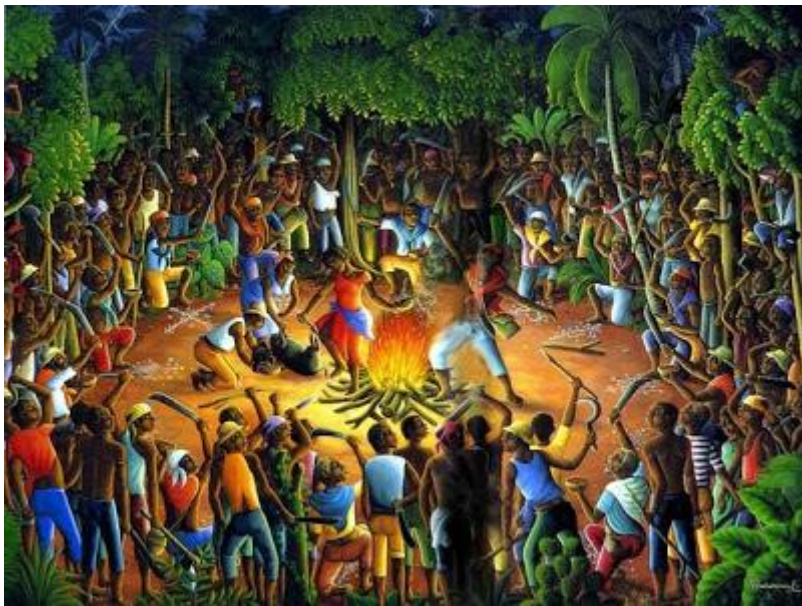


Race, Resistance, and Modernity



Module Code: SO342
Spring 2015

Convenors:

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‘The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line’ - W. E. B. Du Bois

To understand race in the twenty-first century, we have to understand its historical expressions and the ways in which it has been used to contest the establishment of inequalities on this basis.

This module enables students to understand the ways in which race has been used as a mode of resistance to various inequalities generated by the modern world. It critically engages with key historical moments in the shaping of ‘modernity’ from the Haitian Revolution to the Civil Rights movements and beyond. Equally importantly, it examines the modes of resistance to particular European forms of ‘being modern’, that is, it focuses on the resistance to the European trade in human beings and to other forms of imperialism and colonialism. It also addresses key moments in the reconstruction of the global order, on the basis of universal values such as equality and justice, as exemplified by the movements of decolonisation, the Third World Project, and Black Power movements.

The module uses historical sources as well as critical Black scholarship to examine these issues in global context and welcomes students bringing their own knowledge and expertise to bear on the discussions. It should be noted that this module is not a straightforward sociology of race and race-relations module. Rather it examines the racialized ordering of the world and of the ways of knowing that world.

The module is assessed by a final 3000 word essay on a topic of the student’s choosing within the parameters of the module. It is taught by lecture and seminar and students will also be required to submit one formative essay during the module.

Module Outline

1. Race, Resistance, and Modernity (GKB)
2. Haiti: The First Modern Revolution (GKB)
3. Contesting the Colour Line: From Emancipation to Equality (GKB)
4. Concerning Violence: Fanon, Decolonization and the New World Order (JN)
5. The Third World Project: Peace, Bread and Justice (JN)

6. Reading Week

7. Beyond the Third World: The Global South from Above and Below (JN)
8. Citizenship against Empire (GKB)
9. Black Power: From Oakland to New Zealand to Ferguson? (JN)
10. Post-Race in the 21st Century? (GKB)

Teaching:

The lecture slides will be made available to you in advance of the lecture and you are welcome to record the lectures if you wish. You are, however, required to attend the lectures in person, make notes during the lectures, and ask questions. In seminars, you are required to participate by listening, responding, contributing ideas and comments, providing constructive criticisms, agreeing, disagreeing, putting forward alternative explanations and so forth ... in order to do this well you will need to read broadly. The more you put into the seminars, the more you'll get out of them. For seminars you need to:

- (i) read selectively from the key and further seminar readings (available electronically via the library or journal archives)
- (ii) write short paragraphs answering the seminar questions
- (iii) contribute to class discussions and activities

Reading:

The reading list contains a range of key seminar readings for each week and further readings for each topic. You are expected to read and take notes on the key readings for each seminar. There are seminar questions to help you structure your reading and the further reading will also be useful in helping you answer the questions and for further research for your essay.

