

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 2022

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
Tues/Thurs: 2:00-3:15pm [in-person except first two weeks]
North Hall 1006

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

Office Hours: Tuesday 10am-12pm and by appointment. Meetings can be over Zoom or outdoors
outside of SSMS

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

Section Leaders: Travis Candieas
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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

Lectures: Due to the pandemic’s disruptions, the first two weeks’ lectures will be asynchronous and will be recorded and uploaded for you to watch by the scheduled class time in preparation for your discussion sections. I will aim to upload both lectures each week by Sunday night or Monday morning. While this will mean less interactive time, I remain available for office hours meetings and to answer questions by email during these weeks. Barring additional COVID-19 restrictions, we will move back to in-person lectures starting January 18. Lecture attendance is required, and if you miss lecture, it is your responsibility to ask a classmate if they are willing to share their notes with you.

Discussion Sections: Discussion sections will be held synchronously over Zoom in the first two weeks and in person after that. Attendance is required and it is your responsibility to notify your section leader if you need to miss a meeting or need to try to attend a different section’s meeting that week.

Requirements and Grading:

- **25%: Short Paper:** You will turn in **one short paper** (1750-2500 words) during the quarter. This paper will serve as an integrated analysis of themes covered and multiple readings assigned during the course up to that point. I will provide three prompts to choose from for the paper, at least two weeks in advance. The paper must be submitted as a Word document (12-point Times New Roman font, double-spaced) *with proper citations* in either in-text, parenthetical author-date format with a bibliography or with full footnotes. Footnotes or the bibliography do not count towards the word count. You will submit the paper on Gauchospace. The paper will be due **February 26**.
- **30%: Attendance and Engaged Participation in discussion section and online:** Based on **participation and attendance** in each section and participation in any online discussions. Sections are designed to be interactive discussions, and so section leaders 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 watching lectures.¹ If you are not comfortable speaking during sections, please let your section leader know, and we also value participation in discussions on Gauchospace, in office hours meetings, or over email.
- **15%: Mid-term Exam:** Multiple choice and short answers, taken online on **February 8**.
- **30%: Final Project - Learning by Teaching:**² Pick an ideology, a concept or idea or a key event or figure in an ideology’s development that you learned about in this course. Your assignment is to teach someone who did not take this course and has not previously taken Global 120 about whatever ideology, concept, or issue you choose. Use any method or medium you like as a teaching tool, except for a standard written essay. Creativity is encouraged. You can record a podcast, create a comic, make an NPR-style radio segment, write a more public-oriented magazine article, write a poem or song, create a photo exhibit with informative captions, make a Vice or Vox-style short news video, or anything else you can think of. Use your discretion and your talent, and feel free to discuss ideas with the teaching staff. For large or complex projects, two or three students may work together *if the collaborative project idea has been discussed with and approved by the section leaders and professor*. Regardless of the medium you select, all assignments will be evaluated based on the following criteria:
 - Demonstrates a thorough understanding of the ideology, concept, or issue
 - Articulates clearly why it is important
 - Uses language that is accessible to non-experts outside of this class
 - Demonstrates significant efforts
 - Demonstrates thoughtfulness and creativity
 - **Due online on Gauchospace on March 10.**

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*. 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

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>.

² Adapted from Jamila Michener.

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 and encouraged 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*.

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 aim to provide a warning in lecture before showing any such video.

Paper and Sources: For the paper, 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—simply use the required and, if desired, recommended readings for sources. Sources and quotations **must be properly cited** (see 'Academic Integrity' below). **Bibliographies or footnotes do not count toward the word count—check your word processor settings.**

Email: Please only send emails to your section leaders and me *from your UCSB account* and include the course name (GLOBAL 120) in the subject line. For useful email guidelines, please consult [this site](#).

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: <https://studentconduct.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 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 academic citation guide may be helpful: <https://press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/484734.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 section attendance. If you miss 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 should be explained to the instructor in advance.

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 emailing DSP.Help@sa.ucsb.edu, by phone (805.893.2668), or if you're old school by fax (805.893.7127).

COVID-19 Policies and Procedures

All students of this course, as a condition of physical presence in this classroom, must be compliant with the UC SARS-CoV-2 (COVID-19) Vaccination Program at all times. Until any further notice from the university, all class participants, including me, must wear face masks covering their mouths and noses at all times in the classroom. Face masks not only protect the wearer, they help prevent anyone who is COVID-positive from spreading the virus to others. Student non-compliance with COVID-19 health and safety requirements or with related directions from the instructor is a violation of the UCSB Standards of Conduct and will be adjudicated accordingly.

Policy on Children and Pets in Class: Since in the first two weeks we are all working from home or in public spaces, it is very understandable that students with caregiving responsibilities may need to have children with them during part of the class period. The same applies to pets. I trust you to manage things as you see fit to be able to take care of your necessary home responsibilities and to participate in class as best you can. Once we return to in-person lectures, parents or caregivers who need to are welcome to have children attend with them, though please try to sit close to an exit to be able to step out quickly in the event of any needs that might disrupt the rest of the class.

