

Anthropology 519  
**Authority, Power and Political Form**  
 (The Anthropology of Politics)

Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University

Instructor: Parvis Ghassem-Fachandi

Class time: **Thurs 12:10 - 15:10 o'clock**

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Location of course: RAB 208 (D/C)

Credits: 3

Semester: Spring 2023

At the beginning of the 20th century Carl Schmitt argued that the friend-foe binary was the elementary foundation of the political. In this seminar, by contrast, we place this argument in an anthropological context, and begin with an analysis of the structure of loss in sacrifice in which killing is not considered murder and the status of the victim remains ambivalent. We will then engage, comparatively, empirical cases from the contemporary world that follow the transformations of the status of the victim in alternative political forms. More generally, we hope to understand how the organization of the social relates to the exercise of power. *Political form* here means broadly the various social and cultural configurations that organize collective and individual life *vis-a-vis* the exercise of power, the legitimacy of violence and the construction of authority. An approach to political forms implies both a sensitivity to the changes that accompanied the emergence of modern states with their administrative technologies (populations, nations, elections) and the social forms (authoritarian, democratic, totalitarian) that grew out of the rise of the modern state form in organizing territory, people, and subjectivities. Theoretical debates will include a reflection on kinship in stateless societies, ritualized forms of violence, hierarchical legitimacy, political theology, the nationalization of religious and cultural belonging, and phenomena such as rumor, propaganda, witchcraft, and projective identification as they relate to an anonymous mass. The seminar will pay particular attention to how political form becomes imminent in everyday practice, bodies, sensory experiences, memories, and identifications. Who become the legitimate victims and how does identification with an enemy unfold? This seminar is interdisciplinary with particular emphasis on the use of ethnographic materials that deal with political violence.

General Reference Works in English:

**International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences**, David L. Sills, editor.

(as far as I know this classic reference work has not been digitalized)

**Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology**, edited by Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer, Routledge. (Call number: GN307.E53 1996)

Below is a list of edited volumes and introductory monographs incompletely covering the *Anthropology of Politics*, the *Ethnography of the State*, of the *Political*, and of *Law*. The syllabus does not make specific reference to these materials in the weekly reading assignments or in the recommended sections. It is useful to view, browse, skim, and generally remain aware, of such broader works, which is why I mention them here. These readings are supplementary, not central for particular weekly themes in this course. As they might be useful for general reference

you can consult them in various libraries.

Selection of **Edited Volumes for Political Anthropology**, include:

1. **Michael Banton.** ed. 1965. *Political Systems and the Distribution of Power.* In A.S.A. Monographs. London: Tavistock Publications.
2. **Joan Vincent.** ed. 2002. *Anthropology and Politics: A Reader in Ethnography, Theory, and Critique,* Blackwell.
3. **Joan Vincent** and **David Nugent.** eds. 2004. *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics,* Blackwell.
4. **Sally Falk Moore.** ed. 2005. *Law and Anthropology: A Reader,* Blackwell.
5. **Aradhana Sharma** and **Akhil Gupta.** ed. 2006. *The Anthropology of the State: a reader,* Blackwell.
6. **Daniel Goldstein** and **Enrique Desmond Arias.** 2010. *Violent Democracies in Latin America* (The Cultures and Practice of Violence). Durham: Duke University Press.
7. **James Carrier.** 2005. *Handbook of Economic Anthropology.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
8. **Massimiliano Mollona, Geert de Neve** and **Jonathan Parry.** 2009. *Industrial Work and Life: An Anthropological Reader.* Oxford: Berg.

**Monographs for Political Anthropology**, include:

1. **Robert Lowie.** 1927. *The Origin of the State.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company.
2. **Isaac Shapera.** 1956. *Government and Politics in Tribal Society.* NY: Schocken Books.
3. **Lucy Mair.** 1962. *Primitive Government.* Penguin Books.
4. **Victor Turner, Marc J. Swartz** and **Arthur Tuden.** 1966. *Political Anthropology.* New Brunswick: Aldine Transactions.
5. **George Balandier.** 1970. *Political Anthropology.* New York: Vintage Books.
6. **Joan Vincent.** 1990. *Anthropology and Politics: Visions, Traditions, and Trends.* University of Arizona Press
7. **Donald Kurtz.** 2001. *Political Anthropology: Paradigms and Power.* Westview Press.
8. **Ted C. Lewellen.** 2003. *Political Anthropology: An Introduction.* Westport: Praeger.

