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SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY 6265 BUNCHE HALL BOX 951473 LOS ANGELES, CA 90095-1473

PHONE: (310) 825-4601 FAX: (310) 206-9630

TO:

Muriel McClendon, Chair

General Education Governance Committee

Attn: Myrna Dee C. Kikuchi, Program Representative

A265 Murphy Hall Mail Code: 157101

From:

Stephen Aron, Chair, Department of History

Date:

March 18, 2016

Subject:

Granting General Education Credit for History 12B

This Department of History requests that General Education status in **Foundations of Society and Culture** for Historical Analysis and Social Analysis be granted for History 12B, "Inequality: The History of Neoliberalism."

This is a new course that presents an extensive historical analysis of the restructuring of the global political economy since 1970; the origins and role of neoliberal ideas hastening inequality and environmental crises, and the popular resistance to these trends. It will also offer a social analysis of the consequences of trade, monetary, fiscal, and financial policies. In addition, it will examine the expansion of national security, state privatization, and the concentration of wealth.

As one can see from the attached materials, the course addresses the GE principles that the College and all History lower division lectures require. The course looks at how the ideology developed. Also examined are race, gender, and sexual inequality as manifestations of neoliberal policies and how they are rooted in earlier histories and relationships. The proponents of this ideology and also political philosophers, historians, economist, and indigenous and feminist intellectuals who oppose it are also discussed.

This is an exciting new course which certainly warrants General Education listing and we feel the committee will agree when they read the supporting documentation.

Sincerely

Stephen Aron

Robert N. Burr Department Chair

General Education Course Information Sheet Please submit this sheet for each proposed course

	rse Number	History 12B			
Course Title		Inequality: History o	f Neolibera	alism	
Indicate if Seminar	and/or Writing II cours	se			
1 Check the reco	mmended GE founda	ation area(s) and subgrou	ps(s) for th	is course	
	ations of the Arts an				
	rary and Cultural Ana	•			
	osophic and Linguist				
• V1St	ial and Performance A	Arts Analysis and Practic	e		
Found	ations of Society and	l Culture			
Historical Analysis			X	<u> </u>	
• Soci	al Analysis				
	ations of Scientific Is	nquiry			
•		onstration Component musi	be 5 units (or more)	
	Science	•	,		
W	ith Laboratory or Dem	onstration Component must	be 5 units (or more)	
2 Briafly describ	e the rationale for ass	signment to foundation a	rea(s) and s	subgroup(s) chose	n.
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Present Number of Units:	Proposed Number	r of Units:	5
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- 6. Please present concise arguments for the GE principles applicable to this course.
- □ General Knowledge

Although listed under U.S. History, this course is really a global history and analysis of how the current post-Keynesian, postcolonial, post-Cold War world came to be; how neoliberalism emerged as the governing ideology and driver of social and economic policy. Drawing on several disciplines, students will be introduced to theories of political economy; theories of race and gender; the epistemic foundations of political liberalism and neoliberalism; social movement analysis; feminist critiques of production, reproduction, and the state; global and transnational history; climate and environmental studies.

☐ Integrative Learning

Lectures and readings introduce different theoretical and conceptual approaches to inequality – neoclassical economics, postcolonial critique, Marxist and neo-Marxist theory, subaltern studies and indigenous critical theory, environmental studies, etc. The course is organized around two intersecting histories—history of the U.S. and the world since the 1970s and a history of neoliberal ideas since the 1930s but with a discussion of its antecedents in the early 19th century. Authors range across time, discipline, and ideological spectrum – from political philosophers John Locke and Wendy Brown, to historians Vijay Prashad and Daniel Stedman-Jones, to economists as diverse as Hayek and von Mises to David McNally and David Harvey, to indigenous and feminist intellectuals such as Commandante Marcos of the Zapatistas, Silvia Frederici, and Leanne Simpsom of #IdleNoMore.

