

## C20: GLOBALIZATION

MWF 1:00-2:00pm, 100 Lewis.



*"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?"*

### INSTRUCTOR:

Prof. Sharad Chari, Department of Geography.

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### GRADUATE STUDENT INSTRUCTORS:

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## COURSE DESCRIPTION

The idea of 'globalization' has taken a sharp U-turn in the last few years. Scarcely a decade 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 today.

**Part I – 21<sup>st</sup> 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 of Part II: (1) a global process that links places across the planet, (2) key concepts that explain how this global process works (or does 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century media such as the print book, the article, the library, the painting, the photograph, the film, the graphic novel, and the lecture. These media forms help us slow down to cultivate **a critical point of view** – by which I do 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, unjust and imperiled world. That is why this classroom is robot-free: no laptops, phones, tablets, internet devices; nothing except an open mind... and a notebook.

## LECTURE OUTLINE

### PART I: 21<sup>st</sup> Century Globalization

Week 1 – Introduction to Globalization

Week 2 – Global Inequality, Global Contradictions

Week 3 – The Importance of Historical Perspective / Quiz 1

### PART II: Global Journeys

Week 4 – Making Atlantic Capitalism

Week 5 – Industrial Capital and the Colonial World

Week 6 – Imperialism, Liberalism, Progressivism, Segregation

Week 7 – Paris Commune, Rise and fall of the USSR

Week 8 – Midterm / Decolonization and Development

Week 9 – Mid-Century Divergence: China, East Asia, South Africa

*Spring Break*

### PART III: The Global Present

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

Week 11 – The Financialization of Everything, Futures Foreclosed

Week 12 – Global Production, Labor and Land / Quiz 2

Week 13 – The Box, Logistics and the Industrial Ocean

Week 14 – Conclusion: Global Futures on a Fragile Planet

**In-Class Final during Finals Week: Preliminary Date May 14, 8-11AM**

## SECTIONS

**Enrollment in a Section is mandatory.** All sections in **135 McCone Hall**.

101	M	10AM – 11AM	Anderman	107	W	9AM - 10AM	Anderman
102	M	3PM - 4PM	Anderman	108	TU	11AM - 12PM	Wilson
103	W	4PM - 5PM	Wilson	109	M	4PM - 5PM	Mackey
104	TH	2PM - 3PM	Birberick	110	TH	9AM - 10AM	Birberick
105	F	11AM - 12 PM	Mackey	111	TH	4PM - 5PM	Birberick
106	TH	12PM - 1PM	Mackey	112	TU	3PM - 4PM	Wilson

**THERE IS NO SECTION IN WEEK 1, JAN 22-25.**

## GRADES AND REQUIREMENTS

There are **five** requirements for this course; four of them constitute your grade:

**SECTION PARTICIPATION** (30% of final grade) – Includes attendance, engagement in section discussion, and any assignments from your GSI. Students are expected to come to class having done the readings, prepared to discuss them. **You are permitted two unexcused absences after which participation grades fall by 10% per absence.**

**QUIZZES** (10% x 2 of final grade) – Scheduled in weeks 3 and 12.

**MIDTERM EXAM** (20% of final grade) – In-class in Week 8, on Weeks 1-7. **Bring a Blue Book**

**FINAL EXAM** (30% of final grade) – In-class, will test cumulative knowledge from the course.

## 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

The fifth requirement is to read the news from multiple sources and geographical locations. Try to get a sense of how topics from this course are reflected in contemporary events, and represented differently across media from different parts of the world.

The Berkeley Library (see below) subscribes to an incredible range of newspapers.

