

GEOG 20: GLOBALIZATION

Lectures Tue/Thu 2:00-3:30pm. 100 Genetics & Plant Biology
Discussion Sections 101-108



"Look, I've got nothing against globalization, just as long as it's not in my backyard."



"All I'm saying is now is the time to develop the technology to deflect an asteroid."



"I believe this is one of Rembrandt's earliest selfies."



"Oh, are you attacking from home today?"

PROFESSOR:

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

The idea of 'globalization' has taken a sharp U-turn in the last decade. Scarcely two decades ago, proponents of globalization were labelled conservative defenders of free trade and universal values, while detractors were labelled extreme leftists who saw everything global as a form of Western imperialism and planetary genocide. Fast forward to the present, and conservatives *refuse* globalization and call for economic nationalism and militarized borders, the International Monetary Fund argues that rising inequality and political discontent reflects not *too little* global integration but *too much*, and defenders of global flows of people, things, money and ideas are seen as hopeless idealists. Does this mean that the term 'globalization' is hopelessly confused, as a prominent historian argued just a few years back? Rather than assuming that 'globalization' is either obvious or meaningless as a concept, this course grounds competing notions of 'globalization' in global processes and traditions of thought that shape our uncertain, fragile world.

Part I – 21st Century Globalization reviews dramatically changing ideas about globalization. Uncertainty about what globalization *is* mirrors the global contradictions that the concept tries to hold together: a world of wealth and poverty, and deepening inequalities. When we look at our age (1973 to the present) as a time of recurrent global political-economic crises, and find that we can only understand our uncertain time in relation to older forms of globalization. In other words, we find that a historical perspective is necessary to understand 'globalization' today. This takes us to Part II of the course.

Part II – Global Journeys turns to this historical perspective, as we journey through networks of people, things, events and ideas at prior moments of time. Each week, we take a different 'global journey' that connects different places through particular global processes. We focus on three things each week: (1) **Global processes** that links places across the planet, (2) **Keywords** that explain how these global processes works (or do not, in fact, work), and (3) we engage perspectives of **Global Thinkers** who have lived through these processes, leaving behind their writings, like letters to our classroom from other places and times. What makes these thinkers 'global' is that their ideas have wider traction that help us understand our own interconnections and challenges today.

Part III – The Global Present brings us back to our time, a world of inequality and fragility, but also of interconnection and creative possibility. With the benefit of Part II, we return to the present with fresh eyes, to see how issues and events in our global present have been shaped by the past. We will see that there is much that is new in our time, but what is not new is that people continue to confront the challenges of the present in ways that mirror the past. The global thinkers of the past continue to help us make sense of our time as well.

A last point: Our time, the turn of the 21st century, is often seen as exceptional or unique: an age of self-representation in new media that prides itself on immediacy and transparency. The Internet is everywhere! All places are linked in real-time! All knowledge is tweetable! This course begs to differ. We engage the power of 19th and 20th century media such as the book, the article, the library, the painting, the photograph, the film, the graphic novel, and the lecture. These media help us slow down to cultivate **a critical point of view – which does not mean a judgmental or dogmatic perspective about 'good vs bad' or 'right vs wrong', but a careful exploration of concepts and explanations of our unequal and imperiled world.**

LECTURE OUTLINE

PART I: 21st Century Globalization

Week 1 – Introduction

Week 2 – Global Inequality, Global Contradictions

PART II: Global Journeys

Week 3 – Making Atlantic Capitalism / **Online Quiz 1**

Week 4 – Industrial Capital in an Imperial World

Week 5 – Imperialism, Liberalism, Progressivism, Segregation / **Quiz 2**

Week 6 – Paris Commune, Rise and fall of the USSR

Week 7 – Anticolonialism and Decolonization / **Quiz 3**

Week 8 – Development Century

Week 9 – Late 20th-Century Divergence: China, East Asia, South Africa / **Quiz 4**

Week 10 –After the ‘Golden Age’: Oil, Inflation, Debt Crisis, Structural Adjustment

Spring Break

PART III: The Global Present

Week 11 – The Financialization of Everything / **Quiz 5**

Week 12 – Global Production, Labor and Land

Week 13 – The Box, Logistics and the Industrial Ocean / **Quiz 6**

Week 14 – Conclusion: Optimism of the Will in Fragile Times / **Glossaries Due Apr 26, 5pm**

Take Home Final Due 10 am Mon May 6, 2024

COURSE FORMAT

Lectures: Make your best attempt to attend them, because I will explain the material in the course that is beyond the reading and also beyond what you get in section.

