

McMaster University
Department of Political Science

POLSCI 715 / GLOBALST 716
Liberalism and Imperialism
Winter 2017, Term 2

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Seminar: Wednesday, 2:30 – 5:20, KTH 709

Office hours: Wednesday, 12:00 – 2:00 (or by appointment)

As a political philosophy, liberalism is animated by basic commitments to moral universalism, political equality and the preservation of individual rights and freedoms. Yet the modern era during which it developed was also a time of unprecedented colonial and imperial expansion, from Europe to the rest of the world. What is the relationship between Western, liberal political thought and the project of imperialism? How were theories grounding universal human rights and political egalitarianism made compatible with, and even used to justify, imperial and colonial domination? How should we – contemporary liberals and non-liberals alike – think about traditions of political thought mired in historical injustice and exclusion?

This course will examine the complex and often contradictory relationship, both historical and conceptual, between liberal political theory and imperialism. We will read canonical thinkers in the history of modern political thought in order to examine not only how they defended or criticized imperialism, but also, how they perceived the non-European world. In so doing, we will pay particular attention their conceptualizations of history, human development, diversity/difference, progress, and civilization.

We will proceed (roughly) chronologically, moving from the early modern era in which liberalism's foundations were laid, to the Enlightenment, to the 19th century's high period of liberal imperialism, to a range of 20th century responses and reflections on the legacy – and ongoing impacts – of empire and domination in liberal political thought. While our focus is squarely on liberalism, we will not be restricted to it. We will examine the roots of liberalism, treating the conceptual moorings preceding any recognizably liberal doctrine (but that have been retrospectively incorporated into the “tradition”); we will engage its critics and interlocutors, past and present; and we will occasionally delve into neighbouring ideologies and political philosophies, when it helps shed light on our concerns.

This course is a **research seminar**. As a **seminar**, it will require significant student participation; regular attendance, careful preparation and active involvement will be

essential. As a **research** course, students will be expected to read extensive primary and secondary texts, particularly in preparing the final paper.

Course Format and Grading

The course will meet for a three hour seminar weekly. Each session will involve some (very light) lecturing, group discussions and student presentations.

1. Attendance and participation: 20%
2. In-class presentation: 15%
3. Paper presentation: 15%
4. Research paper: 50%

Your **participation** grade will be gauged by consistent attendance, and by active and informed participation. You will be expected to have completed the readings and be ready to discuss them. As a graduate seminar, the course will revolve around our discussion of the salient issues, rather than lectures; the expectation will be that you've read and understood the materials, and that you've thought about what we should discuss from them.

Each student will be responsible for one 15-minute **in-class presentation**, for which you will sign up on the first day of the course. The presentation should aim to do several things. First, it should *briefly* introduce the central themes and ideas in the week's readings. This should *not* be the focus of your presentation, but should rather just take a minute or two to situate the central ideas in question. Secondly, and more importantly, the presentation should raise what you think are the most interesting, controversial, and/or perplexing ideas, themes or conundrums stemming from the week's readings. You are more than welcome (but not at all obligated) to go beyond the readings themselves; you should feel free to introduce any additional ideas, examples or materials (from the recommended readings or from outside of them) that you think will help us to sort through what's most interesting about the week's theme. In short, the presentation should raise the ideas or arguments that you think we need to discuss as a class, and should include a few questions to that end. Overall, then, it aims to have you critically evaluate what's most important for us to think about and to initiate our discussions on the subject, to which I will add my own questions and comments.

The **research paper** will be 6000-8000 words, and will be on a topic of your own choosing. It can be based on the themes/ideas/readings from the course, or on a different subject altogether (within the constraints of the course's subject, broadly speaking, and subject to my approval). You are required to discuss your paper topic with me ahead of time to have it approved. The paper will be due at the beginning of class on March 8.

Our final class, on April 5, will be dedicated to your **research paper presentations** – we will run something of a mini-conference on your work. Each student will prepare a 15 minute presentation based on your research paper – its subject, central ideas, and/or research question. The purpose of the presentation is threefold. First, it will provide you

with an opportunity to develop presentation skills in a friendly and collegial environment; this aims to prepare you to present papers at professional academic conferences. Second, it will allow us all to learn a bit about what everyone is working on. Third, it will enable both me and other students to ask a few questions and offer some constructive criticisms regarding your paper. Finally, it will provide us with a great opportunity to start a rousing conversation that we will continue over drinks at the pub following the end of the final class.