**Books for Purchase for this Course**

Books are available on Reserve at Mable Smith **Douglass Library** and can be bought at the **Rutgers University Bookstore**. Second hand copies should be affordable on Amazon. They are also available in the **Reading List on Canvas** as digital copy:

1. **Sharika Thiranagama.** 2011. *In my Mother's House: Civil war in Sri Lanka.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press ISBN 9780812243420
2. **Parvis Ghassem-Fachandi.** 2012. *Pogrom in Gujarat: Hindu Nationalism and Anti-Muslim Violence in India.* Princeton: PUP ISBN 9780691151779
3. **Leo Löwenthal.** 1987[1982]. *False Prophets: Studies on Authoritarianism.* London: Routledge. ISBN 9781412857017
4. **Julien Bonhomme.** 2016. *The Sex-Thieves: The Anthropology of Rumor.* ISBN 9780986132582

**MOVING IMAGES:**

- Lene Riefenstahl. 1935. *Triumph of the Will*, 114 min. [selections]  
 Pier Paolo Pasolini. 1969. *Medea*, 106 min. [selections]  
 Joshua Oppenheimer. 2012. *The Act of Killing*, 122 min. [selections]  
 Barbet Schroeder. 2016. *The Venerable W* [*Le vénérable W*], 1hr 40 min. [selections]  
All four movies are available in Reading List on Canvas.

**READING LOAD:**

Varies, but **maximally 200 pages/week**. All required books are on in the Reading List on Canvas and selected texts are posted on Canvas. It is advisable to buy most if not all of the classic texts (e.g. at the Rutgers University Bookstore), as they might be of use in the future and frequently become unavailable (unlike edited volumes mentioned above, which remain available and hence need not be bought). Please inform me immediately if the books are either not available for purchase or not on Library Reserve. Wilhelm Reich's *The Function of Orgasm* and *The Mass Psychology of Fascism* are both available as physical copies on **Reserve** at Mable Smith **Douglass Library** (8 Chapel Drive, New Brunswick, DC). They are not available as digital copies.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING CRITERIA:**

The seminar will be discussion driven. Hence it is vitally important that you come to class having read and screened all class materials (this includes movies, if applicable). Final paper (40%), max. 15-20 pages, due by **May 11<sup>th</sup>**. Class Participation (40%) and Précis (10%) and **Powerpoint Presentation** (10%). There will also be due one **Obligatory Homework** the weekend after Spring break March 23<sup>rd</sup>. as part of the preparation for the presentation and completion of final paper (see below the week after spring recess). Attendance in each class is required (no more than two class absences are acceptable in one semester). If you miss a class please consult student colleagues to catch up.

**Précis:**

Students have to hand in the short précis (1-2 pages) **every week** during the semester at least one day before the class, i.e. on Wednesday (24 hours before class begin). A précis is a *response paper* or a *memo* (which are different names for the same thing). For the first and last week of class this imperative is canceled, but you are welcomed to hand in one anyway. The précis offers the instructor material documentation of the student's independent work outside of class. While précis might not be regularly discussed in class, they can be revised and discussed in office hours (in which case you need to bring it to the office). Auditors need only offer précis every other week. Preparing précis might help significantly in completing your final paper at the end. During the semester, all participants of the seminar will be expected to spontaneously introduce and lead discussion in which they should minimally delineate directions for argumentation and critique of the texts assigned and relevant for the week. Content questions of the texts should be addressed in discussion or in précis.

The readings given in the recommended sections of the syllabus are **not** selected as aids for clarification of the weeks' themes. They are merely offered as future references for those students who want to enter more deeply into the matters at hand. For intellectual help, please refer to the general reference work presented above. This seminar strives to build intellectual community through mutual challenge with as little antagonism as possible. Participants of the

seminar are expected to be respectful to one another and generous with their insights especially when they fundamentally disagree with one another.

