

POLITICS OF THE GLOBAL SOUTH: AN IR PERSPECTIVE

POLSCI 767

Term 1, Fall 2019

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Course Description

This course explores the politics of the Third World/Global South from an International Relations perspective. We will situate the various issues, events, and topics within a global political and economic context. Discussions will center on global political and economic processes that have shaped the current contours of the Global South, such as colonialism, the Cold War, development narratives, foreign aid and humanitarian intervention, neoliberal globalization, and the rise of BRICs as a global challenge to the North. The foregoing provides students with a critical lens to examine the ambiguities of the identity of the Global South. For whether referred to as the “Third World,” or other variants such as the “Developing World,” the “G-77,” the “Non-Aligned Movement,” or the “Post-colonial World,” a certain unity has long been assumed for the multitude of societies ranging from Central and South America, across Africa to much of Asia. Is it valid to speak of a Global South? The course begins with an investigation of the epistemological implications of studying the Global South/Third World. Therefore, an important part of the course will address the notion of an epistemology of the Global South: how do we know/study the Global South/Third World? What are the political implications of the knowledge production about the Global South? Next, the course investigates the impact of a number of global political and economic processes, briefly outlined above, such as colonialism and decolonization processes, the rise of Third World internationalism, modernization and development narratives, neoliberal globalization, security discourses (such as Cold War security politics, and the rise of humanitarian intervention and human security), the challenges posed by the changing current geopolitical framework with the emergence of BRICs.

Course Objectives

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Identify major historical landmarks associated with the Third World as a political project;
- Have a more nuanced and complex understanding of concepts such: development, modernization, G-77, Non-Alignment, postcolonialism and anticolonialism, violence/non-violence, Global South.
- Understand major contemporary trends and events, such as the rise of the BRICs, humanitarian interventions, major ongoing conflicts (such as Syria, Yemen, Venezuela), and situate them within a larger geopolitical and historical context.

Required Materials and Texts

Most required readings are available online (A2L) or accessible through the [Library](#).

Recommended Text:

- Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, New Press, 2008. (available as e-book via McMaster Library's website)

Class Format

The course will operate on a weekly seminar format based on regular and consistent participation by all students.

Course Evaluation – Overview

1. Weekly Seminar Statements - 10%
2. Leading Seminar Discussion – 20%
3. Participation in Seminar – 20%
4. Analytical Essay Paper - 50%, due December 16, 2019

Course Evaluation – Details

Participation and Attendance (50%), ongoing, 3 parts (A, B, C)

Due to the nature of the readings, we will have to make certain that our discussions are organized and focused well so that we understand the readings. For these reasons, I am proposing a particular approach to the discussions that put a special emphasis on student leadership of the seminar and on participation.

A. Preparing weekly summary statements for each reading (10%)

Normally the discussion of readings will be divided into two or three parts each week.

All students will be expected to prepare a summary statement for each reading. Each statement will have the following components:

1. List of key concepts and terms
2. Summary statement (four sentences) of the author's main argument. This statement should be written in your own words as far as possible. It should not be borrowed directly from the text of the reading.
3. 1 or 2 issues or questions in the reading that are important and merit some discussion and that you would like to be addressed by class time permitting. Formulate these in the form of a question.

Note that all three of these components should be focused on understanding the readings well, and not on criticizing them. Criticism should only follow in class when we have a good understanding of what the author is arguing.

Handing in of summary statements. These will be prepared for each of the substantive discussions of the readings, hence 10 in total. To receive credit, these summaries must

be submitted electronically *prior to the class (by Tuesday midnight)*. Members of the class are permitted one 'heavy burden' week without losing points here. In taking a "heavy burden" week, students are not expected to hand in summaries. They should try, however, as best as possible, to do the readings and participate in the discussions. Students taking a 'heavy burden' week must inform me by the Friday preceding the class when they are taking the option. **Submission of summary statements will start on Week 3 (September 18).**

B. Leading seminar discussion during one session (20%)

The *leader of the discussion* should use this principle in calling upon class members to speak:

For some thoughts on leading the discussions, see Appendix B below.

General Note: given the relatively large size of the seminar and the short times available for discussing a reading, facilitators should ensure that every member of class wishing to make a statement is heard before a member who has already made a statement on the given topic is asked to speak again. Use this rule in each of the discussions of concepts, main argument, other questions, and strengths and weaknesses of the reading.

The leader of the discussion should begin with the following questions:

1. *These are the several key concepts and terms that I noticed in the reading such as . . . Are any of these unclear to any of you? Are there any other key concepts that you noted that need to be clarified? (If one or more are unclear) Can anyone help us clarify the meaning of <problematic concept(s)>.*

Advice: try to keep this part of the seminar to about 10 minutes. Use your discretion here. If a concept or term brought up is interesting but not central to the reading, then suggest that we come back to it if we have time. If a concept is integral to the argument (see below), you can reserve its discussion for when we get to the next step.

