

David Rolfe Graeber
Curriculum Vitae

Professor of Anthropology
London School of Economics and Political Science
Houghton Street London WC2A 2AE United Kingdom

Birth date: February 12, 1961

Degrees:

- Doctorate in Anthropology, University of Chicago: June 1996
- dissertation: *The Disastrous Ordeal of 1987: Memory and Violence in Rural Madagascar.*
- Masters in Anthropology, University of Chicago: June 1987
- dissertation: *The Generalization of Avoidance: Manners and Possessive Individualism in Early Modern Europe.*
- BA in Anthropology, State University of New York at Purchase: June 1984.

Teaching and Professional/Administrative Experience:

Current Position (2013-present), Professor of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science.

Instructor:

- “Advanced Theory in Anthropology.” (Michaelmas Term, 2014; Michaelmas Term, Lent Term, 2016)
- “Theoretical Issues in Anthropology: Precepts & Practice.” (Michaelmas Term, 2014, Michaelmas Term 2016, Michaelmas Term 2017)
- “Anthropological Approaches to Value.” (Lent Term, 2014, Michaelmas Term 2016, Michaelmas Term 2017)
- “LSE 100.” Lecture on Social Movements, Puppets, Symbolic Analysis. (Michaelmas Term, 2015)
- “Ethnography and Theory.” (Lent Term, 2016, Lent Term 2017)

2013-present, LSE, MSc Admissions coordinator, Academic Board Representative, Firth prize committee.

Previous position (2008-2013): Reader in Social Anthropology, Goldsmiths,
University of London

Instructor:

- “Economics, Politics and Social Change” (Fall 2012)
- “Myth and Ritual” (Spring 2011)
- “General Principles” (Spring 2010, 2011)
- “Anthropology and Cultural Politics” (Fall 2010, Spring 2013)
- “Introduction to Social Anthropology” (Spring 2010, Spring 2013)
- Methodological and Philosophical Issues in Anthropology and Sociology” (with Brian Alleyne, Fall 2010)
- Dissertation Writing Seminar, Spring 2011, Fall 2012

2007-2008, Lecturer in Anthropology, Goldsmiths University of London

Instructor:

- “General Principles” (Spring 2008, Spring 2009)
- “Introduction to Social Anthropology” (Spring 2008, Spring 2009)
- “Methodological and Philosophical Issues in Anthropology and Sociology” (with Brian Alleyne, Fall 2007, Fall 2008, Fall 2009)
- Anthropology and Representation, Fall 2008, Fall 2009
- Dissertation Writing Seminar, Fall, 2007, Summer, Fall, 2008, Winter, Summer 2009

2007-2013

Goldsmiths: Library Liaison, IT Liaison, MA Admissions, Co-convenor of the MA in Cultural Politics, Co-convenor of the Anthropology-Sociology Joint Honours Programme.

2006, “The Meaning of Revolution Today”, Brecht Forum, co-taught with Ayca Çubukçu.

2004-2007, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Yale University

1998-2004, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Yale University

Instructor:

- “Theories of Value in Anthropology” (Spring 2000, Spring 2003, Spring 2005)
- “A History of Anthropological Theory” (Junior Seminar, Spring 2000)
- “Power, Violence and Cosmology” (Fall 1999, Fall 2003, Fall 2005)
- “Myth and Ritual” (Spring 1999, Spring 2001, Spring 2003, Spring 2005)
- “Anthropology and Classical Social Theory” (Spring 1999, Fall 1999, Fall 2000, Fall 2002, Fall 2003, Fall 2004, Fall 2005)
- “The Ritualization of Power in Africa” (Fall 1998, Spring 2001)
- “Societies and Cultures of the Indian Ocean Region” (Fall 1998, Fall 2000, Fall 2002, Fall 2004)
- “Direct Action and Radical Social Theory” (Spring 2004, 2006)
- “Introduction to Socio-Cultural Anthropology” (Spring 2004, 2006).

2004, Seminar, “Value in a Neoliberal World”, Institute of Anthropology,
Copenhagen, Denmark

2004-2005, coordinator of the anthropology colloquium series, Yale, along with
numerous additional administrative duties (Williams Fund, African Studies
Admissions, Prize Committees, etc., from 1998-2007)

1997-1998, Visiting Scholar, New York University

Instructor:

- “Human Society and Culture” (NYU, Spring 1998)

1996-1997, Visiting Assistant Professor at Haverford College

Instructor:

- “Fetishism: Theirs and Ours” (Spring Term 1997)
- “Political Anthropology” (Spring Term 1997)
- “Economic Anthropology: Wealth and Power” (Spring Term 1997)
- “Cultures of the Indian Ocean” (Fall 1996)
- “Introduction to Anthropology” (co-instructor with Wyatt MacGaffey and
Laurie Hart, Fall 1996)

1993-94, Teaching Assistant to Marshall Sahlins, “The Nature of Culture” (University
of Chicago)

1993, Research Assistant to Marshall Sahlins for the preparation of *How ‘Natives’
Think (About Captain Cook, For Instance.)* (1994, University of Chicago
Press.)

1993, Instructor, “African Civilizations II: Ritual, Cosmology and the Person”
(University of Chicago)

Referee for papers for *Antipode*, *American Ethnologist*, *Anthropology Quarterly*,
Cultural Anthropology, *American Anthropologist*, *Theory, Culture, and
Society*, *Ethnos*, *The Journal of Political Ideologies*, *Critique of Anthropology*,
HAU: the Journal of Ethnographic Theory, and *JRAI*, books from Indiana,
Palgrave, Rutgers, Duke, and others.

Editorships:

- Editorial board: *Revue du MAUSS* (2005 to present)
- Editor at large: *HAU: The Journal of Ethnographic Theory* (2011 to 2017),
- Contributing editor: *The Baffler* (2013 to 2016).
- Editor at large: *The International Times* (2015 to 2016)

Awards:

- IPE Outstanding Activist Scholar award for 2012, issued by the International Political Economy section of the International Studies Association, San Francisco, April 5, 2013.
- Bateson Prize for Cultural Anthropology, American Anthropological Association, for 2012 (for “Debt: The First 5000 Years.”)

Research Grants:

Fullbright-International Institute of Education: “The Contested Past in Central Madagascar,” Spring 1989- Autumn 1990.

Yale University Junior Faculty Development Fellowship: “The Ethnography of Direct Action,” Autumn 2001-Spring 2002.

British Academy Midcareer Fellowship: “Culture as Creative Refusal: a new anthropological approach to world history.” Autumn 2011-Summer 2012

Independent Scholars Research Foundation Midcareer Fellowship, “The State as a Convergence of Heterogeneous Elements: A Deep Historical Approach.” Autumn 2013-Summer 2014.

Languages: Malagasy, French, Spanish

Interests: theories of value; money, debt, exchange and the person; bureaucracy; work; capitalism; sacrifice; historical change and collective agency; theories of gender, narrativity, and social action; political decision-making; manners, class and the nature of hierarchy; magic and fetishism; theories of desire; Madagascar; Africa and the Indian Ocean; Classical, Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Anarchism and Radical Social Movements, Direct Action.

Books (as Single Author)

Bullshit Jobs: A Theory. Book version of the notorious essay. Released May 15, 2018 from Simon & Schuster (US), and Allen Lane/Penguin (UK). Contracts also signed with Klett-Cotta (Germany), Les Liens Qui Libèrent (France), Ariel (Spain), Saggiatore (Italy), and China Citic (People's Republic of China).

Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity, and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy. Released by Melville House (Brooklyn), in February 2015. This title has also appeared in French as *Bureaucratie* (Liens qui Libèrent, Paris) in October 2015, Spanish as *Utopia des Normas: de la tecnología, la estupidez y los secretos placeres de la burocracia* (Ariel /Planeta, Barcelona), also October 2015, German as *Bürokratie: Die Utopie der Regeln* (Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart), in February 2016, Swedish as *Reglernas utopi. Om teknologi, enfald och byråkratins hemliga fröjder* (Daidalos, Göteborg), Turkish as *Kuralların*

Ütopyası - Teknoloji, Aptallık ve Bürokrasinin Gizli Zevkleri Üzerine, from Everest Yayinlari (Istanbul), May 2016, and Polish as *Utopia regulaminów, O technologii, tępcocie i ukrytych rozkoszach biurokracji* (Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, Warszawa), September 2016. Editions are due in Italian from Il Saggiatore (Milan), in Dutch from Atlas-Contact (Amsterdam), and in Chinese (traditional characters) from Business Weekly, Cite Publishing (Taipei). The French edition won the Prix Books du meilleur essai étranger award for 2016.

The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement. Released by Spiegel & Grau (an imprint of Random House, New York) and Allen Lane (an imprint of Penguin UK, London), in April 2013. It had earlier been published in German as *Inside Occupy*, Campus Verlag (Berlin), May 2012, and has appeared in Portuguese as *Projeto Democratia* (Editorial Presença, Lisbon, August 2013), in Italian as *Progetto Democrazia* (Il Saggiatore, Milan, February 2014), in French as *Comme si nous étions déjà libres* (Lux Editeur, Montreal, August 2014; the latter is in fact my original title, rendered into French), Spanish as *Somos el 99%: Una Historia, Un Crisis, Una movilmiento* (Barcelona, Captain Swing, October 2014), Georgian as *დემოკრატიის პროექტი* (Radarami, Tbilisi), Arabic as *شروع ديمقراطية* (National Council for Culture, Kuwait), and Japanese in 2015 as 『デモクラシー・プロジェクト』 (Koshisha, Tokyo). Contracts have been signed for editions in Korean (Jidori, Seoul), Greek (Livani, Athens), and Dutch (Atlas - Contact, Amsterdam).

Debt: The First 5000 Years. Brooklyn: Melville House. July 2011. Winner of the first annual Bread & Roses award for radical publishing in the UK, May 1, 2012, and the Bateson Prize for Cultural Anthropology, American Anthropological Association, for 2012. It has appeared in German in May 2012 from Klett-Cotta (Stuttgart) as *Schulden: Die ersten 5000 Jahre*, Italian in June 2012 from Saggiatore (Milan) as *Debito. I primi 5000 anni*, Dutch in July 2012 from Business Contact (Amsterdam) as *Schuld: De Eerste 5000 Jaar*; Korean in July 2012 (Boogle Books, Seoul), as [부채, 그 첫 5,000년](#), Spanish in September 2012 (Ariel, Barcelona), as [En deuda. Una historia alternativa de la economía](#); in Chinese (simplified characters, from China Citic Press, Beijing), as [第一个5000年](#) in November 2012, Swedish (Diadalos, Stockholm) in December 2012 as *Skuld. De första 5000 åren*, Slovak (Kalligram, Bratislava) in January 2013 as *Dluh: Prvních 5000 Let*, French (Les Liens qui Libèrent, Paris) as *Dette, 5000 ans d'histoire* in September 2013, traditional Chinese characters as [債的史：文明的初始到全球代](#) (Cite Publishing, Taipei) in September 2013, Croatian as *Dug: Priv 5000 godina* (Fraktura, Zagreb) in October 2013, in Greek as *Χρέος Τα πρώτα 5.000 χρόνια* (Stasei Ekiphtontes, Athens, 2013), Russian as *Долг: первые 5000 лет истории* (Ad Marginem Press, Moscow, 2015), in Turkish as *Borç: İlk 5000 Yil* (Everest Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2016), and in Portuguese as *Dívida - Os primeiros 5.000 anos*. (Três Estrelas, Rio, 2016). It is due to appear in Japanese (Ibunsha, Tokyo), Czech (Bizbooks,

Prague) and Hebrew (Attic, Tel Aviv), and in November 2012 appeared in an Indian (English) edition from Penguin India.