### **COURSE OBJECTIVES:**

**To** provide graduate-level competency in comparative political form, theory in political anthropology, indigenous conceptions of power; elementary forms of authority (primitive-civilized, master-slave, friend-foe, father-son, man-woman), legitimate and illegitimate forms of authority and political phenomena in relation to culture, history, and society. Students will learn to comprehensively read diverse theoretical approaches to politics while practicing critical discussion, argumentation, and disputation skills. They will be able to appraise modern and classic anthropological as well as other work. One reason to engage theory is to show its inadequacy in accounting for the realities in the world. Another is to supplement descriptions of the world that without theory are equally inadequate and naïve. The course will remain sensitive to diverse national traditions in theorizing politics, conceptions of culture and society.

**To** help advanced students gain proficiency in the use of critical thinking skills in their assessment of analytical texts on politics, history, society and culture, political theory, anthropological and ethnographic exposition (description), media representation, and psychoanalysis.

**To** provide students with the training of reading and presentation skills, the use of central concepts, and a comparative approach to politics, as well as cultural and social difference.

**To** provide students with the academic tools for specialized work through the use of professional dictionaries and encyclopedias.

**Week 1.** (Thurs. January 19)*Origins, Sacrifice, Communion, Death*

**James George Frazer.** 1960[1906-1915]. Chapter XXIV, The Killing of the Divine King, pp. 288-307, Chapter XXV, Temporary Kings, pp. 308-313, and Chapter XXVI, Sacrifice of the King's Son, pp. 314-317, and Chapter XXVII, Succession to the Soul, pp. 318-319. In *The Golden Bough*, abridged edition, Vol. I, London: Macmillan and Co. **[28 pages]**

**William Robertson Smith.** 1889. Lecture VII, First-Fruits, Tithes, and Sacrificial Meals, pp. 244-268 and Lecture VIII, The Original Significance of Animal Sacrifice, pp. 268-311, and from Lecture IX, The Sacramental Efficacy, pp. 312-352. In *Religion of the Semites*, London: Adam and Charles Black. **[107 pages]**

Recommendation: Susan L. Mizruchi. 1998 Sacrificial Arts and Sciences. In *The Science of Sacrifice*. American Literature and Modern Social Theory, pp. 25-88; Nancy Jay. 1992. *Throughout Your Generation Forever: Sacrifice, Religion, and Paternity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

**Week 2.** (Thurs. January 26)*Origins, Society*

**Sigmund Freud.** 1950[1912/1913]. The Return of Totemism in Childhood, In *Totem and Taboo: Some points of agreement between the mental lives of savages and neurotics*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Chapter IV, pp. 100-161 (with special emphasis on sections 4-7, pp. 132-161). [In case you use the older W.W. Norton & Company paperback, it is pp. 125-200, and sections 4-7 are on pages 164-200] **[29 pages]**

**Émile Durkheim.** 1995 [1912]. Origins of these Beliefs (Conclusion). Origin of the Notion of Totemic Principle, or Mana. In *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Chap. 7, Translation by Karen E. Fields, pp. 207-241. [In case you use the more recent translation by Carol Cosman published by Oxford in 2001, Chapter 7 is pages 153-182] **[34 pages]**

**Georg Simmel.** 1950[1908]. The Negative Character of Collective Behavior. In *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Translation by Kurt Wolff (eds.), pp. 396-401 **[5 pages]**

Recommendation: Girard, René. 1977 *Violence and the Sacred*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Chapter I-II, pp. 1-69.

**TWO PUBLIC TALKS:**

**A. Krystal Ashlee Smalls. Lunch Discussion at 12:00 in Lounge in RAB, 3<sup>rd</sup> floor** as well as **Public Talk at 3:30pm, RAB 001 on Friday January 20.** "Matter(ing) and Meaning: The Raciosemiotics of Contemporary Black Diaspora in Digital and Analog Life." (Sponsored by Anthropology)

**B. Damien Stankiewicz. Mo. January 30<sup>th</sup>, 17:30, RAB 001.** "Adjacent Discourse: On Talking and Not Talking about Politics in a Far-Right Town in France."