2. *Would any member of the class like to give us their statement on what the main argument of the author is? Would anyone like to add something to what <the first person> has said? Do you agree or disagree that we have captured the key aspects of the argument?*

Advice: Try to avoid starting off with your own statement of the argument. See if you can draw it out from members of the class first. You can add some of your own understanding as the argument proceeds. As you see the discussion being finished or beginning to get into key issues arising from the argument, move to the third step.

3. I would like now to identify some of the key issues that arise out of the reading and that we might discuss. One of these might be . . . Are there any others that we might take up?

Advice: Your goal here is to get as many key issues discussed as is possible. Try to draw in members of the class who have not had a chance to speak. The aim here is to improve understanding of the reading, not to criticize it. If members move to critique, stop them and say we will do that soon. Keep an eye on your watch or the clock. You want to reserve time for a critical discussion of the reading.

4. With our understanding of the argument and the various issues related to the argument, we can now spend a few minutes to reflect critically on the reading. Are there any points that are particularly problematic in your understanding? Are there any points that are particularly useful or persuasive?

Advice: It is important here to ensure that members of the seminar get a chance to comment on both the weaknesses and the strengths of the given reading. Don't just concentrate on the weaknesses.

C. Participation in seminar discussions (20%)

For some information on the difference between evaluating participation and evaluating knowledge and understanding see Appendix A below.

Analytical Essay Paper (50%), due December 16, 2019

Students will prepare an analytical essay paper. The paper will be no longer than 4000 words (Times New Roman, 12, double-spaced, margins: minimum 1 inch).

Please place your paper in the Drop Box located just outside of the Political Science Main Office (KTH-527). Papers must be received by 4pm in order to be stamped with that day's date. Any papers submitted after 4pm will be stamped with the next working day's date.

Recommendations:

Topics will deal with issues raised in the assigned and recommended readings of the course and will be developed individually by students in consultation with the instructor.

Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings

Week 1 (Sep 4) Introduction

Topic: Introduction to the course

No assigned readings

Week 2 (Sep 11) The Rise of the Third World

Topic: The Rise of the Third World as a Political Project

- Vijay Prashad, “Bandung” (31-50), “Belgrade” and “Havana” (95-118) in *The Darker Nations*. (e-book)
- Khadija El Alaoui, “A Meaning of Bandung: An Afro-Asian Tune Without Lyrics,” in Quỳnh N. Phạm and Robbie Shilliam (eds), *Meanings of Bandung*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Robert Vitalis, “The Midnight Ride of Kwame Nkrumah and Other Fables of Bandung”, *Humanity* 4:2 (2013), 261-288. (e-journal)

Recommended:

- Robert Young, “The Internationals” (Part III) and “Theoretical Practices of the Freedom Struggles” in *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Blackwell, 2001, pp. 113-334.
- Jawaharlal Nehru. 1955. “Speech to Bandung Conference Political Committee.” Reprinted in G. M. Kahin. 1956. *The Asian-African Conference*. New York: Cornell University Press, pp. 64-72.
- Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference*, London: D. Dobson, 1955.
- Martin Luther King, Jr. 1959. [“Radio Address to India.”](#) All India Radio.
- Ernesto Che Guevara. 1967. [“Message to the Tricontinental.”](#)
- Amilcar Cabral. 1966. “The Weapon of Theory.” Address delivered to the first Tricontinental Conference of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America held in Havana. Reprinted in *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar Cabral*, London: Heinemann, 1980.
- L.S. Stavrianos, *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age*, William Morrow & Co, 1981.
- Kripa Sridharan, “G-15 and South-South Cooperation: Promise and Performance. *Third World Quarterly* 19 (3): 357-373 (1998).
- Arif Dirlik, “Three Worlds or One, or Many? The Reconfigurations of Global Relations Under Contemporary Capitalism”, in *The Postcolonial Aura*, Westview Press, 1997, pp. 146-162.
- Darryl Thomas, “Nonalignment and the Politics of a Third Force.” *The Theory and Practice of Third World Solidarity*. Westport: Praeger, 2001, pp. 63-84.
- Amitav Acharya and See Seng Tan, “The Normative Relevance of the Bandung Conference for Contemporary Asian and International Order” in See Seng Tan and Amitav Acharya (eds), *Bandung Revisited*, NUS Press, 2008, pp. 1-18.

Week 3 (Sep 18) History of the Third World?

Topic: What is the History of the Third World?