To access JSTOR – the electronic repository which contains many of the journal articles listed here – you need to be on campus or then to have sorted out an ATHENS login which will enable you to access the JSTOR archive from any location. You can organise an ATHENS login via the University Library by following this link:

<http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/services/library/main/electronicresources/passwords/>

General Reading

The following books will all be useful to you in thinking through the issues of this module:

- Asad, Talal 1973. *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. New York: Humanities Press
- Bhabra, Gurinder K. 2007. *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination*. Palgrave.
- Du Bois, WEB 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Various imprints
- Du Bois, WEB 1935. *Black Reconstruction*. Various imprints
- Dussel, Enrique D. 1995. *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of "the Other" and the Myth of Modernity*. New York: Continuum
- Fanon, Frantz 1961. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press
- Glissant, E. *Caribbean Discourses*.
- Shilliam, Robbie 2010. *International Relations and Non-Western Thought: Imperialism, Colonialism and Investigations of Global Modernity*. Routledge
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph 2005. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Beacon Press

Class Essays and Assessment:

Deadlines for Formative Assessment:

1500 word essay: In seminar in week 7, spring term

Deadlines for Summative Assessment

3000 word Assessed Essay: **Tuesday, 26th April 2016**

Class Essay: Formative Assessment

You are required to write a 1500 word class essay on the broad theme of 'race, resistance, and modernity'. You can decide on the particular emphasis of the question in consultation with your seminar tutor. Further details on the class essay will be made available in the seminars and you should also attend any essay writing workshops that are made available by the department and the university. Submission of class work is compulsory.

Assessed Essay: Summative Assessment

Titles are to be determined by you, in consultation with the seminar tutor, and have to be agreed **BEFORE** you start work on your essay. Your class essay can be on the same question.

General

Feedback on essays is provided in two ways: written feedback and the opportunity to discuss that feedback in office hours. Formative essays handed in by the due date will normally be returned within two weeks, with a mark and written feedback.

****Late submission of assessed work where no formal extension has been granted will incur a penalty as set out in the Undergraduate Handbook and on the Departmental website ****

Essay deadlines are not coordinated across modules and so you might find that you have to submit 3 or 4 essays in the same week. It is up to you to organise your work and prioritise so that you hand in work on time. *If you have a problem meeting a particular deadline, go to see your seminar tutor and discuss it. Don't leave it; don't ignore it – learn to deal with it effectively.* Extensions to assessed work deadlines **may** be granted in exceptional circumstances (such as ill-health and/or personal problems); they are not routine. The procedure for applying for an extension is available in the Undergraduate Handbook and on the Departmental website.

All **summatively** assessed work must be submitted within the set length. This word-length **includes** the referencing and any footnotes/endnotes, but excludes the title and any appendices (where permitted). The penalties for over-length work are set out in the Undergraduate Handbook and on the Departmental website.

ALL students are required to submit a copy of their assessed coursework electronically. Information on electronic submission will be circulated to all students prior to the submission dates for assessed coursework. **Students should be aware that under the terms of their university registration, any coursework submitted by electronic means may be subject to scrutiny by anti-plagiarism software.**

Academic Integrity

Reproducing the work of another person or persons without proper acknowledgement is known as **plagiarism** and is a breach of academic integrity. Do not copy, transcribe or present as your own the sentences, paragraphs, and ideas of other people. Be sure to cite and reference your sources, using your method of citation consistently and comprehensively. Further information on referencing and plagiarism can be found in the Undergraduate Handbook and on the Departmental and University websites. It is very important that any piece of work you submit is your own work. Cheating in exams or in submitted work is not tolerated by the Department or the University and offenders will be subject to sanctions under University Regulations, which can reduce the mark to 0%. It is very important that you understand what constitutes cheating and know how to avoid it. If you are in any doubt about your work, **ask for advice**. The usual form of referencing in Sociology is the 'Harvard system'. Some examples of this are given below. For more extensive information, please see the Undergraduate Handbook.

1. The social scientists of the nineteenth century mostly operated with an idea of modernization that endowed historical development with coherence (Iggers 1997).
 - a. This sentence uses the ideas of Iggers but in different words. As the sentence is not word for word what Iggers wrote and is a general insight drawn from his work, there is no need to use quote marks, but a reference at the end of the sentence is needed to demonstrate that the ideas contained in this sentence do not come from me, but are in fact derived from the work of Iggers.

