

**PSCI 5202W**  
**Politics of Third World Development**  
**Seminars: Thursdays 8:35 a.m. – 11:25 a.m., C665 LA**

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**Introduction**

The last two decades of the ‘short twentieth century’ have seen such momentous changes that it seems almost impossible for academic theories to map their contours. The fall of the iron curtain, the economic crisis in the East Asian societies, the growth of global terrorism etc, all surprised us with their abruptness. We are living in an era that has achieved the greatest level of economic prosperity in human history. Therefore, it is ironic that in such an era the economic disparity between the North and the South is also at its peak. The proletarianization of much of the ‘third world’ under the present neo-liberal market-driven development provides the material context for the virulent outbreaks of ethnic, nationalist and religious conflicts. The ‘first world’ is itself going through periods of economic stagnation and a profound ecological crisis.

Despite the fragility of the present ‘world order’, the so-called triumph of (neo-) liberal democracy due to the death of communism (communist states to be more accurate), saw the proponents of the former proclaiming the ‘end of history’ and the ‘end of ideology’. But, ironically, the dialectics of this triumphalist discourse has generated its anti-thesis, the seeds of its own destruction. Nothing illustrates this more than September 11. While global capitalism has integrated the world like never before, not only in terms of time and space, but also ideologically, it has at the same time created (and reinforced) numerous exclusions and marginalizations. This course will be an attempt to make sense of the debates about the latter, the ‘other’ of capitalist development, mainly from the point of view of the Third World. While all the marginalizations in the present--which take numerous forms and shapes like classes, nations, regions, ethnic and religious identities, gender and ecology--cannot be reduced to capitalist processes of development, they significantly impact their articulation. Also, these are not permanent antagonisms to capitalism. In fact, it is our task to understand their very ambivalent relationship to capitalism and imperialism. Even though the course focuses on the Third World, the perspective will be global, an unavoidable necessity in an integrated world.

**Readings:**

Available on reserve in MacOdrum Library.

## Assignments and Marking Scheme

- 1. Seminar Presentation:** Each student is required to make one seminar presentation based on a week's readings (depending upon enrolment this assignment may be shared with another student). The presentation should be of at least thirty-minute duration and should not be in the form of mere summaries of all the readings but rather a critical engagement with them. Inclusion of material from outside the course will be positively evaluated. Similarly, innovative ideas are welcome with regard to presentation (including use of audio-visual equipment). These may be discussed with the instructor beforehand. But, it should be borne in mind that form cannot be a substitute for content and substance. After the presentation, the student(s) should lead the class discussion and therefore should prepare discussion topics for the same (**1 x 20% = 20%**).
- 2. Critical Reading Responses:** Students are required to submit four critical reading responses. You can submit a response in any of the weeks other than the one in which you are making a seminar presentation. Each one shall not exceed 900 words. The response should engage with at least two of the particular week's readings. It could either provide a critique of the readings or situate them in a debate with one's own position clearly stated. It could also use the themes of the readings to highlight a particular political, economic or cultural issue in the contemporary world. The responses will be graded on critical thinking, clarity, synthesis of material and the ability to understand the key arguments of a reading (**4 x 10% = 40%**).
- 3. Class Participation:** Since this is a seminar course, participation of the students is a must. Every student is expected to do all the readings assigned for a week and contribute creatively to the discussion. Failure to attend classes will be detrimental to the overall grade (**15%**).
- 4. Final Examination:** Take-home exam issued March 30; due April 10. (**25%**).

### Week 1 (January 5)

#### *Introduction to the Course*

### Week 2 (January 12)

#### *The End of History?*

**Francis Fukuyama**, 'The End Of History?', *National Interest* 16 (Summer 1989), pp.3-18.

**Samuel Huntington**, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3) (1993), pp. 22-49.

**Perry Anderson**, *A Zone of Engagement* (London,1992), pp.279-285, 331-357.

**Seyla Benhabib**, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton, 2002), pp.1-23, 187-93.

### Week 3 (January 19)

#### *Globalization – I*

**Thomas Friedman**, *Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York, 1999), pp.39-81, 285-294.

**Kenichi Ohmae**, *The End of the Nation State* (New York, 1995), pp. 7-20, 59-70,

79-100.

**Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson**, *Globalization in Question* (London, 1999),

pp. 1-18.

John Gray, *The False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism* (London, 1998), pp.78-99.

#### **Week 4 (January 26)**

##### ***Globalization – II***

**Arjun Appadurai**, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis, 1996), pp. 27-47.

**David McNally**, *Another World is Possible* (Winnipeg, 2002), pp. 29-59.

**Leslie Sklair**, *Sociology of the Global System* (London, 1995), pp. 147-190.

**Fredric Jameson**, 'Globalization and Political Strategy,' *New Left Review* 4, (July-August 2000), pp. 49-68.

#### **Week 5 (February 2)**

##### ***Questioning Modernity***

**Enrique Dussel**, 'Beyond Eurocentrism: The World System and the Limits of Modernity', in Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyashi (eds.), *The Cultures of Globalization* (Durham, 1998), pp.3-31.

**Charles Taylor**, 'Two Theories of Modernity,' in Dilip Gaonkar (ed.), *Alternative Modernities*,(Durham, 2001), pp.172-196.

**Rajeev Bhargava**, 'Are There are Alternative Modernities?,' Unpublished Manuscript, pp. 1-19.

**Jurgen Habermas**, 'Modernity: An Incomplete Project', in H. Foster ed., *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Post-modern Culture* (London, 1985), pp.3-15.

**John Gray**, *Al Qaeda and What it Means to be Modern* (New York, 2003), pp. 5-44.

**Appadurai**, *Modernity at Large*, (pp.1-11).

#### **Week 6 (February 9)**

##### ***Nationalism and Nation-State***

Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations and Literature* (London, 1992), pp.95-113, 119-122, 311-318.

**Arif Dirlik**, *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism* (Boulder, 1997), pp.146-162.

**Leo Panitch**, 'Globalisation and the State', *Socialist Register* (1994), pp.60-93.

**Radhika Desai**, 'Nation Against Democracy: The Rise of Cultural Nationalism in Asia,' in Fahimul Quadir and Jayant Lele (eds.), *Democracy and Civil Society in Asia*, Vol.1 (Houndmills, 2004), pp.81-111.

## **Week 7 (February 16)**

### ***The Post-Colonial Critique***

Gyan Prakash, 'Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 32, 2 (April 1990), pp.383-408.

**Stephen Marglin**, 'Towards the Decolonization of the Mind', in Fredrique Apffel Marglin and Stephen Marglin (eds.), *Dominating Knowledge: Development, Culture and Resistance* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1-28.

**Dirlik**, *Postcolonial Aura* (pp.52-83, 163-185).

## **Week 8 (March 2)**

### ***The Emergence of the Local***

Manthia Diawara, 'Toward a Regional Imaginary in Africa,' in Jameson and Miyashi (eds.) *Cultures of Globalization*, pp. 103-124.

**Appadurai**, *Modernity at Large* (pp.188-199).

**Elizabeth Rata**, 'The Indigenization of Ethnicity' in Roxann Prazniak and Arif Dirlik (eds.), *Places and Politics in an Age of Globalization* (pp. 167-189).

**Margaret M. Zamudio**, 'Organizing Labor among Difference: The Impact of Race/Ethnicity, Citizenship, and Gender on Working Class Solidarity' in Prazniak and Dirlik (eds.), *Places and Politics* (pp.111-138).

**Arif Dirlik**, *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*, Chapter 4 (pp. 84-104).

## **Week 9 (March 9)**

### ***New Social Movements***

Ponna Wignaraja, 'Rethinking Development and Democracy', in Ponna Wignaraja (ed.), *New Social Movements in the South* (New Delhi: 1993), pp.4-35.

**Leslie Sklair**, 'Social Movements and Global Capitalism' in Jameson, and Miyashi (eds.), *Cultures of Globalization*, pp. 291-311.

**Henry Bernstein**, 'The Peasantry in Global Capitalism: Why, Where and Why?', *Socialist Register* (2001), pp. 25-51.

**Beverly Silver** and **Giovanni Arrighi**, 'Workers North and South', *Socialist Register* (2001), pp. 53-75.

**Lorna Weir**, 'Limitations of New Social Movement Analysis,' *Studies in Political Economy*, No. 40, Spring 1993 (pp.73-102).