- Vijay Prashad, “Paris” and “Brussels” in *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World*, New Press, 2008, pp. 3-30. (**e-book**)
- Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “An Unthinkable History. The Haitian Revolution as a Non-Event” in *Silencing the Past. Power and the Production of History*, Beacon Press, 1995, pp. 70-107.
- Branwen Gruffydd Jones, “Slavery, Finance and International Political Economy: Postcolonial Reflections” in Sanjay Seth (ed.), pp. 49-69.
- Ta-Nehisi Coates, “[The Case for Reparations](#)”, *The Atlantic*, May 21, 2014 (**e-resource**)
- (OPTIONAL but recommended) [Ta-Nehisi Coates at House Hearing on Reparations](#) (June 19, 2019):(5 min. video)

Recommended:

- Robert Young, “Concepts in History” (part I) in *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, Blackwell, 2001, pp. 13-69.
- P. Worsley, *The Third World*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.
- I.L. Horowitz, *Three Worlds of Development*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Books, 1967.
- Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, Modern Reader, 1972.
- Surendra Patel, “The Age of the Third World” *Third World Quarterly* 5: 1(1983), 58-71.
- Eric Wolf, “Introduction” in *Europe and the People Without History*, University of California Press, 1982.
- K.N. Chaudhuri, *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- V. Randall & R. Theobald, *Political Change and Underdevelopment: A Critical Introduction to Third World Politics*, London: Macmillan, 1998.
- Mark T. Berger, “After the Third World? History, destiny, and the fate of the Third World” *Third World Quarterly* 25: 1(2004), 9-39.
- José da Mota-Lopes, “The Colonial Encounter and its Legacy” in *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, edited by Robert Denemark, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Sanjay Seth, “Postcolonial Theory and the Critique of International Relations” in Sanjay Seth (ed.), pp. 15-31.

Notes: Submission of summary statements begins

Week 4 (Sep 25) Development and Modernization

Topic: The Discourse of Development and Modernization

- Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, pp. 29-78, Monthly Review Press, 2001.
- Arturo Escobar, “The Problematization of Poverty: The Tale of Three Worlds and Development” in *Encountering Development: the Making and Unmaking of the*

Third World, Princeton University Press, 1995 (**e-book**).

- Ashis Nandy, "From Outside the Imperium: Gandhi's Critique of the West", *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 7:2 (1981): 171-194. (**e-journal**)

Recommended:

- Tariq Banuri, "Development and the Politics of Knowledge: A Critical Interpretation of the Social Role of Modernization Theories in the Development of the Third World," in Apffel Marglin and Marglin (eds.) *Dominating Knowledge*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 29-72.
- Andre Gunder Frank (1969), "The Development of Underdevelopment." Reprinted in Mitchell A. Seligson and John T. Passé-Smith (eds). *Development and Underdevelopment* (fourth edition), Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2008, pp. 257-268.
- Kate Manzo, "Modernist Discourse and the Crisis of Development Theory", *Studies in Comparative International Development* 26: 2 (1991), 3-36.
- Frédérique Apffel-Marglin and Stephen A. Marglin (eds), *Decolonizing knowledge: from development to dialogue*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Roxanne Doty, *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*, University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Arturo Escobar, "The Problematization of Poverty: The Tale of Three Worlds and Development" in *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 21-54.
- Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "The Development of Development Theory: Towards Critical Globalism", *Review of International Political Economy* 3: 4 (1996), 541-564.
- Deepa Narayan, Robert Chambers, Meera K. Shah, Patti Petesch. *Voices of the Poor: Crying Out for Change*. Oxford University Press, 2000. Chapters 1-4.
- Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, CODESRIA and Pambazuka Press, 2012 [1972].
- Theotonio Dos Santos (1970), "The Structure of Dependence." Chapter 22 in Mitchell A. Seligson and John T Passé-Smith eds. 1998. *Development and Underdevelopment*. (second edition) Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Timothy Mitchell, "The Stage of Modernity" in Timothy Mitchell (ed.), *Questions of Modernity (Contradictions of Modernity)*, University of Minnesota Press, 2000, pp. 1-34.
- Sven Lindqvist, *Exterminate All Brutes*, Granta Books, 2002.
- Fernando Henrique Cardoso, "New Paths: Globalization in Historical Perspective" *Studies in Comparative International Development*, volume 44, number 4, December 2009. Special Edition, Dependency and Development in a Globalized World, 296-317.
- UN Development Program, *2013 Human Development Report*.
- Ilan Kapoor, "The Culture of Development Policy: Basic Needs, Structural Adjustment, Good Governance, and Human Rights" (ch.2) in *The Postcolonial Politics of Development*, Routledge, 2008, pp. 19-38.

- Mustapha Pasha, 'How Can We End Poverty?' in Jenny Edkins and Maja Zehfuss (eds), *Global Politics: A New Introduction*, Routledge, 2008, 320-343.
- David L. Blaney and Naeem Inayatullah, *Savage Economics: Wealth, Poverty, and the Temporal Walls of Capitalism*, Routledge, 2010.