Discussion Sections: You are expected to have attended the Tues lecture and read required readings **before** your discussion sections. Attendance and active engagement are required.

101	W	11AM – 12PM	JACOB L	105	TH	10AM – 11AM	SIBAHLE N
102	W	5PM – 6 PM	OOHA U	106	W	9AM – 10AM	JACOB L
103	TH	12PM – 1PM	SIBAHLE N	107	W	2PM – 3PM	OOHA U
104	F	11AM – 12 PM	DIVYA J	108	F	2PM – 3PM	DIVYA J

GRADES AND REQUIREMENTS

SECTION PARTICIPATION (30% of final grade) – **Engaged attendance** (having done the readings, prepared to discuss them) + any assignments from your GSI. **You are permitted two unexcused absences after which participation grades fall by 10% per absence.**

KEYWORD GLOSSARY (10% of final grade) – Checked in sections during the semester and submitted **ON BCOURSES. DUE Apr 26, 5pm.**

QUIZZES (30%: 5% x 6 of final grade) – Scheduled and online on **BCOURSES, complete during a 2hr block anytime over a 24hr period, Fri 1pm – Sat 1pm.**

FINAL EXAM (30% of final grade) – On the entire course material. **SUBMIT ON BCOURSES. DUE 10 am Mon May 6**

GRADING SCALE

97.5 – 100 A+	87.5 – 89.5 B+	77.5 – 79.5 C+	67.5 – 69.5 D+
92.5 – 97.5 A	82.5 – 87.5 B	72.5 – 77.5 C	59.5 – 67.5 D
89.5 – 92.5 A-	79.5 – 82.5 B-	69.5 – 72.5 C-	< 59.5 F

READ GLOBAL NEWS

Try to develop a habit of checking the news from multiple sources and locations. Try to get a sense of how topics from this course are reflected in contemporary events, perceived differently across media from different parts of the world.

The Berkeley Library subscribes to an incredible range of newspapers:

The Guardian is an excellent, free international newspaper: guardian.co.uk

The Washington Post: www.washingtonpost.com

The New York Times: nytimes.com

Le monde diplomatique: mondediplo.com

The Economist: www.economist.com

Counterpunch: www.counterpunch.org

Al Jazeera: www.aljazeera.com

Perhaps South Asia's best newspaper: www.dawn.com

The Economic and Political Weekly: <http://www.epw.in>

The South China Morning Post: <http://www.scmp.com>

South Africa's Daily Maverick: dailymaverick.co.za

Truth Out: www.truth-out.org

Democracy Now: www.democracynow.org

The Funambulist: thefunambulist.net

Aggregated long-form journalism: longform.org and longreads.com

Media Lens: medialens.org

Blogs, for instance: africasacountry.com globalvoices.org

johnpilger.com naomiklein.org thegamming.org (Laleh Khalili)

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Any test, paper, report or homework submitted under your name is presumed to be your own original work that has not been submitted for credit in another course. All words and ideas written by other people must be properly attributed: fully identified as to source and the extent of your use of their work. Cheating, plagiarism, and other academic misconduct will result in a failing grade on the assignment, paper, quiz, or exam in question and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs. See the policy [here](#).

STUDENT RESOURCES

Being a student at Berkeley can be highly rewarding experience, and there are different kinds of support to ensure this, whether through tutoring, advice on writing, DSP support, or services to help deal with stresses and and personal difficulties that interrupt academic life. If you need help determining what kind of support you might need, contact the professor or GSI, come to office hours, or speak us after class. We are here to help you learn and flourish especially in difficult times, so if you are having difficulties, please feel free to reach out.

- **Berkeley Student Learning Center** offers peer tutoring, writing support, and other academic resources, also online at this time: [Link](#)
- **Disabled Students' Program** provides a wide range of resources to ensure equal access to educational opportunities, including advising, diagnostics, note-taking services, and academic accommodations: [Link](#)
- **University Health Services** offers short and long-term counseling to assist students with concerns. For more on mental health services and reservices: [Link](#)
- **PATH to Care** provides affirming, empowering, and confidential support for those who have experienced gendered violence, including sexual harassment, dating and intimate partner violence, sexual assault, stalking, and sexual exploitation. Confidential advocates bring a non-judgmental, caring approach to exploring all options, rights, and resources. [Link](#)

THE BERKELEY LIBRARIES

The UC Berkeley Library is an important resource, but it can be daunting. Learn how to navigate it quickly in your academic career at Berkeley. Take a [tour](#), and get to know Berkeley's wonderful libraries!

