

GLOBAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA
2103 SSMS BLDG, SANTA BARBARA, CA 93106-7065

Global Ideologies and World Order
GLOBL 120, Winter Quarter 2020
Prof. Kai M. Thaler



"IT'S SIMPLE. WE'RE THE COMMUNIST BRANCH OF THE
CAPITALIST SPINOFF OF THE COMMUNIST REGIME."

Cartoon by Sidney Harris

Course: GLOBL 120
Mon/Wed: 12:30-1:45pm
Classroom: Buchanan 1920

Prof. Kai Thaler (he/him)
Email: thaler@ucsb.edu

Office Hours: Mon/Weds 9-10am and by appointment.

Office: 2103 SSMS Building

Sign up for scheduled office hours: <https://calendly.com/kaithaler>

My door will be slightly open during meetings, though you may request I close it for privacy.

Section Leaders: Nathaniel Burola nburola@ucsb.edu
 Leila Castro leilacastro@ucsb.edu
 Maya Zaynetdinova mayya@ucsb.edu

Description and Course Goals

What are the different ideologies that have shaped global processes and lives throughout the 20th and 21st Centuries? How have these systems of political, social, and economic beliefs developed, interacted, and been challenged? How have ideologies been used to mobilize people, armed forces, and finance, for domination, emancipation, or both? This course will help you to answer these questions and to consider how different ideologies have manifested historically, how they affect contemporary life, and in what ways they may shape the future. We will examine primary source documents, academic readings, and popular press articles, as well as music and videos, to explore the ways ideologies have been conceived, and how they have been put into practice.

The course will proceed through four sections:

- I. What is ideology? How is it different from ‘beliefs,’ ‘culture,’ or ‘a philosophy’?
- II. Revolutionary Ideologies, the World Wars, and into the Cold War
 - Liberalism
 - Anarchism in the 19th and early 20th Centuries
 - Marxism
 - Fascism
 - Leninism, Stalinism, and Maoism
- III. Decolonization and the Age of Emancipation
 - Anti-colonial Internationalism
 - Non-Violent Gandhism: Advocates, Activists, and Skeptics
 - Fanonian Anti-Colonialism
 - Anti-Racist Cosmopolitanism and ‘1968-ism’
 - Dependency School
- IV. Neoliberalism, New Illiberalisms, and Resistance
 - Neoliberalism vs. Alter-Globalization
 - Contemporary Anarchism: Occupy Wall Street, Rojava, and Antifa
 - Religious Fundamentalism
 - Populism or Authoritarianism as Ideologies?
 - Environmentalism(s) and Ecological Futures

Requirements and Grading:

- **40%: Short Papers:** You will turn in **TWO short papers** (1250-1500 words each, double-spaced) during the quarter. Each of these papers serves as an integrated analysis of themes covered and multiple readings assigned during that phase of the course. I will provide two prompts to choose between for each paper, at least a week in advance. Each paper should be printed out, double-spaced, 12-point font *with proper citations*, and submitted in person by the author during lecture class on the date specified in the syllabus below.
- **20%: Attendance and Engaged Participation in Lectures and TA section:** Based on **participation and attendance** in each lecture and section; including, in random lectures or sections,

brief quizzes. There will also be interactive activities and time for questions during lectures. Sections are designed to be interactive discussions, and so TAs may ‘cold call’ individuals to ensure balanced participation. Our classrooms should be environments for respectful, substantive discussion in which everyone feels comfortable participating, and even if it does not always feel like it, you will learn more by engaging with your classmates, rather than only having me lecture for the whole period.¹

- **20%: Mid-term Exam:** Multiple choice and short answers, taken in class on **February 12**.
- **20%: Final Exam:** Comprehensive, but with more focus on material covered after the midterm. Multiple choice and short answers. Taken in class **during the last class on March 11**.

Readings: Readings are all posted on Gauchospace as PDFs—though where links are provided on the syllabus, the online layout may be easier to read. Given that laptops and tablets ***are not allowed*** in class without prior permission, please consider whether you wish to print out readings or your notes to bring with you for reference. Check the syllabus carefully before starting your readings each week.

For some readings, I specify the chapter(s) or subset of pages to read and denote this with *READ.* Where an overview is sufficient, I note that a reading is *TO SKIM.* Recommended readings are listed below the required readings and indented. Read actively—take notes and if you see concepts or theories you do not recognize, look them up and discuss them with your peers. Audiovisual materials are noted as to whether they are to be watched or listened to at home or in class. Some weeks’ materials go across two pages of the syllabus, so ***always check the next page*** to make sure you are not missing anything.

This is a rigorous, foundational course, and I want you to gain insights from a variety of perspectives. While I have tried to keep the reading load moderate (about 40-50 pages per class), you may find it a bit overwhelming at first, especially as the first month will be very theory-heavy. You may sometimes find yourself with insufficient time to read all assigned materials in minute detail. Strategic reading is an essential skill for college and beyond. I recommend consulting this helpful guide for ***tips on reading strategically for class*** (also posted in the Class Resources folder on Gauchospace):

Burke, Timothy. 2017. “Staying Afloat: Some Scattered Suggestions on Reading in College.” <http://www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/tburke1/reading.html>.

