

Khachaturian

RAFAEL KHACHATURIAN

University of Pennsylvania
Marks Family Center for Excellence in Writing
3718 Locust Walk, Philadelphia, PA 19104

rafkhach@sas.upenn.edu
(917) 518-5411
www.rafaelkhachaturian.com

ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

- 2019-Present Lecturer in Critical Writing
Non-Standing Faculty, Department of Political Science
University of Pennsylvania
- 2018-2019 Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, Andrea Mitchell Center for the Study of
Democracy
University of Pennsylvania
- 2017-2018 Research Associate, University Center for International Studies
University of Pittsburgh

EDUCATION

2017 **Indiana University**, Ph.D. Political Science.

Dissertation: Discipline, Knowledge, and Critique: Marxist Theory and the Revival of the State in American Political Science, 1968-1989

Stephen E. Bronner Dissertation Award, Caucus for a New Political Science, 2018.

2009 **The New School**, M.A. Politics.

2008 **The New School**. B.A. Philosophy, Social and Historical Inquiry.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

- Forthcoming *The Revolution of Law: Developments in Soviet Legal and Political Theory, 1917-1931*.
Co-edited and co-translated with Igor Shoikhedbrod. Under contract with
Brill.
- 2023 *Marxism and the Capitalist State: Towards a New Debate*. Co-edited with Rob
Hunter and Eva Nanopoulos. Palgrave Macmillan.

Peer-Reviewed Articles

- 2021 “Socialist Strategy and the Capitalist-Democratic State.” Co-authored with Stephen Maher. *Science & Society* 85: 191-199.
- 2019 “Bringing What State Back In? Neo-Marxism and the Origin of the Committee on States and Social Structures” *Political Research Quarterly* 72: 714-726.
- 2016 “Statist Political Science and American Marxism: A Historical Encounter” *Contemporary Political Theory* 17: 28-48.
- 2015 “Uncertain Knowledge and Democratic Transitions: Revisiting O’Donnell and Schmitter’s *Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*” *Polity* 47: 114-139.

Book Chapters

- Forthcoming “Marxist Approaches to the History of Political Thought.” *Research Handbook in the History of Political Thought*, eds. Cary J. Nederman and Guillaume Bogiaris (Elgar).
- 2024 “Theories of the State” *Encyclopedia of Critical Political Science*, ed. Clyde W. Barrow (Elgar)
- “Structural-Functional Marxism” *Encyclopedia of Critical Political Science*, ed. Clyde W. Barrow (Elgar)
- 2023 “Crisis, Social Reproduction, and the Capitalist State: Notes on an Uncertain Conjuncture.” In *Marxism and the Capitalist State: Towards a New Debate*, eds. Rob Hunter, Rafael Khachaturian, and Eva Nanopoulos (Palgrave)
- 2021 “The State as Social Relation: Nicos Poulantzas on Materiality and Political Strategy” in *The Elgar Handbook on Law and Marxism*, eds. Paul O’Connell and Umut Özsu.
- “The Living Pulsebeat of the Revolution: Reading Luxemburg and Du Bois on the Strike” in *Creolizing Rosa Luxemburg*, eds. Jane Gordon and Drucilla Cornell.

Editorially-Commissioned Articles

- Forthcoming “Cedric J. Robinson’s *Terms of Order*.” Symposium: Forgotten Classics. *Polity*.
- 2023 “Against Pessimism: A Life on the Left.” Interview with Leo Panitch. *Socialist Register* 59.
- 2020 “Studying the State: The Legacy of the Committee on States and Social Structures.” *Items: Social Science Research Council*. September 22.