(Sponsored by Anthropology and Center for European Studies)

### DISCUSSION OVER WEDNESDAY WORKSHOP LUNCH:

**C. Audrey Trushke. Wed. February 1<sup>st</sup>, 12:00, RAB Lounge** (third floor). “Academics under Attack: The Case Study of Far-Right Hindu Nationalism“ (Sponsored by Anthropology)

**Week 3.** (Thurs. February 2)

#### *Origins, Excess and the Teleological Suspension of the Ethical*

**Georges Bataille.** 1989[1967]. Part Two, Chapter III, Sacrifices and Wars of the Aztecs, pp 45-60, and Chapter IV, The Gift of Rivalry: “Potlatch,” pp. 63-77. In *The Accursed Share*, Vol.1. New York: Zone Books [29 pages]

**Orlando Patterson.** 1998. Feast of Blood: “Race,” Religion, and Human Sacrifice in the Postbellum South, pp. 169-232. In *Rituals of Blood: Consequences of Slavery in Two American Centuries*. New York: Basic Civitas [63 pages]

**Alan Dundes.** 1991. The Ritual Murder of Blood Libel Legend: A Study of Antisemitic Victimization through Projective Inversion. In *The Blood Libel Legend: A Casebook in Anti-Semitic Folklore*, ed. by Dundes, pp. 336-360 [24 pages]

**Søren Kierkegaard.** 1985[1848]. Speech in Praise of Abraham and Problematika I. In *Fear and Trembling [orig. Frygt og Bæven]. Dialectical Lyric by Johannes de silentio*. Penguin Books, Introduction by Alastair Hannay, pp. 49-56 and pp. 83-95 [21 pages]

Recommendation: David Shulman. 1993. Chapter 1, Introduction, pp. 1-17, and Chapter 2, The Little Devotee according to Cekkilar, pp. 18-47. In *The Hungry God: Hindu Tales of Filicide and Devotion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press [46 pages]

**Week 4.** (Thurs. February 9)

#### **Hierarchy, Power and Aesthetics**

**Ibn Battutah.** 2002[1355]. The City of Dihli and Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, Chapter 9, pp. 161-181. In *The Travels of Ibn Battutah*. Edited by Tim Mackintosh-Smith. Abridged from translation by Sir Hamilton Gibb and C.F. Beckingham (1958). London: Picador [20 pages]

**Clifford Geertz.** 1983. Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power. In *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology*. Basic Books, Chapter 6, pp. 121-146 [25 pages]

**Benedict Anderson.** 2006[1990]. The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture, Part 1 (Power), pp. 17-77. In *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Equinox (originally Cornell University Press). [60 pages]

Recommendation: James T. Siegel. 1986. The Javanese Language and Related Matters. In *Solo in the New Order: Language and Hierarchy in an Indonesian City*, Chapter One, pp. 15-33, [18 pages]; James T. Siegel. 1986. A Neighborhood in the New Order: Hierarchy and Social Order. In *Solo in the New Order: Language and Hierarchy in an Indonesian City*, Chapter, pp. 34-58 [24 pages]; Ernst H. Kantorowicz. 1957 [1997]. The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology. Princeton University Press; Clifford Geertz. 1980. *Negara: The Theater State in Nineteenth Century Bali*. Princeton University Press

**Week 5.** (Thurs. February 16)**Headless Power**

**Meyer Fortes and E. Evan Evans-Pritchard.** 1940[1964]. *African Political Systems*, Preface (by Radcliffe Brown), pp. i-xxiii, and Introduction, pp. 1-23. London: Oxford University Press. **[46 pages]**

**E.E. Evans-Pritchard.** 1940. The Nuer of the Southern Sudan, pp. 272-296. In *African Political Systems*, London: Oxford University Press. **[24 pages]**

**E.E. Evans-Pritchard.** 1971. Spirit and the Social Order, Chapter III, pp. 106-122. In *Nuer Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press **[18 pages]**

