



SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME
2008 TRIMESTER 1

INTP250: SPECIAL TOPIC: RACE IN WORLD POLITICS
CRN 15287

COURSE OUTLINE

Lecturer: Dr Robbie Shilliam
Room: MY509
Phone: 5613
Email: robbie.shilliam@vuw.ac.nz
Lecture Times: Tuesdays & Thursdays 13.10 – 14.00 pm
Venue: 77 Fairlie Tce LT306
Office Hours: will be announced at the first lecture and posted on my office door and Blackboard. You are also welcome to telephone or email me.
Tutorial times: T.B.A.

Course aims:

The aim of this course is to introduce students to the theoretical and practical importance of race in the historical construction of our modern world order, as well as to allow students to assess the continued – and possibly transformed - significance of race for contemporary world politics. The course is structured in two main parts: race in the history of world politics; and race in contemporary world politics. By tackling the various topics in the course students will re-examine, but from a novel perspective, a number of concepts and issue areas all of which hold contemporary importance for the International Relations discipline (IR). Although the focus of the course is on political issues, adequately analysing “race” nevertheless requires an inter-disciplinary approach that combines issues in anthropology, history, sociology and literature. A secondary aim of the course, therefore, is to allow students to cultivate an inter-disciplinary approach to the concepts and issue areas debated within IR.

By the end of the course, students passing the paper should be able to:

- Assess the degree to which an awareness of the politics of race is necessary in order to adequately explore the concepts and issue areas of IR.
- Have some empirical knowledge of historical and contemporary events and circumstances that are related to the racial dimension of world politics.
- Have explored the theoretical and conceptual challenges involved in explaining “race” as a constitutive element of modern world politics.

ASSESSMENT: READ THESE NOTES VERY CAREFULLY

The course will be assessed on the following basis:

1) Two research essays (each worth 25% of your total course mark)

You will find on the Blackboard course resources section a guide to essay writing. The aim of the research essay is to appraise the ability of students to conduct research and formulate an argument in **2000-2500 words**. You CANNOT simply write on a theme. **You must pick essay questions from the list of questions at the end of this course outline.** If you wish to formulate your own question you MUST FIRST okay this with your tutor. You must do at the very LEAST 3 readings, and these 3 CANNOT ALL be required readings. If you don't stick to this, you will be penalised.

Research essays are due by 12 noon Friday 4th April (week 6) and 12 noon Friday 23rd May (week 11).

2) Final Exam (worth 50% of your total course mark)

The aim of the examination is to assess the ability of students to integrate and use the knowledge they acquire during the course and their ability to structure ideas in accessible, comprehensive, and coherent essays.

There will be a **three hour**, closed-book examination at the end of the trimester. Students will be required to write answers to three essay questions, all of which carry equal marks. The exam will be held during the exam period, 2nd June to 25th June. The exact date and location will be announced nearer the time.

Essential texts:

All the required readings have been placed in a course notes pack, *INTP250 Course book 2008*, is available at Student Notes on the ground floor of the Student Union Building. There are no text books on race in world politics available. You can order student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop the day after placing an order online. Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays) 10.00 am – 1.00 pm Saturdays. Phone: 463 5515 (Kelburn campus)

Mandatory Course Requirements:

To gain a pass in this course each student must:

- Submit all the written work specified for this course, on or by the specified dates (subject to such provisions as are stated for late submission of work).**
- Sit the final exam and pass the exam with a mark of at least 40%**

PLEASE NOTE that **Friday 8 June 2008** is the FINAL DATE on which any written work can be accepted by the Programme, since this is the date on which we must determine whether students have met the course requirements. This means that the provision for late submission with a penalty does not apply beyond this date. Permission to submit work after 8 June must be sought in writing from the Head of Programme, and will only be granted for serious medical reasons (supported by medical certificate), or in case of serious personal crisis.

NB: A student who has obtained an overall mark of 50% or more, but failed to satisfy a mandatory requirement for a course, will receive a K grade for that course, while a course mark less than 50% will result in the appropriate fail grade (D, E or F).

Penalties:

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays—a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds, e.g., illness (presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary) or similar other contingencies. In such cases prior information will be necessary.

Workload:

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote 15 hours per week to INTP250. This includes 2 hours of lectures per week and a 1 hour tutorial.