- 2020 “The State.” Critical Legal Thinking: Key Concepts.
- 2019 “Mapping the American Left.” Co-authored with Sean Guillory. *Sociology of Power* 30: 128-146.
- Review Essays*
- 2014 “Symbols of Failure? Radical Democracy Between Past and Future.” Review of Warren Breckman, *Adventures of the Symbolic: Post-Marxism and Radical Democracy. Logos: A Journal of Modern Society and Culture.*
- 2013 “Liberal Ideology and the Modern World System.” Review of Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant. Historical Materialism* 21: 273-288.
- Book Reviews*
- 2022 Artemy Magun, ed. *The Future of the State. Rethinking Marxism* 34(1): 131-133
- 2021 Chantal Mouffe, *For a Left Populism. Philosophy and Global Affairs* 1(1): 168-171
- 2021 Max Adler, *The Marxist Conception of the State. New Political Science* 43(1): 119-122
- 2020 Isaac A. Kamola, *Making the World Global: U.S. Universities and the Production of the Global Imaginary. Perspectives on Politics* 18:3 (June 2020)
- 2020 “Theory in Revolutionary Times: The Socialist Register Since the 1960s.” Review of *Class, Party, Revolution: A Socialist Register Reader*, eds. Greg Albo, Leo Panitch, and Alan Zuege. *New Politics* XVIII, No. 1 (Summer 2020)
- 2020 “Democratic Socialism is a Living Political Tradition.” Review of Gregory R. Smulewicz-Zucker and Michael J. Thompson (eds.), *An Inheritance for Our Times: Principles and Politics of Democratic Socialism. Jacobin*, July 9.
- 2018 “Marx as Flawed, Manic, and One of Us: A Review of Jason Barker’s Marx Returns. *Politics/Letters*. Republished in *Jacobin, Tribune.*
- 2013 Alejandro Portes, *Economic Sociology: A Systematic Inquiry. Science and Society* 77: 275-278.
- 2009 George Hartley, *The Abyss of Representation: Marxism and the Postmodern Sublime. Science and Society* 73: 576-578.
- Translations*
- Forthcoming Ernesto Laclau, “Marxist Theories of the State: Debates and Perspectives.” *Viewpoint.*

2017 “The Loss of Nicos Poulantzas: The Elusive Answer.” *Legal Form*. Dec. 7.

MANUSCRIPT IN PROGRESS

*Book Project: **The Rediscovery of the State: Crisis and Knowledge Production in Postwar Political Science***

This project examines changing understandings of the state within American political science, in the specific context of postwar liberalism. It analyzes why the state, a foundational concept for the study of politics, was marginalized in the postwar years, under attempts to shift the discipline onto more scientific—positivistic and behaviorist—territory. In tracing the various usages of this term between the 1960s and 1980s, by the end of which the state was triumphantly “brought back in” to the field, it shows how this renewed interest in the concept was itself a response to the crisis of American political institutions that began in the late 1960s and unfolded over the course of the following decade. The revived discourse about the state acted as a proxy for rethinking the relationship between liberal democracy, the social sciences, and the modern state as both a material institution and an ideological representation of political power.

TEACHING

University of Pennsylvania

Spring 2024	Fascism: Past and Present
Fall 2022-Fall 2023	Russia after Communism
Spring 2021	Human Rights in a Capitalist World
Fall 2020-Fall 2023	Mass Incarceration in America
Fall 2020-Fall 2021	Neoliberalism: Capitalism, Politics, and Power
Fall 2019, Spring 2020	American Crime Control
Fall 2019, Spring 2020	What is Democracy?
Spring 2019	Can the People Rule? Democracy and its Dilemmas
Fall 2018-Spring 2019	Mitchell Center Research and Writing Seminar

Brooklyn Institute for Social Research

Summer 2022	First Time as Tragedy, Second Time as Farce: Marx’s Eighteenth Brumaire and Beyond
Fall 2021	Neoliberalism and Political Theory: An Introduction to Wendy Brown
Summer 2021	State, Power, and Democratic Socialism: An Introduction to Nicos Poulantzas
Winter 2021	Theories of the State: Politics, Institutions, and Power
Spring 2019	Marxism and the State

American University of Armenia

Summer 2023

Seminar on Critical Studies and Social Theory

Indiana University

Fall 2015

Foundations of American Political Thought

Summer 2015

Modern Political Thought

Spring 2015

Business and Politics

Fall 2014

Intro to American Politics (Associate Instructor)

PRESENTATIONS*Conferences*

2023 “What is Putinism? On Conceptual Ambiguities in the Post-Communist Context.” Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, November 30-December 3. Philadelphia, PA.