**Pierre Clastres.** 1980[2010]. Archeology of Violence: War in Primitive Societies, Chapter 11, pp. 237-277. In *Archeology of Violence*, by Pierre Clastres. Translated by Jeanine Hermans, Semiotext(e). **[40 pages]**

Recommendation: E.E. Evans-Pritchard. 1971. Some Reflections on Nuer Religion, Chapter XIII, pp. 311-322. In *Nuer Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press. [11 pages]; Sharon Elaine Hutchinson. 2002. Nuer Ethnicity Militarized, Chapter 2, pp. 39-52. In *The Anthropology of Politics: A Reader in the Ethnography, Theory, and Critique*. Edited by Joan Vincent; Eduardo Viveiros de Castro. 1980 [2010]. The Untimely Again, Introduction, pp. 9-49. In *Archeology of Violence*, by Pierre Clastres, Translated by Jeanine Hermans, *Semiotext(e)*

**Week 6.** (Thurs. February 23)**Malevolent Power**

**James T. Siegel.** 2006. The Truth of Sorcery and Voodoo Death. In *Naming the Witch*, Chapters 1 & 2, pp. 29-69 **[40 pages]**

**Julien Bonhomme.** 2016. Beware the Sex Thieves, Sex Crisis, and Witchcraft, Strangers in Town, In *The Sex Thieves: The Anthropology of Rumor*, Intro and Chapters 1 & 2, pp. 1-46. **[46 pages]**

**Week 7.** (Thurs. March 2)**Symbol, Ideology, Form**

**Elias Canetti.** 1962[1960]. National Crowd Symbols. In *Crowds and Power*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, pp. 169-179 **[11 pages]**

**Etienne Balibar.** 1991[1988]. The Nation Form: History and Ideology. In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein (eds.). London: Verso, pp. 86-106 **[20 pages]**

**Benedict Anderson.** 1991[1983]. Introduction, pp. 1-7, Cultural Roots, pp. 9-36, The Origins of National Consciousness, pp. 37-46. In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso **[41 pages]**

1998. The Goodness of Nations, pp. 360-368. In *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World*. London: Verso **[8 pages]**

**Laurent Berlant.** 1996[1993]. The Theory of Infantile Citizenship. In *Becoming National. A Reader*. Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (eds.), New York: OUP, pp. 495-507

**[7 pages]**

Recommendation: Jill Lepore. 2018. Of Citizen, Persons, and People. In *These Truths: A History of the United States*. W.W. Norton & Company, pp. 311-360 [49 pages]; W. Lloyd Warner. 1959. Part I. Politics and Symbolic Usage. In *The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans*, pp. 9-51 [42 pages]

**Week 8.** (Thurs. March 9)**Origins, The Maternal Nation**

**Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.** 1991 [1837]. The Oriental World. In *The Philosophy of History*, Translation by J. Sibree, “India” and “India Buddhism,” Part I, Section II, pp. 139-172 **[45 pages]**

**Jawaharlal Nehru.** 2004 [1946]. The Panorama of India’s Past. In *The Discovery of India*, pp. 49-69 **[11 pages]**

**Lise McKean.** 1996. Bharat Mata: Mother India and Her Militant Matriots. In *Devi: Goddesses of India*. University of California Press, John S. Hawley and Donna M. Wulff (eds.), pp. 250-279 **[29 pages]**

**Charu Gupta.** 2001. The Icon of the Mother: Bharat Mata, Matri Bhasha and Gau Mata. In *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community: Women, Muslims and the Hindu Public in Colonial India*. Palgrave, pp. 196-221 [25 pages]

**Sándor Ferenczi.** 1926. The Problem of Acceptance of Unpleasant Ideas—Advances in Knowledge of the Sense of Reality. In *Further Contributions To the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis*, pp. 366-379 **[13 pages]**

Recommendation: James T. Siegel. 1998. A New Criminal Type in Jakarta: The Nationalization of Death. In *A New Criminal Type in Jakarta. Counter-Revolution today*, Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 90-119 [29 pages]; Tanika Sarkar. 2001. Imagining Hindu Rashtra. In *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion, and Cultural Nationalism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 163-190 [33 pages]