The Guardian is an excellent, free international newspaper: [guardian.co.uk](http://guardian.co.uk)

The Washington Post: [www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com)

The New York Times: [nytimes.com](http://nytimes.com)

Le monde diplomatique: [mondediplo.com](http://mondediplo.com)

The Economist: [www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com)

Counterpunch: [www.counterpunch.org](http://www.counterpunch.org)

Al Jazeera: [www.aljazeera.com](http://www.aljazeera.com)

Perhaps South Asia's best newspaper: [www.dawn.com](http://www.dawn.com)

India's 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](http://dailymaverick.co.za)

Truth Out: [www.truth-out.org](http://www.truth-out.org)

Democracy Now: [www.democracynow.org](http://www.democracynow.org)

The Funambulist: [thefunambulist.net](http://thefunambulist.net)

Websites that aggregate long-form journalism: [longform.org](http://longform.org) and [longreads.com](http://longreads.com)

Blogs and forms of citizen media have been increasingly important, for instance:

Africa is a Country: [africasacountry.com](http://africasacountry.com)

Global voices and its founder: [globalvoices.org](http://globalvoices.org) and [ethanzuckerman.com](http://ethanzuckerman.com)

Dani Rodrik: [rodrik.typepad.com](http://rodrik.typepad.com)

John Pilger: [johnpilger.com](http://johnpilger.com)

Naomi Klein: [naomiklein.org](http://naomiklein.org)

Ram Guha: [ramachandraguha.in](http://ramachandraguha.in)

Derek Gregory: [geographicaliminations.com](http://geographicaliminations.com)

George Monbiot: [www.monbiot.com](http://www.monbiot.com)

Laleh Khalili: [thegamming.org](http://thegamming.org)

Social Media for good: [sm4good.com](http://sm4good.com)

Media Lens: [medialens.org](http://medialens.org)

## ABSENCES

Please provide medical justification for any absences. The same goes for absence from the in-class Midterm. Two unjustified absences will be excused in section, **after which participation grades fall by 10% per absence**. You will not be able to make-up quizzes or the midterm without documented medical or family emergency.

- In extraordinary circumstances, extensions may be arranged ahead of time. With the exception of a documented medical or family emergency, no extensions will be granted within 24 hours of the due date or exam date.
- In the absence of documented emergency, late work will incur **5 points deducted for every 24 hours overdue**.

## 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](#).

## CITATION FORMAT

All written work should use the Chicago Manual of Style author-date format with a complete bibliography at the end. 5 points will be deducted from any submission that lacks proper citation and a bibliography. A complete guide is available [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, support for the differently-abled, or services to help deal with pressures, stresses and (we hope this does not happen) tragedies and personal difficulties that interrupt academic life. If you need help determining what kind of support you might need, email your professor or GSI, or come to office hours or speak to them after class. We are here to help you learn and flourish in this environment, 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: [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](#)

**Tang Center Services** offers short and long-term counseling services to assist students with concerns including academic success, life management, career and life planning, and personal development: [Link](#)

**The PATH to Care Center** provides affirming, empowering, and confidential support for survivors and 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](#)

## TECHNOLOGY: NO ROBOTS

No cell phone use at all – not for texting, taking notes, photographing slides: nothing. If you need to use your phone, please take it outside; otherwise let it be silent. No laptops, except with documented need. Research shows that notetaking by hand is more effective. No internet on any device during the class, to avoid distracting yourself and others. Think of this classroom as a short break from relentless connectivity.

## COURSE READINGS

Required readings are on the course website on **bCourses** and as a **reader** from **Krishna Copy** at **2001 University Ave**. The **two required books** are at the university bookshop:

Jason Hickel. 2018. *The Divide: Global Inequality from Conquest to Free Markets*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton and Co.

Mary Talbot and Bryan Talbot. 2016. *The Red Virgin and the Vision of Utopia*. Milwaukie, OR: DarkHorse Books. (a graphic novel)

## THE BERKELEY LIBRARIES

The UC Berkeley Library is an extremely important resource, but it can be daunting and you should learn how to navigate it quickly in your academic career at Berkeley.

**Sign up for a [tour](#) or use these [guides](#) to library resources.**

## HOW TO READ FOR THIS COURSE

Readings are required, and will often be explained and referred to in lecture. You will benefit most by reading before the lectures of the week. The syllabus is your guide to the readings – use it as a starting point to think about what it is you are meant to read *for*.

Social science readings should be 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 says as you locate the argument. Then try to get a sense of the underlying theory. How does the author approach the topic? The lectures should help you with this. Can you find the week’s key concepts in the reading? If not, they might be implicit – what is the author saying that connects to the week’s keywords? Then, look at the author’s **evidence**. How does the author show us proof of their argument through evidence of what happened in the world? 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, as 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 of the readings.
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 get to the ‘further readings.’