HOW TO READ FOR THIS COURSE

All readings are required, except for those marked as 'further readings.' The syllabus is your guide to the readings, to help you think about what it is you are meant to read *for*.

Social science readings are read for the **argument**. The writer tries to convey an argument using **concepts** (or 'keywords') based in some kind of **theory** that explains real world events. Try to get a sense of the whole argument. If there is an abstract, it should explain what the article seeks to argue. If not, read the introduction carefully, keeping in mind what the course syllabus and lecture says as you locate the argument. Try to put it in your own words to make sense of it. Then try to get a sense of the underlying theory. How does the author approach the topic? Can you find the week's keywords in the reading? If not, they might be implicit – what is the author saying that connects to the week's keywords? What is the author's **evidence** or proof that their argument reflects events in the world? Sometimes the evidence is implicit, or, in the case of some thinkers we read, it may come from their experience. All social science writing has an argument, theory and evidence. In fact, all writing has to have these elements in some form: it has to have a point (an argument), a view of the world (an explicit or implicit theory), and some kind of material or data that it works through (evidence). If you have problems finding these things, ask your GSI in section, ask me in lecture, or come to my office hours.

Key tips for tackling the readings:

1. Do your best to stay on track; in a busy week, do at least some reading.
2. Start with key readings, focusing on the argument and noting the evidence or elaboration. Make sure you understand what each reading argues, and why.
3. Make time to get to the 'global thinkers' – they do something distinctive.
4. You will be in a strong position in this course if you keep up with the readings so that you are ready for the bi-weekly quizzes.

COURSE OUTLINE

PART I: TWENTY FIRST CENTURY GLOBALIZATION

WEEK 1. JAN 16 & 18. INTRODUCTION

We begin with what 'globalization' is, why it matters or does not, to whom, when and where. Debates about the idea of 'globalization' are often about other things: Is the world better off by fortifying national borders further? Are places, peoples and nations more secure when they have a stronger sense of their national differences or of their interconnections and interdependence? Global integration in the movements of things, money, resources, people and ideas is an established fact. Avoiding global interconnection in a time of accelerating climate change is a bit like turning back the clock in a house on fire. This week I will introduce the course and the historical method we will use. The short optional readings offer a point of departure.

Optional reading:

Peter Dicken 2017. "What in the World is Going On?" in *Global Shift. Seventh Edition*. Guilford Publications, 1-9.

Rory Horner, Daniel Haberly, Seth Schindler and Yuko Aoyama. 2018. "How anti-globalisation switched from a left to a right-wing issue – and where it will go next." In *The Conversation*. (January 25): [Link](#)

Nikil Saval 2017 "Globalisation: the rise and fall of an idea that swept the world" in *The Guardian*. In Print (July 14): [Link](#) or as a podcast (July 31): [Link](#)

WEEK 2. JAN 23 & 25. GLOBAL INEQUALITY, GLOBAL CONTRADICTIONS

This week we think more about global inequality in a world in which about 9.2% of the global population is subject to extreme poverty, 90% of them in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. We have to begin to understand how this is related to the rise of a global plutocracy, an extremely wealthy class that can influence governments, politics, and information. We also have to understand aspirations for upward mobility by families and countries in the context of global inequality. How are global wealth and poverty linked through the working (rather than failure) of global capitalism? We begin this course looking at our age of global capitalist integration in a contradictory world, through an article by Jason Hickel and through some data on global inequality from the *World Inequality Report*. These dynamics have only intensified through the last few years of the pandemic.

KEY READINGS

Jason Hickel. 2017. "Is global inequality getting better or worse?" *Third World Quarterly*. pp.1-12

Facundo Alvaredo, Lucas Chancel, Thomas Piketty, Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman eds. 2018. *World Inequality Report*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Free to download or read online [here](#). (Read [the short executive summary](#))

Global thinker:

Subcomandante **Marcos**. 1997. "The Fourth World War Has Begun." In *Nepantla: Views from South*. 2.3, 559-72 (read 559-64 closely)

Further reading:

Branko Milanovic. 2016. "Chapter 1: The Rise of the Global Middle Class and Global Plutocrats" in *Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, pp. 10-45.