Required Texts

Thomas McCarthy, *Race, Empire and the Idea of Human Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Uday Singh Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)

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

Jeanne Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism: Anglo-American Decline and the Politics of Deflection* (Oxford University Press, 2014)

James Tully, *On Global Citizenship: James Tully in Dialogue* (Bloomsbury, 2014)

Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014)

Online Course Pack (OCP; will be posted on Avenue); Online Resources (OL)

Full disclosure: I'm finishing up a book on this topic and would love to get your feedback on various sections of it. I've included chapters where they're relevant to the week's material (in the recommended readings), which will be included in the Online Course Pack. Any and all comments and criticisms are very much welcome.

Avenue to Learn

This course will employ McMaster's online learning platform to distribute materials and communicate grades. Make sure your account is active, and that you check it regularly during the term.

Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster email accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with me.

In-Class Technology Policy

While laptops are permitted in the course to take or consult notes, please respect your colleagues (and me!) by refraining from using the internet for non-course-related matters (Facebook comes to mind). Cell phone usage is **strictly prohibited** during the seminar.

Grade Appeals and Extensions

You are free to appeal the grade of your paper or presentations. However, I will only consider appeals based on substantive reasons. Appeals will consequently require you to provide a half-to-full-page explanation laying out the grounds for your case. If you provide adequate reasons for me to reconsider your grade, I will do so in light of your explanation.

Extensions for the paper will **ONLY** be extended to students unable to submit in time due to extraordinary circumstances. This will require **official documentation** (for example, an official medical certificate) explaining your circumstances.

Academic Integrity

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials earned are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g., the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: “Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty”), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is the students’ responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty, please refer to the Academic Integrity Policy, located at <http://www.mcmaster.ca/academicintegrity>

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty:

1. Plagiarism, e.g., the submission of work that is not one’s own or for which other credit has been obtained.
2. Improper collaboration in group work.
3. Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

Course Modification Statement

The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check

his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Students who require academic accommodation must contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University's Policy for Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-Mail Communication Policy

Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student's own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student's responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Email Forwarding in MUGSI:

<http://www.mcmaster.ca/uts/support/email/emailforward.html>

*Forwarding will take effect 24-hours after students complete the process at the above link.

Course Schedule

Jan. 4: Introduction: What is Liberalism?

No required reading. However, if you're interested in an excellent overview of the literature on liberalism and imperialism, see Duncan Bell's "The Dream Machine: On Liberalism and Empire", in his recent book Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire. For a wider survey of political theory and imperialism, see Jennifer Pitts' "Political Theory of Empire and Imperialism", Annual Review of Political Science 13 (2010), 211-235.

Jan. 11: Reason and Dominion: Vitoria and Spanish Imperialism

Reading:

-Francisco de Vitoria, "On the American Indians". **OCP**

-Robert Williams, *The American Indian in Western Legal Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3-9; 59-120. **OCP**

Recommended:

- Anthony Pagden, "Dispossessing the barbarian: the language of Spanish Thomism and the debate over the property rights of the American Indians", in Anthony Pagden (ed), *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79-98.
- Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory 1513-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).
- Anthony Pagden, "Conquest and the Just War: The 'School of Salamanca' and the 'Affair of the Indies'", in Sankar Muthu (ed) *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), 30-60.
- J. A. Fernandez-Santamaria, *The State, War and Peace: Spanish Political Thought in the Renaissance 1516 – 1559* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 58-119.

Jan. 18: Working the Land Right: Locke and Property in America

Reading:

- John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*. If you've read Locke's *Treatises* way too many times for way too many courses, just read Chapter 5; if it's been a while (or if you haven't read it way too many times), read Chapters 1-5. **OL**
- David Armitage, "John Locke, Carolina, and the *Two Treatises of Government*", *Political Theory*, 32, no. 5 (2004). **OL**
- Duncan Ivison, "Locke, Liberalism and Empire", in *The Philosophy of John Locke: New Perspectives*, ed. Peter R. Anstey (New York: Routledge, 2003). **OCP**
- David Armitage, "John Locke: Theorist of Empire?", in Sankar Muthu (ed) *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), 84-111. **OCP**

Recommended:

- Barbara Arneil, *John Locke and America: The Defence of English Colonialism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
- James Tully, *An Approach to Political Philosophy, Locke in Contexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Jan. 25: Kant, Race and Universal History

Reading:

- Immanuel Kant, "An answer to the question: What is enlightenment?" and "Toward perpetual peace". **OL**
- Immanuel Kant, "Of the different races of human beings"; "Idea for a universal history with a cosmopolitan aim"; and "On the use of teleological principles in philosophy", in

Robert B. Loudon and Günter Zöllner (eds) *Anthropology, History and Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). **OCP**
-McCarthy, Ch. 2.