**Remember: all readings except two required books are accessible through bCourses and as a physical reader at Krishna Copy at University and Milvia.**

## COURSE OUTLINE

### PART I: TWENTY FIRST CENTURY GLOBALIZATION

#### WEEK 1. JAN 23 & 25. INTRODUCTION TO GLOBALIZATION

We begin with shifting values concerning what 'globalization' is, why it matters or does not, to whom and where. Underlying these values are a series of questions: 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 interdependencies? What seems clear is that global integration in the movements of things, money, resources, people and ideas is an established fact. Avoiding our global interconnection in a time of accelerating climate-change is a bit like turning back the clock in a house on fire. Shifting views about the idea of 'globalization' in the past few years take us to a key argument running through this course: debates about globalization mirror deeper processes of capitalism, empire, energy and inhumanity that continue to shape our world.

#### **Key Reading:**

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

#### Global thinker:

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

#### Further reading:

Rory Horner, Daniel Haberly, Seth Schindler, 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](#)

Matthew Sparke. 2013. "Discourse" in *Introducing Globalization. Ties, Tensions, and Uneven Integration*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 27-56.

2013 "The gated globe" *The Economist*. (October 12) online [here](#).

#### WEEK 2. JAN 28 & 30, FEB 1. GLOBAL INEQUALITY, GLOBAL CONTRADICTIONS

This week we think more about the fact that a staggering number of people, greater than four billion or 60% of the planet's humans, live in inhumane conditions of poverty. We have to begin to understand how this is related to the rise of a global plutocracy connected to the workings of government and politics, media and communications. We also have to understand aspirations for upward mobility, whether as individuals, families, communities or countries. What exactly does research tell us about the state of global inequality at

multiple spatial scales? How might we think of global wealth and poverty as interconnected through the working (rather than failure) of capitalism? And what does this prompt us to ask about global capitalist integration in a contradictory world? This week we begin reading Hicckel's *The Divide* and consider different aspects and explanations of global inequality.

***Key Readings:***

Jason Hicckel. 2017. Chapters 1 and 2 in *The Divide: Global Inequality from Conquest to Free Markets*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., pp. 1-60. [REQUIRED BOOK]

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.

*Global thinkers:*

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 executive summary and browse the rest.*)

*Further reading:*

Branko Milanovic. 2012. "Global Inequality: From Class to Location, from Proletarians to Migrants." In *Global Policy*, Vol 3, No 2. (May), pp. 124-133.

**WEEK 3. FEB 4, 6 & 8. THE IMPORTANCE OF HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

**[FEB 8: QUIZ 1]**

We have now a sense of globalization as a contradictory event that explains why we have such different understandings of the concept 'globalization' – some desirable, some not. We do not yet know how places around the world have been integrated into something we call 'the global economy' in such drastically different ways. We also do not yet know how so many people around the planet have been inserted into these processes so differently that a mass of the planet is treated as less-than-human. For this, we turn from a one-size-fits-all idea of globalization to a historical-geographic method attentive to variation and difference in both space and time. Historian Cooper and economists Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson differ on the lessons of history, but they agree that we can only understand the present in relation to the past; we will engage their arguments. And we turn to the method of Part II of the course, which takes a set of 'global journeys' connecting specific places or regions across the planet – in other words, not all of planet Earth, just specific spaces and networks. We will also be looking at how people at different moments, in their networks, sought to understand the reality around them through specific concepts or keywords. 'Global thinkers' help us understand these keywords in context, as long as they continue to explain reality. The power of their thought lies in its ability to explain their times/places, and perhaps ours as well. Finally, we will need a timeline for the journeys that follow.

***Key Readings:***

Jason Hicckel. 2017. Chapter 3 in *The Divide: Global Inequality from Conquest to Free Markets*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., pp. 63-98.



Frederick Cooper 2001. "What is the Concept of Globalization Good For? An African Historian's Perspective" in *African Affairs*. 100, 189-213.