You are responsible for knowing what each required reading addresses, and material from any of the required readings may be included in the midterm and final exams. **Given the reading load, it is permitted to join together with *one* partner to split up the readings *equally each week* and write summaries for each other about the theories and key elements of the readings.**

Readings are included for you to consider and to inform your own judgments. I would therefore recommend that you look up the author of a piece before or after you read it. This will give you a sense of their background, their other works, and their general perspective. This will allow you to engage with authors’ work more critically in your own arguments.

Current Events: You are also *expected to keep up with current events* in order to be an engaged global citizen. In line with Global Studies department policy, questions related to current events *may be included on graded assignments*.

¹ Deslauriers, Louis, et al. 2019. “Measuring actual learning versus feeling of learning in response to being actively engaged in the classroom.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* forthcoming. <http://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1821936116>.

Content Warning: Global ideologies have motivated violence, at both large and small scales, by their advocates and opponents, and so many readings may discuss violent episodes or campaigns of violence and repression, and I have noted when they may cover particularly disturbing events or issues. Some of the videos we watch during the course may contain footage of violence, real or acted, which may be disturbing. I have provided a note after these videos on the syllabus and I will provide a warning in class before showing any such video.

Papers and Sources: For the two papers, you will be asked to engage with the concepts we have studied in a segment of the course to formulate an argument and provide evidence in its favor. Closer to the assignment time, we will go over a rubric and more detailed expectations for the paper. No outside research is needed and outside sources are strongly discouraged—simply use the required and, if desired, recommended readings for sources. Sources and quotations **must be properly cited** (see ‘Academic Integrity’ below). **Citations do not count toward the word count—check your word processor settings.**

Email: Please only send emails to your TAs and me *from your UCSB account* and include the course name (GLOBAL 120) in the subject line. For useful email guidelines, please consult: <http://www.wikihow.com/Email-a-Professor>.

Laptops and Phones: Use of laptops or tablets is prohibited during lectures, a policy that has been requested by students to prevent distraction and promote an interactive and respectful learning environment. Exceptions to this policy require my approval, and if you would like an exception, please write a short explanation for your request and make an appointment to talk to me. Slides will be posted to Gauchospace following lectures, and note-taking by hand is superior for comprehension and retention to note-taking by laptop.² Laptops or tablets are permitted during discussion sections only when explicitly stated by section leaders, and should be used solely for section activities or referring to course materials.

Those of you unaccustomed to note-taking by hand or those looking to improve the effectiveness of their note-taking may wish to consult “The Cornell Note-taking System” (<http://lsc.cornell.edu/notes.html>). A handout illustrating this system is also in the “Class Resources” folder on our Gauchospace course page.

Cell phones must be silenced and out of sight during class. If I see your cell phone during class time, I will ask you to put it away.

Leaving Lecture: Please **do not leave in the middle of lecture**. This is disruptive for your peers and for me. Use the restroom before class, and if you have an emergency or desperately need the restroom in the middle of lecture, try to get up and return as quietly as possible. Section leaders and I will take note if you leave before lecture is over and do not come back.

Food and Drink: You are welcome to drink water or (non-alcoholic) beverages during class, preferably in a bottle with a lid—cans and especially cups spill more easily, creating a lot of extra work for the hardworking custodial staff. To avoid disrupting the class and creating messes, please generally refrain

² Dynarski, Susan. 2017. “Laptops Are Great. But Not During a Lecture or a Meeting,” *New York Times*, November 22. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/22/business/laptops-not-during-lecture-or-meeting.html>; Glass, Arnold L. and Mengxue Kang, 2019. “Dividing attention in the classroom reduces exam performance,” *Educational Psychology* 39(3): 395-408. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01443410.2018.1489046>.

from eating during class, other than brief, small snacks eaten quietly (no giant sandwiches or crinkly chip bags, please).

Academic Integrity

1. It is the policy of the department not to tolerate academic misconduct of any sort.
2. Academic misconduct is defined by the university. It includes, but is not limited to, plagiarism, copying or putting your name on somebody else's work, and cheating on exams. Violations of course-specific policies intended to prevent academic misconduct constitute academic misconduct. Aiding an act of academic misconduct is academic misconduct. Please read the university's policy: <http://judicialaffairs.sa.ucsb.edu/academic-integrity>. Ignorance is not an excuse.
3. Any instructor in charge of a course who observes or is informed of the possibility of academic misconduct will look into the matter. If the instructor determines that there is "reasonable suspicion" of academic misconduct, they will gather what facts are available and refer the matter to the Office of Student Conduct (formerly Judicial Affairs) by filing a report via the online portal. The Office of Student Conduct will adjudicate whether a penalty is appropriate and what it should be, not the instructor.
4. TAs and graduate teaching associates are required to make efforts to detect and report academic misconduct to their faculty supervisors. This is not a choice, and good faith efforts to do so cannot be held against them. Overall responsibility for implementation of policies on academic dishonesty does not rest with graduate students, but with their supervising instructor and the department.

This guide to academic citations may also be helpful:

<https://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/lipson/honestcollege/citationfaq.html>.

Excuses and Extensions: I do not accept late assignments or postpone exams, except in cases of documented, serious personal, medical, or legal problems. The same goes for lecture and section attendance. If you miss lecture or section, it is your responsibility to ask classmates if they are willing to share their notes from that session with you.