“The Many Lives of Bonapartism: The *Eighteenth Brumaire* as Method, Critique, and Conjecture.” Historical Materialism London, November 9-12. London, UK.

“The Revolution of Law and Roads not Taken.” Different Shades of Red: Rediscovering the Plurality of Socialism and Communism in Europe in the 20th Century, October 26-28. Montreal, QC.

“The Many Lives of Bonapartism: The *Eighteenth Brumaire* as Method, Critique, and Conjecture.” Association for Political Theory, October 12-14. Schenectady, NY.

2022 "Who Cares?: Social Crises and State Capacity in Year Three of COVID-19," American Political Science Association, September 15-18. Montreal, QC.

"Who Cares?: Social Crises and State Capacity in Year Three of COVID-19," Northeast Modern Language Association, March 10-13. Baltimore, MD.

2021 “Between Socialism and Social Science: Parallel Discourses of Democratization in the Southern European Transitions,” Social Science History Association, November 11-14. Philadelphia, PA.

2020 “The Living Pulsebeat of the Revolution: Reading Luxemburg and Du Bois on the Strike,” American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA.

2019 “Neoliberalism as a Hegemonic Project: Reconsidering Authoritarian Statism and Authoritarian Populism.” American Political Science Association, Washington DC, August 29-September 1; Association for Political Theory, Irvine, CA, October 24-26.

- “Authoritarian Statism and the Democratic Transition to Socialism.” *Historical Materialism*, New York, NY. April 13.
- 2018 “Neoliberalism, Crisis, and the Notion of the Public.” Northeastern Political Science Association. Montreal. November 8-10.
- “Equaliberty and the Limits of the Democratic State.” Association for Political Theory. Haverford and Bryn Mawr, PA. October 18-20.
- “Which Dictatorship, Whose Democracy? Gene Sharp and the Politics of Nonviolent Resistance.” American Political Science Association. Boston, MA. August 30-September 2.
- “Equaliberty and the Limits of the Democratic State.” Conference Philosophy and Social Science. Czech Academy of Sciences. Prague, CR. May 16-20.
- 2017 “Demystifying the Deep State: Toward a New Theory of a Problematic Concept.” Northeastern Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA. November 9-11.
- “Between Marx and Weber: The Return to the State in American Political Science.” Southern Political Science Association. New Orleans, LA. January 12-14.
- 2016 “Between Marx and Weber: The Return to the State in American Political Science.” Association for Political Theory. Columbus, OH. October 20-22.
- “The Political Theory and Practice of Syriza.” Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April 7-10.
- “The Political Theory and Practice of Syriza.” Western Political Science Association. San Diego, CA. March 24-26.
- 2015 “The Political against the State: Laclau, Poulantzas and Radical Democracy.” American Political Science Association (Poster). San Francisco, CA. September 3-6.
- “The Political against the State: Laclau, Poulantzas and Radical Democracy.” Conference Philosophy and Social Science. Czech Academy of Sciences. Prague, CR. May 20-24.
- “Marxism and the Origins of American Political Science: A Silent Debate about the State.” Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April 16-19.
- 2014 “Marxism and the Origins of American Political Science: A Silent Debate about the State.” Northwestern University Graduate Conference in Political Theory. Evanston, IL. November 7.
- “The Materiality of the State: Revisiting State Autonomy and the Base-Superstructure Problem,” Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April 3-6.