Notes: Submission of summary statements

Week 5 (Oct 2) Practice of Development

Topic: The Practice of Development

- Vijay Prashad, "Kingston" and "Singapore" in *The Darker Nations*, pp. 224-259. **(e-book)**
- Nick Cullather, "Damming Afghanistan: Modernization in a Buffer State", *Journal of American History*, September 2002, 512-537. **(e-journal)**
- "[When the Land Is Stolen From Beneath Your Feet](#)", *The Atlantic*, May 11, 2019 **(16 min. documentary on land grab in Cambodia)**

Recommended:

- Theodore W. Schultz, "Value of U.S. Farm Surpluses to Underdeveloped Countries," *Journal of Farm Economics* 42, no. 5 (1960): 1019– 30.
- James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, Yale University Press, 1977.
- James Ferguson, *Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale University Press, 1998.
- Heloise Weber, "The 'New' Economy and Social Risk: Banking on the Poor?", *Review of International Political Economy* 11: 2(2004), 356-386.
- Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Frictions: An Ethnography of Global Connection*, Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Geeta Chowdhry, "Postcolonial Interrogations of Child Labour: Human Rights, Carpet Trade, and Rugmark in India" in Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair (eds), *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class*, Routledge, 2003, pp. 225-253.
- Michel Chossudovsky, *The Globalization of Poverty*, 2nd edition, Montreal: Center for Global Research, 2003.
- Jean-François Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, Polity, 2004.
- Shirin Rai, *The Gender Politics of Development: Essays in Hope and Despair*, Zed Books, 2008.
- Vijay Prashad, "Buenos Aires" in *The Darker Nations*.
- Marianne Marchand and Anne Sisson Runyan (eds), *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances*, Routledge, 2010 (2nd edition).

Notes: Submission of summary statements

Week 6 (Oct 9) Revolution and Political Violence (I)

Topic: Revolution and Political Violence (I)

- Frantz Fanon, "On Violence" in *The Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Books, 1967, pp. 1-62.
- Vijay Prashad, 'Algiers' in *The Darker Nations*, 119-133. (e-book)
- Alina Sajed, "How We Fight: Anti-colonial Imaginaries and the Question of National Liberation in the Algerian War." *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 21:5(2019), 635-651. (e-journal)

Recommended:

- Mahatma Gandhi, 'Quit India' speeches 1942.
- Hans Morgenthau, "We Are Deluding Ourselves in Vietnam," *New York Times Magazine*, 18 April 1965.
(<http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/vietnam/hans%27.htm>)
- Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*, Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- William Duiker, *Sacred War: Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam*, McGraw-Hill, 1994.
- Mohammed Ayoob, *The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System*, Lynne Rienner, 1995.
- Tarak Barkawi, "On the Pedagogy of Small Wars", *International Affairs* 80: 1 (2004), 19-38.
- Eric Selbin, *Modern Latin American Revolutions*, Westview Press, 1999 (2nd edition).
- Fred Halliday, *Revolution and World Politics. The Rise and Fall of the Sixth Great Power*, Duke University Press, 1999.
- Robert E. Harkavy and Stephanie G. Neuman, *Warfare and the Third World*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Fred Halliday, *Revolution and Foreign Policy: the Case of South Yemen 1967-1987*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Ayoob, Mohamed. 2002. "Subaltern Realism: International Relations Theory meets the Third World." In Stephanie G. Neuman, ed., *International Relations Theory and the Third World*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Mustapha Pasha, 'Collateral Damage: Afghanistan', *Globalizations* 6: 1 (March 2009), 151-156.
- Derek Gregory, *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq*, Wiley-Blackwell, 2004.
- John Foran, *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions*, Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, "The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies" *Review of International Studies* 32 (2006), 329-352.

- Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*, Oxford India Paperbacks, 2010.
- Eric Selbin, *Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance: The Power of Story*, Zed Books, 2010.
- Sankaran Krishna, "A Postcolonial Racial/Spatial Order: Gandhi, Ambedkar and the Construction of the International" in A. Anievas, N. Manchanda and R. Shilliam (eds) *Race and Racism in International Relations: Confronting the Global Colour Line*, Routledge, 2014.

Notes: Submission of summary statements

Week 7 (Oct 16) Fall mid-term recess, NO CLASS

Week 8 (Oct 23) Revolution and Political Violence (II)

Topic: Revolution and Political Violence (II)

- *Lumumba: la mort du prophète*. A documentary about the political life and the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. Directed by Raoul Peck, 1990.
- Background read: Adam Hochschild, "[An Assassination's Long Shadow](#)", *The New York Times*, January 16, 2011.

