

## The Global Color Line: American Segregation and Colonial Order

AS.190.310

Spring 2023

Tuesday/Thursday 3:00-4:15

Bloomberg 276

3 Credit Hours

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Office Hours: Thursday 12:00-2:00 p.m. in Mergenthaler 275B

### Introduction

At dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Black intellectual, W.E.B. Du Bois declared that the problem of the twentieth century was the problem of the color line. For Du Bois, the problem of the color line was not limited to the United States: it was global in scope and scale. The color line in the United States was also a problem of international order. As we sit in Baltimore, MD and study the history of global segregation, that history is still very much our present. If we walk from here on Homewood campus due East, the life expectancy will drop ten years as you leave Charles Village, cross Greenmount, and enter a predominantly Black neighborhood. Du Bois's analysis and Baltimore's present illustrate that racial segregation is not only about spatial separation: it is about how racial difference, space, and the distribution of life-making and death-making processes are all produced together in global politics. This course attempts to build on Du Bois's insights at the dawn of the twentieth century to rethink what segregation means when we place it in a global context. We will work across different subfields of Political Science (American Politics, International Relations, Political Theory), Legal Studies, Black Studies, History, Sociology, Anthropology, and Geography to ask several questions: How does the local production of racial space relate to transnational, international, and global practices of racism? What are the racist logics through which white supremacy justifies segregation? What is the relationship between the production of white life, racialized death, space, and time? How do racism and patriarchy relate to one another and how do they inform segregationist fantasies? How have Black radicals and scholars understood the experience of segregation as one of global white supremacy? What is the relationship between racism, capitalism, and segregation in these theories? Can we draw on these tools to help make sense of our present?

The course proceeds in three parts. Part one of the course examines the transnational and international circuits of Jim Crow in the United States and Apartheid in South Africa at the beginning of the twentieth century. We will examine how these projects of segregation, of life and death making in the name of racial difference and separation, were produced together across space. Through investigations of race war, race rioting, public health, sexuality, patriarchy, and police power, we will unpack the global white supremacist logics of racial segregation. Part two turns to the radical 1960s, where we examine Black radicals in the United States who theorized their own struggle against racial segregation in the United States as part of a global struggle for decolonization. Through the Black Panther Party especially, we look at theories of internal colonialism, urban uprisings, armed self-defense, and the relationship between colonial war and race war. Part three looks at four global sites of segregation: Baltimore, Chicago, Johannesburg, and Immigration Restriction. We build on the material we learned in sections one and two and work theoretically, historically, and internationally, to diagnose the logics of segregation in our present.

## Assignments

### **Short Paper #1 Due Sunday February 26<sup>th</sup>**

The first paper assignment will ask you to relate two themes we unpack in the first part of the course (race war, race rioting, public health, sexuality, urbanization, property, patriarchy, or police power), and unpack how these two logics relate to each other as part of the global white supremacy's rationales for racial segregation. The paper will be roughly 4-5 pages in length and a detailed assignment will be distributed well in advance of the due date. **Upon turning in the assignment, students will email me a date and time they wish to meet to discuss their paper and answer three questions to be decided based on the content of their paper.**

### **Short Paper #2 Due Sunday April 2<sup>nd</sup>**

This paper will ask you to draw on theories of Black radicalism in the 1960s and relate it to the content of the first part of the course. The assignment will ask you to what extent racial segregation can be understood as colonialism, and what this theoretical perspective means for how segregation is theorized and combated. The paper will be roughly 4-5 pages in length and a more detailed assignment will be distributed well in advance of the due date. **Upon turning in the assignment, students will email me a date and time they wish to meet to discuss their paper and answer three questions to be decided based on the content of their paper.**

### **Final Group Project Zine Due Sunday May 14<sup>th</sup>**

For the final project, students will be tasked with working in groups to create a zine. The zine will draw on the content and theory of the course and apply it to one of our case studies in the final weeks. The zine will place racial segregation in that city in a global and historical context, concretely theorize the relationship between colonialism and racial segregation in the present. The zine will consist of roughly 7-8 pages per member of the group (i.e. if you have three people in your group you will have an 21-24 page zine). A more detailed assignment will be distributed well in advance of the due date and course time will be dedicated to brainstorming and workshopping ideas for the zine. **If a group wishes to propose a city or a topic not initially assigned on the syllabus, they may do so by reaching out to me prior to Sunday, April 2<sup>nd</sup> and I will make the necessary changes to the syllabus.**

## Grading and Extensions

### **Grading**

This course will be graded differently from many of the courses that you are used to and will require a different set of engagements with your own learning and progress. This includes a mid-semester and end of semester reflection and self-evaluation to be completed by you, to assess your learning in the course. As noted above, this will also include meeting one on one with me to discuss your papers after turning them in. Instead of a traditional grading system, I will use the following to assess your progress:

Individual assignments will receive one of three “process grades”:

- 1 - The process you used for this essay should be revisited for the next assignment.
- 2 - The process you used produced a decent result, but there is also room for significant improvement.
- 3 - Great work! There is likely room around the edges to improve, but keep doing whatever you're doing.