Further reading:

Daron Acemoglu, James Robinson and Simon Johnson, 2002. "Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution." In *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 117, No. 4 (Nov., 2002), pp. 1231-1294

**FEB 8: QUIZ 1**

**PART II: GLOBAL JOURNEYS**

**WEEK 4. FEB 11, 13 & 15: MAKING ATLANTIC CAPITALISM**

KEYWORDS: COMMONS, DISPOSSESSION, COMMODIFICATION, LABOR, RACE, NATION, CAPITALISM, ABOLITION.

Our first 'global journey' cuts across the many coasts of the Atlantic. The making of a trans-Atlantic maritime capitalist space forced people out of settled forms of life and livelihood across Europe, Africa and the Americas. The process of making what we now know as a 'global economy' was violent and disruptive of older forms of life. We look at this process from the Atlantic, through the perspectives of journeymen, prostitutes, sailors, slaves, vagabonds, brigands, pickpockets, bandits, witches and pirates – all of them 'dispossessed' from settled relationships to land and nature, from 'commons'. Linebaugh and Rediker explore how people at the time understood a world turned upside down. Many English thinkers turned to Greco-Roman antiquity for concepts, and in particular to the myth of Hercules and the many-headed hydra as a metaphor for a world being torn apart by monstrous forces. Federici's article turns to European witch hunts as part of this period in which people were being dispossessed from 'commons' in the making of capitalism. Some people also imagined abolition of this systematic process of dispossession and profiteering. This week's 'global thinkers' include a self-educated former slave who became a statesman, Frederick Douglass; Douglass escaped slavery to help enable abolition for others. And the great Caribbean thinker Édouard Glissant writes poetically about Atlantic slavery as our shared historical legacy, after which we might all imagine a world in common.

**Key Readings:**

Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker 2000. "Chapter 2: Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water" in *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press, pp. 36-70.

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

Global thinkers:

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:

Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker 2000. "Chapter 5: Hydrarchy: Sailors, Pirates and the Maritime State" in *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press, pp. 143-173.

**WEEK 5. FEB 20 & 22: INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL AND THE COLONIAL WORLD  
[FEB 18 – PUBLIC HOLIDAY]**

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

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels announced in their important *Manifesto* that industrial capital was transforming the entire world, levelling all forms of human and geographical difference and bringing the world into a new kind of equivalence through the commodity. What did they mean? Who was this German émigré to London, bankrolled by his friend? How did these 'global thinkers' come up with a compelling view of the world from Victorian London? How did their vision fit with or divert from the experiences of workers making commodities across the colonial world, as we read in Henry Bernstein's account of the making of capitalism and of various forms of colonial capitalism? We 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 through a combination of resources, technology and human labor in the production of commodities) and finance capital (banking and instruments of credit used to mobilize resources, technology and labor without paying for it in the present: i.e. making future generations pay.) And we think about labor regimes across the world – or ways in which people 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 in the modern world, but they thought that 'workers of the world' should unite to create a different kind of industrial society that harnessed these industrial forces in a more rational and humane manner. Plaatje documents the conditions of Africans dispossessed in early twentieth century South African capitalism.

**Key Readings:**

Henry Bernstein. 2010. "Chapter 2: Origins and Early Development of Capitalism" and "Chapter 3: Colonialism and Capitalism." In *Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change*. Sterling, VA: Fernwood Publishing, pp. 25-60

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.

Further reading:

Eric Wolf. 1982. "Chapter 11: The Movement of Commodities." In *Europe and the People without a History*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp.310-353.

**WEEK 6. FEB 25 & 27, MAR 1: IMPERIALISM, LIBERALISM, PROGRESSIVISM, SEGREGATION**

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

The period from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was shaped by capitalism and imperialism, but it was also shaped 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 ideas of political and economic 'liberalism' within the space of British and French empires, where liberal ideas were often used as rationale for colonialism, but could also provide resources for its critics. Bayly shows us that these ideas about imperialism and liberalism were debated across metropolises and colonies. Another network of thinkers associated with Progressivism across the North Atlantic, particularly the great cities of Berlin, London, Chicago, New York, tried to respond to rising inequality in a time of social crisis similar to ours. We will look closely at these self-proclaimed Progressives who brought us some of our fundamental institutions – the welfare state, public health, public libraries, public education, and the idea of the 'social.' We live in a time of global dismantling of these legacies of Progressivism, so we look closely at this strand. Progressives were often not particularly sensitive to race, and some were active proponents of segregation. This week's journey takes us across an imperial space to the different ways in which liberal and Progressive thinkers sought to engage their time, as their intellectual heirs do today. This week's 'global thinkers' include anti-colonial and anti-racist (or anti-caste) thinkers W.E.B. DuBois, B.R. Ambedkar and M.K. Gandhi, and documentary photographers who sought to represent urban poverty and inequality through the power of the photograph as a tool to turn public opinion.