2. The general understanding of the modern world was thus premised on the idea of modernization as 'a process of the global diffusion of Western civilisation and its key institutions' (Wittrock 1998: 19).
 - a. This sentence uses a direct quote from Wittrock and so the date and page number for the quote is needed.

3. According to Bendix (1967), modernization theory rested on three related assumptions.
 - a. I'm using a general insight from Bendix and so the date of the publication from which this insight is drawn is needed.

Office Hours

Professor Gurminder K Bhambra
Spring Term: Wednesdays 10am-11am

Dr John Narayan
Spring Term: Tuesday 11am-12pm

Week 1: Race, Resistance, and Modernity (GKB)

The introductory session to the module will go over the key themes and questions to be covered and provide students with the opportunity to ask questions about the structure and content of the module. It will also focus on a key reading that, through discussion, will provide the general framing for the themes of the module.

Essential Reading:

Bhabha, Homi 1994. 'Race', Time and the Revision of Modernity' *The Location of Culture*. Routledge

- Available as an e-book through the university library

Seminar Questions:

1. 'What is this "now" of modernity? Who defines this present from which we speak?'
2. And why does this matter?

Week 2: Haiti: The First Modern Revolution (GKB)

The French Revolution and the American Declaration of Independence are seen as revolutions that inaugurated the modern world. While both events opened up the political process to increasing proportions of their populations and established general or universal understandings of citizenship, these have come to be regarded as problematic. For example, citizenship was only available to white males over a particular age who held property. Women were denied the vote, as were black people and white men without property. One of the few constitutions of the time that did not make colour a bar to political participation was that of the Haitian Revolution. In this session, we consider the significance of the Haitian Revolution and its silence within academic discourses of modernity.

Essential Readings:

Semley, Lorelle D. 2013. 'To Live and Die, Free and French: Toussaint Louverture's 1801 Constitution and the Original Challenge of Black Citizenship,' *Radical History Review* (115): 65-90

- Available through the University Library e-journals collection

The 1805 Constitution of Haiti

- Available at this link: <http://www2.webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/history/earlyhaiti/1805-const.htm>

Seminar Questions:

1. What is the significance of the Haitian Revolution to our understandings of modernity?
2. How does the Haitian Revolution, and the idea of Black Citizenship, extend our understandings of citizenship more generally?
3. What explains the silence around the events of the Haitian Revolution in standard social science understandings of modernity and citizenship?

Further Readings:

Blackburn, R. 2011. *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights*. London: Verso

Davis, D.B. 2007. *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Dubois, L. 2004. *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution & Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, pp171-88.
- Dubois, L. 2005. *Avengers of The New World: The Story of The Haitian Revolution*. Harvard University Press.
- Fick, Carolyn E. 2007. 'The Haitian Revolution and the Limits of Freedom: Defining Citizenship in the Revolutionary Era,' *Social History* 32 (4): 394-414
- Grovogui, Siba N. 2011. 'To the Orphaned, Dispossessed, and Illegitimate Children: Human Rights Beyond Republican and Liberal Traditions,' *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 18 (1): 41-63
- James, C.L.R. 1938. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Shilliam, R. 2012. "Civilization and the Poetics of Slavery", *Thesis Eleven: Critical Theory and Historical Sociology*, 108 (1), 2012 pp.97-116.

Week 3: Contesting the Colour Line: From Emancipation to Equality (GKB)

Emancipation emerges as a key theme within European Enlightenment thought in the Old World at precisely the time that slavery is being instituted in the New. Articulated notions of freedom in European societies existed alongside continued practices of colonial domination, enslavement of populations, trade in human beings, and a belief that some had a greater right to be free than others. Freedom, while espoused abstractly as a *universal* freedom was, in practice, more circumscribed – its full enjoyment restricted to white, propertied men of some distinction. Alongside this tradition, however, there has been another tradition which developed a more expansive understanding of the concept. As Nikhil Pal Singh argues, 'the modern black freedom struggle is as old as the Atlantic slave trade and encompasses a history of resistance, refusal, revolts, and runaways' (2004: 49). It is this tradition that is the focus of this seminar.