PART II: GLOBAL JOURNEYS

WEEK 3. JAN 30 & FEB 1: MAKING ATLANTIC CAPITALISM / QUIZ 1 FRI 2/2

KEYWORDS: COMMONS, DISPOSSESSION, COMMODIFICATION, ABOLITION.

Our first 'global journey' cuts across a trans-Atlantic maritime space in which people were forced out of settled forms of life across Europe, Africa and the Americas. This process of making a 'global economy' was violent and disruptive, and we look at it through the lives of sailors, slaves, vagabonds, brigands, pickpockets, bandits, witches and pirates – all of them 'dispossessed' from settled relationships to land and nature, or from 'commons.' Linebaugh and Rediker explore how people at the time understood a world turned upside down, some through the myth of 'Hercules and the many-headed Hydra' as a metaphor for a world torn apart by monstrous forces, others through a Biblical idea of 'hewers of wood and drawer of water,' which focused on the back-breaking labor of building the infrastructure for a new capitalist world. Federici writes about European witch hunts at a time when some women were at the forefront of resistance, alongside people who imagined the 'abolition' of the systematic process of dispossession and profiteering. This week's global thinkers include a self-educated former slave who became a statesman, Frederick Douglass, and the great Caribbean thinker Édouard Glissant.

KEY READINGS

Peter **Linebaugh** and Marcus **Rediker** 2000. "Chapter 2: Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water" in *The Many-Headed Hydra*. Boston: Beacon Press, pp. 36-70. (Focus on pp.40-49, 52, and 60-70.)

Global thinkers: [remember, these are required](#)

Frederick **Douglass**. 2009. Chapters 1, 3 and 7. In *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave. Written by Himself*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. pp. 15-20, 28-32, 47-53.

Édouard **Glissant** 1997. "The Open Boat" in *Poetics of Relation*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, pp. 5-9.

Further reading:

Silvia Federici. 1988. "The Great Witch Hunt" *The Maine Scholar*. Vol 1, 31-52.

WEEK 4. FEB 6 & 8: INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL AND THE COLONIAL WORLD

KEYWORDS: FORMS OF CAPITAL (MERCANTILE, INDUSTRIAL, FINANCIAL), ACCUMULATION, COLONIALISM, LABOR REGIMES

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels announced in their *Manifesto* that industrial capital was transforming the entire world, breaking down all forms of difference and forging a new kind of equality through the commodity. How did these 'global thinkers' come up with a compelling view of the world from Victorian England during the industrial revolution? We consider their ideas in relation to workers in a colonial world, as explored by Eric Wolf. We also think about three kinds of capital: merchant's or mercantile capital (buying cheap and selling dear), industrial or manufacturing capital (capital invested in making profit by combining resources, technology and labor to produce commodities) and finance capital (banking and instruments of credit used to mobilize resources, technology and labor without paying for it just yet.) We think about 'labor regimes' across the colonial world: ways in which people worked and continue to work under different forms of capital and technology, with different kinds of rights and freedoms. Marx and Engels saw the incredible power and possibility unleashed by capitalism, but they thought that 'workers of the world' should unite to create a different kind of industrial society that could harness industrial forces in a more rational and humane manner. Another global thinker, South African Sol Plaatje documents Africans dispossessed in early twentieth century South Africa.

KEY READINGS

Eric **Wolf**. 1982. "Chapter 12: The New Laborers." In *Europe and the People without a History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp.354-361 (top) and (bottom) p.381-383.

Global thinkers:

Karl **Marx** and Frederick **Engels**. 1998 [1888] *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition*. London: Verso Books. pp.33-50.

Sol T. **Plaatje**. 1991 [1916]. "One night with the fugitives" in *Native Life in South Africa*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. pp. 78-90.

