, 1935
Week 13	14-Apr	Maintaining the Socio-Economic Order through Force and Political Means: Imperialism and Expansionism	Blum 2001/Buhite and Hamel 1990/Perlo 1951	Lenin 1918/Brady 1942 7, 8/Dutt 1934 4, 9/Pauwells 2002/
Week 14	16-Apr	Reforming Capitalism and Issues in Political Economy: Poverty, Housing, Education, Labor, Environment, and Economic Progress	United Nations 2018/Darity et al. 2018/Wray et al. 2018/Paul 2018/Tcherneva 2017/	Domhoff 2013/McNicholas et al 2017/Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change 2018/PBS "Plastic War" 2020 Second Draft Due (2000+ words, 1 annotated references)
	23-Apr		Barron 6/ Baran and	Ellman 2014 1/Wray 2006/Chomsk 1986/Melman 2001/Pannekoek 1947/Luxemburg 1900/ Robey 1934 Briffault 1935/
Week 15		Replacing Capitalism: Democratizing Production and Politics through reform or revolution?	Sweezy 1966 11/Hahnel 2007/Jäger 2018/Dewey1939	Interview of Chomsky Interview of Chomsky II Lecture of Wolff Second Reaction Paper due by the last day of class (choose something from week 8 to 15)
	28-Apr			

Literature Used

Adams, John 1776 Letter to James Sullivan

Baran, P.A. and Sweezy P.M. "The Irrational System" in *Monopoly Capitalism: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order*. New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks.

Barrow, C.W. 1990 "Who Owns the Universities? Class Structure and the Material Mans of Mental Production", "Corporate Power and Social Efficiency: The

Industrialization of American Universities" and "Discipline and Punish: Defining the Institutional Limits of Academic Freedom, 1894-1916" in *Universities and the Capitalist States: Corporate Liberalism and the Reconstruction of American Higher Education: 1894-1928.* The University of Wisconsin Press.

BBC 2018 "The vetting files: How the BBC kept out 'subversives'" April 22. Website Accessed July 2018: https://www.bbc.com/news/stories-43754737

Beard, C.A. 1921 "The Economic Interests of the Members of the Convention" and "The Constitution as an Economic Document" in *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.* New York: Macmillan Co.

Beard, C.A. 1932. "The Myth of the Rugged American Individualism" New York: John Day Co.

Blum, W. 2001 "Author's Foreword: Concerning September 11, 2001" and "Introduction" in Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press.

Boartright, M.C 1941 "The Myth of Frontier Individualism" Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 22 (1): 14-32.

Boulle, P.H. 1988 "In Defense of Slavery: Eighteenth-Century Opposition to Abolition and the Origins of Racist Ideology in France" in History From Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Brady, R.A. "Economic Policies: Monopoly, Protection, Privileges," "Social Policies: Status, Trusteeship, Harmony," in Business as a System of Power, New York: Columbian University Press.

Briffault R. 1932 "Stupidity" in Reasons for Anger. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press.

Briffault R. 1935a "The Economic Determination of Intelligence" in Reasons for Anger. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press.

Briffault, R. 1935b Breakdown: The Collapse of Traditional Civilization. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd.

Buhite, R.D. and Hamel, WMC. 1990. "War for Peace: The Question of an American Preventive War against the Soviet Union, 1945-1955." Diplomatic History, July Caporaso, J.M and Levine, D.P 1992 "Marxian Political Economy" in Theories of Political Economy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

Carey, A. 1996 "Closing the American Mind: The Early Years", "Closing the American Mind: Reshaping the Truth" "Propaganda in the Social Sciences: The Human Relation Approach" "Propaganda in the Social Sciences: The Industrial Preachers". In Taking the Risk out of Democracy

Carnes, N. 2018. "Working-class people are underrepresented in politics. The problem isn't voters." In Vox, October 24 2018 accessed October 30, 2018 at

https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/10/24/18009856/working-class-income-inequality-randy-bryce-alexandria-ocasio-cortez

Chomsky, N. 1986. "The Soviet Union vs. Socialism." Our Generation, Spring/Summer.

Chomsky, N. 1989. "Democracy and the Media." In Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies, 1-20. Boston: Sound End Press.

Crozier, M. et al. 1975. The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission. New York: New York University Press. Cronin, 2011. "Networks of corporate power revisited" Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences, 10: 43-51.

Darity, W.D. Jr, Hamilton, D., Paul, M., Aja, A. and Price, A. 2018 What We Get Wrong About Closing the Racial Wealth Gap Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity Insight Center for Community Economic Development, April.

Desmond, M. 2019. "In order to understand the brutality of American capitalism, you have to start on the plantation." NYT Magazine, Aug. 14.

Dewey, J. 1939."The Economic Basis of the New Society" Reprinted in John Dewey: The Later Works, 1925-1953, volume 13. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Domhoff, G.W. 2017 "Wealth, Income and Power" Webpage accessed July 2018: https://whorulesamerica.ucsc.edu/power/wealth.html

Domhoff, G.W. et al 2013 "Interlocks and Interaction among the Power Elite: The Corporate Community, Think Tanks, Policy-Discussion Groups, and Government" Webpage accessed July 2019: https://whorulesamerica.ucsc.edu/power_elite/interlocks_and_interactions.html.