I will not be unilaterally assigning a final letter grade at the end of the course. Instead, after the last class day, you will compile and review your work over the semester, complete an end-of-year reflection, write a narrative of your learning in the course, and *assign yourself* a grade.

I do reserve the right to adjust grades when there are very clear mismatches between effort and grade assigned. However, I very rarely use this power, and I will not do so as long as a) there is reasonable course engagement, and b) all assignments are turned in and meet basic expectations for college work (and I will tell you when individual assignments do not).

I have chosen to do this for a number of reasons backed by [scholarly literature on pedagogy](#). Here are some of the reasons I prefer not to do traditional grading:

- It focuses on *extrinsic* motivation (meeting external expectations) rather than *intrinsic* motivation (your own interest), which is unsustainable.
- It pits students and teachers against each other
- It pits students against each other in a competitive environment
- It treats the fundamentally unpredictable and qualitative process of learning as something quantifiable.
- It focuses too much on measuring output at the expense of growth.
- It discourages student creativity and expression, instead encouraging you to write what you think I want to hear.

This process is designed to help you think and create in a more meaningful manner. As Professor Jesse Stommel [puts it](#), “You should consider this course a ‘busy-work-free zone.’ If an assignment does not feel productive, we can find ways to modify, remix, or repurpose the instructions.”

For some of you, this may cause anxiety, which is understandable given that your education up to this point has likely mostly focused on producing quantifiable output. If it causes more anxiety than it alleviates, then feel free to talk to me at any time about your progress. If you are worried about your performance in the class, my best advice is to just do the readings, contribute to discussions, and complete the assignments.

### **Extensions**

You may take **one**, one week extension on either of two short paper assignments, no questions asked, if you email me ([jkripp1@jh.edu](mailto:jkripp1@jh.edu)) ahead of the due date to let me know you will be taking an extension.

### **Absences**

You may take **two absences**, at any point of the semester, no questions asked, if you email me ([jkripp1@jh.edu](mailto:jkripp1@jh.edu)) ahead of the class to let me know you will be missing class that day.

### **Course Policies:**

#### **Accessibility**

You **do not** have to disclose your disability status to request accommodations from me. **I do** want to know about what kinds of accommodations will make our classroom a productive learning environment for you, but I also want you to know that disclosure is a choice.

Disclosure isn't limited to disability status: it may come up with respect to past trauma, gender identity, sexuality, etc. I have a legal obligation to disclose sexual misconduct and civil rights violations to the university, so be aware of these legal obligations. Risk is inherent in any space, but in order to manage that risk in as respectful way as possible, please observe the following ground rules concerning your and other's disclosures:

- Disclosure is a complex and personal decision, and it should be voluntary.
- Disclosures are only to our classroom. Please don't discuss that information with people outside of our class without express permission.

This is a classroom committed to access: I have tried to anticipate as many kinds of situations as possible, but if any changes would facilitate your greater participation, don't hesitate to contact me. Access works best as a community effort. If you are a student with a disability and use accommodations, please contact Student Disability Services, Shaffer Hall, Suite 101, (410) 516-4720, [studentdisabilityservices@jhu.edu](mailto:studentdisabilityservices@jhu.edu) so that appropriate arrangements can be made.

### **Academic Integrity**

Students will be asked to engage in close readings that draw directly from primary texts. Even when reframing arguments in their own words, you should make sure you are properly citing the texts you are drawing from. When in doubt, cite! If you have any questions about proper citation, please consult me. Plagiarism and other issues of academic integrity will be taken seriously in this course and students should familiarize themselves with their rights and responsibilities in the following document that outlines University policies: [https://provost.jhu.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/08/Homewood-WSE\\_KSAS\\_-WSE-EP\\_KSAS-AAP-Graduate-Academic-Misconduct-Policy-2018SU.pdf](https://provost.jhu.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/08/Homewood-WSE_KSAS_-WSE-EP_KSAS-AAP-Graduate-Academic-Misconduct-Policy-2018SU.pdf)

### **Conduct**

Part of what allows for a productive discussion is the trust that we have in each other to cultivate a space where everyone feels welcome to participate. That means that everyone should feel comfortable to discuss the texts. But it also means listening attentively to others, understanding when it is time to give other people a chance to speak, and fostering disagreements in a productive and respectful way. In this course we are dealing with intense, often personal topics. Different opinions are welcome but racist, sexist, ableist, homophobic or otherwise offensive language will not be tolerated. We are dealing with difficult material throughout the class. If for any reason, you need to take a step back from the classroom space to gather yourself and your thoughts, you may do so, no questions asked.