WEEK 5. FEB 13 & 15: IMPERIALISM, LIBERALISM, PROGRESSIVISM, SEGREGATION

QUIZ 2 FRI 2/16

KEYWORDS: IMPERIALISM, LIBERALISM, PROGRESSIVISM, THE SOCIAL, SEGREGATION

The period from the late 19th to the early 20th centuries was shaped by capitalism and imperialism, and also by new ideas and forms of politics. We will look closely at the idea of 'imperialism' as linked to the globalization of capital. We look at political and economic 'liberalism' within the space of empires that used liberal ideas as rationale for colonialism. But liberalism could also provide resources for its critics. Thinkers associated with 'Progressivism' across the North Atlantic, particularly its great cities, tried to respond to rising inequality in a time of social crisis similar to ours. We will look closely at these Progressives who brought us some of our fundamental institutions: the welfare state, public health, public libraries, public education, and the 'social.' We live in a time of global dismantling of these legacies of Progressivism, so we look closely at them. Progressives were often also active racists, proponents of 'segregation' and we will explore why that was the

case. This week's journey takes us across imperial space to different ways in which liberal and Progressive thinkers sought to engage their time, as their descendants do today. This week's 'global thinkers' include anti-colonial, anti-racist, and anti-caste thinkers W.E.B. DuBois, B.R. Ambedkar and M.K. Gandhi, and, in further readings, documentary photographers who sought to represent urban poverty and inequality through the power of the photograph as a tool to shift public opinion.

KEY READINGS

Carl H. **Nightingale**. 2012. "Segregation Mania" in *Segregation. A Global History of Divided Cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 159-171 and 190-191.

Global thinkers:

W.E.B. **DuBois**. 2015 [1903]. excerpt from *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Penguin Books. pp.3-13 and bottom of 31-32.

Mohandas K. **Gandhi**. 1938. "Civilization" in *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. Ahmedabad: Navjivan Publishing House, pp. 31-34.

B.R. **Ambedkar**. 2006. excerpts from "Annihilation of Caste" and "Reply to the Mahatma" in Valerian Rodrigues ed. *The Essential Writings of B.R. Ambedkar*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 306-314.

Further looking at pictures in these works of Progressivist photography:

James Agee and Walker Evans. 2001 [1939]. Selections from *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Mariner Books, 1-19, 101-106.

Jacob Riis. 1971 [1890]. Selection from *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York*, Dover Publications, 1-25.

WEEK 6. FEB 20 & 22: PARIS COMMUNE, RISE AND FALL OF THE USSR

KEYWORDS: THE COMMUNE, SOVIET SOCIALISM, COLD WAR, POST-SOCIALISM

This week we turn to the idea of communism, from the short-lived experiment in working-class control of a city, the 'Paris Commune' (Mar 18 – May 28, 1871), to the Bolshevik Revolution and the rise and fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Both the Paris Commune and the USSR have left us with several contradictory legacies, but they have fed ideas of 'self-determination,' worker democracy, and women's equality that were adapted in struggles against colonialism, in the US Black freedom movement, and in popular movements within state socialist societies. Mary and Bryan Talbot's woman-centered graphic novel about the Paris Commune captures the events as well as their imaginative power. Resnick and Wolff ask what exactly was socialist about the USSR. In further reading, SF writer China Miéville writes evocatively about the last days of Czar Nikolai II, with no grasp of reality. Global thinkers this week bookend the rise and fall of the USSR – Alexandra Kollontai tried to push her Bolshevik comrades to think about gender, women and sexuality as part a post-revolutionary society, and, in further reading, Nobel Prize winning Belarusian Svetlana Alexievich chronicles the horror of living through the Chernobyl disaster.

KEY READINGS

Mary **Talbot** and Bryan **Talbot**. 2016. *The Red Virgin and the Vision of Utopia*. Milwaukie, OR: DarkHorse Books. [Read in advance!]

Stephen **Resnick** and Richard **Wolff**. 1994. "Between State and Private Capitalism: What was Soviet 'Socialism'?" in *Rethinking Marxism*, 7, 1, pp. 9-15, 25-28.

Global thinkers:

Alexandra **Kollontai**. 1971 [1926] "Make way for Winged Eros: A letter to working youth" in *Alexandra Kollontai: Selected Writings*. New York: Norton, pp. 276-279, and 285-292.

Further reading:

Svetlana Alexievich. 2005 [1997] Excerpts from *Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster*. Dalkey Archive Press: London, pp. 25-7, 36-53.

China Miéville. 2017. *October: The Story of the Russian Revolution*. Verso: London.

WEEK 7. Feb 27 & 29: ANTICOLONIALISM AND DECOLONIZATION / QUIZ 3 FRI 3/1

KEYWORDS: ANTICOLONIALISM, DECOLONIZATION, THIRD WORLD

Struggles against colonialism in Africa and Asia reached a high point in the twentieth century, which was in many ways 'the anticolonial century.' Linked movements across the world imagined taking political power back from European empires, and we think about the idea of anticolonialism. This week, we begin with one turning point: the 1955 Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, which brought people from various places together. Importantly, these people included not just subjects of Europe's colonies but also subject people from former settler colonies like the United States. Of global thinkers, we will read Frantz Fanon, one of the most powerful voices of the possibility of a new world and a new kind of human emerging from decolonization. We will also 'read' Bob Marley as the music from his Jamaican Trenchtown reached out and resonated with the lives of people across a world that was decolonizing too slowly.