- 2012 “Back to the Structure: Mobilization and Institution Formation in Developing Societies.” With Vasabjit Banerjee. Midwest Political Science Association. Chicago, IL. April 12-15.
- 2010 “Reconsidering the Power Debate.” Boston College Graduate Philosophy Conference. Boston, MA. March 19-20.
- 2009 “Federalism and Popular Sovereignty in the Origins of the American Republic.” Northeastern Political Science Association. Philadelphia, PA. November 19-21.
- “The Discourse of Universality: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, and the Enlightenment.” New York State Political Science Association. New York, NY.
- 2008 “Sovereignty, Violence, and the State.” Northeastern Political Science Association. Boston, MA. November 13-15.

Workshops and Invited Talks

- 2024 “The Revolution of Law: Debates in Soviet Legal Theory, 1917-1931,” Center for Contemporary Critical Thought, Columbia University, April 5.
- 2022 “Political Science and the Politics of the State,” Political Theory Workshop, CUNY Graduate Center, April 1.
- Panelist: “Perpetual Crisis: Contemporary Geopolitics in Context.” Brooklyn Institute for Social Research. March 13.
- 2021 Panelist: “The First 120 Days: Biden and the Left.” Brooklyn Institute for Social Research. May 19.
- “The Living Pulsebeat of the Revolution: Reading Luxemburg and Du Bois on the Strike.” Marxist Education Project. New York, May 1.
- 2019 “The State and Strategies for Socialism.” Marxist Education Project. New York, November 9.
- Panelist: James Parisot, *How America Became Capitalist*. Historical Materialism New York, April 14.
- “The State as Social Relation: Nicos Poulantzas and the Reconstruction of Marxist Political Theory.” University of Toronto, January 12.
- 2018 “Which Dictatorship, Whose Democracy? Gene Sharp and the Politics of Nonviolent Resistance.” Tri-Co Political Theory Workshop. Haverford College. December 13.
- “Marx and Neoliberalism: Continuities and Disjunctures.” Symposium on Marx and the Humanities. Carnegie Mellon University. May 30.

“Equaliberty and the Limits of the Democratic State.” Political Theory Workshop. University of Pittsburgh. May 25.

Respondent: Artemy Magun, “The State of the State, with Constant Reference to Lenin.” Russian History and Culture Workshop. University of Pennsylvania. April 23.

2016 “Miliband, Poulantzas, and the Problem of the Capitalist State.” Political Theory Colloquium. Indiana University. February 19.

AWARDS, FELLOWSHIPS, and GRANTS

- 2023 Armenian Communities Grant, *Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*, \$7000.
- 2021 Campaign for Community Grant, *University of Pennsylvania*, \$1480.
- 2018 American Political Science Association Travel Award.
- 2017 Indiana University Russian Studies Workshop Course Development Fellowship; American Political Science Association Travel Award; Indiana University Center on American Politics Travel Award; Southern Political Science Association Prestage-Cook Travel Award.
- 2016-2017 Dissertation Year Research Fellowship, Indiana University, College of Arts and Sciences; Indiana University College Arts and Humanities Institute Graduate Conference Travel Award; Indiana University Department of Political Science Graduate Conference Travel Award.
- 2015-2016 Indiana University Department of Political Science Graduate Conference Travel Award.
- 2014-2015 Indiana University Department of Political Science Graduate Conference Travel Award.
- 2011-2012 Graduate Leadership Award, Indiana University, Department of Political Science.
- 2011-2015 Indiana University Department of Political Science Graduate Fellowship
- 2010-2011 Max Kade Fellowship. Indiana University, Department of Germanic Studies.
- 2009 Outstanding M.A. Graduate Award. The New School, Department of Politics.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Ongoing **Referee:** *Journal of Politics, Constellations, Perspectives on Politics, Progress in Development Studies, Historical Materialism, New Political Science, Wealth and Power* (Routledge, 2023)