## Reading Schedule

### **Week One: What is Segregation?**

Tuesday January 24<sup>th</sup>: Introduction

“The Story of the Contract Buyers League” available at:  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YxPX\\_uJ36bg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YxPX_uJ36bg)

Thursday January 26<sup>th</sup>: Baltimore and the Transnational Roots of Segregation

Nightingale, Carl. 2006. The transnational contexts of early twentieth-century American urban segregation. *Journal of Social History*, pp.667-702.

DuBois, W.E.B., 1925. Worlds of color. *Foreign Affairs*, 3(3), pp.423-444.

### **Part One: Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century and the Logics of White Supremacy**

#### **Week Two: Transnational Circuits of Jim Crow and Apartheid**

Tuesday January 31<sup>st</sup>: Transnational Circuits of Jim Crow and Apartheid 1

Cell, John W. 1982. *The highest stage of white supremacy*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1&2

Thursday January 2<sup>nd</sup>: Transnational Circuits of Jim Crow and Apartheid 2

Zimmerman, Angela, 2010. *Alabama in Africa*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1&3

#### **Week Three: Global Race War, Race Rioting, and Segregation**

Tuesday February 7<sup>th</sup>: Global Race War

Barder, Alexander. 2019. Scientific racism, race war and the global racial imaginary. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(2), pp.207-223.

Kripp, Jacob. 2022. The creative advance must be defended: Miscegenation, metaphysics, and race war in Jan Smuts’s vision of the League of Nations. *American Political Science Review*, 116(3), pp.940-953.

“Reviewing the West Ordinance” Letter to the Editor in the *Baltimore Sun*, October 1911

Thursday February 9<sup>th</sup>: Race Rioting

Lugard, Frederick. 1921. “The Colour Problem.” *Edinburgh Review* 476: 267-283.

Stoddard, Lothrop. 1927. *Reforging America*. Chapter 12.

Hartman, Saidiya. 2019. *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*. New York: W.W. Norton. Chapter entitled, "Riot and Refrain"

#### **Week Four: Public Health, Sexuality, and the Urban**

Tuesday February 14<sup>th</sup>: Public Health & Sexuality

Goldberg, David Theo. 2013. 3 Polluting the body politic': Racist discourse and urban location. In *Racism, the City and the State* (pp. 45-60). Routledge.

Curtin, Philip .D. 1985. Medical knowledge and urban planning in tropical Africa. *The American Historical Review*, 90(3), pp.594-613.

Bland, Lucy., 2005. White women and men of colour: Miscegenation fears in Britain after the Great War. *Gender & History*, 17(1), pp.29-61.

Thursday February 16<sup>th</sup>: The Rural and the Urban

Herbin-Triant, E.A., 2013. Southern Segregation South Africa-Style: Maurice Evans, Clarence Poe, and the Ideology of Rural Segregation. *Agricultural History*, 87(2), pp.170-193.

Shilliam, Robbie. 2019. Behind the Rhodes statue: Black competency and the imperial academy. *History of the Human Sciences*, 32(5), pp.3-27.

#### **Week Five: Patriarchy, Property, and Police Power**

Tuesday February 21<sup>st</sup>: Whiteness as Property

Harris, Cheryl. 1993. Whiteness as property. *Harvard Law Review*, pp.1707-1791.

Connolly, N.D.B. 2014. *A World More Concrete*. University of Chicago Press. Chapter One.

Thursday February 23<sup>rd</sup>: Patriarchy and Police Power

Hartman, Saidiya. 2022. *Scenes of subjection: Terror, slavery, and self-making in nineteenth-century America*. WW Norton & Company. Chapter Six.

Dubber, Markus, 2004. The power to govern Men and Things: Patriarchal origins of the police power in American law. *Buff. L aw Review.*, 52, p.1277-1346.