Direct Action: An Ethnography. Oakland and Edinburgh: AK Press. August 2009. An abridged version of this title appeared in Italian as *Rivoluzione: Istruzioni per L'uso* (Rizzoli, Rome), in December 2012, and in German as *Direkte Aktion. Ein Handbuch* from Edition Nautilus (Hamburg, September 2013). I am also in discussion with Ibunsha (Tokyo) for a Japanese edition, and Greenbee (Seoul) for one in Korean.

Lost People: Magic and the Legacy of Slavery in Madagascar. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. September 2007.

Possibilities: Essays on Hierarchy, Rebellion, and Desire. A collection of essays, published and unpublished. It first appeared from AK Press, Oakland and Edinburgh, in November 2007. A partial version of this collection appeared in French as [*Des fins du capitalisme*](#) (Payot, Paris, 2014). The book has also been translated informally in Korean, possibly to appear from Greenbee, and may also appear in Japanese (Ibunsha), Italian (Eleuthera-Caienna), Greek (Black Pepper, in two separate volumes) and French (Atelier de Création Libertaire).

Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology. Prickly Paradigm Series (Chicago, University of Chicago Press), April 2004. (Originally written as a pamphlet, *Fragments* has now appeared in French translation as *Pour une Anthropologie Anarchiste*, in the “Instinct de liberté” series from Lux Editeur, Montreal, in Spring 2006, has also appeared in Italian translation from Eleuthera-Caienna (Rome, 2006), as *Frammenti di Antropologia Anarchica*, in Japanese from Ibunsha (Tokyo, 2006) as *アナーキスト人類学のための断章*, in German from Peter Hammer Verlag (Berlin, 2008), as *Frei von Herrschaft*, in Greek from Black Pepper (Athens, 2007), as *Απόσπασμα μιας αναρχικής ανθρωπολογίας*, in Spanish from Virus Editorial (Barcelona, 2011) as *Fragmentos de Antropología Anarquista*, in Turkish from Butek Bogazici (Istanbul, 2013) as *Anarsist Bir Antropolojiden Parçalar*, in Czech as *Fragmenty anarchistické antropologie* (Transit, Prague, 2013), Slovenian (cf., Ljubljana, 2014) as *Fragmenti anarhistične antropologije*, and in Chinese from Gaungxi Normal University Press (Beijing, 2014), as 无政府主义人类学碎片, with contracts to appear in Catalan from Tangram (Barcelona, 2014), Portuguese from Editora Oficina Raquel (Sao Paulo, 2015), Polish from Orporacja Ha!art (Krakow, 2016), and Danish from OXO (Copenhagen 2016). A more elaborate Spanish edition appeared in 2015 from Ediciones la Sociale, Mexico, as *Fragmentos de Antropología Anarquista y Otros Textos*. Negotiations are currently under way for editions in, or informal versions have appeared in Korean, Arabic, Russian, Finnish, Lithuanian, Thai, Indonesian and possibly Tagalog.)

Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams.

New York: Palgrave. November 2001. (This title has appeared in Korea from Greenbee Publishing, Seoul, in June 2009 as 가치이론에 대한 인류학적 접근 - 교환과 가치, 사회의 재구성, German as [Die falsche Münze unserer Träume](#) (Diaphanes, Berlin, September 2013), in Spanish as *Hacia un Teoría Antropológica del Valor* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, Buenos Aires, August 2014), and Turkish as *Değer teorisi Antropolojik Bir Giriş* (Sel Publishing, Ankara, May 2015). Translations are being prepared in Arabic (Arab Network for Research and Publishing, Riyadh), Japanese (for possible publication with Ibunsha, Tokyo), French (Libertalia, Paris), and Croatian (Jasenski & Turk, Zagreb). The Korean version was awarded the ROK Ministry of Culture and Tourism's scholarly book prize for 2009.

As Co-Author or Co-Editor, or Translated Essays:

On Kings. A collection of essays co-authored with Marshall Sahlins, for The HAU book series, University of Chicago Press, to appear in November 2017. It will consist of a joint introduction on archaic/stranger kingship, four essays by Marshall Sahlins, and three by myself (these being: an updated version of "The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk," and two new essays, "The People as the Nursemaids of the King: Notes on Monarchs as Children, Women's Uprisings, and the Return of the Ancestral Dead in Central Madagascar," and "Notes on the Politics of Kingship, or, Elements for an Archaeology of Sovereignty."

(R)evoluční ekonomie o systému a lidech. [Czech book consisting of a conversation between myself and Tomáš Sedláček, edited by Roman Chlupatý.] Nakladatelství, Prague, December 2013. This book appeared in German as *Revolution oder Evolution*, Carl Hanser Verlag, Munich, 2014.

La démocratie aux marges. Préface de Alain Caillé. [French version of "There Never Was a West."] La Bibliothèque du MAUSS, Le Bord de l'Eau, Paris, January 2014.

O Anarquismo no Século XXI e outros ensaios. [Brazilian Portuguese selection of political essays.] Rizoma Editorial, Rio de Janeiro, June 2013.

Oltre il Poetere e la Burocrazia: L'immaginazione contro la violenza, l'ignoranza e la stupidità. [Italian volume containing "Dead Zones of the Imagination" and "On the Phenomenology of Giant Puppets."] Eleuthera, Milan, May 2013.

資本主義後の世界のために (新しいアナーキズムの視座) Shihonshugi no ato no *Sekai—New Anarchism no Perspective* (English title: *The World After Capitalism—the Perspective of New Anarchism, Interviews and a Debate with*

David Graeber; edited and translated by Sabu Kohso), David Graeber and Sabu Kohso. Tokyo: Ibunsha April 2009. This volume has also been translated into Korean, and is available in Korean on the internet, though it is not clear if the Korean version will appear in printed form.

Κίνημα, βία, τέχνη και επανάσταση. (English title: *Movement, Violence, Art and Revolution*); a collection of essays edited and translated into Greek by Spyros Koyroykis. Athens: Stasei Ekpiptontes, 2009.) A slightly enlarged version of this collection of essays, in their original English, appeared as “Revolutions in Reverse,” from *Autonomea* (New York), in September 2011, in German as *Kampf dem Kamikaze-Kapitalismus: Es gibt Alternativen zum herrschenden System* (Pantheon, Munich, 2012), in Italian as [*La rivoluzione che viene. Come ripartire dopo la fine del capitalismo*](#) (San Cesario di Lecce, Manni, 2012), in Turkish as *Tersine devrimler: siyaset, şiddet, sanat ve hayalgücü üzerine denemeler* (Everest, Ankara, 2014), and Czech as *Revoluce naopak* (Broken Books, Prague, 2014).

Constituent Imagination: Militant Investigation and Collective Research. Co-edited with Stephen Shukaitis (Leicester University), with Erika Biddle (Autonomea). Oakland and Edinburgh: AK Press, April 2007. This book is due to appear in Polish translation, under the title *Praktyka jako forma wiedzy, wiedza jako forma działania.*

As Sole Author in Preparation

Pirate Enlightenment, or, The Mock Kings of Madagascar. Monograph that originally grew out of a chapter for *On Kings* which took on a life of its own; now in preparation for University of Chicago Press.

As Co-Author or Co-Editor in Preparation

Beyond Inequality, or The Dawn of Everything, or maybe something else. Monograph currently in preparation with David Wengrow (Institute of Archaeology, University College London): a radical rethinking of existing narratives of the origin of social inequality from 40,000 CE to the present. As currently imagined, this is most likely to be the first volume of a subsequent trilogy that will easily outsell the Lord of the Rings.

A David Graeber Reader. To be co-edited by Romy Ruukel, PM Press, Oakland, California.

Whose Creative Energy? Action and Reflection in the Construction of Value. Co-edited with Setsuko Nakayama (Kyoto University). In preparation for submission to Ibunsha (in Japanese), and Berghahn Books (in English).

Essays in Scholarly Venues:

“Foreword: At Long Last.” Introduction to *The Fire of the Jaguar*, Terence S. Turner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2017, pp. ix-xl.

“Le peuple, nurse du roi: notes sur les monarques enfants dans le centre de Madagascar.” In *Madagascar, d'une crise l'autre: ruptures et continuité* (Mireille Razafindrakoto, François Roubaud et Jean-Michel Wachsberger, editors), pp. 120-144. Paris: ORSTOM, 2017.

“Tallies.” In *Paid: Tales of Dongles, Checks, and Other Money Stuff* (Bill Maurer and Lana Schwartz, editors), pp. 133-144. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2017.

“Radical Alterity is Just Another Way of Saying ‘Reality’: A Reply to Eduardo Viveiros de Castro.” *HAU: The Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 2015, volume 5, number 2, pages 59–99. This essay also appeared in Portuguese translation as *Alteridade radical é só outra forma de dizer “realidade”*. *Resposta de David Graeber a Viveiros de Castro*, in *Antropologia Crítica*, translated by Grupo de Estudos em Antropologia Crítica – GEAC, August 4, 2006.

“Farewell to the ‘Childhood of Man’: Ritual, Seasonality, and the Origins of Inequality.” Co-written with David Wengrow. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, 2015. Volume 21, issue 3, pages 1-23. The paper was delivered as the 2014 Myers Lecture by David Wengrow.

“Preface” to *Prison Writings IV: Civilization (Manifesto for a Democratic Civilization Volume 1), The Age of Masked Gods and Disguised Kings*, by Abdullah Öcalan (translated by Havin Guneser). New Compass Press, International Initiatives Edition, Porsgrunn, Norway, 2015.

“Concerning Mental Pivots and Civilizations of Memory.” Preface to *The Chimera Principle: An Anthropology of Memory and Imagination*. Chicago: HAU Books, 2015.

“Anthropology and the rise of the professional-managerial class.” *HAU: The Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, volume 4, number 3 (2014), pages 73-88.