Aegrotats:

Please note that under the Assessment Statute (Sections 4.5) students may now apply for an aegrotat pass in respect of any item of assessment falling within the last three weeks before the day on which lectures cease. In the case of **first** trimester courses in 2008 the starting point for this period is **Monday 14 May 2008**.

The following rules apply:

- where a student is not able to sit a test falling within these last three weeks because of illness or injury etc., an alternative test will be arranged where possible. If the student has completed in the view of the course supervisor, sufficient marked assessment relevant to the objectives of the course, an average mark may be offered. Where a student has an essay or other piece of assessment due in the last three weeks, and has a medical certificate or other appropriate documentation, the student will be given an extension.
- if none of the above is available to the student, e.g., if she/he has an ongoing illness, than an aegrotat will be considered. See Assessment Statute (Sections 4.5) for a full explanation of the rules governing the provision of aegrotats in these circumstances.

GENERAL UNIVERSITY REQUIREMENTS**General University policies and statutes**

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the Victoria University Calendar available in hard copy or on the VUW website at

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/calendar.aspx>

Student and Staff Conduct

The Statute on Student Conduct together with the Policy on Staff Conduct ensure that members of the University community are able to work, learn, study and participate in the academic and social aspects of the University's life in an atmosphere of safety and respect. The Statute on Student Conduct contains information on what conduct is prohibited and what steps are to be taken if there is a complaint. For information queries about complaint procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct, contact the Facilitator and Disputes Advisor or refer to the statute on the VUW policy website at:

www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy/students.aspx

The Policy on Staff Conduct can be found on the VUW website at:

www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy/staff.aspx

Academic Grievances

If you have any academic problems with your course you should talk to the tutor or lecturer concerned; class representatives may be able to help you in this. If you are not satisfied with the result of that meeting, see the Head of School or the relevant Associate Dean; the VUWSA Education Coordinator is available to assist in this process. If, after trying the above channels, you are still unsatisfied, formal grievance procedures can be invoked. These are set

out in the Academic Grievance Policy which is published on the VUW website at:

www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy/students.aspx

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity is about honesty – put simply it means *no cheating*. All members of the University community are responsible for upholding academic integrity, which means staff and students are expected to behave honestly, fairly and with respect for others at all times.

Plagiarism is a form of cheating which undermines academic integrity. The University defines plagiarism as follows:

The presentation of the work of another person or other persons as if it were one's own, whether intended or not. This includes published or unpublished work, material on the Internet and the work of other students or staff.

It is still plagiarism even if you re-structure the material or present it in your own style or words.

Note: It is however, perfectly acceptable to include the work of others as long as that is acknowledged by appropriate referencing.

Plagiarism is prohibited at Victoria and is not worth the risk. Any enrolled student found guilty of plagiarism will be subject to disciplinary procedures under the Statute on Student Conduct. All cases will be recorded on a central database and severe penalties may be imposed. Consequences of being found guilty of plagiarism can include:

- an oral or written warning
- cancellation of your mark for an assessment or a fail grade for the course
- suspension from the course or the University.

Find out more about plagiarism, and how to avoid it, on the University's website:

www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx

Students with Impairments (see Appendix 3 of the Assessment Handbook)

The University has a policy of reasonable accommodation of the needs of students with disabilities. The policy aims to give students with disabilities the same opportunity as other students to demonstrate their abilities. If you have a disability, impairment or chronic medical condition (temporary, permanent or recurring) that may impact on your ability to participate, learn and/or achieve in lectures and tutorials or in meeting the course requirements, please contact the course coordinator as early in the course as possible. Alternatively, you may wish to approach a Student Adviser from Disability Support Services (DSS) to discuss your individual needs and the available options and support on a confidential basis. DSS are located on Level 1, Robert Stout Building:

telephone: 463-6070

email: disability@vuw.ac.nz

The name of your School's Disability Liaison Person is in the relevant prospectus or can be obtained from the School Office or DSS.

Student Support

Staff at Victoria want students to have positive learning experiences at the University. Each faculty has a designated staff member who can either help you directly if your academic progress is causing you concern, or quickly put you in contact with someone who can. In the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences the support contacts are Dr Allison Kirkman, Murphy Building, room 407 and Dr Stuart Brock, Murphy Building, room 312. Assistance for specific groups is also available from the Kaiwawao Maori, Manaaki Pihipihinga or Victoria International.