Notes: Submission of summary statements

Week 9 (Oct 30) Foreign Aid and Humanitarian Intervention

Topic: Foreign Aid and Humanitarian Intervention

- Derek Gregory, "The Tyranny of Strangers" in *The Colonial Present: Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq*, Blackwell, 2004, pp.144-179.
- Eyal Weizman, "Arendt in Ethiopia" (ch.2), in *The Least of All Possible Evils: Humanitarian Violence from Arendt to Gaza*, Verso Books, 2011, pp. 27-64.
- Greg Grandin, "[What's at Stake in Venezuela? On Sovereignty and Latin America](#)", *London Review of Books*, February 8, 2019 (**e-source**)

Recommended:

- Shashi Tharoor and Sam Daws, "Humanitarian Intervention: Getting Past the Reefs," *World Policy Journal*, Summer 2001.
- ICISS, *The Responsibility to Protect: The Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*, IDRC Books, 2002.
- Nicholas Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*, Oxford University Press, 2003.

- Jenny Edkins, “Practices of Aid” in *Whose Hunger? Concepts of Famine, Practices of Aid*, University of Minnesota Press, 2008 [2000], pp. 67-102. (**e-book**)
- Nonaligned Movement, “[Statement of the XIII Nonaligned Movement summit concerning Iraq](#)” (2003).
- Tomohisa Hattori, “The Moral Politics of Foreign Aid”, *Review of International Studies* 29: 2(2003), 229-247.
- Anne Orford, *Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law*, Cambridge University Press, 2003. (**e-book**)
- Mark Duffield, “Social Reconstruction: The Reuniting of Aid and Politics” *Development*, 48 (3), (pp. 16-24), 2005.
- Thomas Weiss, *Humanitarian Intervention: Ideas in Action*, Polity, 2007.
- Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*, Polity Press, 2007.
- Gareth Evans, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All*, Brookings Institution Press, 2009.
- Mohammed Ayoob, “Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention and International Administration,” *Global Governance* 10: 1(2004), 99-119.
- Wanda Vrasti, *Volunteer Tourism in the Global South: Giving Back in Neoliberal Times*, Routledge, 2012.
- Robbie Shilliam, “The Spirit of Exchange” in Sanjay Seth (ed.), pp. 166-182.
- Craig Calhoun, “The Idea of Emergency: Humanitarian Action and Global (Dis)Order,” in Didier Fassin and Mariella Pandolfi, eds., *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*, Zone Books 2010, p. 29-55.

Notes: Submission of summary statements

Week 10 (Nov 6) Spotlight on a region

Topic: Spotlight on a region: the Syrian crisis and the Middle East

- Vijay Prashad, “The State of the Arab Revolutions” and “The Anatomy of the Islamic State” in *The Death of the Nation and the Future of the Arab Revolution*, LeftWorld Books, 2016.
- Bassam Haddad, “[On Syria's Internal Wars and External Interventions](#)”, *Jadaliyya*, March 8, 2018 (**45 min. podcast**)
- Yusef Khalil and Yasser Munif, “[Syria and the Left](#)”, *Jacobin*. Published on January 7, 2017. (**e-source**)

Recommended:

- Philip Khuri Hitti, *Syria: A Short History*, New York: Macmillan, 1959.
- Patrick Seale, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle For the Middle East*, University of California Press, 1988.
- Scott Anderson, “[Fractured Lands: How the Arab World Came Apart](#)”, *The New York Times*, August 11, 2016. (**e-source**)

- Pepe Escobar, "[Syria: the Ultimate Pipelineistan War](#)", *Strategic Culture Foundation* (online journal) (**e-source**).
- Rama Kudaimi and Razan Ghazzawi, "[The Syrian Uprising: Six Years On.](#)" *Jacobin*, February 7, 2017.
- Mike Whitney, "[Ending Syria's Nightmare will Take Pressure From Below](#)", *Counterpunch*, March 28, 2017.
- [Syria's Rebels, Before and After Aleppo: A STATUS/الوضع Conversation between Bassam Haddad and Aron Lund](#), *Jadaliyya* (June 20, 2017).
Bassam Haddad, 'Four Years On. No Easy Answers for Syria' ([Part I](#) and [II](#)), *Jadaliyya* (March 18 and 30, 2015).
- Salwa Ismail, *The Rule of Violence: Subjectivity, Memory, and Violence in Syria*, Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- "[Dossier on Syria](#)", *Tricontinental Dossier no. 3*, April 2018.
- Samer N. Abboud, *Syria*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018.

Notes: Submission of summary statements

Week 11 (Nov 13) Civil Society and Democratization

Topic: Civil Society and Democratization

- Rahul Rao, "Indigenous Insurgents and Rioting Ryots" (ch. 5) in *Third World Protest: Between Home and the World*, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 139-172. (**e-book**)
- Gilbert Achcar, "[The Seasons After the Arab Spring](#)," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, June 2019. (**e-source**)
- Adam Hanieh, Ch.1 and Ch. 7, in *Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*, Haymarket Books, 2013.