■ Ethical Implications

The problem of unprecedented inequality, the privatization of public assets and resources, the erosion of democratic institutions, and the destruction of the environment – the very subject of my course – represent, arguably, the most important issues of our time. How we got here and where we may go as a civilization is the central question of the course.

Cultural Diversity

Inequality and the "neoliberal turn" that hastened it is not simply a class issue. Race, gender, and sexual inequality are discussed in depth, both as manifestations of neoliberal policies but also rooted in much earlier histories and relationships. Mass incarceration, immigration, erosion of reproductive rights, environmental racism, state-sanctioned racial violence, structural adjustment policies, debt, and the North-South divide, are among the issues examined in the course.

Critical Thinking

Students will read across disciplines and genres—assignments draw together primary documents with historical and analytical texts. We will emphasize historical analysis, recognizing historical conjunctures, epistemic breaks in the development of modern conceptions of society, and how different analytical and theoretical frameworks produce different interpretations.

□ Rhetorical Effectiveness

Students are required to write short, well-argued papers supported by evidence and in response to prompts that push them to deepen their understanding of the nature and consequences of neoliberal policies and ideas.

□ Problem-solving

They will also be required to participate in a group project that requires collecting, organizing, and introducing key documents produced by 21st century critics of neoliberalism who are attempting to build and imagine a fundamental break with the current order. The point is to create a small "archive" of documents and collectively write an essay providing context, explaining their choices, and critically interpreting the documents themselves.

☐ Library & Information Literacy

Please see "Problem-solving."

(A) STUDENT CONTACT PER WEEK (if not applicable write N/A)				
1.	Lecture:	3	(hours)	
2.	Discussion Section:	1	(hours)	
3.	Labs:	n/a	(hours)	
4.	Experiential (service learning, internships, other):	n/a	(hours)	
5.	Field Trips:	n/a	(hours)	
(A) T(TAI Student Contact Per Week	4	(HOURS)	
(A) TOTAL Student Contact Per Week 4 (HOURS)				
(B) OUT-OF-CLASS HOURS PER WEEK (if not applicable write N/A)				
1.	General Review & Preparation:	2	(hours)	
2.	Reading	6	(hours)	
3.	Group Projects:	2	(hours)	
4.	Preparation for Quizzes & Exams:	n/a	(hours)	
5.	Information Literacy Exercises:	n/a	(hours)	
6.	Written Assignments:	2	(hours)	
7.	Research Activity:	2	(hours)	
(D) TOTAL O. (0.1 (1))				
(B) TOTAL Out-of-class time per week 14 (HOU			(HOURS)	
GRAN	ND TOTAL (A) + (B) must equal at least 15 hours/week	18	(HOURS)	
(160 kg)				

HISTORY 12B

HISTORY OF INEQUALITY: THE ERA OF NEOLIBERALISM

INSTRUCTOR: Professor Robin D. G. Kelley

Office: Bunche 5383

CONTACT: rdkelley@history.ucla.edu, 825-4601

Office Hours:

TIME: Mondays and Wednesdays, 9:30 – 10:45

PLACE:

This course explores the origins, ideas, practice, and consequences of neoliberalism--the theory that society is best organized on the principles of free trade, deregulation, and privatization. Combining political, economic, and intellectual history, the course constructs a genealogy of "neoliberal thinking" by attending to 18th and 19th century liberalism, colonialism, imperialism, social Darwinism in the so-called "Gilded Age," the rise of social democracy and its recasting of "liberal" as the welfare state, the ascendance of military Keynesianism, and Frederick Hayek's and Milton Freidman's Cold War resuscitation and revision of 19th century liberalism. We turn to the global economic crisis of the 1970s, and the subsequent restructuring of the political economy, politics, the state, and culture. While we focus on the U.S., the course considers Europe and pays particular attention to the "Third World" or Global South particularly issues of debt, austerity and structural adjustment policies, environmental destruction, and military intervention. By taking a longer view of the effects of colonialism, neocolonialism and neoliberalism on the Global South (as well as on indigenous communities in North America), we reveal how neoliberal policies represent a longer process of "accumulation" by dispossession"—a long history of enclosure and destruction of the commons—rather than a sudden radical break from the Keynesian model. The readings interrogate neoliberalism's roots. its impact on the changing character of capitalism, state functions, politics, culture, the environment, security, insecurity, precarity, foreign policy, as well as social movements resisting neoliberalism.