Recommended:

- Robert Bernasconi, "Kant as an Unfamiliar Source of Racism", in Julie K. Ward and Tommy Lott (eds), *Philosophers on Race: Critical Essays* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002), 145-166.
- Charles Mills, "Kant's *Untermenschen*", in Andrew Valls (ed), *Race and Racism in Modern Philosophy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 169-193.
- Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, "The Colour of Reason: The Idea of "Race" in Kant's Anthropology" in Katherine M. Faulkner (ed), *Anthropology and the German Enlightenment: Perspectives on Humanity* (Cranbury, NJ, Bucknell University Press, 1995).
- Sankar Muthu, "Humanity and Culture in Kant's Politics", in *Enlightenment Against Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).
- Mark Larrimore, "Antinomies of Race: Diversity and Destiny in Kant", *Patterns of Prejudice* 42 (4-5) 2008, 341-363.
- Pauline Kleingeld, "Kant's Second Thoughts on Race", *The Philosophical Quarterly* 57 (229) 2007, 573-592.
- Inder S. Marwah, *Millian Liberalism*, Chapter 3, pp. 1-7, 39-72.

Feb. 1: A Progressive Conservative? Burke Against Enlightenment/Empire

Reading:

- Edmund Burke, "Speech in Opening the Impeachment of Warren Hastings" and "Speech on the Fox East India Bill". **OCP**
- Mehta, Ch. 5.

Recommended:

- Pitts, Ch. 3.
- Margaret Kohn and Daniel O'Neill, "A Tale of Two Indias: Burke and Mill on Race and Slavery in the West Indies and America," *Political Theory* (April 2006).
- Uday Singh Mehta, "Edmund Burke on Empire, Self-Understanding, and Sympathy", in Sankar Muthu (ed) *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), 155-183.
- Sara Suleri, "Edmund Burke and the Indian Sublime," in *The Rhetoric of English India*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- Daniel O'Neill, *Edmund Burke and the Conservative Logic of Empire* (University of California Press, 2016).
- Iain Hampsher-Monk, "Edmund Burke and Empire", in in Duncan Kelly (ed) *Lineages of Empire: The Historical Roots of British Imperial Thought* (Oxford University Press, 2009).

Feb. 8: Liberalism's Empire: Mill, Civilization and India

Reading:

-John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Ch. 1; *Considerations on Representative Government*, Ch. 2-4, 16; “Civilization”; “A Few Words on Non-Intervention”, in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, in 33 Volumes*; available online at http://oll.libertyfund.org/index.php?option=com_staticxt&staticfile=show.php%3Ftitle=165&Itemid=28. **OL**
-Pitts, Ch. 5.

Recommended:

-Mehta, Ch. 3.
-McCarthy, Ch. 6
-Bhikhu Parekh, “Decolonizing Liberalism”, in Alexander Shtromas (ed), *The End Of ‘Isms’?: Reflections on the Fate of Ideological Politics after Communism's Collapse* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).
-Bhikhu Parekh, “Liberalism and Colonialism: A Critique of Locke and Mill,” in Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh (eds), *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge and Power* (London, 1995), p. 97.
-Martin Moir, Douglas M. Peers, and Lynn Zastoupil (eds) *J.S. Mill's Encounter With India* (University of Toronto Press, 1999).
-Lynn Zastoupil, *John Stuart Mill and India* (Stanford University Press, 1994).
-Pratap Mehta, “Liberalism, Nation and Empire,” in Sankar Muthu (ed) *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), 232-260.
-Inder S. Marwah, “Complicating Barbarism and Civilization: Mill’s Complex Sociology of Human Development.” *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 32 (2) 2011, 345-366.
-Inder S. Marwah, *Millian Liberalism*, Chapter 5.

Feb. 15: Liberalism, Imperialism and Capitalism (or, Marx’s Sort-of Critique of Liberal Imperialism)

Reading:

-Karl Marx, “The British Rule in India,” “The Future Results of British Rule in India”, “The East India Company – Its History and Results”, “Manifesto of the Communist Party”. **OL**
-V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, “Preface to the French and German Editions”, “Imperialism, as a Special Stage of Capitalism”, “The Critique of Imperialism”, “The Place of Imperialism in History”. **OCP**
-Gabriel Paquette, “Colonies and Empire in the Political Thought of Hegel and Marx”, in Sankar Muthu (ed) *Empire and Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2012), 292-323. **OCP**

Recommended:

- Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton University Press, 2007), Ch. 1-4.
- Aijaz Ahmad, "Marx on India," in *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literature* (New York: Verso, 1992), 221-242.
- Anthony Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980).
- Marx and Engels, *On Colonialism: Articles from the 'New York Tribune' and other Writings* (New York: International Publishers, 1972).
- Karl Marx,
- Shlomo Avineri (ed) *Karl Marx on Colonialism and Modernization: His Despatches and Other Writings on China, India, Mexico, the Middle East and North Africa* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, 1968).
- Charles A. Conant, "The Economic Basis of 'Imperialism'", *The North American Review* 167 (502) 1898: 326-340.