- “Finance is Just Another Word for Other People’s Debts: An Interview with David Graeber.” With Hannah Chadeayne Appel, *Radical History Review*, 2014, number 118, pages 159-173.
- “On the Phenomenology of Giant Puppets.” In *Disobedient Objects* (Catherine Flood and Gavin Grindon, editors), 2014, London: Victoria & Albert Publishing.
- “Culture as Creative Refusal.” *Cambridge Anthropology* volume 31 number 2 (2013), pages 1-19.
- “[Postscript] It Is Value that Brings Universes Into Being.” *HAU: The Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, volume 3, number 2 (2013), pages 219-43.
- “Afterward: The Apocalypse of Objects: Degradation, Redemption, and Transcendence in the World of Consumer Goods.” In *Economies of Recycling: The global transformation of materials, values and social relations* (Catherine Alexander and Joshua Reno, editors), London, Zed Books, 2013, pages 277-93.
- “Dead Zones of the Imagination: On Violence, Bureaucracy, and Interpretive Labor.” *HAU: The Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, volume 2, number 2 (2012), pages 1-32. This is a longer peer-reviewed version of the Malinowski Memorial Lecture for 2006.
- “On Social Currencies and Human Economies: Some Thoughts on the Violence of Equivalence.” *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* volume 20 no 4 (2012): 1–18.
- “The Sword, the Sponge, and the Paradox of Performativity: Some Observations on Fate, Luck, Financial Chicanery, and the Limits of Human Knowledge.” *Social Analysis* 56, no. 1 (2012), pages 25-42.
- “The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk: On Violence, Utopia and the Human Condition, or, Elements for an Archaeology of Sovereignty.” *HAU: The Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, volume 1, number 1 (2011), pages 1-62.
- “Consumption.” *Current Anthropology* volume 52 no 4 (August 2011), pages 489-511. Part of a special issue entitled “The New Keywords”, with essays by Ilana Gershon (Agency), Lauren Leve (Identity), and Stuart Rockefeller (Flow), aside from my own. This essay has also been translated into Polish for the *Wyspa Alternativa* reader on Materiality (Gdansk, 2012), and reprinted in the collected volume *New Directions in Critical Marketing Studies* (edited by Mark Tadjewski and Robert Cluley), SAGE, London, September 2013.
- “Value, Politics, and Democracy in the United States.” *Current Sociology* volume 59 number 2 (2011), pages 186-199.

- “Les fondements moraux des relations économiques. Une approche maussienne.” *Revue du MAUSS Semestrielle* No. 36, (a special issue entitled “Mauss vivant—The Living Mauss.”) Second Semestre 2010, pages 51-70. This has also appeared in English as “On the Moral Grounds of Economic Relations: A Maussian approach”, in *Journal of Classical Sociology*, volume 14, no 1 (2013), pp. 65-77, which is the same collection in English.
- “Exchange.” In *Critical Terms in Media Studies* (W. J. T. Mitchell and Mark B. Hansen, editors), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- “Neoliberalism: or The Bureaucratization of the World.” In *The Insecure American: How We Got Here and What We Should Do About It* (Hugh Gusterson and Catherine Besteman, editors), pages 79-96. University of California Press Public Anthropology series, November 2009.
- “Debt, Violence, and Impersonal Markets: Polanyian Meditations.” In *Market and Society: The Great Transformation today* (Chris Hann and Keith Hart, editors), pages 106-132. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, May 2009.
- “Revolution in Reverse: Or, On the Struggle Between Political Ontologies of Violence and Political Ontologies of the Imagination.” *Radical Anthropology*, October 2007, Issue 1, pages 4-14. This essay has also appeared in Spanish in a volume entitled *Anarquismo y antropología* (ed. Beltran Roca, Madrid, LaMalatesta) in the winter of 2008/09; and in Korean in the journal of the Trans/Suyu Institute. It has appeared in shortened form in English in *Framework: The Finnish Art Review*, issue 8 (April 2008) under the title “The Conflict between Political Ontologies of Violence and Political Ontologies of Imagination,” and in Finnish translation as “Vallankumous käännettyssä järjestyksessä” (transl. Tere Vadén) in *niin & näin* 4/2009, pages 69-79, as well as in Greek in the collection *Κίνημα, βία, τέχνη και επανάσταση*.
- “Turning Modes of Production Inside Out: Or, Why Capitalism is a Transformation of Slavery (short version).” *Critique of Anthropology* Volume 26 no 1 (March 2006), pages 61-81. It has reportedly also appeared, in Portuguese translation, in a pamphlet in Brazil.
- “Fetishism as Social Creativity, or Fetishes are Gods in Process of Construction.” *Anthropological Theory*, Volume 5 no 4 (2005), pages 407-438. A shorter version of this essay has also appeared in *Art Map Magazine* (Beijing) 2010/01-02.
- “La démocratie des interstices.” *Revue du MAUSS Semestrielle* No. 26, (a special issue entitled “Alter-démocratie, alter-économie: chantiers d’espérance.”) Second Semestre 2005, pages 41-89. This essay has also appeared in the original English as “Democracy Emerges from the Spaces in Between”, in the volume

Beyond Resistance? The Future of Freedom (Nova Science Press, Robert Fletcher, editor, 2007), in a shorter version in the volume *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanisms: Rooted, Feminist and Vernacular Perspectives* (edited by Richard and Pnina Werbner, ASA Monograph Series, Berg Press, 2007), and in Spanish in the volume *Anarquismo y antropología. Relaciones e influencias mutuas entre la antropología social y el anarquismo* (Seville: Catarta). It has been released as a pamphlet in Italian under the title *Critica della democrazia occidentale* (Eleuthera, Milano, 2012, with introduction by Stefano Boni).

“Værdi og penge. Interview af Kåre Jansbøl” (Value and money, an interview by Kaare Jansboel), *Tidsskriftet Antropologi* Fall 2005. (This was a special issue composed of essays emerging from the value seminar I conducted in Copenhagen in May 2004)

“The Auto-Ethnography that Can Never Be and the Activist Ethnography that Might Be.” In *Auto-Ethnographies: The Anthropology of Academic Practices*, edited by Donna Young and Anne Meneley, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2005.

“Value.” In *Handbook of Economic Anthropology* (edited by James Carrier). Aldershot, UK: Edward Elgar, 2005.

“Azione Diretta e Anarchismo da Seattle in Poi.” In *Affinità sovversive: i movimenti sociali americani nella guerra globale*” (Franco Barchiesi, editor, Rome: DeriveApprodi, 2005), pages 65-144.

“Catastrophe: Magic and History in Madagascar” *Campos: Revista de Antropologia Social* Vol. 5 No. 1 (2004), pages 9-30.

“La sociologie comme science et comme utopie.” *Revue du MAUSS Semestrielle* No. 24, “Une théorie sociologique générale est-elle pensable?” Second Semestre 2004, pages 205-217.

“The Globalization Movement and the New New Left.” In *Implicating Empire: Globalization and Resistance in the 21st Century* (Stanley Aronowitz and Heather Gautney, eds.), pages 325-338. New York: Basic Books, January 2003. (This essay has been republished in several collections, including a Chinese translation of the *Implicating Empire* collection published by Beijing Normal University in 2004.)

“Manners, Deference and Private Property.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (Spring 1997) volume 39 number 4, pages 694-728.

“Painful Memories.” *The Journal of Religion in Africa* (November 1997), Vol. 27, Fasc. 4, pages 374-400. This essay also appeared in the volume *Ancestors*,

Power, and Memory in Madagascar (Karen Middleton, editor), pp. 319-348. Leiden, Brill, 1999.

“Love Magic and Political Morality in Central Madagascar, 1875-1990.” *Gender and History* volume 8 no 3 (November 1996), pages 416-439. This volume also appeared in the book *Gendered Colonialisms in African History* (edited by

“Beads and Money: Notes toward a Theory of Wealth and Power.” *American Ethnologist* volume 23 number 1 (February 1996), pages 4-24.

“Dancing with Corpses Reconsidered: an Interpretation of Famadihana in Arivonimamo, (Madagascar).” *American Ethnologist*, volume 22 no 2 (May 1995), pages 258-278. This essay was reprinted in a collection called “Religion in Culture and Society” (John R. Bowen, ed.), Allyn & Bacon, 1997.

Scholarly essays in Press or Preparation:

“Fractional Slaves in the Merina Kingdom and the Historical Origins of Wage Labour.” In preparation.

“A Pre-Humanist Manifesto.” Co-written with Alpa Shah. In preparation.

“Comments on Wittgenstein’s Remarks on Frazer (#7, 9, 13, 31, 38, 44, 45, and 50.)” To appear *The Mythology in Our Language: Remarks on Frazer’s Golden Bough*, edited by Giovanni da Col, with commentaries by Veena Das, David Graeber, Wendy James, Michael Lambek, Michael Puett, and Carlo Severi. Expected publication date Fall 2016.

“Forward” to the new edition of Edmund Leach’s *Political Systems of Highland Burma* (LSE monograph series, London, expected publication date Fall 2017.)

“Afterwards” to the volume *Hierarchy, Value, and the Value of Hierarchy* (Naomi Haynes & Jason Hickel, editors), to be published as a special issue of *Social Analysis* and subsequently by Berghahn books.

Briefer Essays and Presentations in Scholarly Venues (Major and Minor):

Sempozyuma Modéla Perwede u Zaningeha Azad u Denokratik (Symposium on Models of Democratic Free University and Education). Panel with Havin

- Güneser, Christina Maria Vargas, Ehmed Ibrahim, and Firat Gerras, University of Rojava, 25 April 2017.
- “Utilité et inutilité du travail- The Revolt of the caring classes.” Conversation with Philippe Descola, for the 50th Anniversary of the beginning of the events of May '68, College de France, 22 March, 2018.
- “Slavery and Its Rejection Among Foragers on the Pacific Coast of North America: A Case of Schismogenesis?” With David Wengrow. Seminaire du Philippe Descola, College de France, Paris, 22 March, 2018.
- “The Confluence of Bureacratization and Changing Forms of Work.” Evening presentation, with Steliana Nadera, Waltraud Schelkle, and Maistreesh Ghatak. Citizens Basic Income Day, LSE Beveridge Festival, LSE, 20 February 2018.
- “New Work Regimes and their Political Implications.” In *Symposium on 'Work in the Future'*, Centre for Global Studies, House of Lords, London, 6 February 2018.
- “It Wasn't a Tenure Case: a personal testimony, with reflections.” A response to Laura Nader's “The Academic Politics of Silencing.” In *Public Anthropology*, November 2017, <http://publicanthropologist.cmi.no/2017/10/11/academic-politics-of-silencing/#david-graeber>
- “Conversation about Bullshit Jobs and how to get beyond them,” with Rhiannon Corvin. Kingston University, London, 27 November, 2017.
- “The (very) Radical Enlightenment.” Eurocentric consensus?” panel, *Eurocentricism: Retrospect and Prospects*, Notre Dame Global Gallery, University of Notre Dame, St. John's College Cambridge, London, 3 July 2017.
- “Preface” to *Stone Age Economics* by Marshall Sahlins, Routledge (London) edition March 2017.
- “Pirate Enlightenment or the Mock Kings of Madagascar” Talk presented at the Anthropology Seminar, SOAS, London, 1 April 2017.
- “A Response to Anastasia Piliavsky's 'The Wrong Kind of Freedom? A Review of David Graeber's The Utopia of Rules: On Technology, Stupidity and the Secret Joys of Bureaucracy.'” *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* volume 30, March 2017, pp. 152-55.
- “Manifesto for a Ludic Panpsychism (Why Not?)” Co-writer with Erica Lagalisse, presented at “Play & Luck, A Study Day,” (with Roberte Hamayon, Michael Puett, and Carlo Severi), Centre for Ethnographic Theory, SOAS, London, 25 November 2016.
- “Reflections on Reflections.” Comment on Ortner, Sherry. 2016. “Dark anthropology and its others: Theory since the eighties.” *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6 (2): 5-9.
- “Reimagining Value.” Co-convenor, Value Deep Dive, Commons Strategies Group and the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Trebbin/Blankensee, Germany, September 5-8, 2016.
- “Mpitaiza Andriana: Some Reflections on Kings as Babies.” Presented at “Tam Dao Mada” 2016, Université d'Hiver Austral en Sciences Sociales a Madagascar, “Gouvernance, Institutions et rôle des élites: Approches méthodologiques et transversales.” Ankatso University, Antananarivo, July 15 , 2016.