Essential Reading:

DuBois, W. E. B. 1909. 'Evolution of the Race Problem'

- Available at this link: <http://www.webdubois.org/dbEvolOfRaceProb.html>

Bhambra, Gurminder K. 2014. 'A Sociological Dilemma: Race, Segregation, and US Sociology,' *Current Sociology* 62 (4):

- Available open access here: <http://csi.sagepub.com/content/62/4/472.full>

Seminar Questions:

1. What are the contours of 'emancipation' within African American thought?
2. How does the 'colour line' shape understandings of freedom?

Further Readings:

Bhambra, Gurminder K and Victoria Margree 2010. 'Tocqueville, Beaumont and the Silences in Histories of the United States: An Interdisciplinary Endeavour across Literature and Sociology,' *Journal of Historical Sociology* 24 (1): 116-31

Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth 1997. 'Who Stole Native American Studies?' *Wicazo Sa Review* 12 (1): 9-28

- Davis, Thomas J. 1989. 'Emancipation Rhetoric, Natural Rights, and Revolutionary New England: A Note on Four Black Petitions in Massachusetts, 1773-1777,' *The New England Quarterly* 62 (2): 248-263
- DuBois, W. E. B. 1935. *Black Reconstruction: An Essay toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*. Philadelphia: Albert Saifer Publisher
- Du Bois, WEB 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk*. Various imprints
- Ellison, Ralph 1973 [1944]. 'An American Dilemma: A Review' in Joyce A. Ladner (ed.) *The Death of White Sociology*, pp81-95. New York: Vintage Books
- Fordham, Monroe 1975. 'Nineteenth-Century Black Thought in the United States: Some Influences of the Santo Domingo Revolution,' *Journal of Black Studies* 6 (2): 115-126
- Johnson, Kimberley S. 2008. 'Jim Crow Reform and the South' in Joseph Lowndes, Julie Novkov, and Dorian T. Warren (eds) *Race and American Political Development*. New York: Routledge
- Singh, Nikhil Pal 2004. 'Decolonizing America' in *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Wilson, Francille Rusan 2006. *The Segregated Scholars: Black Social Scientists and the Creation of Black Labor Studies, 1890-1950*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press

Week 4: Concerning Violence: Fanon, Decolonization and the Neo-Imperialism (JN)

The link between decolonization and revolutionary violence has divided many for over half a century. For some violence had no place in the decolonization process and for others revolutionary violence was a necessary means to achieving liberation. In this session we will examine Frantz Fanon's work and his belief that revolutionary violence and national independence was key to negating colonial violence. We shall also examine how Fanon believed that a form of neo-imperial violence, which could not simply be addressed with revolutionary violence, was readily supplanting the violence of colonialism. The end of the session will focus on how Fanon attempted to transcend the violence of decolonization and neo-imperialism with an idea of liberation that not only offered a new vision for the post-colonial world but the whole of humanity.

Essential Readings:

Fanon, F. 2004 [1961]. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press. pp. 1-62, Conclusion

Seminar Questions:

1. Why does Fanon believe that revolutionary violence must be a 'greater violence'?
2. How does Fanon link the politics of race to capitalism and imperialism? What does this suggest about the politics of race and its relationship to class?
3. How does Fanon link the project of liberation in the Third World with the failed project of European humanism? And what does this reveal about the politics of race and decolonization?

Further Readings:

Alessandrini, A. C. 2014. *Frantz Fanon and the Future of Cultural Politics*. London: Lexington

Alessandrini, A. C. (ed.) 1999. *Frantz Fanon: Critical Perspectives*. London: Routledge

Arendt, H. 1970. *On Violence*. New York: Harvest

- Fanon, F. 2008. [1961]. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Grove Press
- Fanon, F. 1988. *Towards The African Revolution*. Grove Press
- Fanon, F. 1965. *A Dying Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review
- Frazier, E., and K. Hutchings. 2008 'On Politics and Violence: Arendt Contra Fanon.' *Contemporary Political Theory*. 7.1 (2008): 90-108
- Memmi, A, 1965 [1957]. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Beacon
- Macey, D. 2002. *Frantz Fanon: A Biography*. London: Picador
- Marable, M. 2011. *Malcolm X: A Life of Re-Invention*. New York: Viking Books
- Seki-Out, A. 1996. *Fanon's Dialectic of Experience*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press
- X, M. 1965. *Malcolm X Speaks: Selected Speeches and Statements*. New York: Grove Press