**Key Readings:**

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

Christopher A. Bayly. 2004. excerpts from *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914. Global Connections and Comparisons*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 228-233, 284-306.

Global thinkers:

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

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. 306-319.

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.

Further reading:

Daniel T. Rodgers 1998. excerpt from *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard/ Belknap, pp. 52-75.

## **WEEK 7. MAR 4 & 6 & 8: 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, beginning with the experiment in worker self-determination in Paris, the great and short-lived ‘Paris Commune’ (Mar 18 – May 28, 1871) that reshaped Paris and gave the world a set of ideas about popular internationalism. We then turn to the Bolshevik Revolution, the rise and fall of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the many legacies it has left us with: Cold War ideas of First, Second and Third Worlds and of academic disciplines organized through them, for instance. The Bolshevik Revolution and the USSR, for all their contradictions, also fed ideas of national ‘self-determination,’ worker democracy, and women’s equality that were adapted in struggles against colonialism in the ‘Third World,’ the Black freedom movement in the US, and in popular and environmental movements in state-socialist countries as well. We read a multi-generational, woman-centered graphic novel about the Paris Commune that tries to capture the events as well as their imaginative power, and we read Resnick and Wolff on what exactly was socialist about the USSR. In further reading, SF writer China Miéville writes evocatively about the last days of the czar. And two Russian ‘global thinkers’ this week bookend the rise and fall of the USSR – Alexandra Kollontai, tried to push her Bolshevik comrades to think more creatively about gender, women and sexuality as part of the making of a post-revolutionary society, and Nobel Prize winner Svetlana Alexievich chronicles the experience of living through the end of the Soviet Union. We read from her oral histories of survivors of the Chernobyl disaster which showed that rather than a regime that protected the commons for the common person, the USSR was by then in a state of advanced decay.

**Key Readings:**

Mary Talbot and Bryan Talbot. 2016. *The Red Virgin and the Vision of Utopia*. Milwaukie, OR: DarkHorse Books. [REQUIRED GRAPHIC NOVEL]

Stephen Resnick and Richard Wolff. 1994. “Between State and Private Capitalism: What was Soviet ‘Socialism’?” in *Rethinking Marxism*, 7, 1, pp. 9-30.

Global thinkers:

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

Svetlana Alexievich. 2005 [1997] "On Why We Remember," "Monologues by those who Returned" and "About What Radiation Looks Like" from *Chernobyl: The Oral History of a Nuclear Disaster*. Dalkey Archive Press: London, 25-7, 36-53.

Further reading:

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

**WEEK 8. MAR 13 & 15: DECOLONIZATION & DEVELOPMENT**

**MAR 11 MIDTERM**

KEYWORDS: DECOLONIZATION, THE THIRD WORLD, SELF-DETERMINATION, DEVELOPMENT, 'THE ECONOMY'

Struggles against colonialism in Africa and Asia reach a high point in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was in many ways 'the anticolonial century'; as linked movements across the world imagined taking political power back from European empires. 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 in former settler colonies like the United States. During World War II and after, people in various places sought what they called 'self-determination' through ideas of 'development' and with political-economic and ideological aid from First and Second worlds. The idea of 'development' emerged from the political and economic process of decolonization, as we see in Fred Cooper's piece. Tim Mitchell shows how this was also the period of the invention of the idea 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. In further reading, see Vijay Prashad on Afro-Asian solidarity and Watts for deeper engagement with 'development' thought. Among 'global thinkers,' we read Frantz Fanon, one of the most powerful voices of a new world and a new kind of human emerging from decolonization. Fanon also saw some of the challenges with 'development' in conditions of incomplete *political and economic* decolonization. We will also 'read' Bob Marley as the music from his Jamaican 'Trenchtown' resonated with 'slums' of a slowly (too slowly) decolonizing world.