KEY READINGS

Gyan Prakash and Jeremy Adelman. 2023. "Introduction: Imagining the Third World." In Prakash and Adelman eds. *Inventing the Third World*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 7-24

Global thinkers:

Frantz **Fanon**. 1963. "Conclusion" in *Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 311-316.

Bob **Marley**. 1979. *Survival*. [here](#), or wherever you listen to music.

Further reading:

Vijay Prashad. 2007 "Bandung: The Afro-Asian Conference" and "Cairo: the 1961 Afro-Asian Women's Conference" in *A People's History of the Third World*. New York: New Press, 31-61.

WEEK 8. MAR 5 & 7: THE DEVELOPMENT CENTURY

KEYWORDS: SELF-DETERMINATION, DEVELOPMENT, 'THE ECONOMY'

Frantz Fanon saw some of the challenges in separating political from economic decolonization, a theme we return to this week. During World War II and after, people in various places sought what they called 'self-determination' through ideas of 'development' that would try to harness the resources of social change (capitalist or socialist), with financial and ideological aid from First and Second worlds. Timothy Mitchell shows how this was also the period of the invention of the 'national economy' that could be measured and regulated; but he shows through a village in Egypt how the idea of 'fixing the economy' remained at odds with ground realities. As we think about 'development' and 'the economy' we engage a global thinker, Walter Rodney on the 'underdevelopment' that he saw African colonialism producing. We also spend some time with Third World cinema that tried to deepen a visual critique of colonialism and its aftermath in the 'development century.'

KEY READINGS

Timothy **Mitchell**. 1998 "Fixing the Economy." In *Cultural Studies* 12, 1, pp. 82-101.

Global thinkers:

Walter **Rodney**. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Extract from Chapter 6: "Colonialism as a System for Underdeveloping Africa." pp. 205-238 (focus on pp.205-228)

Further watching:

Films on anticolonialism and development, on Berkeley Kanopy:

Gillo Pontecorvo dir. 1966 *The Battle of Algiers*. [here](#).

Ousmane Sembene dir. 1966. *Black Girl* [here](#) [and Sembene's 1975 *Xala* [here](#)]

Satyajit Ray's dir. 1955. *Pathere Panchali*. [here](#)

WEEK 9. MAR 12 & 14: MID-CENTURY DIVERGENCE: CHINA, EAST ASIA, SOUTH AFRICA / QUIZ 4 FRI 3/15

KEYWORDS: POSTCOLONIALITY, LAND REFORM, SOCIAL WAGE, APARTHEID

This week we look at divergent paths of social change during the 'Golden Age' of welfare capitalism and development. We will cut through the Cold War view that capitalism and socialism were opposites. As we saw in the case of the USSR, we can think about accumulation and exploitation across countries that are not so totally different. This is what Ka and Selden do in their article on 'socialist' China and 'capitalist' Taiwan, which shared many characteristics, but were also different in important ways. We will think about China's dramatic shift from Maoism to capitalism under one-party rule that has made it a global superpower. We will think about the 'East Asian miracles' of Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong in the shadows of late 20th century China. In these cases, the state subsidized the 'social wage' or the means of survival beyond wages, through land reform or social housing. In sharp contrast, South Africa in this period took a dramatically different path by taking away these means and creating a radical form of segregation called 'apartheid.' Steve Biko was a global thinker from South Africa who refused the foundations of apartheid, and called for 'Black Consciousness' as a way of reclaiming humanity for all.

KEY READINGS

Chih-Ming **Ka** and Mark **Selden**. 1993 [1986]. "Original Accumulation, Equity and Late Industrialization: The Cases of Socialist China and Capitalist Taiwan" in *The Political Economy of Chinese Development*. London: M.E. Sharpe, pp. 109-136.

Global thinkers:

Steve **Biko** 1971 'Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity' in Biko ed. 1987. *I Write What I Like*. Oxford: Heinemann, pp. 87-99.