Week 5: The Third World Project: Peace, Bread and Justice (JN)

Over the next two lectures we shall examine the history of the rise and fall of the Third World Project that Fanon believed could help liberate humanity. In this session, we will trace the emergence of the Third World Project and the idea of Coloured Cosmopolitanism that ran through the anti-colonial movements of the twentieth century. This will firstly centre on tracing the rise of Third World Project from the first Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung in 1955 and examining how Third World leaders utilised the architecture of global governance to advance their agenda. This will include examining the rise of the Non-aligned Movement and the Third World's use of the United Nations to advance its agenda during the Cold War. We will then examine how both internal and external pressures from neo-imperial forces destroyed the Third World Project. The aim of this session is to bring to fore the global nature of racial resistance in twentieth century and how the politics of race and class was a global endeavour.

Essential Readings:

- Guerrera, E. 2003, *Global Justice: Liberation and Socialism*. London: Ocean Press. Chapter 1
- Mazower, M. 2012. *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*. London: Allen Lane. Chapter 9

Seminar Questions:

1. How did Che Guerrera narrate the politics of revolutionary unity between socialist and Third World nations? And how do his words on neo-colonialism echo the words of Fanon?
2. How did the Third World utilise the cold war architecture of global governance? What does this tell you about the Third World project's politics and the politics of race at this time?

Further Readings:

- Bhagavan, M. 2013. *India and the Quest for One World*. London: Palgrave
- Brown, J. 2003: *Nehru: A Political Life*. New Haven. Yale University Press
- Dosman, E.J. 2009. *The Life and Times of Raul Prebisch: 1901-1986*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press
- Duara, P. 2004. *Decolonization: Perspectives Now and Then*. New York: Routledge
- Fanon, F. 2004 [1961]. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Grove Press
- Garavani, G. 2013 *After Empires: European Integration, Decolonization, and the Challenge from the Global South*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Guerrera, E. .2003. *The Che Guerrera Reader: Writings on Politics and Revolution*. London: Ocean Press
- Grimal, H. 1978. *Decolonization: The British, Dutch and Belgian Empires, 1919-1963*. London: Routledge
- Klein, N. 2007. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. London: Penguin
- Lee, C. 2010. *Making A World After Empire: The Bandung Moment and its Political After-lives*. Athens: Ohio
- Mishra, P. 2012. *From the Ruins of Empire: The Revolt Against The West and The Remaking of Asia*. London: Penguin
- Nkrumah, K. 1965. *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons
- Prashad, V. 2008. *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*. New York: The New Press. Introduction and chapters on 'New Dehli' and 'Kingston'
- Prashad, V. 2013. *The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South*. London: Verso
- Rao, R. 2010. *Third World Protest: Between Home and the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Silver, B. 2003 *Forces of Labour: Workers Movements and Globalization since 1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Slate, N. 2012 *Coloured Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle For Freedom In The US and India*. London: Harvard University Press.

Week 6: Reading Week

Week 7: Beyond the Third World: The Global South from Above and Below (JN)

After the collapse of the Third World project in the 1980s it is generally taken that Neo-Liberalism in the advanced countries was readily exported to the Third World through the power of the IMF, World Bank and latterly World Trade Organisation. Whilst this is largely true, it also the case that the movement towards Neo-Liberalism in the Global South was about elites recovering from the collapse of the Third World Project. The story of neo-liberalism in the global south, what we can call neo-liberalism with Southern Characteristics, is therefore more complicated than first thought. In this session we firstly will examine the rise of neo-liberalism in the Global South and how the rise of the BRICS is both an acceptance of and challenge to Western hegemony. We then move onto to examining the rise of the Global South from below and events in Latin America over the last decade. This will entail examining both the hopes of liberation in the Global South and how this idea of liberation holds important questions for those of us in the Global North.

Essential Readings:

Prashad, V. .2013., *Neo-Liberalism with Southern Characteristics: The Rise of the BRICS*. Report for the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. May 2013.

- Available at http://www.rosalux-nyc.org/wp-content/files_mf/prashad_brics.pdf

Roy, A. 2014. *Capitalism: A Ghost Story*. London: Verso. Chapter 1.