- 2023 Moderator: Russia before and after the Invasion of Ukraine. Speakers: Ilya Matveev and Ilya Budraitskis. Andrea Mitchell Center for the Study of Democracy, University of Pennsylvania, December 4.
- Panel Organizer: Russia before and after February 2022: Imperialism, Bonapartism, and Fascism.” Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. Philadelphia, PA.
- 2020-2022 Co-founder, Prison Outreach Committee, Critical Writing Program, University of Pennsylvania
- 2021 Recruiting and Hiring Committee, Critical Writing Program, University of Pennsylvania
- Discussant: 14th Annual Mitchell Center Undergraduate Research Conference, University of Pennsylvania.
- 2019 Discussant, Association for Political Theory: “Political Science and the Disciplines”
- Panel Organizer and Chair, American Political Science Association: “Rethinking Power, Populism, and the Crisis of Democracy”
- Panel Chair, American Political Science Association: “Rethinking Populism”
- 2018-2019 Committee Chair, New Political Science Dissertation Award
- 2017-2018 Program Committee, Association for Political Theory.
- 2018 Discussant, American Political Science Association: “Populism, Liberalism, and Democracy.”
- Discussant, Midwest Political Science Association: “Analyzing Social and Economic Power”; “Empire, State, and Resistance.”
- 2017 Panel Organizer and Chair, Northeastern Political Science Association: “Confronting the State: Democratic Theory and Political Practice in Uncertain Times.”
- Panel Chair, Northeastern Political Science Association: “Political Theory: Questions of Method.”
- Panel Chair, Southern Political Science Association: “Who Rules? Structure and Inequality.”

PUBLIC WRITING and ENGAGEMENT

- 2023 Podcast interview: "[The Cleansing of Nagorno-Karabakh](#)." *The Eurasian Knot*, October 27.
- ["Azerbaijan's Ethnic Cleansing of Nagorno-Karabakh is Fueled by Regional Power Struggles."](#) Co-authored with Richard Antaramian. *Jacobin*, September 28.
- 2022 "Volver Peores." *Jacobin America Latina*, No. 6. pp. 18-22.
- ["Mountains of Data Need a \(Democratic\) Horizon."](#) The Loop: Blog of the European Consortium for Political Research.
- Interview with Martijn Konings, "[In the Biden Era, Neoliberalism is Alive and Kicking](#)." *Jacobin*, April 5.
- Interview with Wendy Brown, "[Rights Without Bounds](#)." *Dissent*, March 23.
- Interview with Ilya Matveev, "[The Putin Regime is Straining Under its Own Contradictions](#)." *Jacobin*, February 25.
- 2021 "[Theses on the Political Crisis](#)" *Legal Form*, Feb. 10.
- ["Trump Has Left the Building but the Foundations Are Still in Place."](#) *The Nation*, Jan. 21.
- ["The Washington Riot Was a Defeat for the Far Right, Not a Triumph."](#) Co-authored with Stephen Maher. *Jacobin*, Jan. 8
- 2020 Co-editor with Stephen Maher, *The Sanders Moment and After: Socialist Strategy and State Crisis*. Published by the Socialist Project, Toronto, ON, CA
- Interview with Asad Haider: "[The Emancipation of All](#)." *Verso*, July 29.
- Interview with Samuel Moyn, "[We Can't Settle for Human Rights](#)." *Jacobin*, April 27.
- Interview with Joe Soss, "[How the Criminal Justice System Preys on the Poor](#)." *Dissent*, April 6.
- ["Global Capitalism, Global Pandemic, and the Struggle for Socialism."](#) Co-Authored with Stephen Maher. *New Politics*, April 7.
- 2019 "[Socialist Strategy and the Capitalist Democratic State](#)." Co-authored with Stephen Maher. *The Bullet*, May 28.
- ["The American Left Resurgent: Prospects and Tensions"](#) Co-authored with Sean Guillory. *The Bullet*, Feb. 7