- “Debt as an Intervention; Ongoing Debates.” Keynote presented at the conference, Debt: The First 3500 Years, International Conference, Tübingen, Germany, 10-12 June 2016.
- “The Ongoing Relevance of Mauss.” Presented in the panel “The Gift that Keeps on Giving,” with Jane Guyer, Marshall Sahlins, Marilyn Strathern, Maurice Bloch, Jonathan Parry, Keith Hart, Jacob Copeman, Kostas Retsikas, and Giovanni da Col, Centre for Ethnographic Theory, SOAS, London, 30 April 2016.
- “Three Questions.” Formal response to Marshall Sahlins' “The Original Political Society,” Hocart Inaugural Lecture, SOAS, London, 29 April 2016.
- “The People as Nursemaids of the King: notes on monarchs as children, women's uprisings, and the return of the ancestral dead in central Madagascar.” London School of Economics, Department of Anthropology, Friday Seminar series, 29 April, 2016.
- “L'enchantement du désenchantement ou les pouvoirs magiques de la Poste.” *Raison Présente* no. 195 (3^e trimestre 2015), pages 53-59. [This is a French translation of an extract from the third essay in *The Utopia of Rules*.]
- “Pessimistic and Bleak News: What Realistic Hopes Can We Have For the Future?” Presentation at the London Globalist Society panel with Professors Robert Wade (International Development) and Joe Mazon (Political Science & Philosophy), LSE, 15 October 2015.
- “Paleolithic Politics: And Why It Still Matters.” Talk presented together with David Wengrow, Radical Anthropology Group, University College London, London, 13 October 2015.
- “Concluding Remarks: Three Fundamental Types of Inequality.” Conference: Inequality, Scale, and Civilisation. Max Planck Institute, Halle, Germany, 11 July 2015.
- “Do We Have To Pay Our Debts?” Roundtable with Ozlem Onaran, Ann Pettifor and Ben Tippet, A Weekend of Rethinking Economics conference, University of Greenwich, 28 June 2015.
- “Money, Honor, Poverty, Debt.” Presented in the Session “Poverty and the Psychological Impact of Money,” with Elizabeth Cotten, at the Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy NOW conference, British Psychoanalytic Council, London, 6 June, 2015.
- “Pecunia non olet.” Presented in “Money and its Redemption” Forum on Religion and Department of Anthropology public discussion, with Bill Maurer, Giles Fraser, and Laura Bear, London School of Economics, 7 May, 2015.
- “Reclaiming Rationality: Play, Games, and Human Freedom.” Generation of the New Economy, Youth Economics Festival, Schumacher College, Devon, 16 April 2015.
- “All Economies are Human Economies.” Presented at “Challenging Capitalist Modernity II: Dissecting Capitalist Modernity, Building Democratic Confederatism,” International Conference held at University of Hamburg, 3-6 April, 2015.
- “From Value to Imagination.” Seminar presented in Carlo Severi' Branly, Paris, 2 April, 2015.

- “Family Values.” Presented at the conference “Money, Livelihood and the Classical Conceptual Repertoire,” LSE, 30 March 2015.
- “Victory in Kobane: What next in the Rojava Revolution? A Panel with Havin Gunesar.” SOAS, London, 22 February 2015.
- “Obituary: Roy Bhaskar.” *The Guardian*, 8 December 2014. This obituary also appeared in Spanish.
- “Embodied Spirits and Fetishism.” Fulgur Esoterica Conference, Cob Gallery, Camden, London, 1 November 2014.
- “Farewell to the ‘Childhood of Man’: Ritual, Seasonality, and the Origins of Inequality.” Myers Lecture, British Museum, 12 September 2014. Co-written with David Wengrow, who delivered the paper and was formally credited therewith. The paper was later presented jointly at UCL’s departmental seminar series, 14 January 2014.
- “Response: The democracy project: a history, a crisis, a movement.” *Global Discourse: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Current Affairs and Applied Contemporary Thought*, Volume 4, Issue 2-3, 2014, pages 380-387.
- “Revolutionary Prospects and Critical Realism.” Presented at final plenary of the “The Ontology of Liberation,” International Association for Critical Realism Conference, Crisis and Global Flourishing, Institute of Education, London, 19 July 2014.
- “Rhythmic Structures in Economic History.” Presented at the “The Ontology of Liberation,” International Association for Critical Realism Conference, Crisis and Global Flourishing, Institute of Education, London, 19 July 2014.
- “The Moral Basis of Material Transactions.” Presented jointly with Roy Bhaskar, International Association for Critical Realism Pre-Conference, Institute of Education, London, 17 July 2014.
- “Value and the Darker Side of the Imagination.” HAU Roundtable on Imagination and Value, Annual Meetings, Association of Social Anthropology, Edinburgh, 21 June 2014.
- “Afterwards: Utopia, Anti-Utopia, and Realism.” Session on Architects of Utopia, Annual Meetings, Association of Social Anthropology, Edinburgh, 21 June 2014.
- “Critique of the Critique of Critique.” Roundtable discussion, Independent Scholars Research Foundation Workshop, University of York, May 12, 2014.
- “Anthropology and the Rise of the Professional-Managerial Class.” Anthropological Knots Symposium, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, 15 January, 2014.
- “Debt and Guilt: the ethics of owing.” Discussion with David Tyfield (Lancaster), International Centre for Critical Realism discussion series, Institute of Education, London, 22 October, 2013.
- “La Dette: 5000 ans de l’histoire.” [Comité pour l'Annulation de la Dette du Tiers Monde](#), Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels, 3 October 2013.
- “En finir avec la dette: rencontre avec David Graeber.” With Maurizio Lazzarato and Cédric Durand. Maison de Poetrie, Paris, 30 September 2013,
- “The Utopia of Rules: Notes on the Pleasures of Bureaucracy.” First Annual Gold Lecture in Anthropology, Goldsmiths, University of London, 7 June, 2013.

- “The Meaning of Money.” Centre for Global Studies, Symposium: Markets and Morals, House of Lords, London, 23 May 2013. This presentation later appeared as a chapter in *Are Markets Moral?*, edited by Robert Skidelsky & Edward Skidelsky, The Centre for Global Studies, London, 2014, pages 116-126
- “Culture as Creative Refusal: from Heroic Societies to Malagasy Origins.” Presented at the Radical Anthropology Group, London, 21 May, 2013.
- “The State as Fortuitous Conjuncture.” ISRF-CRASSH: Workshop on Interdisciplinarity, Girton College, Cambridge, and 8 May 2013.
- “The Democracy Project; A Dialogue with Craig Calhoun.” Ralph Milliband Lecture series, London School of Economics, 30 April 2013.
- “What it Means to be an Activist Scholar.” International Studies Association conference, San Francisco, April 5, 2013.
- “Austerity and its Discontents: A Public Forum with David Graeber.” California Institute for Integral Studies. San Francisco, April 4, 2013.
- “Contaminationism: How the Occupy Movement Spread.” First Annual Lighthouse Lecture, EPICENTER, Aarhus University, Denmark 20 March, 2013.
- “Totalizing and Detotalizing Transactional Logics.” Paper presented to the Department of International Development, London School of Economics, London, 22 January, 2013.
- “Effluvia and the Collapse of the Liberal Class.” Paper presented at the panel, Uncivil Disobedience: Geographies of Insurrection, 111th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, 17 November, 2012.
- “From Betafo to Zuccotti Park, Notes on the Possibility of a Non-Vanguardist Intellectual Practice.” Presented at *Anarchism Today: Encounters with the Humanities and Social Sciences*, Goldsmiths, University of London, 26 October, 2012.
- “Value, Debt, Exchange.” Anthropology Department, Sapienza University, Rome, 15 June, 2012.
- “Occupy in US and International Perspective.” Hrant Dink Memorial Workshop, Sabanci University, Istanbul, 26 May, 2012.
- “The Problem of Debt and Non-Vanguardist Intellectual Practice.” Presented at the Institut für Europäische Ethnologie, Humboldt University, Berlin, 24 May, 2012.
- “Culture as Creative Refusal: Heroic and Anti-Heroic Politics.” CUSAS Second Annual Marilyn Strathern Lecture, 16 May, 2012, Cambridge University.
- “The Right to the City. A conversation with David Harvey.” CUNY Graduate Centre, 25 April, 2012.
- “Debt: A Conversation with Jonathan Conning.” Hunter College Public Policy Institute, New York, 19 April, 2012.
- Presentation and Response. “Currencies: A Dis/Conference.” Harvard University/Occupy Harvard, 23 March, 2012.
- “Debt: The Long View.” With Louis Heyman and Gretta Krippne. Heyman Centre for the Humanities, Columbia University, 8 March, 2012.
- “Occupy Wall Street and the Crisis of Care-Giving Labour.” Presentation at the Marxist Theory Colloquium, New York University, 17 February, 2012.