Seminar Questions:

1. How do both Prashad and Roy narrate the rise of neo-liberalism in the Global South as a disarming of the Third World's revolutionary ideals?
2. Why does Prashad believe the BRICS offer both an acceptance of and challenge to Western hegemony?
3. How does linking neo-liberalism in the global south and global north help us to appreciate the facets of neo-imperialism?

Further Readings:

Chang, H. J. 2007., *Bad Samaritans*. London: Random House.

Chossudovsky, M. (2005) *The Globalization of Poverty and the New World Order*. 2nd ed. Québec: Global Research

Harvey, D. 2005., *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Klein, N. 2007. *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. London: Penguin

Klein, N. 2014. *This Changes Everything*. London: Penguin

Milanovic, B. 2012. *The Haves and the Have Nots: A Brief and Idiosyncratic History of Global Inequality*. New York: Basic Books.

Milanovic, B. 2014. 'Trends in Global Inequality and their Political Implications'

<http://glineq.blogspot.co.uk/2015/02/trends-in-global-income-inequality-and.html>

Prashad, V. 2008. *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*. New York: The New Press.

Prashad, V. 2013. *The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of The Global South*. London: Verso. Chapter 4.

Rodrik, D. 2011., *The Globalisation Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*. London: Norton.

Sen, J., and Escobar, A. (eds.) 2007. *World Social Forum*. New Delhi: Viveka Foundation.

Stiglitz, J.E .2002., *Globalisation and its Discontents*. London: Penguin Books.

Wade, R. 2011. 'Emerging World Order? From Multipolarity to Multilateralism in the G20, the World Bank, and the IMF' *Politics & Society* 9(3) 347–378

Wade, R. 2013. 'The Art of Power Maintenance: How Western States Keep the Lead in Global Organizations' *Challenge*, vol. 56, no. 1, January/February 2013, pp. 5–39.

Week 8: Citizenship against Empire (GKB)

Citizenship is one of the defining social and political categories of modernity. Its conceptualization is strongly tied to the emergence of nation-states and the structuring of international relations in terms of the sovereignty of nation-states. However, it is also predicated upon a deeper, racialized structuring of the social world – as we saw in the session on Haiti – a structuring which rarely informs debates about its constitution. In this session, we examine the development of ideas of citizenship within India and within Britain during the period of decolonization.

Essential Reading:

Jayal, Niraja Gopal 2013. Chapter 1 'The Subject-Citizen' *Citizenship and its Discontents: An Indian History*. Harvard University Press

- Course Extracts

Seminar Questions:

1. Discuss the different modes of citizenship present in India and Britain at the moment of decolonization. What implications do these have for contemporary debates on belonging?
2. What is the relationship between questions of identity and questions of citizenship?

Further Reading:

Allen, Danielle 2005. 'Invisible Citizens: on Exclusion and Domination in Ralph Ellison and Hannah Arendt,' in M. Williams and S. Macedo (eds) *Nomos XLVI: Political Exclusion and Domination*. New York: NYU Press

Gordon, Andrew and Trevor Stack 2007. 'Citizenship Beyond the State: Thinking with Early Modern Citizenship in the Contemporary World,' *Citizenship Studies* 11 (2):

Gorman, Daniel 2006. *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging*. Manchester University Press.

Hindess, Barry 2005. 'Citizenship and Empire' in Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat (eds) *Sovereign Bodies, Citizens, Migrants and States in the Postcolonial World*. Princeton University Press, pp241-56

Karatani, Reiko 2003. *Defining British Citizenship: Empire, Commonwealth, and Modern Britain*. Frank Cass Publishers

King, Desmond S. and Jeremy Waldron 1988. 'Citizenship, Social Citizenship and the Defence of Welfare Provision,' *British Journal of Political Science*, 18, 4: 415-443

Mamdani, Mahmood 1973. 'A Question of Identity' *From Citizen to Refugee*. Frances Pinter: London.

Singh, Nikhil 2004. *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy*. HUP West,

Turner, Bryan S. 1993. *Citizenship and Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications

Week 9: The Black Panthers and Coloured Cosmopolitanism: From Oakland to New Zealand to Ferguson? (JN)

The US Black Power movement and its constituent groups such as the Black Panther Party have recently gone through a process of historical reappraisal, which challenges the characterisation of Black Power as the violent, misogynist and negative counterpart to the Civil Rights movement. This lecture will focus on this historical reappraisal by highlighting how the idea of black empowerment

was simultaneously local, national, and international in scope. We will examine how Black Power should be seen as part of the 'coloured cosmopolitanism' of decolonization, which created forms of transnational unity between disparate groups of people in the 'coloured' world. This will centre on examining the legacy of the Black Panther Party as its influence stretched from its home Oakland to places as far flung as the UK, India and New Zealand. In the final part of the session we will also examine how the history of Black Panthers holds lessons for contemporary social movements such as the #BlackLivesMatter campaign and struggle against neo-imperialism in the 21st century.

Essential Readings:

- Angelo AM. 2009. 'The Black Panthers in London, 1967-1972: A Diasporic Struggle Navigates the Black Atlantic', *Radical History Review* 2009 (103): 17-35.
- Singh, Nikhil Pal. 2004. *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 5.

Seminar Questions:

1. How did the ideas and practices of Black Power challenge the sovereignty of state politics?
2. Why do you think Black Power became a global movement?
3. How have movements such as #Blacklivesmatter borrowed from the history of the Black Panthers? What could they possibly learn from the history of the Black Panthers?

Further Readings:

- Brown, E. 1992. *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Bunce, R. and Field, P. 2010. 'Obi B. Egbuna, C. L. R. James and the Birth of Black Power in Britain: Black Radicalism in Britain 1967-72', *Twentieth Century British History*.
- Bunce, R. and Field, P. 2013. *Darcus Howe: A Political Biography* (London: Bloomsbury Academic)
- Davis, C.A. 2008. *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Garza, A. 2014. 'A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement', *thefeministwire*, October 7th 2014
www.thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2/
- James, C. L. R. 1967. *Black Power: It's Past, Today and the Way Ahead*.
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/196953020/Black-Power-by-CLR-James#scribd>
- Carmichael S. and Hamilton. C.V. 1967. *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Davis, A. 1974. *Angela Davis: An Autobiography*. New York: random House
- Gilroy, P. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Joseph, P.E. 2006. *Waiting Til' the Midnight Hour: A Narrative of Black Power in America* (New York: Henry Holt and Company)
- Mazower, M. 2012. *Governing the World: The History of An Idea*. London: Allen Lane
- Newton, H.P. 1972. *To Die for the People: The writing of Huey P. Newton*. New York: Harcourt Brace
- Newton, H.P. 1973. *Revolutionary Suicide*. New York: Harcourt Brace
- Newton, H.P. 1996. *War Against the Panthers: A study of Repression in America*. New York: Harlem River Press
- Shilliam, R. 2015. *The Black Pacific: Anti-Colonial Struggles and Oceanic Connections*. London: Bloomsbury

Slate, N 2012a. *Coloured Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle For Freedom In The US and India*. London: Harvard University Press.

Slate, N. 2012b *Black Power Beyond Borders: The Global Dimensions of The Black Power Movement*. New York: Palgrave Macmillian

Week 10: Post-Race in the 21st Century? (GKB)

For the final session of the module, please read James Baldwin's letter to his nephew written in 1962 and then read Ta-Nehisi Coates' article making the case for reparations. Discuss the possibilities of being post-race in the context of these two texts.

Essential Reading:

Baldwin, James 1962. 'A Letter to my Nephew'

- Available at: <http://www.progressive.org/news/2014/12/5047/letter-my-nephew>

Coates, Ta-Nehisi 2014. 'The Case for Reparations' *The Atlantic*

- Available at: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/06/the-case-for-reparations/361631/>

Rankine, Claudia 2015. *Citizen: An American Lyric*. Penguin – read any and as many of the poems within this collection

- Excerpts from the poems are available [here](#)

Seminar Questions:

1. Is the US post-race? What examples can you use to illustrate your answer?
2. Is post-race a specifically US issue? Does it make sense to talk of other places being post-race? Can you provide examples?

Further Reading:

Alexander, M. 2012. *The New Jim Crow*. New Press

Bonvilla-Silva, E. 2013. *Racism without Racists (4th edition)*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Coates, Ta-Nehisi 2015. *Between the World and Me*. Spiegel & Grau

Goldberg, D.T. 2014. *The Sites of Race*. Cambridge: Polity Press

Goldberg, D.T. 2009. *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neo-Liberalism*. Oxford: Blackwell

Roediger, David R. 2008. *How Race Survived U. S. History: From Settlement and Slavery to the Obama Phenomenon*. London: Verso