**Key Readings:**

Frederick Cooper. 1998. "Modernizing Bureaucrats, Backward Africans and the Development Concept." In F. Cooper and R. Packard eds. *International Development and the Social Sciences*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 64-92

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

Global thinkers:

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

Bob Marley. 1979. [\*Survival\*](#)

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.

Michael J. Watts. 1993. “Development I: power, knowledge, discursive practice” in *Progress in Human Geography* 17, 2, pp. 257-272.

**WEEK 9. MAR 18 & 20: MID-CENTURY DIVERGENCE IN PATHS OF DEVELOPMENT: CHINA, EAST ASIA, SOUTH AFRICA.**

KEYWORDS: POSTCOLONIALITY, LAND REFORM, SOCIAL WAGE, APARTHEID

This week we look at divergent paths of social change in a period that some posed as the ‘Golden Age’ of welfare capitalism and development. A geographical perspective helps us think beyond the Cold War view that capitalism and socialism were opposites; as we saw in the case of the USSR, we can compare forms of accumulation and labor regimes across countries deemed totally different. This is what Ka and Selden do in their article on ‘socialist’ China and ‘capitalist’ Taiwan. We will think about these countries, their similarities and differences. We will think about China’s dramatic shift from Maoism to a different kind of capitalism that has now made it a global superpower. Jiayang Fan’s articles show us some of the complexities in today’s China. We will think about the ‘East Asian miracles’ of Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong in the shadows of late 20<sup>th</sup> century China. In these cases, as Gillian Hart argues, the state subsidized the ‘social wage’ either through land reform or social housing. In sharp contrast, South Africa in the Cold War period took a dramatically different path, a radical form of segregation called ‘apartheid’ or ‘apart-ness.’ These comparisons will help us see the middle of the twentieth century as a set of very different possible futures. Kwon lets us think about the Cold War and its aftermath as shaped by what he calls two color lines. Several southern filmmakers have followed the different trajectories of anticolonialism and postcolonial development in the South - filmmakers whose work is available to stream through [kanopy](#), for Spring Break.

**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.

Gillian Hart 2006. “Denaturalizing Dispossession: Critical Ethnography in the Age of Resurgent Imperialism” in *Antipode*. 38, 5, pp. 977-1004.

Global thinkers

Jiayang Fan 2018 “The Spreading Vine: A Chinese region’s winery boom is about more than just wine” (March 12), pp. 42-47.

Jiayang Fan 2018 “Delivering Modernity: E-commerce comes to rural China” in *The New Yorker* (July 23), pp. 44-53.

Global film on anticolonialism and development, on [kanopy](#):

Gillo Pontecorvo dir. 1966 *The Battle of Algiers*.

Ousmane Sembene dir. 2001. *Faat Kiné* [or 1975 [Xala](#) on youtube]

Satyajit Ray's dir. 1959 *Apur Sansar* (trans. Apu Trilogy) on *kanopy*

**No class Mar 22**

**SPRING BREAK – MAR 23-31**

## **PART III: THE GLOBAL PRESENT**

**WEEK 10. APR 1 and 3: AFTER THE 'GOLDEN AGE': OIL, INFLATION, DEBT CRISIS, STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT. [NO CLASS APR 5]**

KEYWORDS: FINANCE CAPITAL, FINANCIALIZATION, DEBT,

Part III returns us to the age of 'globalization' following the political emergence of Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Reagan in the US, their promotion of monetarist economic policy and disavowal of 'the social'; the turn to 'the market' (as opposed to state or society) as the main agent of development; the attack on the welfare state and organized labor; and the end of what some considered 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' and the waves of global financial crisis that have ensued. 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 are empowered to intervene in the development policies of sovereign nation states recently emerging from colonialism, imagining 'self-determination,' and finding their hopes of substantive political and economic decolonization stymied. We read Watts and Ocampo on the devastating consequences of Structural Adjustment Programs across Africa and Latin America, where the 1980s were pronounced a 'lost decade' of deepening poverty. We return to Hickel; finish the book at your pace this month.