Feb. 22: NO CLASS – MID-TERM RECESS

Mar. 1: Liberalism, Recognition and Indigeneity in Canada

Reading:

- Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*.

Recommended:

- Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Duke University Press, 2014).
- James Tully, *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).
- Audra Simpson and Andrea Smith (eds), *Theorizing Native Studies* (Duke University Press, 2014).
- Robert Nichols, "Indigeneity and the Settler Contract Today", *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 39 (2) 2013.
- Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

Mar. 8: The Critique of Neo-Colonialism, and a Civic Alternative

Reading:

- James Tully, "Lineages of Contemporary Imperialism", in Duncan Kelly (ed) *Lineages of Empire: The Historical Roots of British Imperial Thought* (Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Tully, "On Global Citizenship".

Recommended:

- Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).
- Enrique Dussel, “Eurocentrism and Modernity (Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures)”, *boundary 2* 20 (3) 1993, 65-76.
- Enrique Dussel, “The ‘World-System’: Europe as ‘Center’ and its ‘Periphery’ Beyond Eurocentrism,” in *Colonialism and Its Legacies*, ed. Jacob Levy with Iris Marion Young (Lexington, 2011), pp. 97-120.
- James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key, Vol. II: Imperialism and Civic Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), particularly “On Law, Democracy, and Imperialism”.

Mar. 15: Contemporary Liberal Imperialism: Advocates and Critics

Reading:

- Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (Penguin: 2004), Introduction and Conclusion. **OCP**
- Michael Ignatieff, “The American Empire; the Burden”, *New York Times Magazine*, available here: <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/01/05/magazine/the-american-empire-the-burden.html>.
- Jeanne Morefield, *Empires Without Imperialism: Anglo-American Decline and the Politics of Deflection* (Oxford University Press, 2014), Introduction, Chapters 4, 6.

Recommended:

- Michael Ignatieff, “The New World Disorder”, *New York Review of Books*, Sept. 25, 2014 Issue.
- Michael Ignatieff, *Empire Lite: Nation-Building in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan* (Penguin 2003).
- Niall Ferguson, *Empire* (remainder).
- Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire* (Penguin, 2005).

Mar. 22: Subaltern Studies and the Critique of Historicism

Reading:

- Ranjit Guha, “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India”, “The Small Voice of History”, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency”. **OCP**
- Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Subaltern History as Political Thought”. **OCP**
- Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, Introduction, Chapter 1. **OCP**

Recommended:

- Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Subaltern Studies and Postcolonial Historiography," *Nepantla: Views from the South*, 1 (2000): 9-32.
- Ranjit Guha, "Projects for our Time and their Convergence" and "Introduction to the *Subaltern Studies Reader*", in *The Small Voice of History* (Permanent Black, 2009).
- Partha Chatterjee, "After Subaltern Studies," *Economic and Political Weekly*, XLVII (2012): 44-49.
- Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonialism and the Specter of Capital* (Verso, 2013).
- Exchange between Vivek Chibber and Partha Chatterjee:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xbM8HJrxSJ4>.

NOTE: This introduction to Subaltern Studies sheds light on one facet of a much wider set of critical arguments in postcolonial theory. For just a few works of/on post-colonial theory:

- Edward Said, *Orientalism*
- Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271-314.
- Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
- Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
- Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).
- Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 2001).

Mar. 29: Moving Forward? Liberalism and Progress, Past and Present

Reading:

- McCarthy, Ch. 5-7, Conclusion.
- Mehta, Introduction, Chapter 2.

Recommended:

- James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key, Vol. II: Imperialism and Civic Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Jurgen Habermas, "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace, with the Benefit of 200 Years' Hindsight", in James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann (eds), *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997).
- S. N. Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities." *Daedalus* 129 (2000), 1-29.
- Charles Taylor, "Two Theories of Modernity", in Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (ed), *Alternative Modernities* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 172-196.
- Amy Allen, *The End of Progress: Decolonizing the Normative Foundations of Critical Theory* (Columbia University Press, 2016).

-“The British Empire and its Liberal Mission,” *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 78, no. 3 (September 2006), 623-642.
-Inder S. Marwah, *Millian Liberalism*, Chapter 6.

Apr. 5: Paper presentations.