Recommended:

- Kathryn Manzo, *Domination, Resistance, and Social Change in South Africa: The Local Effects of Global Power*, Praeger Publishers, 1992.
- Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- James W. McGuire, "Development Policy and its Determinants in East Asia and Latin America." *Journal of Public Policy* 14 (1994): 205–242.
- Jeffrey Haynes, *Democracy and Civil Society in the Third World*, Polity Press, 1997.
- Amartya Sen, *Development As Freedom* (Chapters 6 and 7), Knopf Publishers, 1999.
- John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff (eds), *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*, University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Mary Elizabeth Gallagher, "'Reform and Openness': Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy" *World Politics* 54: 3 (2002), 338-372.

- Håkan Thörn, *Anti-Apartheid and the Emergence of a Global Civil Society*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, "Law and Disorder in the Postcolony: An Introduction" in Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (eds), *Law and Disorder in the Postcolony*, University of Chicago Press, 2006, pp. 1-56.
- J. Marshall Beier (ed.), *Indigenous Diplomacies*, Palgrave, 2009.
- Arundhati Roy, *Field Notes on Democracy: Listening to Grasshoppers*, Haymarket Books, 2009.
- Francesco Cavatorta and Vincent Durac, *Civil Society and Democratization in the Arab World. The Dynamics of Activism*, Routledge, 2010.
- Denise Horn, *Women, Civil Society and the Geopolitics of Democratization*, Routledge, 2010.
- Partha Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*, Columbia University Press, 2006.
- Samir Amin, '[2011: An Arab Springtime?](#)' *Monthly Review*, June 2011.
- Deniz Kandiyoti, "Some Awkward Questions on Women and Modernity in Turkey", in Lila Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 270-287.
- Alina Sajed, "Securitized migrants and postcolonial (in)difference: the politics of activism among North African migrants in France" in Peter Nyers and Kim Rygiel (eds), *Citizenship, Migrant Activism and the Politics of Movement* (Routledge, 2012).
- Gilbert Achcar, *Morbid Symptoms: Relapse in the Arab Uprising*, Stanford University Press/Saqi Books, 2016.

Notes: Submission of summary statements

Week 12 (Nov 20) Effects of Neoliberalism in the Global South

Topic: The Effects of Neoliberalism in the Global South

- Naomi Klein, "Blank is Beautiful: Three Decades of Erasing and Remaking the World" (Introduction), "States of Shock: The Bloody Birth of Counterrevolution" (ch. 3), and "Cleaning the Slate: Terror Does Its Work" (ch.4) in *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, Picador, 2007, pp. 3-26, and 91-143.
- Hannes Baumann, "[Citizen Hariri: Lebanon's Neoliberal Reconstruction](#)". (53 min. video presentation)

Recommended:

- Fantu Cheru, "Transforming Our Common Future: the Local Dimensions of Global Reform", *Review of International Political Economy* 7: 2(2000), 353-368.
- Richard Higgott and Nicola Phillips, "Challenging Triumphalism and Convergence: the Limits of Global Liberalization in Asia and Latin America", *Review of International Studies* 26 (2000), 359-379.

- Heikki Patomaki and Teivo Teivanen, "Critical Responses to Neoliberal Globalization in the Mercosur Region: Roads Towards Cosmopolitan Democracy?", *Review of International Political Economy* 9: 1(2002), 37-71.
- Ilan Kapoor, "Deliberative Democracy and the WTO", *Review of International Political Economy* 11: 3(2004), 522-541.
- Charles Gore, "The Rise and Fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries," in C. Roe Goddard, Patrick Cronin and Kishore C. Dash, eds, *International Political Economy: State-Market Relations in a Changing Global Order*, 2nd edition, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 317-40.
- Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger*, Duke University Press, 2006.
- Eric Sheppard and Helga Leitner, "Quo Vadis Neoliberalism? The Remaking of Global Capitalist Governance after the Washington Consensus", *Geoforum* 41 (2), 2010, 185-94.
- David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War. Governing the World of Peoples*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007.
- Ray Kiely, "Poverty Reduction Through Liberalisation? Neoliberalism and the Myth of Global Convergence", *Review of International Studies* 33: 3 (2007), 415-434.
- Juanita Elias, "Women Workers and Labour Standards: the Problem of Human Rights", *Review of International Studies* 33: 1(2007), 45-57.
- Aihwa Ong and Stephen Collier (eds), *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, Blackwell, 2005.
- Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*, Duke University Press, 2006.
- James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*, Duke University Press, 2006.
- Tania Murray Li, *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and The Practice of Politics*, Duke University Press, 2007.