Legitimate excuses are usually situations where an employer would excuse you from work: illness requiring medical attention, jury duty, documented family emergency, travel required by your employer, or an official school activity. All anticipated conflicts with exam dates should be explained to the instructor at least two weeks in advance, and arrangements will be made to take the exam *early*.

Students with Disabilities: UCSB is committed to providing full participation and access for students with disabilities. If you plan to request accommodations, please contact the Disabled Students Program (<https://dsp.sa.ucsb.edu/>). They can be reached by visiting the Student Resource Building, Room 2120, by emailing DSP.Help@sa.ucsb.edu, or by phone (805.893.2668) or if you're old school, fax (805.893.7127).

Policy on Children in Class: UCSB does not currently have a policy on children in the classroom, but the policies here reflect my own commitments to making the classroom accessible for students who are parents or guardians.

1. All exclusively breastfeeding babies are welcome in class as often as is necessary.
2. For older children and babies, if disruptions in childcare put parents or guardians in the position of having to miss class or stay home with a child, it is perfectly acceptable to occasionally bring a child to class to cover gaps in childcare.

3. If you do bring a baby or older child to class, I ask that you please sit near the door, so that if your child needs special attention or is disrupting learning for other students, you can quickly step outside until their needs have been met.

SCHEDULE AND READINGS³

1/6 Monday Introduction and Overview

- Heywood, Andrew. 2017. "Political Ideologies and Why They Matter" [Chapter 1], in *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 6th ed., pp.1-21.
- Gerring, John. 1997. "Ideology: a definitional analysis." *Political Research Quarterly* 50(4): 957-994. *READ pp.957-59 on different definitions of ideology.*

Recommended additional reading

- *SKIM* Fine, Gary Alan and Kent Sandstrom. 1993. "Ideology in Action: A Pragmatic Approach to a Contested Concept." *Sociological Theory* 11(1): 21-38.

1/8 Wednesday Liberalism

- Smith, Adam. 1776. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. MetaLibri. *READ Book I, Chapter 2 "Of the Principle which gives occasion to the Division of Labour" (pp.15-17); Book III, Chapter 1 "Of the natural Progress of Opulence" (pp.295-298).*
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. 2017 [1792]. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*. Jonathan Bennett. *READ 'Dedicatory Letter,' 'Introduction,' and 'Chapter 1' (pp.1-12). <https://www.earlymoderntexts.com/assets/pdfs/wollstonecraft1792.pdf>.*
- Herbjørnsrud, Dag. 2017. "The African Enlightenment," *Aeon* (December 13). <https://aeon.co/essays/yacob-and-ammo-africas-precursors-to-locke-hume-and-kant>. [Audio version available online]
- Doyle, Michael. 1986. "Liberalism and World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 80(4): 1151-69.

Recommended additional reading

- Hayek, Friedrich. 2005 [1945]. *The Road to Serfdom*, condensed version. London: Institute of Economic Affairs. *SKIM pp.39-70* or *READ pp.71-89 (cartoon version).* [Market fundamentalism/conservative libertarianism.]
- Block, Fred and Margaret R. Somers. 2014. *The Power of Market Fundamentalism: Karl Polanyi's Critique*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. *READ chapter 4, "Turning the Tables: Polanyi's Critique of Free Market Utopianism," pp.98-113.*
- *SKIM* Cole, Daniel H. and Aurelian Craiutu. 2018. "The many deaths of liberalism," *Aeon* (June 28). <https://aeon.co/essays/reports-of-the-demise-of-liberalism-are-greatly-exaggerated>. [Audio version available online]
- Bell, David A. 2019. "The Many Lives of Liberalism," *New York Review of Books* (January 17). <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2019/01/17/many-lives-of-liberalism/>.

³ Please note that the course syllabus is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor or your section leader may be necessary, and your section leader may ask you to complete additional short readings in preparation for section activities.

- Abu-‘Uksa, Wael and Fruma Zachs. 2016. “Tanwīr: Arabic Enlightenment,” in Houari Touati (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Mediterranean Humanism*. <http://www.encyclopedie-humanisme.com/?Tanwīr-240>.

1/13 Monday Anarchism in the 19th and early 20th Centuries

- Bakunin, Mikhail. 1953 [n.d.]. “Stateless Socialism: Anarchism.” In G.P. Maximoff (ed.), *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin*. New York: Free Press. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/various/soc-anar.htm>.
- Bakunin, Mikahil. 1882 [1871]. “What is Authority?” In *Dieu et L’état [God and the State]*. <http://www.panarchy.org/bakunin/authority.1871.html>.
- Rocker, Rudolf. 1938. *Anarcho-Syndicalism*. Warburg. *READ Chapter 1, “Anarchism, Its Aims and Purposes.”* <http://www.ditext.com/rocker/1.htm>.