REQUIREMENTS: (1) You are expected to attend all lectures and sections and be prepared to participate in the discussions. Attendance is mandatory in both lectures and sections and will make up 20% of your grade;

- (2) You will be required to write two short papers between 1200 1700 words each (or approximately 5 7 pages in length). Each paper will make up 25% of your grade—totally half (50%) of your final grade. Note: there *may* be in-class pop quizzes, depending on lecture attendance and the level of overall participation in the class. These quizzes will be factored into your overall grade as well.
- (3) Your final assignment will be a group research project. I want you to investigate how 21st century *critics* of neoliberalism are attempting to build and imagine an alternative path, a fundamental break with the neoliberal order. Your mission is to find original ideas, original documents that speak to this moment, *but focused on particular themes*: e.g., prisons; debt; restoration of the commons; labor; environment, etc. As a group, you will research and gather

current documents that you would want to place in an anthology or an archive, collectively write an essay providing context, explaining your choices, and critically interpreting the documents themselves. The essay should be between 10 and 15 pages, and the documents you select should not add up to more than 30 pages. The assignment will account for 30% of your final grade. I'll say more about this in class.

I do not tolerate late papers without a plausible excuse. Late papers will be docked one-half of a grade for each day it is late. In order to participate fully in section you must keep abreast of the reading assignments.

Academic Integrity

Any written assignment must be solely the work of the student who turns it in. Compiling a written assignment by pasting together extracts from websites is unacceptable and is a form of plagiarism. **DO NOT USE WEB BASED MATERIAL.**

UCLA's policies on academic integrity and student conduct may be found at http://www.deanofstudents.ucla.edu/integrity.html http://www.deanofstudents.ucla.edu/conduct.html

REQUIRED READING (books available at UCLA bookstore)

Vijay Prashad, *The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South* (New York and London: Verso, 2012)

David McNally, *Global Slump: The Economics and Politics of Crisis and Resistance* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2011)

Daniel Stedman Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012)

Christian Parenti, *Tropic of Chaos: Climate Change and the New Geography of Violence* (New York: Nation Books, 2011)

Articles and book excerpts (all posted on line)

Online Resources

Black Women's Blueprint
CorpWatch
Detroit Digital Justice Coalition
http://www.endneoliberalism.org/
Forward Together
Idle No More

Global Network of Sex Work Projects

International Domestic Workers Network

La Via Campesina

Mexico Solidarity Network

Nation Inside

Navdanya

No History is Illegal: A Campaign to Save Our Stories

http://www.occupy.com/

SANGRAM

Sauti Yetu

Solidarity Center

Strike Debt

Sylvia Rivera Law Project

World Social Forum 2013

Young Women's Empowerment Project

LECTURES AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

March 28: The World is Flint: Defining Neoliberalism

Prashad, *The Poorer Nations*, Introduction

McNally, Global Slump, Introduction

Parenti, Tropic of Chaos, Chapters 1 & 2

Stedman-Jones, Masters of the Universe, Introduction

Jacob Lederman, "Flint's Water Crisis is No Accident," In These Times,

 $\underline{http://inthese times.com/article/18794/flint-water-crisis-neoliberalism-free-market-reforms-rick-snyder}$

VIDEO: "What is Neoliberalism?" http://sfonline.barnard.edu/gender-justice-and-neoliberal-transformations/what-is-neoliberalism/