Dutt, R.P. 1934 "What is Fascism?" and "The Theory and Practice of Fascism" in Fascism and Social Revolution: A Study of the Economics and Politics of the Extreme States of Capitalism Decay. Chicago: Proletarian Publishers

Ellman, M. 2014 "The Rise and Fall of Socialist Planning" in Socialist Planning. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ewen, P. 1976 "Shorter Hours, Higher Wages,..." "Mobilizing the Instincts" "Consumption and Social Change"

Farringdon, B. 1965 "Introduction," "A first glance at our problem" "A second Gland at our Problem" "Plato and the Religion of the City State," "What Epicurus Did," "Epicureanism Reaches Rome" Science and Politics in the Ancient World. New York: Barnes and Nobles, Inc.

Ferguson, T. 1995 "Party Systems in American History 1789–1984" in Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Ferguson, T., Jorgensen, P. and Chen, J. 2016 "How Money Drives US Congressional Elections: More Evidence" Paper presented at the Institute for New Economic Thinking annual conference.

Foster, J.B. 2011 "Capitalism and Degrowth—An Impossibility Theorem" Monthly Review, January

Foster, J.B. and Holleman H. 2010 "The Financial Power Elite" Monthly Review, May.

Galbraith, J.K. 1958 "The Imperatives of Consumer Demand", "The Dependence Effect", "The Vested Interest in Output" and "The Bill Collector Cometh" in The Affluent Society. Boston: The Riverside Press Cambridge.

Galbraith, J.K. 2016a "Causes of Changing Inequality in The United States" in Inequality: What Everybody Needs to Know. Oxford: Oxford University Press Gilens, M and Page B.I. 2014 "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens" Perspective on Politics 12 (3): 564-581.

Hahnel, R 2007 "Eco-localism: A Constructive Critique', Capitalism Nature Socialism, 18:2, 62 - 78

Hahnel, R. 2009 "Why Markets Subvert Democracy" American Behavioral Scientist; 52 (7): 1006-1022

Henry, J. 2001 "Property and the Limits of Democracy" John C. Livingston Annual Faculty Lecture, November 1.

Herman, E.S. 2018 "The Propaganda Model Revisited" Monthly Review, January.

Hymer, S. 1971 "Robinson Crusoe and the Secret of Primitive Accumulation" Monthly Review, September.

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. 2018. Global Warming of 1.5°C. An IPCC Special Report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels and related global greenhouse gas emission pathways, in the context of strengthening the global response to the threat of climate change, sustainable development, and efforts to eradicate poverty [Masson-Delmotte, V., P. Zhai, H.-O. Pörtner, D. Roberts, J. Skea, P.R.

Shukla, A. Pirani, W. Moufouma-Okia, C. Péan, R. Pidcock, S. Connors, J.B.R. Matthews, Y. Chen, X. Zhou, M.I. Gomis, E. Lonnoy, T. Maycock, M. Tignor, and T. Waterfield (eds.)].

Jäger, A. 2018 "Why 'Post-Work' does not work" Jacobin, 11/19/2018. https://jacobinmag.com/2018/11/post-work-ubi-nick-srnicek-alex-williams Jarvis, B. 2018 "The insect apocalypse is here" New York Times, November 27.

Kapur, A., Macleod, N. and Singh, N. 2005 "Plutonomy: Buying Luxury, Explaining Global Imbalances" Citigroup Industry Note, October 16.

Kelton, S., Bernal, A and Carlock, G. 2018 "We Can Pay For A Green New Deal" Huffington Post, November 11, 2018.

Knox, H. 1786. Letter to George Washington, October 23.

Kuczynski, J. 1967. "The working class emerges." In The Rise of the Working Class. New York: World University Library.

Lenin, V.I. 1918 The State and Revolution: The Marxist Theory of the State & the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution

Love, D.A. and Vijay Das, Al Jazeera 2017 "If You Want to Find an Example of Modern Day Slavery, Look No Further Than US Prisons" Reader Supported News, December 9.

Luxemburg, R. 1900. Reform or Revolution.

Marx, K. 1865 "Value, Price and Profit (Abridged): An Introduction to the Theory of Capitalism" in *Value, Capitalist Dynamics and Money*, 18: 3-39. Marx, K. 1867 "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation" in *Capital, Vol. 1*. New York: Modern Library.

Macfarland, L. 2018 "Why the distribution of wealth has more to do with power than productivity" at www.opendemocracy.net/neweconomics/distribution-wealthlittle-productivity-everything-power/

Mazzucato, 2011. "The US Entrepreneurial State." In The Entrepreneurial State, Demos report. https://www.demos.co.uk/files/Entrepreneurial State - web.pdf McNicholas, C, Mokhiber, Z. and Chaikof, A. 2017 "Two billion dollars in stolen wages were recovered for workers in 2015 and 2016—and that's just a drop in the bucket" Economic Policy Institute, Report, December 13.