KEYWORDS: FINANCE CAPITAL, FINANCIALIZATION, DEBT CRISIS, STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

### ***Key Readings:***

Jason Hickel. 2017. Chapter 4 & 5 in *The Divide: Global Inequality from Conquest to Free Markets*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., pp. 99-172.

Michael Watts. 1991. "Visions of Excess: African Development in an Age of Market Idolatry." In *Transition* 51, pp. 124-141.

### **Global Thinkers:**

José Antonio Ocampo. "The Latin American Debt Crisis in Historical Perspective" in Joseph Stiglitz and Daniel Heymann eds. *Life After Debt: The Origins and Resolutions of Debt Crisis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 87-115.

Peter Gowan 2009. "The Ways of the World" Interview by Mike Newman and Marko Bojcun. *New Left Review*. 59, pp. 51-70.

Further reading:

Peter Gowan 1999. *The Global Gamble: Washington's Faustian Bid for World Dominance*. London: Verso, pp. 8-58.

Matthew Sparke. 2013. "Money" in *Introducing Globalization. Ties, Tensions, and Uneven Integration*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 139-177.

**WEEK 11. APR 8, 10 & 12: THE FINANCIALIZATION OF EVERYTHING, FUTURES FORECLOSED**

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. The first global thinkers this week Indian political economist Prabhat Patnaik sees the age of financialization as a continuing form of imperial power; the second, an African political economist, the late Samir Amin argues that decolonization can only be accomplished by what he calls 'delinking' from global capitalism. Further readings delve deeper into matters of privatization and financialization.

KEYWORDS: CREDIT APARTHEID, CREDIT REFORM, DELINKING

**Key Readings:**

Deborah James 2017 "Undoing Apartheid? From Land Reform to Credit Reform in South Africa" in *Money and Finance After the Crisis: Critical Thinking for Uncertain Times*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 145-168.

David McNally 2011. "Manic Depression: Capitalism and its Recurring Crises" in *Global Slump*. Oakland, CA: PM Press. 61-84.

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*.

Further reading:

Michael Watts 1994. "Development II: the privatization of everything?" in *Progress in Human Geography* 18, 3, pp. 371-384.



Brett Christophers, Andrew Leyshon and Geoff Mann 2017. "Money and Finance After the Crisis: Taking Critical Stock" in *Money and Finance After the Crisis: Critical Thinking for Uncertain Times*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1-28.

## **WEEK 12. APR 15 & 17: GLOBAL PRODUCTION, LABOR AND LAND**

### **APRIL 19: QUIZ 2**

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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 and Barbados to Chinese capital in African countries. We also look at the debate on 'land grabs,' and think about the way in which labor and finance are implicated in these debates in different ways in different places, from India to British Columbia, Canada. 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.'

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

#### ***Key Readings:***

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

Carla Freeman 2009 "Femininity and Flexible Labor: Fashioning Class Through Gender on the Global Assembly Line." In M. Mollona, G. De Neve and J. Parry eds. *Industrial Work and Life*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 257-269.

Michael Levien. 2013. "The Politics of Dispossession: Theorizing India's 'Land Wars'" in *Politics and Society*. 41, 3, pp. 351-394.

#### **Global Thinkers:**

Precarias a la deriva. 2006 "A Very Careful Strike: Four hypotheses" in *The Commoner* 11, 33-45.

#### **Further reading:**

Michael Ekers. 2018 "Financiers in the forests on Vancouver Island, British Columbia: On fixes and colonial enclosures." In *Journal of Agrarian Change*, pp. 1-25.

Jason Hickel. 2017. Chapter 7 in *The Divide: Global Inequality from Conquest to Free Markets*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., pp. 207-236.

Tania Murray Li. 2011. "Centering labor in the land grab debate." In *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 38, 2, pp. 281-298.

James Ferguson 2009 "Global Disconnect: Abjection and the Aftermath of Modernism." In M. Mollona, G. De Neve and J. Parry eds. *Industrial Work and Life*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 311-329.