- “The Winter of our Discontent.” Panel co-presented by The New School and New York Institute for the Humanities, Tishman Auditorium, The New School, New York, 11 February, 2012.
- “On Bureaucratic Technologies and the Future as Dream-Time.” Presented at the School for Visual Arts, New York, 19 January, 2012.
- “Forward: The Return of Ethnographic Theory.” Co-written with Giovanni da Col, *HAU: The Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 2011, volume 1, number 1, pages vi-xxxv.
- “Beyond the Good and Evil Commons, a Three-Day Seminar with Silvia Federici, George Caffentzis, and David Graeber.” 16 Beaver Street Collective, New York, 8-11 August, 2011.
- “The Crisis in Grand Historical Perspective.” Presented at the conference “Journée d’étude internationale, Anthropologie de la crise du capitalisme contemporain,” 3 May, 2011, Musée du Quai Branly, Paris.
- “Utopias of Debt.” University of California, Berkeley, Anthropology Department Distinguished Lecture 2011, 5 April, 2011. A version of this paper was also presented at the CRASSH (Center for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities) Conference “Debt: Interdisciplinary considerations of an enduring human passion,” Cambridge University, 12-14 May, 2011.
- “On ‘Anthropology’ in Both Senses of the Term.” Paper presented at the panel, The Work of Maurice Bloch: Transatlantic Currents of Inspiration, Provocation, and Response, 109th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, 17 November, 2010.
- “Debt and Currencies, A Very Long-Term Perspective.” Paper presented at the Theories of Value Workshop, Goethe University, Frankfurt am-Maine, Germany, 11 November, 2010.
- “Debt: What is It?” Presentation at The Politics of Debt: A Seminar, The Centre for Cultural Studies Research, University of East London, with Massimo de Angelis, Joe Cox, Aditya Chakraborty, 13 October, 2010.
- “Communism.” In *The Human Economy: A Citizen’s Guide* (edited by Keith Hart, Jean-Louis Laville, and Antonio David Cattani), London, Polity Press, 2010.
- “Violence and Imagination.” Lecture presented at the University of Volos (Volos, Greece), 7 June, 2010.
- “Debt as Value’s Other: A Brief Excursus on Tally-Sticks the Origins of the Notion of the Symbol.” Paper presented at the CRASSH (Center for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities) Conference on Value, Worth and Valuation, session “Anthropology of value: value and the Other,” Cambridge University, 5 March, 2010.
- “Money, Bodies, Materialism, Virtuality.” Paper presented at the Anthropology Departmental seminar series, Oxford, 19 February, 2010.
- “The Rebirth of Anarchism in North America, 1957-2007.” *Historia Actual Online* volume 21 (15 February, 2010), pages 123-131.
- “Debt, Violent Inequalities, and Moral Confusion.” Paper presented at the session “Transmission and Transformation,” American Anthropological Association Presidential Session, 108th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Philadelphia, 4 December, 2009.

- “Broken Promises.” Keynote address, conference “The possibility of an anti-globalization movement,” Waseda University, Tokyo, 25 July, 2009.
- “What Comes After the Twilight of Vanguardism?” Seminar sponsored by the department of International Relations, University of the Ryukyus, 21 July, 2009.
- “On the moral grounds of economic practice.” Presented at the conference *Mauss vivant/The living Mauss*, Alain Caillé and Keith Hart, organizers, Cerisy-la-Salle, France, 13-20 June, 2009.
- “Political Ontologies of the Imagination.” Presented at the session “Transnational Networks, Globalization, and Social Movements,” 107th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, 19 November, 2008.
- “Luck and Fate: a Commentary.” Presented at the conference ‘Economies of Fortune and Luck: Perspectives from Inner Asia and Beyond,’ King’s College, Cambridge, 7 June 2008.
- “The Sadness of Post-workerism, or the “Art And Immaterial Labour” Conference: A Sort of Review (Tate Britain, Saturday 19 January, 2008.)” Originally appearing in the web journal *The Commoner* (<http://www.commoner.org.uk/?p=33>), this essay has been republished in the collections *The Economy Has Left the Building* (OpenMute publishing, London, 2008), and *Art and Autonomy* (Afterall, London, 2018), and also in Greek in the collection *Κίνημα, βία, τέχνη και επανάσταση*, and Polish in the Wyspa Alternativa Collection on *Labour & Leisure* (Gdansk, 2011, pages 226-68).
- “Neo-liberalism: a retrospective assessment.” Presented at the session “The Insecure American,” 106th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Washington DC, 28 November, 2007.
- “The slow emergence of anarchism as the center of the revolutionary left in North America, 1960-2007 - some broad historical perspectives.” Presented at the conference *Nuestro Patrimonio Común: de los movimientos libertarios a las corrientes alternativas*, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Cádiz, 5-9 November 2007.
- “Madagascar: Ethnic Groups.” In *The New Encyclopedia of Africa* (John Middleton and Joseph C. Miller, editors), vol. III, pages 430-435. Detroit: Gale Cengage Learning, October 2007.
- Review of *Peopled Economies: Conversations with Stephen Gudeman* (Staffan Löfving, editor). *Ethnos*, volume 72, number 1 (2007), pages 130-131.
- “Constitutive War and the Nature of the State.” Presented at the Session “Do States Need Rebels? Do Bureaucracies Need Failure?” 105th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, San Jose, 19 November, 2006.
- “The Capitalism that Finally Dares to Speak its Name.” Presented at the Session ‘Anthropology and Capitalism’, 105th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, San Jose, 18 November, 2006.
- “Debt Versus Value: A New Antinomy for 21st Century Social Theory?” Presented at the seminar “Whose Creative Energy? Action and Reflection in the Construction of Value”, satellite workshop, “Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries and Re-visioning Area Studies: Perspectives from Asia and Africa”. Graduate School of Asian and African Studies, Kyoto University, 9 November, 2006.

- “Consensus, Incommensurability, and Intellectual Practice.” Presented at the Trans-Suyu Institute, Seoul (Republic of Korea), 31 October, 2006.
- “Bricks, Puppets, and the Battle of Images after Seattle.” Presented as part of the Engaged Anthropology Series, Colby College, Maine, 19 October, 2006. Also presented at Meiji Gakuin University (Tokyo), 6 November, 2006, and Harvard (Cambridge, Massachusetts), 12 March, 2007.
- “The Origins of Money: Elements for a Theory of Debt.” Presented at the conference “Anthropological Approaches to ‘The Economy’: A Workshop,” (Keith Hart and Chris Hann, organizers) at the Max Planck Institute, Halle, Germany, 23 June, 2006.
- “Devrimci Eylem Nedir? Diye Sormak.” *Birikim*, Vol. 205-206, May-June, 2006, pages 72-74. (An essay for a Turkish volume in which various international scholars were asked to rethink the notion of Revolution.)
- “Beyond Power/Knowledge, an exploration of the relation of power, ignorance, and stupidity.” Malinowski Memorial Lecture, London School of Economics and Political Science, 25 May, 2006.
- “Radical Academics in Neoliberal University Inc.: Experiences and Horizons.” Panel at The Square Social Center, London, 24 May, 2006.
- “Democracy was not invented.” Presented at the “Another State is Possible: Activism, Global Justice, and Radical Democracy” Conference hosted by the Center for Place, Culture and Politics, CUNY Graduate Center, New York, 4 May, 2006.
- “There Never Was a West: Democracy as Interstitial Cosmopolitanism.” Keynote address, Association of Social Anthropology Diamond Jubilee meetings, “Cosmopolitanism and Anthropology.” Keele University, UK, 11 April, 2006. This paper was also presented at the American Philosophical Society meetings in Baltimore, 27 December, 2007.
- Review of *The Weight of the Past: Living With History in Mahajanga, Madagascar* (by Michael Lambek). *African Studies Review*, volume 49, no. 1 (April, 2006), pages 134-135.
- “Alienation as the Shattering of the Imagination: A Tentative Critique of the Notion of Constituent Power.” Keynote address, conference on “Risk and Breakdown”, Duke University, Raleigh, 31 March, 2006. This paper was also the keynote Annual Lecture of the Cambridge University Social Anthropology Society for 2006, delivered at Cambridge University, UK, 26 May, 2006.
- A Conversation with Jake Chapman, Yale Art School, 29 March, 2006.
- “A Brief History of Radical Democracy.” Presented at the panel “Militants and Citizens”, Left Forum, New York, 11 March, 2006.
- Review of *International Zapatismo: the Construction of Solidarity in the Age of Globalization* (by Thomas Olesen), NACLA (Spring 2006.)
- “Marx: Alienation and Fetishism.” Tyce Lecture, Simon’s Rock College of Bard University, 12 September, 2005.
- “The Banishment of Value: Economics as Moral Sleight of Hand.” Presented at the 4th Rhetoric Culture Conference (“Rhetoric in Politics and Economics”), Johannes Gutenberg-University, Mainz, Germany, 16-20, July 2005.
- “Development, Self-actualization and Human Liberation in Old and New Social Movements.” Co-presented with Lauren Leve at the panel “Ecological Threats

- and New Promises of Sustainability” (Laura Rival, organizer), Queen Elizabeth House 50th Anniversary Conference, Oxford, 4 July, 2005.
- “On the Phenomenology of Giant Puppets: Direct Action, Broken Windows, and the Cosmological Role of the Police in American Culture.” Presented at Haverford College, 25 October, 2004; also at the University of Chicago, 2 November, 2004; Cornell University, 22 April, 2005; Brown University (Watson Institute for International Studies), 6 December, 2005; University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 17 January, 2007.
- “Introduction: The Political Metaphysics of Stupidity.” In *The Commoner* (www.thecommoner.org.uk), Spring 2005 (this is the introduction to a special issue on value theory.)
- “Anthropology, Law, and Anarchism.” Presented at the seminar “Why Law?” at Cardozo Law School, New York, 31 January, 2005.
- “Comunismo ou comunalismo? A política e o ‘Ensaio sobre o dom’”, co-written with Marcos Lanna. First appearing in the Brazilian journal *Campos* no 5, 2005, it has also been reprinted in the collection “Polifonia do Dom” edited by Paulo Henrique Martins (Editora de UFPE, Recife, 2006.)
- “Alienation.” In Charles Scribner’s *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas* (Maryanne Cline Horowitz, editor), New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 2004, Volume 1, pp. 48-49.
- Review of *Ethnohistory: Emerging Histories in Madagascar* (Jeffrey Kaufmann, ed.). *Journal of Anthropological Research*, volume 60, pages 145-147, Autumn 2004.
- “Value Theory in Anthropology,” and “Activism and Anthropology.” Presented at Stockholm University, May 10, 2004.
- “The New Keywords.” Presented at the Institute of Anthropology, Copenhagen, 1 May, 2004.
- “Anarchist Anthropology: political engagement and theory in the twilight of vanguardism.” Presented at University of Lund, Sweden, 29 April, 2004.
- “Turning Modes of Production Inside out.” Presented at Conference in Honor of Terence Turner, Cornell University, 16-17 April, 2004.
- “Fetishes are Gods in the Process of Construction: Misunderstandings about Value in Early Modern West Africa.” Presented at the anthropology departmental seminar, University of Michigan, 21 March, 2004.
- “On the Phenomenology of Giant Puppets: Elements for an Ethnography of Direct Action.” Presented at the anthropology departmental seminar, New York University, 10 March, 2004.
- “Alternative Tentacles: Anarchist Globalization and the New Planetary Uprising.” Presented at the “Other Globalizations” conference, University of California at Santa Cruz, 21 February, 2004.
- “Consumption.” Presented at the session “The New Keywords: Unmasking the Terms of an Emerging Orthodoxy” at the 104th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, 22 November 2003.
- “Does the prospect of a general sociological theory still mean anything in times of globalization?” Presented at the GEODE international symposium on