Melman, S. 2001. After Capitalism: From Managerialism to Workplace Democracy. New York: Knopf

Morris 1774 Letter to Thomas Penn, May 20. Webpage accessed July 2018: https://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furrg/spl/morristopenn.html

Munkirs, J.R. 1985 The Transformation of American Capitalism: From Competitive Market Structures to Centralized Private Sector Planning, New York: ME Sharpe.

Munkirs J.R. and Knoedler J. 1987 "The existence and exercise of corporate power: an opaque fact" Journal of Economic Issues, 21 (4): 1679-1706.

Myers, G. 1910 "The Origins of Huge City Estates" in History of the Great American Fortunes, Vol. 1. New York: Charles H. Kerr and Co.

Paul, M. 2018. DON'T FEAR THE ROBOTS: Why Automation Doesn't Mean the End of Work. Joint Report from the Roosevelt Institute and the Samuel Dubois Cook Center on Social Equity.

Perlo, V. 1951. "The rise of American imperialism" and "The strategy of world domination" in American Imperialism.

Picketty, T and Zucman, G. 2014 "Wealth and Inheritance in the Long Run" in Handbook of Income Distribution, vol. 2B, Chapter 15.

Prash, R. "How is Labor Distinct from Broccoli? Some Unique Characteristics of Labor and Their Importance for Economic Analysis and Policy" Middlebury College Economics Discussion Paper NO. 03-30

Pannekoek, A. (1950) Workers' Councils. Dawson.

Preston Jr., P. and Ray, E. 1983. "Disinformation and Mass Deception: Democracy as a Covert Story" *Covert Action Information Bulletin*, 19 (Spring-Summer): 3-12. Raines, V. 2014. "Financial Aid Trends During and Since the War on Poverty." *Journal of College Admission*, Fall.

Risen, J. 2019 "THE BIGGEST SECRET: My Life as a New York Times Reporter in the Shadow of the War on Terror" The Intercept, January 3, 2018.

Robbins, R.H. 2014 "Constructing the Consumer" and "Consumerism and the Environment" in *Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism*. New York: Pearson. Robey, R. 1934 "Alternatives to Chaos" and "Substitutes to Utopia" in *Roosevelt vs. Recovery*. New York: Harper and Bothers.

Rose, S.J. and Hartmann, H.I. 2018 "Still a Man's Labor Market: The Slowly Narrowing Gender Wage Gap" Institute for Women's Policy Research, Working Paper. Schreker, E.W. 1986 "An Excellent Advertisement for the Institution': The development of Academic Freedom, 1886-1918" "Conduct Unbecoming

: The Political Repression of Academic Radicals 1932-1942" "A Matter of Ethical Hygiene': The Exclusion of Communists from Academic Life after World War II", "A Source of Friction': The Quieter Dismissals of Left-Wing Teachers" "A Very Difficult Time of It': The Academic Blacklist in Operation" in No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sherman, H.J. 1995 "An Approach to Class Analysis" in *Radical Political Economy: Explorations in Alternative Economic Analysis*. New York: ME Sharpe. Sherman, H.J. 1987 "Performance of Capitalism: Discrimination, Alienation and Pollution" in *Foundations of Radical Political Economy*. New York: ME Sharpe

Steward, N. "New York City makes it hard to enter shelters, and the housing market makes it hard to leave them. The process has many phases — the stages of homelessness." New York Times, February 18, 2018.

Sweezy, P. 2004 "Capitalism and the Environment" Monthly Review, October

Sweezy, P.M. 1939 "Interest Groupings and the American Economy" in *The Structure of the American Economy, Part I: Basic Characteristics*. Washington DC: US Government Press

Swiss Propaganda Research. 2018. "The Propaganda Multiplier."

Taft, P. and Ross, P. 1969. "American Labor Violence: Its Causes, Character, and Outcome." In Graham, H.D. and Gurr, T.R. (eds) *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, vol. I, 221-301. Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office.

Tcherneva, P. 2017 "Unemployment: The Silent Epidemic" Levy Economic Institute Working Paper No. 895.

Tymoigne, E. 2013 "Job Guarantee and Its Critiques: Insights from the New Deal Experience" International Journal of Political Economy, 42 (2): 63-87.

United Nations 2018 Report of the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights on his mission to the United States of America United Nation, Human Rights Council, 38th Session, 18 June-6 July 2018. Document number A HRC 38 33 Add-1-EN.

Ware, N. 1924. The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860: The Reaction of American Industrial Society to the Advance of the Industrial Revolution. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Weise, K. 2018 "Somali Workers in Minnesota Force Amazon to Negotiate" New York Times 11/20/2018.

Wolff, R.D. 2012 Democracy at Work: A Cure of Capitalism. Chicago: Haymarket.

Wray, L.R. 2006. "Bushonomics: Neocons and the Ownership Society" Challenge, January-February: 44-73

Wray, L.R. et al 2018 "Public Service Employment: A Path To Full Employment" Publications Research Project Reports, Levy Economic Institute, April.

Zinn, E. 1980 "Drawing the Color Line" in A People's History of the United States