PART III: THE GLOBAL PRESENT

WEEK 10. MAR 19 & 21: AFTER THE 'GOLDEN AGE': OIL, INFLATION, DEBT CRISIS, STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT.

KEYWORDS: FINANCE CAPITAL, FINANCIALIZATION, DEBT, STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

We return to our time, with the political emergence of Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Reagan in the US, their promotion of monetarist economic policy, disavowal of 'the social,' turn to 'the market' (as opposed to state or society) as the only real agent of change. This time saw the attack on the welfare state and organized labor, and the end of the 'golden age' of North Atlantic welfare capitalism. We trace a complex journey from the 'petrodollar' crisis of 1973 to the Third World 'debt crisis,' to waves of global financial crisis since. The early 1970s begins a new era of prolonged volatility in the fundamental prices in global capitalism – the price of energy (oil), the price of currencies (the exchange rate), the price of goods and services (inflation), and the price of money (interest rate). This is the moment at which the World Bank and International Monetary Fund were empowered to intervene in the development policies of sovereign nation states recently emerging from colonialism, imagining 'self-determination,' but finding these hopes cut short. Peter Gowan explains the key role of the US government's 'bid for world dominance' through what he calls the 'Dollar-Wall Street Regime.' Michael Watts explores the devastating consequences of Structural Adjustment Programs across Africa (and Latin America), where the 1980s were pronounced a 'lost decade' of deepening poverty. Another filmmaker as global thinker, Stephanie Black explores the debt crisis in Jamaica in her now classic film *Life and Debt*

KEY READINGS

Peter **Gowan** 1999. *The Global Gamble: Washington's Faustian Bid for World Dominance*. London: Verso, pp. 8-37

Michael **Watts**. 1991. "Visions of Excess: African Development in an Age of Market Idolatry." In *Transition* 51, pp. 124-141. (focus on pp. 129-136 and 139-141)

Global thinkers:

Stephanie Black dir. *Life and Debt* [excerpts here](#) and [here](#)

SPRING BREAK – MAR 25-31

WEEK 11. APR 2 & 4: THE FINANCIALIZATION OF EVERYTHING / QUIZ 5 FRI 4/4

KEYWORDS: CREDIT APARTHEID, CREDIT REFORM, DELINKING

Finance capital takes on a new ascendance in the global economy as everything is subject to its power in new ways, with new concentrations of power and inequality in global financial centers, as well as black holes and tax havens that keep vast amounts of global wealth from taxation. We continue to look at the financialization of everything, and we look at its critics among Southern political economists, as well as evidence from South Africa's transition from Apartheid in the era of financialization, in which the unmaking of 'credit apartheid' has also brought deepening consumer debt and dependence. Erin Torkelson helps us understand what she calls 'racial finance capitalism.' Of global thinkers, Indian political economist Prabhat Patnaik sees the age of financialization as a continuing form of imperial power; and African political economist Samir Amin argues for 'delinking' from global capitalism.

KEY READINGS

Erin **Torkelson** 2020 "Sophia's choice: Debt, social welfare, and racial finance capitalism" in *EPD Society and Space*, 1-18

Global thinkers:

Prabhat **Patnaik** 2018. "The imperialism of finance capital and trade wars." Interview in *Tricontinental* Dossier 7 (August).

Samir **Amin** 2018. "Globalisation and its Alternative: An interview with Samir Amin." *Tricontinental* Political Notebook 1.

WEEK 12. APR 9 & 11: GLOBAL PRODUCTION, GENDER, LAND

KEYWORDS: GLOBAL PRODUCTION, GENDER, SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE (SEZs), LAND GRABS, CARE.

Keeping in mind that land, labor and capital take very different configurations in different parts of the world, we turn this week to the remaking of global production in the late 20th century, with the emergence of global networks linking production, circulation and consumption of commodities. Think of all the commodities around you, and the many bundles of land-labor-capital implicated, linking people and places who are never likely to encounter each other, even virtually. We explore the interrelations between global labor, land and capital in varied ways, from global production in South India to Chinese capital in African countries. We also engage the debate on 'land grabs' through Michael Levien's research on 'special economic zones' and the politics of land. Drawing on insights from across the world, we will see global capitalist integration as extremely uneven: geography matters more than ever. Global thinkers this week are a collective of activist thinkers from the Karakola social center in Madrid who begin with the new realities of dispossession and precarious work; they call themselves *Precarias a la Deriva*, roughly translated as 'precarious women adrift,' and key to their imagination is a rethinking of the idea of 'care.' A different engagement with gender and work comes from Vicky Funari and Sergio de la Torre's film *Maquilapolis*.