- 2018 Symposium Editor, "Democracy in Trouble?" *Public Seminar*. Oct. 2.
- "Class, Identity, and a New Hegemony." *Legal Form*, Sep. 16.
- "Constitutionalism Against Revolution." *Legal Form*, Mar. 15.
- Podcast interview*: The Public Sphere: What is Reactionary Neoliberalism? Feb. 2.
- 2017 "Poulantzas and the Juridical Constitution of the Subject." *Legal Form*, Oct. 29.
- "Normalizing the State of Emergency: France's Recent Anti-Terror Legislation." *Public Seminar*, Oct. 12.
- Podcast interview*: The Dead Pundits Society: Make State Theory Great Again. Oct. 11.
- Radio interview*: WIUX Philosophy Hour: Discussing the Communist Manifesto.
- Radio interview*: KGNU Hemispheres: Trump and the Deep State. Feb. 28.
- "Ditching the Deep State." *Jacobin*, Feb. 20.
- "How to Bring Down a Dictator: Reading Gene Sharp in Trump's America." With Jeffrey Isaac). *Dissent*, Feb. 4.
- 2016 "Trump and the Anti-Establishment Fantasy." *Public Seminar*, Dec. 14.
- "On Thinking With and Against the State." *Logos*.
- 2014 "How (Not) to Kill a Philosopher: On Louis Althusser." *Dissent*. Mar. 11.
- "Social Criticism and the Academy." *Contrivers' Review*.
- 2012 "Managing Democracy in Russia." *Dissent*. May 2.
- 2011 "To Krakow and Back." *Dissent* 58: 53-55.
- 2010 "State of Disorder: Russia's Ultranationalist Problem." *Dissent*. Dec. 27.
- "Some Remarks on Isaiah Berlin." *Dissent*. Aug. 12.
- 2009 "The Specter of Russian Nationalism." *Dissent* 56: 19-24.

PODCAST INTERVIEWS

2023 Interview with Rachel Kuo, "[Beyond the Moment of Protest: Can Social Movements be More Robust than the Systems they Oppose?](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Charlton McIlwain, "[Black Software: The Technological Lead-Ups to Black Lives Matter.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

2022 Interview with Carolyn E. Holmes, "[The Grip of History in Post-Apartheid South Africa.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Sean Guillory, "[Dark Mirror: How the West Imagines Itself Through Imagining Russia.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Wendy Brown, "[Beyond the Ruins of Neoliberalism.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Ilya Matveev, "[The Eroding Foundations of Putin's Power.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

2021 Interview with Martijn Konings, "[Reports of Neoliberalism's Death are Greatly Exaggerated.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Kevin Duong, "[Universal Suffrage: From Revolutionary Project to Minimalist Politics.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Paulina Ochoa Espejo, "[No Nation is an Island: Rethinking How Borders Should Work.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Matt Shafer, "[The Double Life of Violence: Social Discourse, Personal Agency, and the Unresolved Meaning of a Key Term.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Joan Wallach Scott, "[Academic Freedom and the Work of the University.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

2020 Interview with Nadya Tolokonnikova, "[Art, Activism, and Putin.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Asad Haider, "[Marxism in the Age of Identity Politics.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Alexes Harris, "[Taking a Pound of Flesh: The Punitive Impacts of Monetary Sanctions.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Joe Soss, "[The Criminal Justice System as a Predatory Revenue Racket.](#)" Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

Interview with Samuel Moyn, "Human Rights are not Enough to Fix an Unequal World."
Andrea Mitchell Center Podcast, University of Pennsylvania.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Member: American Political Science Association; Association for Political Theory; Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies

Associate Faculty, Brooklyn Institute for Social Research

Fellow, Institute for Critical Social Inquiry, The New School: Seminar with Etienne Balibar, "Communism: Return to the New Commons?" New York, Summer 2019

Fellow, Democracy and Diversity Institute, The New School: Krakow, Summer 2008

EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE

2017-2020 Editorial Committee, *Socialist Forum*

2011-2017 Editorial Assistant, *Perspectives on Politics*

2010 Editorial Intern, Verso

2010 Editorial Intern, *Constellations*

2007-2008 Editorial Intern, *Dissent*

LANGUAGES

Russian: Native

Spanish: Basic reading

German: Basic reading