March 30: Crimes of Liberty: Liberalism as Enclosure, Dispossession, and Slavery

Parenti, *Tropic of Chaos*, Chapter 3
Peter Linebaugh, Introduction to *The Magna Carta Manifesto*John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, Chapters 1-5, chapter 16 "Of Conquest"

April 4: The Great Transformation: Liberalism, Social Democracy, Fascism

McNally, Global Slump, Chapter 3

Stedman-Jones, Masters of the Universe, Chapter 2

Ludwig von Mises, Liberalism in the Classical Tradition (Irvington - on - Hudson, NY,

1985), pp. 1-5, 7-13.

April 6: "The Road to Serfdom": Cold War Liberalism, and the Birth of Neoliberal Thought

Stedman-Jones, *Masters of the Universe*, Chapter 4 Frederich Hayek, "The Road to Serfdom – *Reader's Digest* and Cartoon Version" PDF

April 11: First World Shock Waves: Monetarism and the Neoliberal Breakthrough

Stedman-Jones, *Masters of the Universe*, Chapters 5 and 6 McNally, *Global Slump*, pp. 85-98

April 13: Third World Shock Waves: Structural Adjustment and Planetary Violence

Prashad, *The Poorer Nations*, Chapters 1-2 Parenti, *Tropic of Chaos*, Chapters 4-6

April 18 - 20: Green Berets and "Green Revolution": Debt, Dispossession, War

McNally, *Global Slump*, 126-144 Parenti, *Tropic of Chaos*, Chapters 7 - 12

April 25 - 27: Free Trade, Unfree Labor and the Climate Capitalism

Prashad, *The Poorer Nations*, Chapter 3
Parenti, *Tropic of Chaos*, Chapters 13 – 15
EZLN, "Documents from the First Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity Against Neoliberalism" (1996) PDF

May 2 - 4: Surplus, Crisis, Debt and Dismantling the Social Wage

McNally, Global Slump, chapter 2
Stedman-Jones, Masters of the Universe, Chapter 7
Mimi Abramovitz, "Women, Social Reproduction, and the Neo-Liberal Assault on the U.S. Welfare State," PDF
Debt Collective, "The Potential of Debtors' Unions,"
https://roarmag.org/magazine/debt-collective-debtors-union/

May 9 - 11: New Enclosures: Race, Class, Criminalization

McNally, Global Slump, 113-126.

Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Craig Gilmore, "Restating the Obvious," in Michael Sorkin, ed., *Indefensible Space: the Architecture of the National Insecurity State* PDF

Karen Dolan with Jodi Carr, *The Poor Get Prison: The Alarming Spread of the Criminalization of Poverty* (Washington, D. C.: Institute for Policy Studies, 2015) PDF

Elizabeth Hinton, "'A War within Our Own Boundaries': Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and the Rise of the Carceral State," *Journal of American History* (June 2015), PDF

Torrie Hester, "Deportability and the Carceral State," *Journal of American History* (June 2015), PDF

Svati P. Shah, "Thinking Through "Neoliberalism" in the Twenty-first Century," http://sfonline.barnard.edu/gender-justice-and-neoliberal-transformations/thinking-through-neoliberalism-in-the-twenty-first-century/#sthash.j4DcjBkw.dpuf

May 16: Shrinking the Public, Undoing Democracy

Wendy Brown, "American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neo-conservatism, and De-Democratization," *Political Theory* 34, no. 6 (December 2006), 690-714 PDF

Lisa Duggan, "The Incredible Shrinking Public," and "Equality, Inc.," from Duggan, *The Twilight of Equality: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2003)

Gar Alperovitz, "How to Democratize the U.S. Economy," *Nation* (October 9, 2013), http://www.thenation.com/article/how-democratize-us-economy/