## **Week 10 (March 16)**

### ***The Revolt of Gender and Ecology***

**Lynne Segal**, 'Whose Left? Socialism, Feminism and the Future', *New Left Review* 185 (January-February, 1991), pp.81-92.

**Chandra Talpade Mohanty**, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', in Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo and Lourdes Torres (eds.), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington, 1991), pp. 51-80.

- Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham**, 'Introduction: Reclaiming Anticapitalist Feminism' in Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham (eds.) *Materialist Feminism* (New York, 1997).
- Joan Martinez-Alier**, 'Environmental Justice (Local and Global)', in Jameson and Miyashi (eds.), *Cultures of Globalization* (pp.312-326).
- David Harvey**, 'What's Green and Makes the Environment Go Round?', in Jameson and Miyashi (eds.), *Cultures of Globalization* (pp.327-354).
- James H. Mittelman**, 'Globalization and Environmental Resistance Politics' in Prazniak and Dirlik (eds.), *Places and Politics* (pp.319-344).

### **Week 11 (March 23)**

#### ***Religious Terror***

#### ***and the Limits of Empire***

- Mark Juergensmeyer, 'Religious Terror and Global War', in Craig Calhoun, Paul Price, and Ashley Timer (eds.), *Understanding September 11* (New York, 2002), pp.27-40.
- Seyla Benhabib**, 'Unholy Wars: Reclaiming Democratic Virtues After September 11', in Calhoun, Price and Timer (eds.), *September 11* (pp.241-253).
- Nilufer Gole**, 'Close Encounters: Islam, Modernity, and Violence' in Calhoun, Price and Timer (eds.), *September 11* (pp.332-344).
- Fred Halliday**, *Two Hours that Shook the World* (London, 2002), pp.31-50, 167-173, 193-211.

### **Week 12 (March 30)**

#### ***Towards Liberation***

- Arturo Escobar**, 'Place, Economy and Culture in a Postdevelopment Era' in Prazniak and Dirlik, *Places and Politics*, pp.(193-217).
- Naomi Klein**, 'Farewell to "The End of History": Organization and Vision in Anti-Corporate Movements', *Socialist Register* (2002), pp.1-14.
- Alex Callinicos**, 'The Anti-Capitalist Movement After Genoa and New York', in Stanley Aronowitz and Heather Gautney (eds.), *Implicating Empire* (New York, 2003), pp. 133-150.
- Hilary Wainwright**, *Arguments for a New Left: Answering the Free-Market Right* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 258-289.
- McNally**, *Another World* (pp.229-271).

### **Academic Accommodations**

**For Students with Disabilities:** Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course are encouraged to contact the Paul Menton Centre (PMC) for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) to complete the necessary forms. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first in-class test or CUTV midterm exam**. This will allow for sufficient time to process your request. Please note the following deadlines for submitting completed forms to the PMC for formally scheduled exam accommodations: **November 7th, 2005** for fall and fall/winter term courses, and **March 10, 2006** for winter term courses.

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**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The Undergraduate Calendar defines plagiarism as: "to use and pass off as one's own idea or product, work of another without expressly giving credit to another." The Graduate Calendar states that plagiarism has occurred when a student either: (a) directly copies another's work without acknowledgment; or (b) closely paraphrases the equivalent of a short paragraph or more without acknowledgment; or (c) borrows, without acknowledgment, any ideas in a clear and recognizable form in such a way as to present them as the student's own thought, where such ideas, if they were the student's own would contribute to the merit of his or her own work. Instructors who suspect plagiarism are required to submit the paper and supporting documentation to the Departmental Chair who will refer the case to the Dean. It is not permitted to hand in the same assignment to two or more courses. The Department's Style Guide is available at: [www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf](http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/styleguide.pdf)

**Oral Examination:** At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at 4 p.m., stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, *subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean*.

**Course Requirements:** Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure – No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

**Connect Email Accounts:** The Department of Political Science strongly encourages students to sign up for a campus email account. Important course and University information will be distributed via the Connect email system. See <http://connect.carleton.ca> for instructions on how to set up your account.

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