Notes: Submission of summary statements

Week 13 (Nov 27) Towards a Post-Development World?

Topic: Towards a Post-Development World? The rise of BRICs – a new colonialism in the making or a challenge to Western hegemony?

- Deborah Brautigam, "Rogue Donor? Myths and Realities" in *The Dragon's Gift: the Real Story of China in Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 273-305. (e-book)
- Lina Benabdallah, "[Spite Won't Beat China in Africa](#)", *Foreign Policy*, January 23, 2019. (e-source)
- Richard Pithouse, "[BRICS is no emancipatory project](#)," *Mail & Guardian*, July 27, 2018. (e-source)

Recommended:

- Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree (eds), *The Post-Development Reader*, Zed Books, 1997.
- Arturo Escobar, "Beyond the Third World: imperial globality, global coloniality and anti-globalisation social movements" *Third World Quarterly* 25: 1 (2004), 207-230.
- Mark T. Berger (ed.), *After the Third World?* Routledge, 2008. AVAILABLE AS A SPECIAL ISSUE OF *THIRD WORLD QUARTERLY JOURNAL* (VOL.25, NO. 1, 2004).
- David Shambaugh, "Understanding China's Global Impact" in *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 1-44.
- Amrita Narlikar, "All That Glitters is Not Gold: India's Rise to Power" *Third World Quarterly* 28: 5 (2007), 983-996.
- Richard Peet, "Sub-Hegemony: South Africa" (ch.5) in *Geography of Power: Making Global Economic Policy*, Zed Books, 2007, pp. 129-150.
- Giovanni Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing. Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*, Verso, 2009.
- Peter Kingstone, *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development*, Routledge, 2010.
- Kristen Hopewell, "Different paths to power: The rise of Brazil, India and China at the World Trade Organization", *Review of International Political Economy* 22: 2(2015): 311-338.
- Latha Varadarajan, *The Domestic Abroad: Diasporas in International Relations*, Oxford University Press, 2012.
- "Dreaming with the BRICs? The Washington Consensus and the New Political Economy of Development." Special Issue of *Review International Political Economy* 20: 2(2013).
- Vijay Prashad, "The Locomotives of the South" (ch.3) in *The Poorer Nations*, pp. 143-230.
- "Rising States, Donors, Brics and Beyond", section in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 25: 4(2012).
- Alfredo Saad-Filho, "Neoliberalism, Democracy and Development Policy in Brazil", in Chang Kyung-Sup, Ben Fine and Linda Weiss (eds), *Developmental Politics in Transition: the Neoliberal Era and Beyond*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 117-139.
- C.P. Chandrasekhar, "From Dirigisme to Neoliberalism: Aspects of the Political Economy of the Transition in India", in Chang Kyung-Sup, Ben Fine and Linda Weiss (eds), *Developmental Politics in Transition: the Neoliberal Era and Beyond*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 140-165.
- Michal Makocki, "[China in the Balkans: The Battle of Principles](#)", *European Council on Foreign Relations*. Published on July 6, 2017.
- Marion Fourcade, "The material and symbolic construction of the BRICs: Reflections inspired by the RIPE Special Issue", *Review of International Political Economy* 20(2): 256-267 (April 2013).

Notes: Submission of summary statements

Week 14 (Dec 4) Course wrap-up

Topic: Course wrap-up, essay writing tips and Q&A

Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

[Insert policy on format of assignments and how to be submitted]

Grades

Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

MARK	GRADE
90-100	A+
85-90	A
80-84	A-
77-79	B+
73-76	B
70-72	B-
69-0	F

Late Assignments

Late papers will be accepted, but will be subject to a late penalty of 5 per cent per day to a maximum of 5 days, after which they will not be accepted and a mark of 0 will be recorded. In the interest of fairness to all students, there will be no exceptions to this unless you have arranged with me in advance for an extension. All extensions must be arranged in advance of the day on which a paper is due. Papers submitted after deadlines (including excused late papers) will be marked, but comments will NOT be provided.

Absences, Missed Work, Illness

Extensions on assignments can be arranged in the event of illness or similar circumstances. All extensions must be arranged in advance of the day on which work is due.

Avenue to Learn

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available

information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor.

Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the RISO policy. Students requiring a RISO accommodation should submit their request to their Faculty Office normally within 10 working days of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests

University Policies

Academic Integrity Statement

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: "Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty"), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the [Academic Integrity Policy](#).

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty

- Plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one's own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- Improper collaboration in group work.
- Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities

Students who require academic accommodation must contact [Student Accessibility Services \(SAS\)](#) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail

sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University's Policy for [Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities](#).