The Trial of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

- Goldman, Emma. 1909. “A New Declaration of Independence.” *Mother Earth* IV(5). http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/pdfs/PublishedEssaysandPamphlets_ANewDeclarationofIndependence.pdf.
- Abbott, Leonard D. 1917. “The Trial and Conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.” In *Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman*.” New York: Mother Earth. http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/pdfs/PublishedEssaysandPamphlets_TheTrialandConvictionofEmmaGoldmanandAlexanderBerkman.pdf.
- Berkman, Alexander. 1917. “Address by Alexander Berkman.” In *Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman*.” New York: Mother Earth. *READ pp.1-6.” http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/pdfs/PublishedEssaysandPamphlets_TheTrialandSpeechesofEmmaGoldmanandAlexanderBerkman-AddressbyAlexanderBerkman.pdf.

Recommended additional reading

- Alexander, Robert J. 1999. *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War, Vol. 1*. London: Janus. *SKIM* Chapter 2, “Spanish Anarchist Sketches of Libertarian Society,” 42-67.
- Goldman, Emma. 1936. “Durruti is Dead, Yet Living.” Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, California. http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/pdfs/PublishedEssaysandPamphlets_DurrutiIsDeadYetLiving.pdf.
- Iñiguez de Heredia, Marta. 2012. “History and actuality of anarcho-feminism: lessons from Spain.” Libcom.org. <https://libcom.org/library/history-actuality-anarcho-feminism-lessons-spain-marta-iniguez-de-heredia>.

1/15 Wednesday Marxism

- Marx, Karl. 1848. “Bourgeois and Proletarians,” *The Communist Manifesto*, chapter 1. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm>.
- Gasper, Phil. 2018. “Marx’s materialist conception of history revisited.” *International Socialist Review* 109. <https://isreview.org/issue/109/marxs-materialist-conception-history-revisited>.
- Bebel, August. 1879. “Woman in the Future,” *Woman and Socialism*, chapter XXVIII. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/bebel/1879/woman-socialism/ch28.htm>.

- Means, Russell. 2011 [1980]. “Revolution and American Indians: ‘Marxism is as Alien to My Culture as Capitalism.’” Films for Action. <https://www.filmsforaction.org/news/revolution-and-american-indians-marxism-is-as-alien-to-my-culture-as-capitalism/>.

Recommended Additional Reading

- Firestone, Shulamith. 1979 [1970]. *The Dialectic of Sex*. The Women’s Press, chapter 1. <https://www.marxists.org/subject/women/authors/firestone-shulamith/dialectic-sex.htm>.

1/20 Monday NO CLASS, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR DAY

1/22 Wednesday Fascism

- Mosse, George L. 1966. “Introduction: The Genesis of Fascism.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 1(1): 14-26.
- Seton-Watson, Hugh. 1966. “Fascism, Right and Left.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 1(1): 183-97.
- Stanley, Jason. 2018. *How Fascism Works: The Politics of Us and Them*. New York: Random House. *READ pp.xvi-xix.*
- Eco, Umberto. 1995. “Ur-Fascism.” *New York Review of Books* (June 22). *READ pp.3-11, starting at ‘Ionesco once said...’*

Recommended additional reading

- Gentile, Giovanni and Benito Mussolini. 1932. “The Doctrine of Fascism.” World Future Fund. <http://www.worldfuturefund.org/wffmaster/Reading/Germany/mussolini.htm>.
- Adamson, Walter L. 1980. “Gramsci's Interpretation of Fascism.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 41(4): 615-633.
- Lvovich, Daniel. 2019. “Authoritarianism, Nationalism, Fascism and National Security Doctrine: The Debate on Latin American Southern Cone Dictatorships.” In Ismail Saz, Zira Box, Toni Morant, and Julián Sanz (eds.), *Reactionary Nationalists, Fascists and Dictatorships in the Twentieth Century*, 327-344. New York: Palgrave.
- Weld, Kirsten. 2018. “The Spanish Civil War and the Construction of a Reactionary Historical Consciousness in Augusto Pinochet's Chile.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 98(1): 77-115.
- *SKIM* Traverso, Enzo. 2004. “Intellectuals and Anti-Fascism: For a Critical Historization.” *New Politics* 9(4).
- Dubois, Luce. 2018. “Review of Ross, Alexander Reid, ‘Against the Fascist Creep.’” H-Socialisms, H-Net Reviews (March). <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=49780>.

1/27 Monday Leninism, Stalinism, and Maoism

Leninism and Stalinism

- Lenin, Vladimir I. 1918. “The Economic Basis of the Withering Away of the State.” In *The State and Revolution*. Lenin Internet Archive. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/staterev/ch05.htm>.
- Luxemburg, Rosa. 1922. *The Russian Revolution*. Paul Levi. *READ Chapter 6, “The Problem of Dictatorship” and Chapter 8, “Democracy and Dictatorship.”*

<http://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1918/russian-revolution/ch06.htm> and <https://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1918/russian-revolution/ch08.htm>.