## **APRIL 19: QUIZ 2**

### **WEEK 13. APR 22, 24 & 26: THE BOX, LOGISTICS AND THE INDUSTRIAL OCEAN**

KEYWORDS: CONTAINERIZATION, LOGISTICS, LABOR

This week we return to transformations of global labor, to supply chains and the connections between retailing in the North and low-wage labor in the South through the history of '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 'just-in-time' production. Containerization is part of a broader 'revolution' in logistics and intermodalism which has seemingly fundamentally transformed shipping, ports and commodity flows. The ports of California have been crucial in these transformations, linking the booming capitalisms of East Asia through the revolution in shipping. Technology has helped connect finance and information to the world the box made, as Marc Levinson puts it. But, as we think about globalization in our own backyard, containerization and logistics 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. We will think about our backyards, but also about the transformation of the world ocean into what is hoped to be an industrial ocean. How does the industrialization of the ocean build on earlier forms of oceanic imperialism? Laleh Khalili offers some clues. Alan Sekula's photographic exploration of the industrial ocean takes him to ask what it tells us about our present and future as this course comes to an end.

#### **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. [full eBook available through the Berkeley library]

#### Global thinkers:

Alan Sekula *Fish Story*. Düsseldorf: Richter Verlag. pp. 12, 32, 42-top of 46, 112-137. *Look at the photographs online*.

#### Further reading:

Laleh Khalili 2016. "Quartermasters of capital" online on Taqeed, December.  
<http://www.taqeed.org/2016/12/quartermasters-of-capital-professor-laleh-khalili-video/>

Edna Bonacich and Jake B. Wilson (2008) "Maritime Workers" in *Getting the Goods: Port, Labor, and the Logistics Revolution*/ Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 159-198.

#### **WEEK 14. APR 29, MAY 1 and 3: GLOBAL FUTURES ON A FRAGILE PLANET**

KEYWORDS: FUTURES, DISPLACEMENT, FRAGILITY, JUSTICE

In this final week of the course, we turn to global turbulence in our time of undeniable climate change and of inhumanity in the face of mass human movement. Ashley Dawson and Sunil Amrith write about how the politics of climate change is configured differently in different places, and yet they converge on a call to action. Indeed, they mirror the much older call to action by a pioneering figure in the environmental movement, Rachel Carson, the first in our last week of 'global thinkers,' along with writer Margaret Atwood and a group of artist/scholars Zurkow, Chaudhuri, Ertl and Kellhammer. Our turbulent present is also characterized by massive human migration – comparable in its scale, as Toni Morrison reminds us, to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Our compassion and engagement with the displaced, the migrant and the refugee, and the de-housed in our backyards remains key to our capacity to imagine an actual integration of our species on the only planet known to harbor life. 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 over the past centuries, 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, human or resource flows. Forced movement across oceans has produced places of irrepressible entanglement, and creativity, also in our own island of California. And in the background, we end with the echoes of the Haitian Revolution 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.

Sunil Amrith 2018. "Stormy Horizons." In *Unruly Waters: How Rains, Rivers, Coasts, and Seas Have Shaped Asia's History*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 269-323.

Viet Thanh Nguyen ed. 2018 "Introduction." In *The Displaced: Refugee Writers on Refugee Lives*. New York: Abrams Press, pp. 11-22.

Jason Hickel. 2017. Chapters 8 and 9 in *The Divide: Global Inequality from Conquest to Free Markets*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., pp. 239-285.

#### 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.

Marina Zurkow, Uma Chaudhuri, Fritz Ertl and Oliver Kellhammer 2017 "Dear Climate: Post-energy Previews." In Imre Szeman and Dominic Boyer eds. *Energy Humanities: An Anthology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 549-556.

Maaza Mengitse 2018 "This is what the journey does" in V.T. Nguyen ed. *The Displaced: Refugee Writers on Refugee Lives*. New York: Abrams Press, pp. 129-135.

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

Further reading:

Imre Szeman 2017. "System Failure: Oil, Futurity and the Anticipation of Disaster." In Imre Szeman and Dominic Boyer eds. *Energy Humanities: An Anthology*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 55-70.

**IN-CLASS FINAL – PRELIMINARY DATE MAY 14**