- Sociological Theory (organized by Alain Caillé and Stéphane Dufoix), Paris, 12-13 June, 2003.
- “The Twilight of Vanguardism.” Keynote address at the *History Matters* conference, The New School, New York, 3 May, 2003. As an essay, it has appeared in English as an article in *Campos* (2003, Brazil), and in Polish in *Przegląd Anarchistyczny* (2010, Poland), as well as in the collection *The World Social Forum: Challenging Empires* (Jai Sen, Anita Anand, Arturo Escobar, Peter Waterman, editors), New Delhi, Viveka Foundation, 2004, pages 329-335. That collection in turn has now appeared in German, Spanish, Japanese, Hindi, and Urdu. For an amusingly illustrated version: <http://tangibleinfo.blogspot.com/2009/01/graeber-twilight-of-vanguardism.html>
- “The Very Idea of Consumption.” Presented in the 2002 Social Theory series, University of California, Berkeley.
- “Ethnography, Vanguardism, and Direct Democracy.” Paper presented at the session “Against Neoliberal Globalization: Towards New Ethnographic, Theoretical and Political Tools,” at the 103rd Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, 24 November, 2002
- “Anthropology of Globalization (with Notes on Neomedievalism, and the End of the Chinese Model of the Nation-State.)” Review essay in *American Anthropologist*, December 2002.
- “Globalization in Very Long Perspective.” Presented at the Anarchist Forum on Globalization, Brecht Forum, New York, 14 May, 2002.
- “Value, Desire and the Consumption of Phantasms.” Presented at the 102nd Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington D.C., November 2001.
- “What Professional Intellectuals Really Ought to Know About Direct Action.” Presented at panel ‘Direct Action’, at the ‘Globalization and Resistance’ conference at the CUNY Graduate Center, 8-9 December, 2001. I was also the organizer of this panel.
- “The Globalization Movement: Some Points of Clarification.” *Items and Issues* (Newsletter of the Social Science Research Council), November 2001. This essay was included in the volume *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization: From Classical Political Economy to Contemporary Neoliberalism* (Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds.), Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005, pages 169-172, and his appeared in Turkish translation in the magazine *Varlik* (2002).
- Review of *Border Fetishisms: material Objects in unstable Places* (ed. Patricia Spier, London: Routledge 1998) and *Money and Modernity: State and Local Currencies in Melanesia* (eds. David Akin and Joel Robbins, Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1999) in *American Ethnologist*, volume 30, no.1, 2001.
- “Value, Fetishism and Historical Change.” Presented at the session “Theories of Value in Anthropology,” co-organized by Tania Forte and David Graeber, 101st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, 18 November, 2000.

- “Rumor and Narrative Form.” Presented at the annual meetings of the American Ethnological Association, Tampa, 22 March, 2000.
- “Magic as Unfetishized Consciousness: Kings and Coins in Central Madagascar.” Presented at New York University, Haverford College, Yale University (Spring 1998.)
- Review of “The Pursuit of Certainty: Religious and Cultural Formulations” (Wendy James, ed., 1995.) In *American Ethnologist*, volume 24, no. 3, 1996.
- “Epilogue” to “The Disastrous Ordeal of 1987.” Available from the H-Africa archive (<http://h-net2.msu.edu/~africa/sources/graeber.html>), January 1996.
- “Red Clothes, Hidden Power, and Imaginary Books.” Presented at the session “What’s the Big Secret Anyway?” at the 97th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, 1996.
- “The imaginary existence of the state in rural Madagascar.” Presented at the session on “Alternative Political Organizations, Religion and History”, 96th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Washington DC, 1995.
- “Dueling Ancestors: ancestral politics in a divided community in Central Madagascar.” Presented for the session on “Ancestral Politics in Central Africa and Madagascar”, at the 1995 meetings of the African Studies Association, Orlando.
- “Love Magic and Colonial Labor Policy in Central Madagascar.” Presented in the session on “Magic, Colonialism, and Power” at the 94th Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Washington D.C., 1994
- “Narrative and the Framing of Social Action: Towards a Theory of the Narrativity of Power.” Presented at the 3rd African and African-American Studies Conference, Chicago, 1993.

Work Published or Presented in Journalistic, Popular, Artistic and Political Venues (along with a very limited selection of interviews.)

- “On the Bullshitization of Academic Life,” or, “Are you in a BS job? In academe you're hardly alone.” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 6 May 2018, page 1.
- “Völkermord mit Leopard” Aus Angst vor dem Rechtspopulismus unterstützen EU-Regierungen das brutale türkische Vorgehen gegen die Kurden.” *Der Freitag*, 25 April 2018.
- Panel: “Más allá del Estado-Nación. Confederalismo democrático, autodefensa y liberación de la vida.” With Yayo Herrero, Andrej Grubacic, Nazan Üstündağ and Havin Güneser. International Conference on the Philosophy of the Kurdish Revolution, Casa Del Reloj, Matadera, Madrid, 8 April 2018.

- Conferència: La filosofia darrere la revolució de Rojava, with Andrej Grubacic, Nazan Üstündağ and Havin Güneser, Azadî Plataforma en Solidaritat amb el Poble Kurd, Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, Barcelona, 7 April, 2018.
- “Debt and Democracy.” Panel with Sarah Jayne Clifton, Jonathan Bartley, Duncan McCann, Bankjob, HSCB Hoe Street Central Bank, Closing Event, 26 March 2018.
- “How to Change the Course of World History: at least, the part that already happened.” Co-authored with David Wengrow. *Eurozine*, 2 March, 2018. Also a presentation made with David Wengrow to the UCL Anthropology Student Occupation, London, 16 March 2018.
- “Revolt of the Caring Classes: Initial Thoughts.” Presentation to the Bartlet School of Architecture, UCU Strike Teach-in, London, 27 February 2018: also later, UCL anthropology in occupation, 28 February 2018.
- “Why are World Leaders Backing this Brutal Attack on Kurdish Afrin?” *The Guardian*, Comment is Free, 23 February 2018.
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/23/world-leaders-brutal-attack-kurdish-afrin-turkish-army#comment-112640836>. This essay has also appeared in Spanish, French, German, Czech, Turkish and Finnish translation.
- “Why Has Turkey Invaded Afrin?” Panel, Marx Memorial Library, London, 22 February 2018.
- “Manufactured ignorance: The strange case of Juan Cole, the Kurdish Freedom Movement, and the International Liberal Intelligentsia.” FocaaBlog, 16 February. www.focaaBlog.com/2018/02/16/david-graeber-manufactured-ignorance
- “Verraten und Verkauft: Die welt sieht weiter zu, wie die türkische Armie mit deutsche Panzern die kurdische Demokratie in Nordsyrien zerstören will.” *Der Freitag*, 1 February, 2018.
- “I didn't understand how widespread rape was. Then the penny dropped.” *The Guardian*, Comment is Free, 5 November 2017.
- “Democracy is Possible in Syria: My Friend Knew How.” Opinion section, *New York Times*, October 16, 2017. This essay has also appeared in French, German, and Turkish.
- “We're racing towards another private debt crisis—so why did no one see it coming?: The Office for Budget Responsibility failed to foresee the rise in household debt.” *New Statesman*, 18 August, 2017.
<http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/economy/2017/08/were-racing-towards-another-private-debt-crisis-so-why-did-no-one-see-it>.
- “Jobs à la con, bureaucratie, et valeur du travail.” Festival CNT, La Parole Errante, Montreuil, Paris, 24 June, 2017. (Also Débat avec David Graeber, Sur Donald Trump, 25 June, 2017, same venue.)
- “The 2017 general election marked the popping of the Blair-Clinton bubble.” *The New Statesman*, The Staggers, 19 June 2017.
- “Theresa May Recites Labour's Lines, but Doesn't Mean a Word of Them.” *The Guardian*, Comment is Free, 10 May 2017.

- “The Dangerous Potential Congruence of Planetary Bureaucracy and Lingering Class Forms,” presented at Network for an Alternative Quest, Challenging Capitalist Modernity III, Hamburg University, 15 April 2017.
- Book release for *Revolution in Rojava*, Saw Swee Hock Student Centre, LSE, with Janet Biehl and Erçan Ayboga, 2 November 2016.
- “Forward” to *Revolution in Rojava: Democratic Autonomy and Women's Liberation in Syrian Kurdistan* (Janet Biehl, translator, Michael Knapp, Anja Flach, Erçan Ayboga authors), Pluto Press, London, 2016.
- “Capitalism: a debate” with Peter Boflinger, Michael Hudson, Judith Nierhues, Internationales Literaturfestival Berlin, Haus der Berliner Festspiele, Berlin, 13 September 2016.
- “Bureaucracy.” presentation at Internationales Literaturfestival Berlin, moderator Alexander Hagelüken, Haus der Berliner Festspiele, Berlin, 12 September 2016; again, with moderator Philip Grassmann, 13 September, 2016.
- “The Elites Hate Momentum and the Corbymites—and I'll Tell You Why.” *The Guardian*, comment page, Tuesday 5 July 2016, also Comment is Free, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/05/political-establishment-momentum-jeremy-corbyn>.
- “Government and its Modernity” (Roundtable with Marc Abélès, EHESS, Dominique Cardon, Orange Labs, Maja Fjaestad, State Secretary to the Swedish Prime Minister for the “Future”.) Des utopies pour l'action publique. Rencontres Internationales de la Gestion Publique 2016: les futurs de l'Etat, des utopies numériques, économiques et démocratiques. Centre de Conférences Pierre-Mendès-France, Paris, 25 May 2016.
- “Worker's Hammer.” A conversation with John Stark. In *The Catalogue for John Stark's DolPo in Charlie Smith Gallery*, London. April 2016.
- “La Nuit debout contre le Panama partout.” editorial, *Le Monde*, 12 April 2016. This originally appeared in French and English, and later in Italian translation in <http://effimera.org>.
- “Bürokratie: Die Utopie der Regeln (Bureaucracy: The Utopia of Rules)” A series of dialogues as part of German book tour sponsored by Klett-Cotta: 4 April 2016, Dussman Bookstore, Berlin; 5 April, Altes Rathaus, Göttingen; 6 April, “Dynamics of the Administered World. On the Diagnostic and Normative Relevance of a Contemporary Critique of Bureaucracy” - panel discussion with Axel Honneth, City Library, Frankfurt; 7 April, Jack in the Box, Cologne; 8 April, Stadtbibliothek, Stuttgart.
- “The Myth of the West.” *International Times*, new series, Issue 2, April 2016.
- “Despair Fatigue: How Hopelessness Grew Boring (or, Notes on Austerity in England).” *The Baffler* No. 30 (March 2016), pp. 26-29. This essay has also appeared in German in *Blätter für deutsche und internationale politik* 6.16.
- “On Kings and Babies.” *International Times*, new series, Issue 1, March 2016.
- “Stop Turkey's War on the Kurds. Panel with Melanie Gingell, Kamran Matin, Meike Nack, Elif Sarıcan.” SOAS, London, 23 February 2016.
- “Emergencies of Peace: The Exceptional State of (Academic) Affairs in Contemporary Turkey.” Panel with Ayça Çubukçu, Dirya Bakır, and Nazan Üstündağ. London School of Economics, 27 January, 2015.