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Course Modification

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Appendix A: Evaluation of Participation

Part of the participation grade will come from an evaluation of how much a given class member contributed to the seminar. Remember that evaluation of participation is different from evaluation of knowledge or understanding of a set of given readings. My evaluation of your knowledge and understanding will come from your final paper. If you wish to check out how well you are doing in your participation, you might ask yourself the following questions:

Did I initiate a topic or question?

Did I provide some information when it was needed?

Did I give some positive opinions or reactions?

Did I give some negative opinions or reactions?

Did I ask for positive or negative opinions or reactions?

Did I confront someone whom you thought was wrong?

Did I try to restate what someone else had said to ensure I and others understood?

Did I ask someone else to restate what he or she had said?

Did I give examples when they were needed?

Did I ask others to provide some examples?

Did I try to synthesize or summarize a part of the discussion?

Did I ask if someone might synthesize or summarize a part of the discussion?

Did I sponsor, encourage, help or reward others in the group?

Did I relieve tension in the group by cracking a joke or calling for a break at an appropriate time?

Appendix B: Leading a discussion

The following suggestions are adapted from Gale Rhodes and Robert Schaible, A User's Manual for Student-Led Discussions, available at:

<http://www.usm.maine.edu/~rhodes/StdLedDisc.html>

I liked the approach and it is consistent with what we are trying to achieve in the course. Preparing to lead a discussion, you must be familiar with the assigned material. "Familiar with" is just the right phrase. You need not have mastered the material; after all, a goal of discussion is to move everyone towards mastery, that is, to improve everyone's (even the leader's) understanding.

To prepare for discussion (leadership or participation), first read and study the assignment, underlining the more important or interesting points, and making notes in the margins. Then think about and write down some of the main issues that the author raises and a few questions pertinent to the issues. Then go back over your notes and the text and note the key concepts or terms and then try to put the author's argument into your own words.

Getting Started

Class has started and your name has been drawn from the hat. How do you begin? Simply clear your throat and begin with the questions everyone has been asked to address. Before you know it, the hard part -- getting started -- is done.

One word of caution: Start out on a positive note. Avoid beginning with an apology for being poorly prepared or for finding the reading difficult. Treat the day's topic as having real value. Openers like "I didn't get much out of this" or "I don't agree with anything the author said" will stifle, rather than promote, discussion. Remember that a time for critical evaluation will come at the end, but only after the class has worked on its understanding of the author's arguments. If you treat the readings as worthwhile, your classmates will follow your lead, join you in examining the day's assignment, and thus make your job easier.

Sustaining Discussion

Discussions need some urging to keep them moving. A discussion leader can often keep things moving with only modest prodding, giving the class its head when things are going well. Of course, if you can contribute something useful, do so; but other kinds of comments or actions on your part can sustain the discussion just as well as an injection of insight. Here are some suggestions:

- 1) Get students to talk to each other. Ask for a response to the most recent comments. (Anyone have a response to A's opinion?) Or ask a specific student to respond. (A, do you agree with B?)
- 2) Get students to defend or explain their opinions. (D, why do you say that? What's your evidence or reasoning?)
- 3) Encourage an exploration of differing points of view. When you hear conflicting views, point them out and get the holders of those views to discuss their differences. Perhaps ask a third person to sum up the two positions.
- 4) Keep the class on the subject. If you are even halfway familiar with the material, you know when the discussion is no longer connected to it. Just say so. (We've gotten pretty far from the readings; let's get back on the subject.) Or simply consult your list of questions. Any sensible response to one of your questions is bound to be pertinent.
- 5) Try to give as many persons in the class as possible a chance to speak. Keep a list of who wishes to speak. Ensure that all those who have not spoken who are on your list get to speak first before a colleague gets a chance to speak an additional time.
- 6) Point to a particular passage in the text relevant to a comment made by one person, or to a discussion among several. This might be a passage that challenges, or sums up and confirms, the views being expressed.
- 7) Don't fill every silence with your own voice. Any discussion will lapse occasionally. It is not your job as leader to avoid all silence. Some quiet periods are productive.

Students who are not so quick to speak will frequently get the chance they need when others are quiet. If the silence gets too heavy, take advantage of the other students' lists of questions. (C, give us one of the questions you brought to class.)

Remember, as discussion leader you do not have to be the brains for the class. You are not expected to know it all; the class is full of students who have read the same assignment that you have read. Your job is to give them a chance to talk about it and thus give others the benefits of their thinking. If any one student begins to do all the talking, gently correct this problem by bringing other students into the discussion. You are there to steer, to keep the class reasonably near the center of the path, by pulling a rein when needed, by loosening the reins when it keeps to the trail, by reining it in when it threatens to gallop away to greener subjects. If students are talking to each other about the reading material, things are going well; relax, listen, and contribute when you can.