In addition, the Student Services Group (email: student-services@vuw.ac.nz) is available to provide a variety of support and services. Find out more at:

www.victoria.ac.nz/st_services/

VUWSA employs an Education Coordinator who deals with academic problems and provides support, advice and advocacy services, as well as organising class representatives and faculty delegates. The Education Office (tel. 463-6983 or 463-6984, email at education@vuwsa.org.nz) is located on the ground floor, Student Union Building.

Manaaki Pihipihinga Maori and Pacific Mentoring programme

1. Academic mentoring for all Maori & Pacific students at all levels of under graduate study for the faculties of Commerce & Administration and Humanities & Social sciences. Contact Manaaki-Pihipihinga-Programme@vuw.ac.nz or phone 463 6015 to register for Humanities & Social Science mentoring and 463 8977 to register for mentoring for Commerce and Administration courses
2. Post graduate support network for the above faculties, which links students into all of the post grad activities and workshops on campus and networking opportunities
3. Pacific Support Coordinator who can assist Pacific students with transitional issues, disseminate useful information and provide any assistance needed to help students achieve. Contact: Pacific-Support-Coord@vuw.ac.nz or phone 463 5842

We are located at: 14 Kelburn Parade back court yard Room 109 D (for Humanities mentoring & some first year commerce mentoring) or Room 210 level 2 west wing railway station Pipitea (commerce mentoring space). Maori Studies mentoring is done at the marae. Pop in and see us to register with the programme (and use our study spaces and computer suites and free cups of tea and coffee while you study)

Course outline:

INTRODUCTION		
26 th & 28 th Feb	1	Why Study Race in Contemporary World Politics, and For Whom Does It Matter?
RACE IN THE HISTORY OF WORLD POLITICS		
4 th & 6 th Mar	2	Racism and Slavery
11 th & 13 th Mar	3	Abolition / Slave Revolution
18 th & 20 th Mar	4	Ideologies of European Imperialism: "Orientalism" and the "Civilizing Mission"
27 th Mar (only)	5	Pacific Encounters
1 st & 3 rd Apr	6	Japanese Empire and the League of Nations
		<i>First research essay due 4th April</i>
8 th & 10 th Apr	7	Race and the Human Rights agenda: The Holocaust, Apartheid, and Cold War Politics
RACE IN CONTEMPORARY WORLD POLITICS		
29 th Apr & 1 st May	8	The "New Racism" and "Islamophobia"
6 th & 8 th May	9	"Failed States": Development, Security and Race
13 th & 15 th May	10	Globalisation versus Indigeneity
20 th & 22 nd May	11	Rastafari as a Global Culture
		<i>Second research essay due 23rd May</i>
27 th & 29 th May	12	Cosmopolitanism Without Race?

Course content and reading list:

- **PLEASE NOTE:** “further readings” listed in each week are there to facilitate your investigation into specific topics when you come to writing your research essays. **THERE IS NO REQUIREMENT FOR YOU TO READ EVERY SINGLE READING ON THIS LIST!**
- If you cannot access one of the further readings listed below, please ask your tutor.
- Each week’s list of “considerations” is just a set of questions for you to ponder as you go through the required readings.

1. Why Study Race in Contemporary World Politics, and For Whom Does It Matter?

Lectures: 26th & 28th Feb

Considerations:

- To what extent is “race” a natural aspect of human diversity?
- Isn’t race a problem of the past and not of the present?
- Is the study of black politics only of importance to black people?

Required readings:

- C.C. Mukhopadhyay, R. Henze & Y.T. Moses, *How Real is Race?* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), ch.4 pp.61-73.
This short chapter is on genetics and race.
- Howard Winant, “The Modern World Racial System”, in Floya Anthias and Cathie Lloyd(eds.), *Rethinking Anti-racisms: From Theory to Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2002) http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/winant/World_Racial_System.htm
A challenge to the assumption that we now live in a “post-racist” world order
- CLR James, “Black Studies and the Contemporary Student”, in *At the Rendezvous of Victory* (London, 1984).
A seminal Caribbean thinker, this is an address by James in the 1960s. It’s a critical look at “black studies” as a separate discipline. It rambles a bit, so don’t worry about making copious notes, but concentrate on what James is saying about the place of “black studies” in academia.