- “Merry Crisis and Happy New Fear: The Movement post Occupy.” With Erica Lagalisse (anthropologist), and Georgia Sagri (artist.) Yλη[matter]HYLE, Athens, 30 December 2015.
- “Basic Income: How Do We Get There?” With Francis Coppola, Brian Eno, and Becca Kirkpatrick. St. Clements Church, London, 3 December 2015.
- “Buildings Like in Dreams.” Presented at Occupy-Resist-Produce, fund-raiser for the Vio-Me factory, Thessaloniki, with Heathcote Ruthven and Elena Loizidou, at The Horse Hospital, London, 20 November, 2015.
- “Turkey could cut off Islamic State’s supply lines. So why doesn’t it?” The Guardian, Comment is Free, 18 November, 2015.
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/nov/18/turkey-cut-islamic-state-supply-lines-erdogan-isis>. This essay has also appeared in Spanish, French, Turkish, Portuguese, and Persian.
- “Latest election report reveals heavy military presence across Kurdish villages“ (election observer’s report co-written with Councilor Aysegul Erdogan, Elif Sarican & Rebecca Coles).
<http://peaceinkurdistancampaign.com/2015/11/06/latest-election-report-reveals-heavy-military-presence-across-kurdish-villages/>. This report was also jointly presented at a session of the House of Lords on 9 November, 2015.
- “Britain is Heading For Another 2008 Crash: Here’s Why.” The Guardian, Comment is Free, 28 October 2015.
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/oct/28/2008-crash-government-economic-growth-budgetary-surplus>. Accompanied by a video “What the Government Doesn’t Want You To Know About Debt”
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/video/2015/oct/28/david-graeber-what-government-doesnt-want-you-to-know-about-debt-video>.
- “Hatred.” In *Bad Feelings* (edited by the Arts Against Cuts Collective), London, Book Works/Algate Press, 2015.
- “The Bully’s Pulpit: On the Elementary Structure of Domination.” *The Baffler* No. 28, July 2015, pp. 30-38. This essay has also appeared in Spanish and German.
- “Hostile Intelligence: Reflections from a Visit to the West Bank.” *International Times*, 30 July 2015. <http://internationaltimes.it/hostile-intelligence-reflections-from-a-visit-to-the-west-bank/>. This piece has also appeared in Hebrew, and in the Polish edition of *Monde Diplomatique* (November 2015).
- “Symposium: Bureaucracy.” Panel of same name with Jeremy Gilbert and Mark Fischer, Institute for Contemporary Arts, London, 1 July 2015.
- “Author Meets Readers: Wendy Brown’s *Undoing the Demos*.” Panel with Anne Barron (LSE Law), Nick Couldry (LSE Media and Communications), David Graeber (LSE Anthropology), Anne Phillips (LSE Government). London School of Economics, 30 June 2015.
- “What Would It Take to Make an Economy that Works for Us?” Lecture at The Royal Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Commerce and Manufactures, London, 30 May 2015. A cartoon video based on this talk was widely circulated on the internet.
- “Democracy and Global Rage.” Talk at The Book & Kitchen, Notting Hill, London, 22 April 2015.

- “Utopia of Rules: A Conversation with Jonathan Derbyshire (Prospect Magazine).” Book release event, Foyles Bookstore, London, 21 April 2015.
- “How Does Change Happen? A Debate with Molly Scott Cato.” Generation of the New Economy, Youth Economics Festival, Schumacher College, Devon, 17 April, 2015.
- “Once the Votes Are Counted: What Happens Next?” Final Panel of the People’s Parliament with Zoe Williams, Selma James, Duro Oye, and Jeremy Corbyn, UK House of Commons, London, 30 March 2015.
- “Newroz talk: This is a Genuine Revolution.” With Yagmur Sirfiros. Wharf Chambers, Leeds, 22 March 2015. Similar talks on Rojava were delivered on 25 March, 2015, at the Public Forum with Salih Muslim (UK House of Commons, London), and 27 March at Occupied Pall Mall.
- “Ferguson and the Criminalization of American Life.” *The Gawker*, 19 March 2015, <http://gawker.com/ferguson-and-the-criminalization-of-american-life-1692392051>
- “Resistance in an Age of Total Bureaucratization.” Discussion at Occupied Maagdenhuis, University of Amsterdam, 7 March 2015.
- “Dickheads: The Paradox of the Necktie Resolved.” *The Baffler* No. 27 (Venus in Furs), March 2015. This essay has also appeared in French.
- “Promises, Promises: A History of Debt.” Ten-part radio series produced by Juniper Productions and aired on BBC Radio 4, 2-13 March 2015.
- “Reflecting on Past and Present Struggles.” Panel celebrating the 5th Anniversary of Grow Heathrow, London, with Ewa Jasiewicz, Tristram Stuart and John McDonnell.
- “Culture is Not Your Friend: An Evening of Words and People Curated by Artist Taxi Driver.” With Nina Power, Akala, Lisa McKenzie, JJ Bola. First of the series “We’re Fucked, It’s Over” (WFIO #1), Peckham Pelican, London, 23 February 2015. A video of this talk was widely circulated on the internet.
- “Another Democracy Is Possible.” Panel with Hilary Wainwright and Cat Boyd, Take Back Our World Conference, London, 21 February 2015.
- “David Graeber: Rojava’dan on yaş genç döndüm.” Interview about Rojava (Autonomous Kurdish Cantons of Syria) by Pinar Ögünç, *Evrensel Gazetesi* (Istanbul), 24 December 2014. This text has also appeared in English (as “This is a Real Revolution”), Spanish, Catalan, Russian, Italian, German, Portuguese, Greek and Persian.
- “The Gun Has No Trigger: Conversations on Resistance in the 21st Century.” Panel with Kendell Geers, Marta Kuzma, Nina Power, Daniël van der Velden. Royal College of Art (Battersea), London, 17 December 2014. A video of this talk was widely circulated on the internet.
- “Understanding the economic crises and the inherent instability of capitalism.” Panel with Hugo Radice, Bob Rowthorn, Vicky Chick, and Larry King. People’s Parliament, UK House of Commons, London, 26 November 2014.
- “Students are right to march against the markets. Why can’t education be free?” *The Guardian*, Comment is Free, 20 November 2014.

- “The Occupy Movement, Horizontalism, and the Rojava Experiment.” The Rojava Revolution: Kobane, Resistance, and Radical Democracy. Halkevi Community Center, Dalston, London, 2 November 2014.
- “The New Putney Debates: Is Capitalism Part of the Answer?” St. Ethelburga’s Center, London, 2 November 2014. A video of this talk was widely circulated on the internet.
- “Occupy Democracy is not considered newsworthy. It should be.” *The Guardian*, Comment is Free, 27 October 2014.
- “Kobanê’de Zafer, Simdi Her Zamankinden Daha Mümkün Görünüyor.” *Meydan* (Ankara), 17 October 2014, p. 27.
- “Le Mouvement Occupy Se Mondialise.” Co-written with Yuk Hui. *Le Monde*, 12 October 2014. http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2014/10/12/le-mouvement-occupy-se-mondialise_4504890_3232.html. This also came out in English on 14 October 2014 from LA Review of Books as “From Occupy Wall Street to Occupy Central: The Case of Hong Kong” <http://lareviewofbooks.org/essay/occupy-central-the-case-of-hong-kong>, as well as appearing online in Italian and Albanian.
- “Why is the World Ignoring the Revolutionary Kurds in Syria?” *The Guardian*, Comment is Free, 8 October 2014. This piece has also appeared on the web and elsewhere in Turkish, Persian, Portuguese, Spanish, Polish, Italian, Croatian, Greek, Sorani Kurdish, Bulgarian, French, Dutch, Swedish, Finnish, Czech, and German.
- Artangel Longplayer Conversation, with Brian Eno. Royal Geographical Society, London, 7 October 2014.
- “ [Where Did the Future Go? \(Or Why Technology Only Appears Not to Suck.\)](#)” A conversation with Peter Thiel, hosted by *The Baffler*. [General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen](#), New York, 19 September 2014.
- “We Do Not Consent,” panel on police abolition, with Carole Duggan, Hannah Dee, Fahim Alam and Richard Garside. People’s Parliament, UK House of Commons, London, 8 July 2014.
- “David Graeber: ‘Spotlight on the financial sector did make apparent just how bizarrely skewed our economy is in terms of who gets rewarded.’” Conversation with Thomas Frank. www.salon.com, 1 June 2014. This interview has also appeared on line in Polish.
- “Savage Capitalism Is Back – And It Will Not Tame Itself.” *The Guardian*, Saturday editorial pages, 30 May 2014. This essay has also appeared in Portuguese, German and Italian.
- “Soak the Rich: An Exchange on Capital, Debt and the Future.” With Thomas Piketty. *The Baffler* no. 25, pages 148-154. This first ran in French in the blog *mediapart*, and has appeared in Italian in the e-journal *micromega*.
- “David Graeber Begins the Occupation: 2011.” Extract from *The Democracy Project*, in Lapham’s Quarterly Spring 2014.
- “Caring too much. That’s the curse of the working classes.” *The Guardian*, Comment is Free, March 26, 2014. This essay also appeared in German in *Der Freitag*, and Turkish in polisantrik.blogspot.com, both on 28 March, 2014, in Portuguese at colectivolibertarioevora.wordpress.com, the next day, in Italian

- in firstlinepress.com, 20 April 2014, Czech in a2larm.cz, 23 April 2014, Spanish at www.guerrillatranslation.es, Portuguese at baderna.cc/importar-se-demais/ and Greek at www.toperiodiko.gr.
- “The truth is out: money is just an IOU, and the banks are rolling in it.” *The Guardian, Comment is Free*, March 18, 2014. This article also appeared in French, Spanish, German, Hungarian, and Swedish.
- Workshop on “Value Theory and Commoning.” With Ayreen Anastas and Rene Gabri, The Commons Course, The Showroom, London, March 9, 2014.
- “Indigeneity as Social Movement.” Talk presented to the Terra Society, London School of Economics, March 5, 2014.
- “Education, Imagination, and the Neoliberal Lobotomy.” Talk presented at first session of the Bank of Ideas Free Education Space, 238 Grey’s Inn Road, London, 8 February, 2014.
- “The Revolt of the Caring Classes.” Presented in “What Sort of Democracy Do We Need?”, the opening session of the People’s Parliament, UK House of Commons, London, 3 February, 2014.
- “Reclaiming our Education?” Conversation at the Birmingham University Occupation, 26 January, 2014.
- “What’s the Point If We Can’t Have Fun?” *The Baffler* 24 (Winter 2013), pages 48-56. This has also appeared in Spanish in *Letras Libres* (Coyoacán, México, 2015).
- “The University is Dead! ...And Cop Free Zones.” Co-authored as part of Cops Off the Planet Collective, *International Times*, 6 December, 2013. This has also appeared in Bengali (<http://mongoldhoni.wordpress.com/2014/02/17/the-university-is-dead-and-cop-free-zones-by-david-graeber/>)
- “Debt, Crisis, and Resistance.” Panel with Christina Laskaridis and George Caffentzis, University of London Union, 23 November, 2013.
- “The Visibility and Invisibility of Social/Class Struggle in times of Crisis,” panel with George Caffentzis, Silvia Federici, and Sabu Kohso, Global Uprisings Conference, De Balie Center, Amsterdam, 16 November, 2013.
- “The Occupy Movement Two Years On: A Conversation with Laurie Penny.” Southbank Center, London, 15 October, 2013.
- “New Forms of US Class Alliance.” Left University, Zurich, 11 October, 2013.
- “Debt and the Future of Democracy.” Gottlieb Duttweiler Institute, Zurich, 10 October, 2013..
- “Dette: 5000 Ans d’histoire.” ATTAC Marseille, Librairie Transit, Marseille, 7 October, 2013.
- Conversation with Maurizio Lazzarato: Seminar on new social movements. Scientific council of ATTAC, Maison de la Poesie, Paris, 1 October, 2013.
- “On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs.” *Strike! Magazine*, Summer 2013, pages 10-11. This essay has also appeared, online, in French, Spanish, Catalan, Italian, Czech, Romanian, Dutch, German, Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Latvian, Estonian, Greek, Turkish, Korean, Arabic, Lithuanian, Persian, Arabic and Norwegian. It has been reprinted in *The Canberra Times*, *Sidney Morning Herald*, *Economics*, in German in *Tages Anzeiger* (Zurich), Norwegian in *Norwegian Monde Diplomatique* (Oslo), in Czech in *A2* (Prague), Dutch in *De Groene Amsterdammer*, and in a Swedish collection entitled “After Work”

