

# **GLOBAL POLITICAL THOUGHT**

**Course Number:** U8822/CTH G6062

Fall 2020

**Meeting Hours:** Tuesday, 11: 00 – 12:50.

**Instructors:**

Professors Akeel Bilgrami, Mamadou Diouf and Michael Doyle

The seminar will consist of a reexamination of some of the major traditions in global political theory and jurisprudence as seen through the eyes of classical and modern political philosophers both from the global “North” and “South.”, and will also consider the political writings of some of the leading “Northern” and “Southern” political figures – democratic, populist, fascist and communist. We will discuss their claims and insights into the issues of law, order and justice; identity and legitimacy; peace and war; cooperation and conflict; intervention and independence; international equality and inequality; and we will seek an analysis and diagnosis of contemporary populisms and fascisms, making some effort to compare them with their historical antecedents.

## **Requirements**

- Strictly Regular Attendance;
- Complete each week’s required reading (“background” reading is voluntary, for further exploration in papers, etc)
- One very briefly formulated question to be submitted by email by every student to the three instructors on the topic and readings for each class by Monday 11 am each week, starting with Week 2 and going till Week 12.
- One term paper of roughly 20 pages to be submitted at the end of the semester

## *Class Format:*

Classes will be held on the online platform, Zoom. This is not ideal, of course, but we will strive to make the best of it. The introductory class will be an informal session with each instructor telling the class of their motivation for teaching a class—as a team—on this subject, introducing the very idea of ‘global political thought’, and giving a very preliminary and rough overview of the breakdown of topics on the syllabus. The last two classes will be devoted to students, each presenting a very brief proposal for his or her term paper and discussing it with the instructors and the class. The classes from Week 2 through Week 12 will each be led by one of the instructors, who will speak first for 15 or 20 minutes, followed by a 10 or 15 minutes of discussion by the instructors on the issues raised, after which there will be a class-wide discussion of the issues, bringing in the questions they have received by email for the discussion as well.

Almost all readings will be available on Canvas Courseworks either as *pdfs* or as a *url* to be raised (free) on the web. Any reading not so available will have to be purchased by the student from some online bookseller or borrowed online from the library.

## *Topics and Readings*

**Week One****Introduction****Readings:**

Michael Walzer, "Governing the Globe," *Dissent*, Fall, 2000.

**Week Two****Liberty and Liberalism****Readings:**

Locke: Essay on Toleration (available free online at Liberty Fund site)

Mill: *On Liberty*, Chapter 2 (available as Gutenberg ebook online)

John Rawls Selection from *A Theory of Justice* on the First Principle of Equal Liberty (to be posted on Courseworks)

Isaiah Berlin: "Two Concepts of Liberty" (to be posted on Courseworks)

**Week Three****Marx and Socialism****Readings:**

Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. Excerpts from: <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Economic-Philosophic-Manuscripts-1844.pdf>. Estranged Labor, pp. 28-35.

Karl Marx, "Manifesto," "Imperialism in India" and "Europocentric Revolution," from RS Tucker, *The Marx-Engels Reader* pp. 469-500, 653-664, 676-677 and Alan Gilbert, "Marx on internationalism and war," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, (1978) pp.346-369

**Background:**

Albert Hirschman, "Hegel, Imperialism and Structural Stagnation," *JDev Ec* 1976.

Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*, pp. 315-382; 485-502.

**Week Four****Fascism and Populism in the North****Readings:**

Benito Mussolini, "The Doctrine of Fascism (1932)"

<http://www.worldfuturefund.org>

Umberto Eco, "Ur-Fascism," *NYRB*, June 22, 1995.

MacGregor Knox, "Fascism: Ideology, Foreign Policy, and War," chapter five in Adrian Lyttleton, ed., *Liberal and Fascist Italy* (Oxford, 2002).

Robert Paxton, "What is Fascism" from *The Anatomy of Fascism*, pp.206-220

Frederico Finchelstein: *From Fascism to Populism*, pp. XX-XX  
(available via JSTOR)

**Background:**

WY Elliott, "Mussolini: Prophet of the Pragmatic Era in Politics," *Political Science Quarterly*, June 1926, Vol XLI, no 2, pp 161-192.

Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism: Action Francaise, Italian Fascism and National Socialism* (New York, 1968) chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 3-21).

Federico Finchelstein, *From Fascism to Populism in History* (California, 2017).

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York: Crown, 2018).

Hannah Arendt, "The Seeds of a Fascist International," in *Essays in Understanding: 1930-1954*, Schocken, 1954).

Denis Mack Smith, "The Theory and Practice of Fascism," Chapter 11 of *Modern Italy: A Political History* (Univ of Michigan Press, 1997).

### **Weeks Five and Six**

#### **Gandhi, Tagore, Nehru**

*Topics to be discussed: Nationalism, Anti-Imperialism, Modernity and Secularism from the perspectives of the South*

#### **Readings:**

Gandhi: *Hind Swaraj* ed Anthony Parel (Cambridge University Press)

Gandhi and Tagore: The Correspondence collected by Sabyasachi Bhattacharya under the title

*The Mahatma and the Poet* (National Book Trust, India)

Tagore: *Nationalism* (available on Kindle for free)

Nehru: *Discovery of India*

Nehru: *Autobiography* (available cheaply on kindle) chapters 9-12

#### **Background:**

Bilgrami: "Gandhi's Radicalism" (PDF on courseworks)

Bilgrami: "Gandhi and Nehru's Secularism" (*Oxford Companion to Indian Philosophy* ed by Jonardon Ganeri) available via JSTOR on Oxford Online)

### **Week Seven**

#### **African Socialism: Senghor and Nyerere:**

#### **Readings:**

J. Neyere, *The Arusha Declaration and the TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance*. Published by the Publicity Section, TANU, Dar Es Salm (1967) [(PDF on courseworks)]

L. S. Senghor, "Socialism is a Humanism" and "On African Socialism", Erich Fromm 9ed.), *Socialist Humanism*. An International Symposium. London Allen Lane, The Penguin Press (1967) [(PDF on courseworks)]

L. S. Senghor, "The African Road to Socialism: Attempt at a Definition", *On African Socialism*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger Publisher (1964) [(PDF on courseworks)]

### **Week Eight**

#### **Bandung/Non-Aligned Movement**

#### **Readings:**

Richard Wright, Part II. "Race and Religion at Bandung", *The Color of Curtain (1956)*. *Black Power. Three Books from Exile: Black Power, The Color of Curtain, White Man, Listen! New York, Harper Perennial, 2008*. [(PDF on courseworks)]

Richard Wright, Part III. "Communism at Bandung at Bandung", *The Color of Curtain (1956)*. *Black Power. Three Books from Exile: Black Power, The Color of Curtain, White Man, Listen! New York, Harper Perennial, 2008*. [(PDF on courseworks)]

Richard Wright, Part IV. "Racial Shame at Bandung", *The Color of Curtain (1956). Black Power. Three Books from Exile: Black Power, The Color of Curtain, White Man, Listen! New York, Harper Perennial, 2008* [PDF on courseworks]

Robert Vitalis, "The Midnight Ride of Kwame Nkrumah and Other Fables of Bandung (Ban-doong)", *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 4, 2, Summer 2013.

**Background:**

Remy Herrera, "50 years after the Bandung conference: towards a revival of the solidarity between the peoples of the South? Interview with Samir Amin", *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 6, 4, 2005.

Partha Chatterjee, "Empire and Nation revisited: Bandung", *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 6, 4, 2005.

**Week Nine**

**Sufism**

**Readings:**

Mamadou Diouf, "Introduction: The Public Role of the "Good Islam": Sufi Islam and the Administration of Pluralism", M. Diouf (ed.), *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal* (2013)

Alfred Stepan, "Stateness, Democracy, and Respect: Senegal in Comparative Perspective", M. Diouf (ed.), *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal* (2013).

Leonardo A. Villalón, "Negotiating Islam in the Era of Democracy: Senegal in Comparative Regional Perspective", M. Diouf (ed.), *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal* (2013).

**Background:**

Donal Cruise O'Brian, "Sufi Symbolism and the State in Senegal, 1975- 1981", (ch. 2), *Symbolic Confrontations. Muslims Imaging the State in Africa* (2003)

**Week Ten**

**Contemporary Populisms in the South: India, Africa, Brazil, Turkey**

**Readings:**

D. Resnik, Populism in Africa (Pdf to be posted on Courseworks)

Ashis Nandy: 'Obituary of a Culture' (posted on Courseworks)

Ashis Nandy: 'Narendra Modi is a Classic, Clinical Case of a Fascist' (posted on Courseworks)

Hakki Tas: The Chronopolitics of Turkish Populism (posted on Courseworks)

Frederico Finchelstein: From Fascism to Populism (available via JSTOR)

**Background:**

Aristide Zolberg, "The Creation of a New Institutional Order", *Creating Political Order. The Party-State of West Africa*. Chicago, Rand M.c.Nally & Company (1966) [PDF on courseworks]

**Week Eleven**

**Sovereignty and Intervention**

**Readings:**

JS Mill, "Nonintervention" (1859)

Michael Walzer, "Intervention" from *Just and Unjust Wars*  
 Excerpts from: David Luban, "Just War and Human Rights," pp 195-216;  
 Michael Walzer, "The Moral Standing of States: a Response to Four Critics," pp  
 217-237 ; and David Luban, "The Romance of the Nation-State," pp. 238-243, all  
 in Charles Beitz et al, eds., *International Ethics*.

Background:

Michael Doyle, *Empires* (Cornell, 1986), esp chaps 1, 11 (Britain) and 12 (France, Germany, Spain)

Michael Doyle, *The Question of Intervention: John Stuart Mill and the Responsibility to Protect* (Yale, 2015), esp Chapter 1, "Nonintervention"

**Week Twelve**

**Liberal Cosmopolitanism and Many Peoples**

Readings:

Charles Beitz, "Justice and International Relations," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 4 No 4 (summer 1975): 360-389

John Rawls, "The Law of Peoples" (pp. 3-128) in *The Law of Peoples*.

Michael Walzer, "The Reform of the International System," in O. Oosterud, ed., *Studies of War and Peace*.

**Weeks Thirteen and Fourteen**

**Student Paper presentations**