Basic Needs: If you are facing any challenges securing food, housing, or the technology needed to fully participate in the class, I urge you to visit <https://food.ucsb.edu/> to find out more about the resources the university has available and to contact the Student Needs Advising Center by online chat [on the website](#), phone (805-893-2786), or email (Thrive@ucsb.edu). For issues with computer or internet access, please email financialcrisis@sa.ucsb.edu.

SCHEDULE AND READINGS³

1/4 Tuesday Introduction and Overview – Synchronous meeting and recorded lecture

- 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.

1/6 Thursday 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 ‘Dedictory 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-amo-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 Craiatu. 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.encycopedie-humanisme.com/?Tanwīr-240>.

1/11 Tuesday 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>.
- Lexington. 2020. “Mutual-aid groups spread in covid-stricken America.” *The Economist* (19 December). <https://www.economist.com/united-states/2020/12/19/mutual-aid-groups-spread-in-covid-stricken-america>.

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>.

1/13 Thursday 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>.

1/18 Tuesday 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>.

1/20 Thursday 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]
- Mao, Tse Tung. 1966. “The Mass Line” in *Quotations from Mao Tse Tung*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Press. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch11.htm>.
- 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.

1/25 Tuesday Anti-colonial Internationalism

- 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’).*

Recommended additional reading

- Bouka, Yolande. “Women, Colonial Resistance, and Decolonization: Challenging African Histories.” In Olajumoke Yacob-Haliso and Toyin Falola (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of African Women’s Studies*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77030-7_5-1. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

1/27 Thursday 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]

2/1 Tuesday Fanonian Decolonization [Asynchronous recorded lecture]

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

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

- *LISTEN AT HOME* Red Menace. 2019. “The Wretched of the Earth by Frantz Fanon [Part 1]” Revolutionary Left Radio. <https://youtu.be/cnsj7ESbvfA?t=90> *(from 1:30 to 25:00).*
- 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).

2/3 Thursday 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.
- Williams, Yohuru. 2012. "'They've lynched our savior, Lumumba in the old Southern Style': The Conscious Internationalism of American Black Nationalism." In Nico Slate (ed.), *Black Power beyond Borders: The Global Dimensions of the Black Power Movement*, pp.147-167. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nelson, Alondra. 2016. "The *Longue Durée* of Black Lives Matter." *American Journal of Public Health* 106(10): 1734-1737.
- 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.]
- Halbfinger, David M. and Isabel Kershner. 2019. "After a Police Shooting, Ethiopian Israelis seek a 'Black Lives Matter' reckoning." *New York Times* (July 13). <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/13/world/middleeast/ethiopian-israeli-protests-racism.html>. [apologies for the bad layout in the PDF]
- Bedasse, Monique, et al. 2020. "AHR Conversation: Black Internationalism." *American Historical Review* 125(5): 1699-1739.
- *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.]

2/8 Tuesday **MIDTERM EXAM ONLINE**

2/10 Thursday **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>.
- Apuzzo, Matt and Selam Gebrekidan. 2020. "For COVID-19 Vaccines, Some Are Too Rich—and Too Poor." *New York Times* (December 28). <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/28/world/africa/covid-19-vaccines-south-africa.html>.

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.*
- Kvangraven, Ingrid Harvold. 2021. "Beyond the Stereotype: Restating the Relevance of the Dependency Research Programme." *Development and Change* 52(1): 76-112.

2/15 Tuesday **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 LECTURE* 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 LECTURE* Independent Media Center. 2000. *This is What Democracy Looks Like*. [excerpts].

- *LISTEN IN LECTURE* 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/>.
- *LISTEN AT HOME* Democracy @ Work. 2018. “Left Out: David Harvey defines Neoliberalism.” <https://youtu.be/g9GPJ9fAEFo>.
- *WATCH AT HOME* Democracy Now! 2019. “20 Years After The Battle of Seattle: Vandana Shiva & Lori Wallach on Historic 1999 WTO Protests.” <https://youtu.be/2ELOk24RgpE>.
- *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://tubitv.com/movies/488079/battle-in-seattle> (full feature film free). [Portrays 1999 WTO protests, including significant police repression.]

2/17 Thursday 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 LECTURE* 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]
- *SKIM* Rojava Information Center. 2019. *Beyond the Frontlines: The Building of the Democratic System in North and East Syria*. Rojava: RIC.

2/22 Tuesday Religious Fundamentalism

- 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.

2/24 Thursday NO CLASS – Work on papers

2/26 Saturday Papers due by 11:59PM on Gauchospace

3/1 Tuesday 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/>.

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.

3/3 Thursday 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]
- Táíwò, Olúfẹ́mi O. and Beba Cibralic. 2020. "The Case for Climate Reparations." *Foreign Policy* (10 October). <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/10/10/case-for-climate-reparations-crisis-migration-refugees-inequality>.

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]
- Sasser, Jade. 2014. "From Darkness into Light: Race, Population, and Environmental Advocacy." *Antipode* 46(5): 1240-1257. [Environmental justice]
- 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]

3/8 Tuesday **NO CLASS – Work on final projects**

3/10 Thursday **FINAL PROJECTS DUE by 11:59PM Pacific Time**