- (Verbal Förlag, Stockholm, 2013), and in Evconomics as “Why Capitalism Creates Pointless Jobs” (2016). I am assured it has been reprinted in numerous additional European newspapers of whose identities I am unaware. The original web page had by early 2015 passed a million hits. The essay has also been adopted, in Catalan, as a musical stage performance *Sobre el fenòmen de les feines de merda* presented at the Teatre Tantarantana, Barcelona, in Autumn of 2015.
- “The Colony: Inside/Out.” Conversation co-facilitated with Georgia Sagri, MoMA/PS1, New York, 9 July, 2013.
- “A Few Words on Buncombe.” *The Baffler* no. 23 (Summer 2013), page 12.
- “The future is _____” Conversation with Gopal Balakrishnan, MoMA/PS1, New York, 4 July, 2013.
- “Nuove istituzioni e corpi politici.” Interview with Andrea Staid, Rivista Anarchica (Milano), anno 43 n. 381, giugno 2013. This interview also appeared in Greek in November 2014, <http://eagainst.com/articles/david-graeber-andrea-staid/>.
- “Two Notions of Liberty Revisited – or, How to Disentangle Liberty and Slavery.” Open Democracy Forum - <http://www.opendemocracy.net/openeconomy/david-graeber/two-notions-of-liberty-revisited-or-how-to-disentangle-liberty-and-slavery>. (Really just an extract from *Debt*.)
- “The Failure of Gun Legislation in the Senate Tells us we Need to fight for our Democracy.” *Informed Comment*, 30 April, 2013. <http://www.juancole.com/2013/04/legislation-democracy-graeber.html>.
- “There’s No Need For All This Economic Sado-Masochism.” *The Guardian*, 21 April 2013. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/apr/21/no-need-for-economic-sadomasochism>. This op-ed piece has also appeared in Italian and Czech.
- “The Democracy Project – A Conversation with Tom Frank.” Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Library, Washington D.C., 8 April, 2013.
- “A Practical Utopian’s Guide to the Coming Collapse.” *The Baffler* no. 22 (Spring 2013), pages 53-58. (Extract from chapter 5 of *The Democracy Project*.) This essay has also appeared on the web in Spanish, German, and Italian translation.
- “Some Remarks on Consensus.” <http://occupywallstreet.net/story/some-remarks-consensus> (20 February, 2013).
- “On the Possibility of Political Pleasure.” TEDxWhitechapel, London, 11 January, 2013.
- “Occupying Life in New York: On Radical Meshworks of Mutual Aid in Apocapitalist Times.” Panel with Ben Morea, and Todos Somos Japon, 16 Beaver Street Collective, New York, 14 December, 2012.
- “The Enduring Crisis,” and “Rolling Jubilee.” Panel presentations at the ‘Upping the Anti’ conference, Queen Mary University, London, 1 December, 2012.
- “Dispossession, Rent, and Debt.” Presented with Aaron Peters at the UCL Occupation, University College London, 30 November, 2012.
- “Can’t Stop Believing: Magic and Politics” *The Baffler* no. 21 (Fall 2012), pages 34-37, 70-71.

- “Anthropological Perspectives,” and “Anarchist Economics” (panel presentations at the London Anarchist Bookfair, 28 October, 2012).
- “Super-position” or “On Batman and the Problem of Constituent Power.” *The New Inquiry*, 8 October, 2012. This essay has also appeared in Italian as “I supereroi sono reazionari. A proposito del potere” in *Che Fare*, March 2016, <http://www.che-fare.com/i-supereroi-reazionari-potere/>.
- “The ‘Coming Insurrection’ Has Long Since Begun.” Presented at the Festival di Internazionale di Ferrara (Ferrara, Italy), 6 October, 2012.
- “Can Debt Spark a Revolution?” *The Nation*, 12 September, 2012.
- “Afterward and Prospects.” In *We Are Many: Critical Reflections on Movement Strategy from Occupation to Liberation* (Kate Khatib, Margaret Killjoy, Mike McGuire, editors), Oakland, AK Press, September 2012.
- “The New Edge of Radical Economics.” Conversation with Charles Eisenstein and Daniel Pinchbeck, Evolver Seminar Series, NYU Kimmel Center, 22 August, 2012.
- “On Leadership and Transparency.” *Tidal* (The OccupyTheory journal), volume 3, August 2012.
- “After the Jubilee.” *Tidal* (The OccupyTheory journal), volume 3, August 2012. This has also appeared in French as “Grève de la dette : après le jubilee” <http://blogs.mediapart.fr/edition/occupy-et-indignation/article/130912/greve-de-la-dette-apres-le-jubile>
- “Debt and the State.” Seminar, Occupy Wall Street Summer Disobedience School, Washington Square Park, NYC, 14 July, 2012.
- “Optimism and Pessimism, an engagement between Franco Bifo Berardi and David Graeber.” Teatro Valle Occupato, Rome, 14 June, 2012.
- “Occupy Wall Street! Facciamo esplodere la democrazia!” Social Center Cantiere, Milano, 13 June, 2012.
- “Debt, Crisis, and Counter-Movement.” International Festival Occupy Planet Earth, Polytechnic University, Athens, 2 June, 2012.
- “Another World: Michelle Kuo talks with David Graeber.” *Artforum*, Spring 2012. This conversation has also appeared in *Insurgent Publics: A Critical Reader in Contemporary Art* (BAK Press, Amsterdam, 2014), and *Future Publics (The Rest Can and Should Be Done by the People), A Critical Reader in Contemporary Art* (London: Verso).
- “On the Morality of Debt.” Public Debate with Richard David Precht and Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Admiraltheater, Berlin, 31 May, 2012.
- “Debt’s History: A Conversation.” Dialogues conducted with Christian Felber at the Schauspiel, Frankfurt am Main (18 May, 2012), with Frank Shirmacher, at the Literaturhaus, Munich (21 May, 2012), with Ralph Bollmann, at the Zentralbibliothek, Cologne (22 May, 2012), with Ulrike Hermann, at Dussman, Berlin (23 May, 2012), and with Guillame Paoli, at Centraltheater, Leipzig (24 May, 2012).
- “The Frankfurt Mobilization: Some Reflections on the Historical Moment.” With Manuela Bojadijev and Michael Hardt, Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main, 18 May, 2012.

- “Occupy's liberation from liberalism: the real meaning of May Day.” *The Guardian, Comment Is Free*, 7 May, 2012.
- “New Police Tactic in New York: Sexual Assault Against Peaceful Protestors.” *Naked Capitalism Blog*, 5 May, 2012.
<http://www.nakedcapitalism.com/2012/05/david-graeber-new-police-strategy-in-new-york-sexual-assault-against-peaceful-protestors.html>
- “Of Flying Cars and the Declining Rate of Profit.” *The Baffler* #19 (Spring, 2012), pages 66-84.
- “Concerning the Violent Peace Police: An Open Letter to Chris Hedges.” *N+1 Magazine*, 9 February 2012. This essay has appeared in Spanish as well, as *Consideraciones sobre la violenta Policía de la Paz* in www.alasbarricadas.org/noticias/node/19868..
- “Revolution at the Level of Common Sense.” In *What Are We Fighting For: A Radical Collective Manifesto* (Frederico Campana and Emanuele Campiglio, editors), London, Pluto Press, 2012, pages 165-175.
- “A Conversation with Rebecca Solnit,” City Lights Bookstore, San Francisco, 26 January, 2012.
- “The Crushing Burden of Student Debt.” Panel with Mike Konczal, Brian Kalkbrenner, Sarah Jaffe, and Astra Taylor. *The Occupy! Gazette's* Occupy Onward Conference, The New School, New York, December 18, 2011.
- “Note Worthy: What is the Meaning of Money?” *The Guardian Review*, 16 December, 2011, page 2.
- “Situating Occupy: Lessons from the Revolutionary Past.” *Adbusters* #99, Vol 19, No, 7 (December 2011.)
- “World in Time: Are We Rome?” Conversation with Cullen Murphey and Lewis Lapham, The History of Today series, Bloomberg TV, 30 November, 2011.
- “Occupy Wall Street's Anarchist Roots.” *Al Jazeera, Opinion*, 30 November 2011.
<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/11/2011112872835904508.html>. This piece also appeared on the web in Spanish and Portuguese, and was reprinted in the collection *It's the Political Economy, Stupid* (London, Pluto Press, 2013), pages 110-127.
- “Occupy and Anarchism's Gift of Democracy.” *The Guardian, Comment is Free*, 15 November 2011
- “Enacting the Impossible (On Consensus Decision Making.)” *The Occupied Wall Street Journal*, v. 3, First National Edition, 23 October, 2011, page 4.
- “On Playing by the Rules: The Strange Success of #OccupyWallStreet.” *Naked Capitalism* blog, Wed. 19 October, 2011.
<http://www.nakedcapitalism.com/2011/10/david-graeber-on-playing-by-the-rules---the-strange-success-of-occupy-wall-street.html>. This essay has also appeared in French as “À propos du respect des règles du jeu: le singulier succès d' #OccupyWallStreet.” <http://www.mouvements.info/A-propos-du-respect-des-regles-du.html> (30 October 2011).
- “Occupy Wall Street Rediscovered the Radical Imagination.” *The Guardian, Comment is Free*, 25 September 2011. This also appeared in Portuguese in *Planetaosasco* (8 October 2011), and French in *Contre-Info* (18 October 2011).

- “On the Invention of Money: Notes on Sex, Adventure, Monomaniacal Sociopathy, and the True Function of Economics.” *Naked Capitalism* blog, 13 September, 2011. <http://www.nakedcapitalism.com/2011/09/david-graeber-on-the-invention-of-money---notes-on-sex-adventure-monomaniacal-sociopathy-and-the-true-function-of-economics.html>
- “Bursting Capitalism’s Bubble.” *Adbusters* #97, Vol 19, No. 5 (Sept/Oct 2011). This essay is also available in Spanish and Portuguese.
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