- Harding, Neil. 1996. *Leninism*. Basingstoke: MacMillan. *READ Chapter 10, “Leninism and Stalinism.”*

Maoism

- Lin Biao. 1965. “The International Significance of Comrade Mao-Tse Tung’s Theory of People’s War” and “Defeat of US Imperialism and Its Lackeys by People’s War,” in *Long Live the Victory of People’s War!* Beijing, Foreign Languages Press.
https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/lin-biao/1965/09/peoples_war/ch07.htm and https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/lin-biao/1965/09/peoples_war/ch08.htm.
- D’Mello, Bernard. 2009. “What is Maoism?” *Economic and Political Weekly* 44(47): 39-48. *READ Intro pp.39-40 and pp.43-48 from “Maoism: Evolution and Development”*

Recommended additional reading

- *SKIM* Wells, H.G. 2014 [1934]. “H G Wells: “It seems to me that I am more to the Left than you, Mr. Stalin.” *The New Statesman* (April 18).
<https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2014/04/h-g-wells-it-seems-me-i-am-more-left-you-mr-stalin>. [Large font in the PDF, so shorter than it looks]
- Mohanty, Manoranjan. 2006. “Challenges of Revolutionary Violence: The Naxalite Movement in Perspective.” *Economic & Political Weekly* 41(29): 3163-3168.
- Starn, Orin. 1995. “Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the Refusal of History.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 27(2): 399-421.
- Navarro, Paul. 2010. “A Maoist Counterpoint: Peruvian Maoism Beyond Sendero Luminoso.” *Latin American Perspectives* 37(1): 153-171.

1/29 Wednesday Anti-colonial Internationalism [FIRST SHORT PAPER DUE]

- Prashad, Vijay. 2007. *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*. New York: New Press. *READ “Introduction” (xv-xix), “Paris” (3-15), “Bandung” (31-50), and “Cairo” (51-61). SKIM “Brussels” (16-30).*
- Pham, Quỳnh N. and María José Méndez. 2015. “Decolonial Designs: José Martí, Hồ Chí Minh, and Global Entanglements,” *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 40(2): 156-173.
- Motadel, David. 2019. “The Global Authoritarian Moment and the Revolt Against Empire,” *American Historical Review* 124(3): 843-877. *READ pp.843-848 and SKIM 857-871 (from ‘The other side’).*

2/3 Monday Non-Violent Gandhism: Advocates, Activists, and Skeptics

- Steger, Manfred B. 2001. “Peacebuilding and Nonviolence: Gandhi’s Perspective on Power.” In D.J. Christie, R.V. Wagner, and D.A. Winter (eds.), *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century*, chapter 26. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Sharp, Gene and the Albert Einstein Institution. Selected excerpts on nonviolent action. “What is nonviolent action?”; “198 Methods of Nonviolent Action”; and “Correcting Common Misconceptions about Nonviolent Action.” <https://www.aeinstein.org>.
- *WATCH AT HOME*: “Bringing Down a Dictator.” <https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/bringing-dictator-english/> [55 mins]. [Includes footage of police violence.]

- Kadivar, Mohammad Ali and Neil Ketchley. 2018. “Sticks, Stones, and Molotov Cocktails: Unarmed Collective Violence and Democratization.” *READ pp.1-4 and 9-14.*
- Gee, Tim and Rahila Gupta. 2019. “The Debate: Is pacifism appropriate for today’s world?” *New Internationalist* (July 12). <https://newint.org/features/2019/07/01/debate>.

Recommended additional reading

- Cambanis, Thanassis. 2011. “Call to arms.” *Boston Globe* (July 31). http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/ideas/articles/2011/07/31/call_to_arms/. [Critique]
- Taavana. N.d. “The Year Life Won in Serbia: The Otpor Movement against Milosevic.” <https://tavaana.org/en/case-studies/year-life-won-serbia-otpor-movement-against-milosevic>.
- Romero, Simon, Frances Robles, Patricia Mazzei, and José A. Del Real. 2019. “Fifteen Days of Fury: How Puerto Rico’s Government Collapsed.” *New York Times* (July 27). <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/27/us/puerto-rico-protests-timeline.html>.
- Mantena, Karuna. 2016. “The Power of Nonviolence.” *Aeon* (11 March). <https://aeon.co/essays/nonviolence-has-retuned-from-obscurity-to-become-a-new-force>. [Audio version available online]

2/5 Wednesday Fanonian Decolonization

- Fanon, Frantz 1963 [1961]. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press. *READ “Concerning Violence,” pp.35-55.*
- Cesaire, Aimé. 2001 [1950]. *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Books. *READ pp.31-55.* [Contains critical use of n-word.]

South Africa’s Rhodes Must Fall Movement and Decolonization Today

- Jethro, Duane. 2015. “So What Happens #AfterRhodesFalls?” *Africa Is a Country* (March 27). <https://africasacountry.com/2015/03/so-what-happens-afterrhodesfalls>.
- *LISTEN AT HOME*: Woolley, Sophie. 2015. “Rhodes Must Fall Podcast.” Soundcloud (April). *Listen to first 9 minutes, additional 12 minutes optional.* <https://soundcloud.com/mountainhappy/rhodesmustfall-podcast-by>. Transcript here: <http://www.ci.sophiewoolley.com/?p=160>.
- Webb, Chris. 2015. “Rhodes Must Fall Everywhere.” *Africa Is a Country* (March 23). <https://africasacountry.com/2015/03/rhodes-must-fall-everywhere>.
- *SKIM* Pillay, Suren. 2015. “Decolonizing the University.” *Africa Is a Country* (June 7). <https://africasacountry.com/2015/06/decolonizing-the-university>.

Recommended additional reading

- Rhodes Must Fall Oxford. 2018. *Rhodes Must Fall: The Struggle to Decolonise the Racist Heart of Empire*. London: Zed Books. “Preface” by Kehinde Andrews (pp.ix-xiv) and “Rhodes Must Fall in Oxford Founding Statement” (pp.3-5).

2/10 Monday Anti-Racist Cosmopolitanism and ‘1968-ism’

Anti-racist cosmopolitanism

- Slate, Nico. 2012. *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. *READ Introduction (pp.1-5) and SKIM Chapter 3: ‘Colored Cosmopolitanism’ (pp.65-75 and 82-92).*

- King Jr., Martin Luther. 1959. "My Trip to the Land of Gandhi." *Ebony* (July), 231-238. http://okra.stanford.edu/transcription/document_images/Vol05Scans/July1959_MyTriptotheLandofGandhi.pdf.

'1968-ism'

- Elbaum, Max. 2002. "What legacy from the radical internationalism of 1968?" *Radical History Review* 82 (Winter): 37-64.
- Linebaugh, Peter. 2018. "Be Realistic: Demand the Impossible." *Boston Review* (August 1). <https://bostonreview.net/politics/peter-linebaugh-be-realistic-demand-impossible>.
- *SKIM* *El Gaucho* (formerly the UCSB campus newspaper). 1968. "October 1968 articles from *El Gaucho*." From UCSB Department of Black Studies' 1968: A Global Year of Student Driven Change. http://1968.blackstudies.ucsb.edu/el_gaucho_1968.html.

Recommended additional reading

- Lionnet, Françoise. 2015. "Creoles and Creolization." In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism*, 1-4. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Slate, Nico. 2015. "From Colored Cosmopolitanism to Human Rights: A Historical Overview of the Transnational Black Freedom Struggle." *Journal of Civil and Human Rights* 1(1): 3-24.
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- Adisa-Farrar, Teju. 2017. "Black Lives Matter Everywhere: Transnational Black Solidarity is Key." *Afropunk* (April 12). <https://afropunk.com/2017/04/black-lives-matter-everywhere-transnational-black-solidarity-is-key/>. [Includes discussion of police violence and rape.]
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- *LISTEN AT HOME* All Things Considered. 2008. "Mexico's 1968 massacre: What Really Happened?" *NPR* (December 1). <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=97546687> [23 mins].
- *WATCH AT HOME* Oregon Public Broadcasting. 1998. *1968: The Year That Shaped a Generation*. <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL34E3A916ABBD5A9B> [57 mins]. [Includes footage of war, police violence, and political violence.]
- Boissoneault, Lorraine. 2018. "In 1968, Three Students Were Killed by Police. Today, Few Remember the Orangeburg Massacre." *Smithsonian* (February 7). <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/1968-three-students-were-killed-police-today-few-remember-orangeburg-massacre-180968092/>.
- Woodman, Stephen. 2018. "Mexico students v the state: Anniversary of 1968 massacre reopens recent wounds." *BBC* (October 1). <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-45705009>. [Also discusses 2014 massacre of 43 students in Mexico.]

2/17 Monday NO CLASS, PRESIDENTS' DAY

2/19 Wednesday Dependency School

- Gunder Frank, André. 1966. "The development of underdevelopment," *Monthly Review* 18(4): 17-31.
- *SKIM* Rodney, Walter. 1982. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, pp. 75-91, 95-115, 135-145.
- Hickel, Jason. 2017. "Aid in Reverse: How Poor Countries Develop Rich Countries." *Guardian* (January 14). <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2017/jan/14/aid-in-reverse-how-poor-countries-develop-rich-countries>.
- Achiume, E. Tendayi. 2019. "The Postcolonial Case for Rethinking Borders." *Dissent* (Summer). <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/the-postcolonial-case-for-rethinking-borders>.

Recommended additional reading

- Kay, Cristóbal. 2005. "André Gunder Frank: From the 'Development of Underdevelopment' to the 'World System,'" *Development and Change* 36(6): 1177-83.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press. *READ from "Basic situations of dependency," pp. xviii-xxv.*

2/24 Monday Neoliberalism vs. Alter-Globalization

Neoliberalism and the Global Political Economy

- Boas, Taylor C. and Jordan Gans-Morse. 2009. "Neoliberalism: From new liberal philosophy to anti-liberal slogan." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44(2): 137-161. *READ pp.137-139 and 145-152.*
- Poplak, Richard. 2012. "Book Review: Plutocrats, by Chrystia Freeland." *National Post* (November 2). <https://nationalpost.com/afterword/book-review-plutocrats-by-chrystia-freeland>.
- *WATCH IN CLASS* Bregman, Rutger and Winnie Byanyima. 2019. Discussion on panel on "The Cost of Inequality" at the World Economic Forum. *Now This News* (January 30). <https://youtu.be/paaen3b44XY>. [If interested, video of the full panel, also featuring Alicia Bárcena Ibarra, Jane Goodall, Edward Felsenthal, and Shamina Singh, is at <https://www.weforum.org/events/world-economic-forum-annual-meeting/sessions/the-price-of-inequality>.]

Resisting Globalization or Forging Global Alternatives?

- *WATCH IN CLASS* Independent Media Center. 2000. *This is What Democracy Looks Like*. https://youtu.be/yBUZH2vCD_k [excerpts].
- *LISTEN IN CLASS* Rage Against the Machine. 2000. "Sleep Now in the Fire." *The Battle of Mexico City*. <https://youtu.be/w211KOO5BMI>.
- Kahn, Richard and Douglas Kellner. 2007. "Resisting Globalization." In George Ritzer (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Globalization*, 662-674. Oxford: Blackwell.
- World Social Forum. 2001. "Charter of Principles." <https://fsm2016.org/en/sinformer/a-propos-du-forum-social-mondial/>.
- Group of Nineteen. "Porto Alegre Manifesto: Twelve proposals for another possible world." *openDemocracy* (February 11). <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/porto-alegre-manifesto-in-english/>.

Recommended additional reading

- Finnegan, William. 2003. "The Economics of Empire: Notes on the Washington Consensus," *Harper's Magazine* 306(1836): 41-54.
- Gilman, Nils. 2014. "The Twin Insurgency." *The American Interest* 9(6): 3-11. <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2014/06/15/the-twin-insurgency/>.
- *SKIM* Vitali, Stefania, James B. Glattfelder, and Stefano Battiston. 2011. "The Network of Global Corporate Control," *PLoS One* 6(10): e25995.
- Oxfam, 2019. "Billionaire fortunes grew by \$2.5 billion a day last year as poorest saw their wealth fall." (January 21). <https://www.oxfam.org/en/pressroom/pressreleases/2019-01-18/billionaire-fortunes-grew-25-billion-day-last-year-poorest-saw>.
- Martinez-Torres, Maria Elena, and Peter Rosset. 2010. "La Vía Campesina: The Birth and Evolution of a Transnational Social Movement." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 37(1): 149–75. [agriculture and environment]
- Teivanen, Teivo. 2002. "The World Social Forum and global democratisation: learning from Porto Alegre." *Third World Quarterly* 23(4): 621-32.
- Stiglitz, Joseph. 2018. "Meet the 'Change Agents' Who Are Enabling Inequality." *New York Times* (August 20). <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/20/books/review/winners-take-all-anandgiridharadas.html>.
- Bregman, Rutger, Winnie Byanyima, and Anand Giridharadas. 2019. "Fightback against the billionaires: the radicals taking on the global elite." *Guardian* (February 7). <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/feb/07/rutger-bregman-winnie-byanyima-anand-giridharadas>.
- Townsend, Stuart (dir.). 2007. *Battle in Seattle*. <https://youtu.be/YwnVYzyAQoI> (full feature film free on YouTube). [Portrays 1999 WTO protests, including significant police repression.]

2/26 Wednesday Contemporary Anarchism: Occupy Wall Street, Rojava, and Antifa

- Gibson, Morgan Rodgers. 2019. "The Failure of the State and the Rise of Anarchism in Contemporary Anti-Systemic Praxis," *New Proposals* 10(1): 45-59.
- *LISTEN IN CLASS* Against Me! 2003. "Baby, I'm an Anarchist." *Against Me Is Reinventing Axl Rose*. <https://youtu.be/9gEvxw9XKzo>.

The Occupy Movement: Wall Street and Beyond

- Gautney, Heather. 2012. "Occupy x: Repossession by Occupation." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 111(3): 597-607.
- *WATCH AT HOME* Radivojevich, Iva and Martyna Starosta (dirs.). 2011. *Nobody Can Predict the Moment of Revolution*, <https://vimeo.com/29513113> [8 mins] and *The Time for Action is Now (Occupy CUNY)*, <https://vimeo.com/31285186> [8 mins].
- Randewich, Noel. 2011. "Occupy movement inspires rise in U.S. campus activism." *Reuters* (November 25). <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-protests-students/occupy-movement-inspires-rise-in-u-s-campus-activism-idUSTRE7AO15K20111125>.
- Campbell, Andy. 2016. "UC Davis Wants You To Forget About Its Pepper Spray Incident. So Here's the Video." *Huffington Post* (April 14). https://www.huffpost.com/entry/uc-davis-pepper-spray-video_n_570fc93fe4b03d8b7b9fb62b. *[We will watch the video in class, but please read this piece beforehand. The video includes footage of police repression of students.]*

The Rojava Experiment in Kurdistan

- Burc, Rosa. 2016. “Confederal Kurdistan: the ‘commune of communes.’” *openDemocracy* (June 8). <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/north-africa-west-asia/confederal-kurdistan-commune-of-communes/>.
- Ocalan, Abdullah. 2011. *Democratic Confederalism*. Cologne: International Initiative. *SKIM pp.21-34.*

Antifascism

- Bray, Mark. 2017. *Antifa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook*. Brooklyn: Melville House. *READ xiii-xx.*

Recommended additional reading

- Graeber, David. 2014. “Why Is the World Ignoring the Revolutionary Kurds in Syria?” *The Guardian* (October 8). <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/oct/08/why-world-ignoring-revolutionary-kurds-syria-isis>.
- Bookchin, Debbie. 2018. “How My Father’s Ideas Helped the Kurds Create a New Democracy.” *New York Review of Books* (June 15). <https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2018/06/15/how-my-fathers-ideas-helped-the-kurds-create-a-new-democracy/>. [More on Murray Bookchin’s theories and Ocalan in Kurdistan]

3/2 Monday Religious Fundamentalism [SECOND SHORT PAPER DUE]