#### **Part Two: The Radical 1960s, Theorizing Segregation and Colonialism**

#### **Week Six: Segregation and the "Ghetto" in a Global Perspective**

Tuesday February 28<sup>th</sup>: The Ghetto and the Global

Hirsch, Arnold. 1998. *Race and the Making of the Second Ghetto*. University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1

“We Charge Genocide: The Historic Petition to the United Nations for Relief From a Crime of The United States Government Against the Negro People (1951)” available at: <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/primary-documents-global-african-history/we-charge-genocide-historic-petition-united-nations-relief-crime-united-states-government-against/>

Thursday March 2<sup>nd</sup>: Global Racial Capitalism and Slums

Davis, Mike. 2007. *Planet of Slums*. New York: Verso. Chapter 2.

Danewid, Ida. 2020. The fire this time: Grenfell, Racial Capitalism, and the Urbanisation of empire. *European Journal of International Relations*, 26(1), pp.289-313.

### **Week Seven: Segregation and Internal Colonialism**

Tuesday March 7<sup>th</sup>: Fanon and Manicheanism

“On Violence” in Fanon, Frantz. 1967 *Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Thursday March 9<sup>th</sup>: Internal Colonialism and the Black Panther Party

Robert Blauner, Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt, *Social Problems*, Volume 16, Issue 4, Spring 1969, Pages 393–408, <https://doi.org/10.2307/799949>

Allen, R.L., 2005. Reassessing the internal (neo) colonialism theory. *The Black Scholar*, 35(1), pp.2-11.

“On the Ideology of the Black Panther Party” by Eldridge Cleaver available at: <http://www.freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/Black%20Liberation%20Disk/Black%20Power%21/SugahData/Books/Cleaver.S.pdf>

### **Week Eight: Anti-Colonialism and Black Internationalism**

Tuesday March 14<sup>th</sup>: Colonialism and Intercommunalism

Malloy, Sean. 2017. *Out of Oakland: Black Panther Party Internationalism during the Cold War*. Cornell University Press. Chapter Three.

Newton, Huey P. 1974. Intercommunalism. *Viewpoint Magazine*. Available at: <https://viewpointmag.com/2018/06/11/intercommunalism-1974/>

Thursday March 16<sup>th</sup>: Reclaiming the City: Urban Uprisings as Anti-Colonial Praxis

Tyner, J.A., 2006. "Defend the ghetto": space and the urban politics of the Black Panther Party. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 96(1), pp.105-118.

Boggs, Grace Lee and Boggs, James. 1966. The City is the Black Man's Land. *Monthly Review*, 17(11). Available at:  
[https://monthlyreviewarchives.org/index.php/mr/article/view/MR-017-11-1966-04\\_4](https://monthlyreviewarchives.org/index.php/mr/article/view/MR-017-11-1966-04_4)

**Spring Break: March 18<sup>th</sup>-March 26<sup>th</sup>**

**Week Nine: Policing, Segregation, and Colonial Governance**

Tuesday March 28<sup>th</sup>: Policing Order

Film: Riotsville, U.S.A.

Fassin, Didier. 2013. *Enforcing order: An ethnography of urban policing*. Polity. Chapter One.

Thursday March 30<sup>th</sup>: Police and Colonial Governance

Manchanda, Nivi and Rosedale, Chris. 2021. Resisting racial militarism: War, policing, and the Black Panther Party. *Security Dialogue*, 52(6), pp.473-492.

Turner, Joe. 2018. Internal colonisation: The intimate circulations of empire, race, and liberal government. *European Journal of International Relations*, 24(4), pp.765-790.

**Part Three: Case Studies**

**Week Ten: Baltimore**

Tuesday April 4<sup>th</sup>

TBD

Thursday April 6<sup>th</sup>

Zine Workshop

**Week Eleven: Chicago**

Tuesday April 11<sup>th</sup> History

Nightingale, Carl. 2011. *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*. Chapter Ten.



Taylor, Keeanga-Yamahatta, 2020. The Black plague. *The New Yorker*. Available at: [http://blogs.s3.amazonaws.com/607-9467/489707\\_TheBlackPlagueArticle.pdf](http://blogs.s3.amazonaws.com/607-9467/489707_TheBlackPlagueArticle.pdf)

Thursday April 13<sup>th</sup>

Zine Workshop

**Week Twelve: Immigration as Segregation**

Tuesday April 18<sup>th</sup>

Lake, Marilyn and Reynolds, Henry. 2008. *Drawing the Colour Line*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter Thirteen.

Valdez, I., 2021. Socialism and Empire: Labor Mobility, Racial Capitalism, and the Political Theory of Migration. *Political Theory*, 49(6), pp.902-933.

Thursday April 20<sup>th</sup>

Zine Workshop

**Week Thirteen: Johannesburg**

Tuesday April 25<sup>th</sup>

Nightingale, Carl. 2011. *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities*. Chapter Eight and Nine.

Thursday April 27<sup>th</sup>

Zine Workshop