[How caucasoids got such big crania and why they shrank – Leonard Lieberman current anthropology 42 1 2001](#)

[Ivan Hannaford – race- the history of an idea in the west john hplins press 1996](#)

Further readings:

- Howard Winant, *The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II* (NY: Basic Books, 2001)
- Howard Winant, “Race and Race Theory”, *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 2000, pp.169-185
- George Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton University Press, 2002)

- Paul Gilroy, "After the Great White Error... The Great Black Mirage", in Donald Moore et al (eds), *Race, Nature, and the Politics of Difference* (Duke University Press, 2003)
- Alastair Bonnett, "White Studies Revisited", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (1), 2008
- Kenan Malik, *The meaning of race : race, history and culture in Western society* (NY University Press, 1996)
- Robert Vitalis, "The Graceful and Generous Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations", *Millennium* 29 (2) 2000
- M. Banton, "Racism Today: a Perspective From International Politics", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (3), 1999
- Charles Mills, *The Racial contract* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)
- J.M. Hobson & J.C. Sharman, "The Enduring Place of Hierarchy in World Politics: Tracing the Social Logics of Hierarchy and Political Change", *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (1), 2005
- R. Gordon, "Critical Race Theory and International Law", *Villanova Law Review* 45 2000
- R.L. Doty, "The Bounds of 'Race' in International Relations", *Millennium* 22 (3), 1993

2. Racism and Slavery

Lectures: 4th & 6th Mar

Considerations:

- To what extent has New World slavery been central to the development of the modern world?
- Are the roots of European racism to be found in the economic imperatives of New World slavery, or do they have an older cultural root?

Required readings:

- Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Global Transformations: Anthropology and the Modern World* (Palgrave, 2003), pp.29-35
This is a brief overview of how the creation of an Atlantic economy linking the Americas, Europe and Africa was so fundamental to shaping the world that we now inhabit.
- Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Various editions, (1944)), ch.1
The classic and extremely influential argument that racism was a consequence and not a cause of New World slavery
- James Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1), 1997
An important article arguing that the roots of racism existed in Europe prior to New World slavery

Further readings:

- D. Armitage and M.J. Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (London: Palgrave, 2002), **chapters by Chaplin and Armitage**
- David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Cornell University Press, 1966)
- David Brion Davis, "Constructing Race: A Reflection", *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1), 1997
- David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford University Press), **especially chapter on the American Revolution**
- Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery* (London: Verso, 1997), **especially, Introduction**
- Beckles, H. 1997. Capitalism, Slavery and Caribbean Modernity. *Callaloo* 20 (4)
- Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power : the Place of Sugar in Modern History* (Penguin, 1986)
- Mintz, S.W. 1996. Enduring Substances, Trying Theories: The Caribbean Region as Oikoumene. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2 (2): 289-311
- Drescher, S. 1997. *Capitalism and Slavery After Fifty Years*. *Slavery and Abolition* 18 (3): 212-227
- Santiago-Valles, K. 2005. Racially Subordinate Labour Within Global Contexts: Robinson and Hopkins Re-Examined. *Race and Class* 47 (2): 54-70

- Helen Scott, "Was there a Time Before Race? Capitalist Modernity and the Origins of Racism", in C. Bartolovich and N. Lazarus (eds), *Marxism, modernity, and postcolonial studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- K. Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (NY University Press, 1996)
- Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (London: Verso, 1993)

3. Abolition / Slave Revolution

Lectures: 11th & 13th Mar

Considerations:

- Was slavery defeated by the 19th century abolitionist movement?
- Did white men free black slaves, or did slaves free themselves? And is this a question that holds contemporary significance?

Required readings:

- Joel Quirk, "The Anti-Slavery Project: Linking the Historical and Contemporary", *Human Rights Quarterly* 28 (2006)
This article challenges the assumption that the 19th century abolitionist movement dealt slavery a killing blow
- Marcus Rediker, "Sunday Forum: No more slaves" *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, April 29, 2007 <http://www.post-gazette.com/pg/07119/781649-109.stm>
This very short commentary criticises the focus of the recent film, Amazing Graze, upon (white) British politicians!
- Thomas Reinhardt, "200 Years of Forgetting: Hushing up the Haitian Revolution", *Journal of Black Studies* 35 (4): 246-261
This article attempts to reclaim the pivotal importance of the only successful slave revolution of modern times for the ending of New World slavery

Further readings:

- