

THEORIES/PRACTICES/ SPATIALITIES: ANTI-GLOBALIZATION, ANTI-CAPITALISMS, GLOBAL JUSTICE MOVEMENTS, AND GEOGRAPHIES OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

Geography 304
Seminar in Political Geography
Department of Geography
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Saunders 2nd floor Seminar Room
Thursdays 2.00-4.45pm

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This seminar is structured around two central issues. The first, and central one, is 'globalization and its discontents', especially anti-globalization movements like those that erupted in Seattle and beyond, 'organizations' like Genoa Social Forum, the autonomous regions movement in Mexico, and others. The second theme will relate to theorizing space and power, that is, we will work towards a theorizing of the conceptual underpinnings and spatial practices of the anti-globalization movements. We will be working through several institutions of globalization in some details (e.g., World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization, Global Economic Forum) as well as the websites of anti-globalization movements.

The goal of this seminar will be to better understand the institutions, practices, and geographies of contemporary neo-liberalism and globalization, and the various strands of grassroots activism that have emerged in response to the practices and consequences of both. In particular, we will situate these social movements in terms of the institutional practices of millennial capitalism, the spatialities of contemporary modernities, and anti-essentialist social theories and critiques of political economy. That is, we aim to take up a geographical critique of political economy; to spatialize our understand of the economics of the political and the politics of economies, and to hold open the spaces of difference that allow for alternative geographies of modernity.

I ask that you read (a lot), think, 'dig-around' on the WWW, and come to class prepared to engage with the texts and each other. Each of you will (i) take responsibility for opening discussion on particular readings through the course of the semester, (ii) prepare 3 three-five page thought pieces responding to issues emerging in the readings and discussions, and (iii) make a 20 minute presentation towards the end of semester on a case study of your choice.

I also ask that you begin to engage, in a largely recreational way, with 'world' radio and tv. The Harvard Working Group on Environmental Justice streaming audio and video Gateway is an excellent place to begin: <http://ecojustice.net/audio/#oneworld>.

Required Texts:

Jean and John L. Comaroff (eds.). 2001. Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism. *Public Culture* 31.

Kevin Danaher (ed.). 2001. *Democratizing the Global Economy: The Battle Against the World Bank and IMF*. A Global Exchange Book. Common Courage Press: Monroe ME and Philadelphia PA.

Emma Bircham and John Charlton. 2001. *Anti-Capitalism: A Guide to the Movement*. Bookmakrs Publications, London.

Jacques Derrida. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*. Routledge, 1994.

J.K. Gibson-Graham. *The End of Capitalism (as we knew it): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. Blackwells, 1996

Henri Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*. Blackwell 1991

Gustava Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash. *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures*. Zed Books, 1998.

Schedule of Assignments

Week 1 Aug 22. Introduction

Week 2 Aug 29 Competing Conceptions of Globalization

Special Issue on Globalization. *Journal of World Systems Research*. V(2) Summer, 1999.
http://csf.colorado.edu/jwsr/archive/vol5/vol5_number2/index.shtml

Susan Manning. Introduction

Leslie Sklair. Competing Conceptions of Globalization

Volker Bornschieer. The Civilizational Project and Its Discontents: Toward a Viable Global Market Society?

Christopher Chase-Dunn. Globalization: A World-Systems Perspective

Giovanni Arrighi. The Global Market

Gernot Köhler. Global Keynesianism and Beyond.

John Markoff. Globalization and the Future of Democracy

John Urry. Globalization and Citizenship.

Ranveig Gissinger and Nils Petter Gleditsch. Globalization and Conflict: Welfare, Distribution, and Political Unrest.

Valentine M. Moghadam. Gender and Globalization: Female Labor and Women 's Mobilization.

Jonathan Friedman. Indigenous Struggles and the Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie

Patrick Bond. Global Economic Crisis: A View from South Africa

Exploration 1: Free trade and Globalization: WTO Protests in Seattle.

<http://www.globalissues.org/TradeRelated/Seattle.asp>

Public Citizen. Global Trade Watch. <http://www.citizen.org/trade/>

Week 3 Sept 5: Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism

Jean and John L. Comaroff (eds.). 2001. Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism. *Public Culture* 31.

Exploration 2: A20 Quebec: An Overview/Archive. *ZNet/Z Magazine*:

<http://www.zmag.org/wto-seattle.htm>

Week 4 Sept 12 Millennial Capitalism and the Critique of Neoliberalism

Kevin Danaher (ed.). 2001. *Democratizing the Global Economy: The Battle Against the World Bank and IMF*. A Global Exchange Book. Common Courage Press: Monroe ME and Philadelphia PA.

Susan George. A Short History of Neo-liberalism Twenty Years of Elite Economics and Emerging Opportunities for Structural Change, March 1999:

<http://www.globalexchange.org/economy/econ101/neoliberalism.html>

Exploration 3: 3rd WTO MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE. Top 10 Reasons to Oppose the World Trade Organization? Criticism, yes ... misinformation, no!

http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/minist_e/min99_e/english/misinf_e/10tide_e.htm

Supplementary Resources: The Institutions of Neoliberalism
IMF. The Shape of Global Integration. *Finance and Development*.
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2002/03/>

IMF Staff. Globalization: Threat or Opportunity? January 2002 (12pp.)
<http://www.imf.org/external/np/exr/ib/2000/041200.htm#l>

Kenny Bruno. World Economic Forum Protests Pose New Challenges for Anti-Globalization Movements. CorpWatch. January 29, 2002.
<http://www.corpwatch.org/issues/PID.jsp?articleid=1468>

Tom Barry. What's This Organization (WTO): An Annotated Glossary of Terms and Concepts About the World Trade Organization – WTO Structure. *Foreign Policy in Focus*.
<http://www.foreignpolicy-infocus.org/wto/structure.html>

John Feffer. Globalization and Militarization. *Foreign Policy in Focus*. 7(1), February 2002:
<http://www.fpif.org/pdf/vol7/01ifmilglob.pdf>

Canadian Security Intelligence Service publication Report # 2000/08
ANTI-GLOBALIZATION – A SPREADING PHENOMENON. August 22, 2000.
http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/eng/miscdocs/200008_e.html

Week 5 Sept 19 Anti-Capitalist and Anti-Globalization Movements

Global Resistance. Special Issue. *New Internationalist*. 338 September 2001.
<http://www.newint.org/issue338/contents.htm>

Selections from Emma Bircham and John Charlton. 2001. *Anti-Capitalism: A Guide to the Movement*. Bookmakrs Publications, London.

Exploration 4: World Economic Forum, Davos: <http://www.weforum.org/>
Urban 57: Genoa Anti-Capitalism Protest: <http://www.urban75.org/genoa/>

Supplementary Resources:

See the Globalization Archive, especially on Globalization and Trade Liberalization with country/region coverage: <http://www.aidc.org.za/archives.html>

Lucien van der Walt. Revolutionary Anarchism & the Anti-Globalization Movement. *Red and Black Revolution No.5*. <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/rbr/rbr5/lucien.html>

International Action Center. 2001. Analysis: Anti-Globalization.
<http://www.iacenter.org/ftaa.htm>

Michael Collon. 2001. Michel Collon makes an urgent appeal: 'The anti-globalization movement must also become an anti-war movement.'
http://www.iacenter.org/collon_0601.htm

Sidney Tarrow (Departments of Government and Sociology, Cornell University). Beyond Globalization: Why Creating Transnational Social Movements is so Hard and When is it Most Likely to Happen. *Global Solidarity Network*.
<http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/tarrow.html>

Global Solidarity Dialogue. <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/>

Mobilization for Global Justice. De-Fund the Fund. Break the Bank. Dump the Debt.
<http://www.a16.org/>

Wolfgang Fischer. Globalization from Below' Movements. Why they are not only important - they provide remedy and hope against the spreading decadence of a commercialized world. <http://uuhome.de/global/english/resist01.html>

Week 6 Sept 26 A New Internationalism

Peter Waterman. Needed: A New International Labour Movement for (and against) a Globalised, Networked Capitalism. *Global Solidarity Dialogue*.
<http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/needed.html>

Peter Waterman. From the Internationalism of 1848 to an Internationalism for 1998. *Global Solidarity Dialogue*. <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/1848.html>

Peter Waterman. 1998. The Fires of Capitalism and the Phoenix of Internationalism. *Global Solidarity Dialogue*. <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/fires.html>

Dan Gallin, Chair, Global Labour Institute. Organized Labor and Anti-Globalization Movements Opening address to the Global Labour Summit. Copenhagen, May 31-June 1, 1997.
<http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/gallin.html>

Peter Waterman and Jane Wills (eds.). 2000. Place, Space and Labour Internationalism Special Issue of *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography*.

Exploration 5: International: It's a small world after all:
<http://www.lalabor.org/International.html>

Week 7 Oct 3 The New International and the Work of Mourning

Jacques Derrida. *Specters of Marx*.

[Exploration 6:](http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/actions.htm) Peoples Global Action: Action Against Globalization:
<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/actions.htm>

Week 8 Oct 10

The End of Capitalism (as we knew it) 1

J.K. Gibson-Graham. *The End of Capitalism (as we knew it): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. Blackwells, 1996, pp.1-147.

[Exploration 7:](http://www.videoactivism.org/) The Video Activist Network. <http://www.videoactivism.org/>

Week 9 Oct 17

The End of Capitalism (as we knew it) 2

J.K. Gibson-Graham. *The End of Capitalism (as we knew it): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. Blackwells, 1996, pp. 148-265.

[Exploration 8:](http://genoaresistance.org/webnuke/html/modules.php?name=News&new_topic=10) Genoa Resistance. http://genoaresistance.org/webnuke/html/modules.php?name=News&new_topic=10

Week 10 Oct 24 Spacing the Economy as Practice 1

Henri Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*. Blackwell 1991, pp.1-228.

[Exploration 9:](http://www.undercurrents.org/q8.htm) Undercurrents: Genoa and its aftermath:
<http://www.undercurrents.org/q8.htm>

Week 11 Oct 31 Spacing the Economy as Practice 2

Henri Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*. Blackwell 1991, pp.229-434

[Exploration 10](http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2001/g8.summit/) G8 Genoa Summit 2001:
<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2001/g8.summit/>

Week 12 Nov 7 Networks, Actors, and Network Economies

Michael Peters. Anti-Globalization and Guattari's the Three Ecologies. *Globalization Archives* Volume 2: Issue 1 Winter 2002. http://globalization.icaap.org/content/v2.1/02_peters.html

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis: pp.ix-xv, 3-25.

Arturo Escobar. Notes on Networks and Anti-Globalization Social Movements. Prepared for Session on Actors, Networks, Meanings: Environmental Social Movements and the Anthropology of Activism. 2000 AAA Annual Meeting, San Francisco, November 15-19. http://www.unc.edu/depts/anthro/faculty/fac_pages/escobarpaper.html

Manue De Landa "Markets, Antimarkets and Network Economics":
<http://www.telefonica.es/fat/edelanda.html>

Harry Cleaver. 1999. Computer-Linked Social Movements and the Global Threat to Capitalism. <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/cleaver2.html>

[Exploration 11: Global Networks and NGOs:](http://www.context.org/ICLIB/IC36/Hendersn.htm)
<http://www.context.org/ICLIB/IC36/Hendersn.htm>

Supplementary Resources:

The Network Economy:

<http://publish.uwo.ca/~mcdaniel/weblinks/spaceeconomy/netecon.html>

John Law. 1992. 'Notes on the Theory of the Actor Network: Ordering, Strategy and Heterogeneity'. <http://tina.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/soc054jl.html>

Week 13 Nov 14: Rethinking Enlightenment Modernities and the Politics of the Social Majorities

Gustava Esteva and Madhu Suri Prakash. *Grassroots Post-Modernism: Remaking the Soil of Cultures*. Zed Books, 1998.

Global Resistance. *New Internationalist* 338 September 2001: <http://www.newint.org/>

[Exploration 12: Zapatista Net of Autonomy and Liberation:](http://www.actlab.utexas.edu/~zapatistas/)

<http://www.actlab.utexas.edu/~zapatistas/>

Zapatista Index: <http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/zapatista.html>

Supplementary Resources

Harry M. Cleaver. 1998. The Zapatistas and the International Circulation of Struggles. *Global Solidarity Dialogue*. <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/cleaver.html>

Who are the world's indigenous peoples? By Charles Scheiner.

<http://eserver.org/race/indigenous.html>

Kathy Seton. 1999. Fourth World Nations in the Era of Globalisation An Introduction to Contemporary theorizing Posed by Indigenous Nations. *The Fourth World Journal*. August 1999, 4(1): <http://www.cwis.org/fwj/41/fworld.html>

Week 14 Nov 21 (Re-)Visiting Empire

--Selections from Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Harvard University Press, 2000.

--Special Issue of *Rethinking Marxism* on Hardt and Negri's *Empire*.

[Exploration 13: Global Action Days Against WTO and War, Nov 9-13 2001.](http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/qatar/)

<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/qatar/>

Week 15 Nov 27 Thanksgiving Alternatives

[Meeting to be rescheduled for after Thanksgiving. Possibly December 5th]

--Beyond Neo-Liberalism and towards a democratic economy. Essays from Global Exchange.

<http://globalization.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.globalexchange.org%2Feconomy%2Fecon101%2F>

--A Better World is Possible: Alternatives to Economic Globalization.

http://www.ifg.org/alt_eng.pdf

--Commission on Global Governance. *Our Global Neighbourhood*.

<http://www.cgg.ch/contents.htm>