KEY READINGS

Ching Kwan **Lee** 2014. "The Spectre of Global China." In *New Left Review* 89, pp. 29-65.

Michael **Levien**. 2017. "Gender and Land Dispossession" United Nations. pp. 1-3 and 17-20.

Global thinkers:

Precaries a la deriva. 2004 "Adrift through the circuits of feminized precarious work." pp.1-3

Vicky Funari and Sergio de la Torre dirs. 2006. *Maquilapolis: City of Factories* [here](#) (kanopy)

WEEK 13. APR 16 & 18: THE BOX, LOGISTICS AND THE INDUSTRIAL OCEAN

QUIZ 6 FRI 4/19

KEYWORDS: CONTAINERIZATION, LOGISTICS, LABOR

This week we return to global labor through the oceans and through the global means of communication and transportation enabled by 'the box.' The shipping container is the fundamental 'abstract commodity' – each identical to the other, containing anything, and seemingly controllable through information technology, logistics and global production. Containerization is part of the emergence of logistics and of intermodalism, the movement of goods across modes of transport, principally through the oceans. The ports of California have been crucial in these transformations, linking the booming capitalisms of East Asia through transformations in ports, shipping, finance and work. We are introduced to containerization through Marc Levinson, and we will think through it about globalization in our own backyard, as containerization has also been about breaking the power of workers – longshoremen and transport workers, as well as the low-wage labor in the Walmart model of work exported across the world. The transformation of the world ocean into an industrial ocean brings a series of costs and challenges. Global thinker Laleh Khalili shows how it builds on earlier processes. We think about this in relation to the method of this course, which argues that older forms and processes continue to shape the present.

KEY READINGS

Marc **Levinson**. 2006. Chapters 1, 9, 10 and 14 in *The Box: How the Shipping Container Made the World Smaller and the World Economy Bigger*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-15 and 171-211 and 264-278. [Focus on the arguments]

Global thinkers:

Laleh **Khalili** 2022 "Oceans of Finance and Commodification" in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*. 42, 1: pp. 135-8.

WEEK 14. APR 23 & 25: CONCLUDING IN FRAGILE TIMES: CLIMATE, DISPLACEMENT, FEMINIST STRIKE

KEYWORD GLOSSARIES DUE APR 26, 5pm

KEYWORDS: FUTURES, DISPLACEMENT, FRAGILITY, JUSTICE

In this final week of the course, we turn to global turbulence in our time of climate change and of inhumanity in the face of mass human movement. Ashley Dawson and others write about how the politics of climate change is configured differently in different places, requiring urgent action, echoing a pioneering figure in the environmental movement, Rachel Carson. The final 'global thinkers' are Rachel Carson, Margaret Atwood and Toni Morrison. Morrison reminds us that our time is also characterized by massive human migration comparable in its scale and misery to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade; the question of the displaced, de-housed, forcibly moved are also still key to the possibility of global integration that values social justice. Drawing to a close the global journeys we have taken, we look back at the history of globalization and its effects in the present. As the processes of globalization have deepened, we can learn several things by thinking about the present from the oceans, in a time of uncertain geopolitics, mass migration and rising seas. Human interaction across the oceans is still about power, fragility and struggle rather than a smooth world of logistical, informational or resource flows. Forced movement across oceans has produced places of irrepressible entanglement, and creativity, also in our own island of California. In the background, we end with the echoes of the Haitian Revolution that we began with, and its demand for a different planetary future.

KEY READINGS

Ashley **Dawson** 2017. "Conclusion: Urban Futures." In *Extreme Cities: The Peril and Promise of Urban Life in the Age of Climate Change*. London: Verso Books, pp. 275-306. (focus on pp. 284-306)

Global Thinkers:

Jill Lepore 2018 "The Shorebird: Rachel **Carson** and the rising of the seas." In *The New Yorker*, March 26, pp. 64-72.

Margaret **Atwood** 2017 [2015] "It's not Climate Change – It's Everything Change." In Imre Szeman and Dominic Boyer eds. *Energy Humanities: An Anthology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 139-150.

Toni **Morrison**. 2017. "The Foreigner's Home" in *The Origin of Others*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 93-111.

TAKE HOME FINAL DUE MAY 6, 10am