- Thomas, Scott M. 2010. “A Globalized God: Religion’s Growing Influence in International Politics.” *Foreign Affairs* 89(6): 93-101.
- Polimédio, Chayenne. 2019. “How Evangelical Conservatives are Gaining Power in Brazil.” *Foreign Affairs* (March 7). <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/brazil/2019-03-07/how-evangelical-conservatives-are-gaining-power-brazil>.
- *WATCH IN CLASS*: Salazar-Winspear, Olivia. 2019. “Bolsonaro's strategic alliance with Brazil's evangelicals.” *France 24* (January 30). <https://www.france24.com/en/20190130-focus-brazil-bolsonaro-alliance-evangelicals-christians-family-women-rights-abortion>. [Includes discussion of abortion and rape.]
- Johns, Anthony H. and Nelly Lahoud. 2005. “The world of Islam and the challenge of Islamism.” In Nelly Lahoud and Anthony H. Johns (eds.), *Islam in World Politics*, 7-28. New York: Routledge.
- Kalev, Gol. 2019. “The Ultra-Orthodox Will Determine Israel’s Political Future.” *Foreign Policy* (April 17). <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/17/the-ultra-orthodox-will-determine-israels-political-future-haredi-likud-netanyahu-shas-deri-utj/>.
- Beech, Hannah. 2019. “Buddhists Go To Battle: When Nationalism Overcomes Pacifism.” *New York Times* (July 8). <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/08/world/asia/buddhism-militant-rise.html>.

Recommended additional reading

- Stepan, Alfred C. 2000. “Religion, Democracy, and the ‘Twin Tolerations.’” *Journal of Democracy* 11(4): 37-57.
- Robert, Dana L. 2000. “Shifting Southward: Global Christianity since 1945.” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* (April): 50-58.

3/4 Wednesday Populism or Authoritarianism as Ideologies?

Rising Authoritarianism: Ideological Convergence or Coinciding Interests?

- Case, Holly. 2017. "The New Authoritarians," *Aeon* (March 7). <https://aeon.co/essays/the-new-dictators-speak-for-the-complainer-not-the-idealist>. [Audio version available online.]
- Lind, Michael. 2019. "Robert Kagan's big wrong idea." *Washington Post* (March 26). <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/03/26/robert-kagans-big-wrong-idea/>.
- Berman, Sheri. 2019. "The main threat to liberal democracy comes from within, not from authoritarians." *Washington Post* (March 26). https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/03/26/main-threat-liberal-democracy-comes-within-not-authoritarians/?utm_term=.643acae1e44f.

Populism

- Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2013. "Populism." In Michael Freeden, Lyman Tower Sargent, and Marc Stears (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*, pp.493-512. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bonikowski, Bart and Noam Gidron. 2016. "Multiple Traditions in Populism Research: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis." *Comparative Politics Newsletter* 26(2): 7-14.

Recommended Additional Reading

- Mudde, Cas. 2017. "What Populism is Not." *Vice News* (May 9). https://news.vice.com/en_us/article/vbz874/what-populism-is-not.
- Berman, Sheri. 2018. "Against the Technocrats." *Dissent* (Winter). <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/against-technocrats-liberal-democracy-history>.
- *SKIM* Bank, André. 2017. "The study of authoritarian diffusion and cooperation: comparative lessons on interests versus ideology, nowadays and in history," *Democratization*, 24(7): 1345-1357.

3/9 Monday Environmentalism(s) and Ecological Futures

- *SKIM* Xia, Rosanna. 2019. "The California coast is disappearing under the rising sea. Our choices are grim." *Los Angeles Times* (July 7). <https://www.latimes.com/projects/la-me-sea-level-rise-california-coast>. [Global changes and California's dilemmas. Best accessed online, large font and lots of pictures in the PDF, so not as long as it looks]
- Grove, Richard. 2002. "Climatic Fears: Colonialism and the History of Environmentalism." *Harvard International Review* 23(4): 50–55. [History]
- Mies, Maria. 1997. "Do We Need a New 'Moral Economy'?" *Canadian Women's Studies* 17(2): 12-21. [Ecofeminism]
- Collard, Rosemary, Jessica Dempsey, and Juanita Sundberg. 2015. "A Manifesto for Abundant Futures." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 105 (2): 322–30. *SKIM pp.322-26 and read closely from 'Another Path is Possible! Abundant Futures Manifesto' pp.326-29.* [Synthesis]

Recommended additional reading

- *SKIM*: Steffen, Will, Paul Crutzen, and John McNeill. 2007. "The Anthropocene: Are Humans Now Overwhelming the Great Forces of Nature?" *Ambio* 36 (8): 614–21.
- Gudynas, Eduardo. 2011. "Buen Vivir: Today's Tomorrow." *Development* 54(4): 441–47. [Indigenous knowledges]

- Penniman, Leah. 2015. “Radical Farmers Use Fresh Food to Fight Racial Injustice and the New Jim Crow.” *Yes! Magazine* (September 5). <https://www.yesmagazine.org/peace-justice/radical-farmers-use-fresh-food-fight-racial-injustice-black-lives-matter>. [Environmental justice]

3/11 Wednesday

IN-CLASS FINAL EXAM