**Spring Recess From March 11<sup>th</sup> to March 19<sup>th</sup>****Week 9.** (Thurs. March 23)**Reactionary Violence**

**P. Ghassem-Fachandi.** 2012. Chapter 1, “Why do you leave? Fight for Us,” 31-58, Chapter 2 Word and Image, pp. 59-92, Chapter 5, Vibrant Vegetarian Gujarat, pp. 153-184, Chapter 8, Heterogeneity and the Nation, pp. 257-272. In *Pogrom in Gujarat: Hindu Nationalism and anti-Muslim Violence in India*. Princeton: PUP **[92 pages]**

Recommendation: Georg Simmel. 2008. [1907]. Der Mensch als Feind: Zwei Fragmente aus einer Soziologie [transl. “Mensch as Enemy: fragments of a sociology”], pp. 194-201. In *Individualismus der modernen Zeit und andere Abhandlungen*. Hrsg. Otthein Rammstedt. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp [to my knowledge, this text is not yet translated into English] [7 pages]

**Week 10.** (Thurs. March 30)**European Identification**



**John Borneman.** 1992. State, Territory, and Identity Formation in the Postwar Berlins. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1): 44-61 [17 pages]

**John Borneman.** 2018. The Berlin Wall as Border Regime. 2018. Published as John Borneman. 2018. “*Il muro di Berlino.*” *Europa. Vol. 3. Culture E Societa.* Eds. Marc Lazar, Mariuccia Salvati, Loredana Sciolla, 58-70. Rome: Istituto Della Enciclopedia Italiana. [12 pages]

**John W. Borneman and Stefan Senders.** 2011. Politics Without a Head: Is the Love Parade a New Form of Political Identification? Part 3, pp. 166-188. In *Political Crime and the Memory of Loss.* Indiana University Press [22 pages]

**Nick Paumgarten.** 2014. Berlin Nights: The Thrall of Techno. *The New Yorker*, March 17, pp. 1-18 [18 pages]

**Konrad H. Jarausch.** 2010. The Federal Republic at Sixty: Popular Myth, Actual Accomplishments and Competing Interpretations. In *German Politics Society*, Vol. 28, No. 1, Spring, pp. 10-26 [16 pages]

Recommendation: Etienne Balibar. 2004. Homo Nationalis: An Anthropological Sketch of the Nation Form. In *We, the People of Europe?* Princeton: Princeton University Press; Serhat Güney, Cem Pekman & Bülent Kabas. 2012. Diasporic Music in Transition: Turkish Immigrant Performers on the Stage of “Multikulti” Berlin. *Popular Music and Society*, Vol 37, No. 2, pp. 132-151 [19 pages]; Clint Smith. 2022. Monuments to the Unthinking. *The Atlantic*, November 14, pp.1-45 [44 pages]

**Week 11.** (Thurs. April 6)

## Legitimacy & Authority

**Max Weber.** 1956[1921/22]. The Types of Legitimate Domination, Chapter III, pp. 212-223, The Transformation of Charisma in a Democratic Direction, Chapter III, pp. 266-271, The Genesis and Transformation of Charismatic Authority, Chapter XIV, pp. 1121-1131. In *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* [orig. *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*]. London: University of California Press. [26 pages]

**Marshall D. Sahlins.** 1963. Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 5, No.3, pp. 285-303. [18 pages]

**Claude Lefort.** 1988[1986]. The Question of Democracy, Chapter 1, pp. 9-20. In *Democracy and Political Theory.* Translated by David Macey. Polity Press. [11 pages]

**Pierre Bourdieu.** 1991[1982]. Delegation and Political Fetishism, pp. 203-219. In *Language and Symbolic Power.* Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. [16 pages]

**Jan-Werner Müller.** 2016. Introduction: Is Everyone a Populist? and What Populists Say. In *What is Populism?* Philadelphia: UPenn, pp. 1-6 and pp. 6-40 [40 pages]