May 18: Financial Crisis 2008-10

McNally, Global Slump, Chapter 1, pp. 98 - 112

Antonio Tricarico, "The Coming Financial Enclosure of the Commons," from *The Wealth of the Commons: A World Beyond Market & State* PDF

FILM: "Inside Job"

May 23 - 25: Struggle for the Commons: Global Justice Movements in the 21st Century

McNally, Global Slump, Chapter 6

Prashad, The Poorer Nations, Chapter 4

Parenti, Tropic of Chaos, Chapter 16

Silvia Federici, "Feminism and the Politics of the Commons," from *The Wealth of the Commons: A World Beyond Market & State* PDF

Leanne Simpson, "Aambe! Maajaadaa! (What #IdleNoMore Means to Me)," Decolonization (December 21, 2012),

 $\underline{https://decolonization.wordpress.com/2012/12/21/aambe-maajaadaa-what-idlenomore-means-to-me/}$

May 30: MEMORIAL DAY - NO CLASS

June 1: The Death of Neoliberalism?

Stedman-Jones, Masters of the Universe, Conclusion and Preface

SUGGESTED READING (INCOMPLETE):

David Harvey, A Brief History of Neoliberalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Philip Mirowski, Never Let a Serious Crisis go to Waste: How Neoliberalism Survived the Financial Meltdown (New York and London: Verso, 2013)

Stuart Hall, "The Neoliberal Revolution," *Soudings: A Journal of Politics and Culture* 48 (Summer 2011), 9-27

Angus Burgin, *The Great Persuasion: Reinventing Free Markets Since the Great Depression* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012)

Jennifer Burns, Ayn Rand: Goddess of the Market (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Richard Cockett, *Thinking the Unthinkable: Think-Tanks and the Economic Counter-Revolution,* 1931-1983 (London: Harper Collins, 1995)

Hartwell, R. M. 1995. A History of the Mont Pelerin Society. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.

Helleiner, E. 1994. States and the Reemergence of Global Finance: From Bretton Woods to the 1990s. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Mirowski, P. and D. Plehwe (eds). 2009. *The Road from Mont Pelerin: The Making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Phillips-Fein, K. 2009. *Invisible Hands: The Businessmen's Crusade against the New Deal*. New York, London: Norton.

Jennifer Pitts, A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France (2005).

Milton Friedman, 1961 [2013]. Capitalism and Freedom. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund. Here.

Hayek, FA. 2001 [1944]. *The Road to Serfdom: Text and Documents—The Definitive Edition* (The Collected Works of F. A. Hayek, Volume 2). Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Hirschman, AO. 1982. 'Rival interpretations of market society: civilizing, destructive, or feeble?' *Journal of Economic Literature* 20: 1463–84.

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times* 2nd Edition (Beacon, 2001 [1944]),

Flew, T. 2014. 'Six theories of neoliberalism'. *Thesis Eleven* 122, 1: 49-71.

Hilgers, M. 2011. 'The three anthropological approaches to neoliberalism'. *International Social Science Journal* 61: 351–64.

Jessop, R. 2002. 'Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-theoretical Perspective'. *Antipode* 34(3): 452–472.

Mudge, SL. 2008. 'What is neo-liberalism?'. Socio-economic Review 6, 4: 703-731.

Carruthers, BG. 2009. 'A sociology of bubbles'. Contexts 8, 3: 22-26.

Keister, L. 2014. 'The One Percent'. Annual Review of Sociology 40: 347-367.

Major, A. 2012. 'Neoliberalism and the new international financial architecture'. *Review of Political Economy* 19,4: 536-561.

Foucault, M. [1978-1979] 2008. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Flew, T. 2012. 'Michel Foucault's The Birth of Biopolitics and contemporary neo-liberalism debates'. *Thesis Eleven* 108: 44-65.

Wendy Brown, 'Neo-liberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy.' Theory & Event 7 (2003)

Gérard Duménil and Dominique Lévy, "The Neoliberal (Counter-) Revolution," in Saad-Filho, Alfredo and Johnston, Deborah, eds., *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader*

Wacquant, Loic,

Course Revision Proposal

History 12B

Inequality: History of Neoliberalism

	Requested revisions that apply:			
	■ Renumbering ■ Title ■ Format ■ Requisites ■ Units ■ Grading ■ Description			
	Multiple Listing: ☐ Add New ☐ Change Number ☐ Delete			
	Concurrent Listing: Add New	Change Number Delete		
	CURRENT	PROPOSED		
Course Number	History 12B	History 12B		
<u>Title</u>	Inequality: History of Neoliberalism	Inequality: History of Neoliberalism		
Short Title	NEOLIBERALISM	NEOLIBERALISM		
<u>Units</u>	Fixed: 5	Fixed: 5		
	Letter grade or Passed/Not Passed	Letter grade or Passed/Not Passed		
	Primary Format Lecture	Primary Format Lecture - 3 hours per week		
	Secondary Format Discussion	Secondary Format Discussion - 1 hours per week		
TIE Code	LECS - Lecture (Plus Supplementary Activity) [T]	LECS - Lecture (Plus Supplementary Activity) [T]		
GE	No	Yes		

None

Requisites None

> **Description** Lecture, three hours; discussion, one hour. Exploration of origins, ideas, and consequences of neoliberalism -- theory that trade, deregulation, and privatization. Combination of political, economic, and intellectual history to construct genealogy of neoliberal thinking by attending to 18th- and 19th-century liberalism, colonialism, imperialism, rise of social democracy and military Keynesianism, and Mount Pelerin Society's Cold War resuscitation of 19thcentury liberalism. Coverage of economic crisis of 1970s, restructuring of global political economy in U.S., Europe, global south -- specifically debt, structural adjustment policies, environmental destruction, and military intervention. Tracing of colonial roots of global northsouth divide to reveal how neoliberal policies represent longer process of accumulation by dispossession and enclosure rather than sudden radical break from Keynesian model. P/NP or letter grading.

Lecture, three hours; discussion, one hour. Exploration of origins, ideas, and society is best organized on principles of free consequences of neoliberalism -- theory that society is best organized on principles of free trade, deregulation, and privatization. Combination of political, economic, and intellectual history to construct genealogy of neoliberal thinking by attending to 18th- and 19th-century liberalism, colonialism, imperialism, rise of social democracy and military Keynesianism, and Mount Pelerin Society's Cold War resuscitation of 19thcentury liberalism. Coverage of economic crisis of 1970s, restructuring of global political economy in U.S., Europe, global south -- specifically debt, structural adjustment policies, environmental destruction, and military intervention. Tracing of colonial roots of global northsouth divide to reveal how neoliberal policies represent longer process of accumulation by dispossession and enclosure rather than sudden radical break from Keynesian model. P/NP or letter grading.

Justification

Proposal will be submitted to GE Governance Committee. This course addresses the GE principles that the College and all history lower division lectures require.

<u>Syllabus</u>

Supplemental Information

Effective Spring 2016 Fall 2016

Date

Department History History

<u>Contact</u> Name

ANDREA LANTER

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Routing Help

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ROUTING STATUS

Role: FEC School Coordinator - Castillo, Myrna Dee Figuracion (MKIKUCHI@COLLEGE.UCLA.EDU) - 45040

Status: Pending Action

Role: Department Chair or Designee - Lanter, Andrea Knutsen (ANDREA@HISTORY.UCLA.EDU) -

Status: Approved on 4/27/2016 10:03:46 AM

Changes: TIE Code

Comments: The revision of this course to a GE course has been approved by department chair, Steve Aron.

Role: Initiator/Submitter - Lanter, Andrea Knutsen (ANDREA@HISTORY.UCLA.EDU) -

Status: Submitted on 4/27/2016 10:01:36 AM Comments: Initiated a Course Revision Proposal

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