Recommendation: Maurice Bloch. 2007. Symbols, song, dance and features of articulation: Is religion an extreme form of traditional authority? In *Ritual, History, and Power: Selected Papers in Anthropology*, Chapter 2, pp. 19-45. Oxford: Berg (London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology) [26 pages]; Parvis Ghassem-Fachandi. 2019. Reflections in the Crowd: Delegation, Verisimilitude, and the Modi Mask. In *Majoritarian State: How Hindu Nationalism is Changing India.* Chatterji, Hansen, Jaffrelot (eds.). London: Hurst & Company, pp. 83-98 [15 pages]

**HOMEWORK DUE:**

Abstract due for the final paper. Choose a **populist political leader** of your choice for analysis (a paragraph to maximally one page). This short text can be an *anticipatory summary*, a *synopsis*, a *mental map* or a *layout* of your planned final written work and will be discussed individually in office hours. For alternative topics please contact the instructor.

**Week 12.** Thurs. April 13)

**Authoritarianism**

- Leo Löwenthal.** 1987[1982]. False Prophets: Studies on Authoritarianism. In *Communication in Society*, Volume 3, pp. 3-57 and pp. 103-152 **[103 pages]**
- Dexter Filkins.** 2019. Blood and Soil in Narendra Modi's India. *The New Yorker*, December 2 **[24 pages]**
- Steve Coll.** 2021. In India, Narendra Modi's Government is using the courts to attack civil rights. *The New Yorker*, April 19 **[4 pages]**
- Ishaan Tharoor.** 2022. Trump's personality cult and the erosion of U.S. democracy. *The Washington Post*, August 19 **[3 pages]**
- Steven Lukes.** 2019. Trump's Charisma. In *Antidemocracy in America: Truth, Power, and the Republic at Risk.* Klinenberg, Zalom and Marcus (eds.) New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 199-206 **[7 pages]**

**Week 13.** (Thurs. April 20)

**Nationalism and Collapse in Sri Lanka**

- Sharika Thiranagama.** 2011. In My Mother's House: Civil War in Sri Lanka. Philadelphia: UPenn, [selections]

**PUBLIC TALK:**

**D. Sharika Thiranagama. Thurs. April 20.** Location & Time TBA. "Nationalism and Collapse in Sri Lanka." (Sponsored by Anthropology and South Asia Studies Program)

**Week 14.** (Thurs. April 27, LAST CLASS)

**Totalitarian and Fascist Power**

- Wilhelm Reich.** 1970[1933]. The Authoritarian Ideology of the Family in the Mass Psychology of Fascism. In *The Mass Psychology of Fascism.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, pp. 34-74 **[40 pages]**
- Georges Bataille.** 1997[1933], The Psychological Structure of Fascism, In *The Bataille Reader*, Part II Heterology, pp. 122-146 **[24 pages]**
- Hannah Arendt.** 1953. Ideology and Terror: A Novel Form of Government. *The Review of Politics*, pp. 303-327, Vol. 15, No. 3, July **[24 pages]**
- Claude Lefort.** 1986 [1971]. The Image of the Body in Totalitarianism. In *The Political*

*Forms of Modern Society: Bureaucracy, Democracy, Totalitarianism*, Chapter 9, pp. 292-306.  
Cambridge MIT Press

**[14 pages]**

Recommendation: Claude Lefort. 2002. Thinking with and against Hannah Arendt. *Social Research*, Vol. 69, No. 2, pp. 447-459; Hannah Arendt. 1951. The Temporary Alliance between the Mob and the Elites, pp. 3-38. In *Totalitarianism: Part Three of the Origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego: Harvest Books [35 pages]; Michael Geyer. 2002. “There is a land Where Everything is Pure: Its Name is Land of Death”: Some Observations on Catastrophic Nationalism. In *Sacrifice and National Belonging in Twentieth-Century Germany*, Eghigian and Berg (eds.), pp. 118-147 [29 pages]; Carl Schmitt. 1985[1922]. Political Theology. Chapter III, pp. 36-52. In *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. Chicago: University of Chicago press, pp. 36-52 [16 pages]; Wilhelm Reich. 1968[1927]. An Abortive Biological Revolution. In *The Function of the Orgasm*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, pp. 190-248 (with particular emphasis on 233-248) [58 pages]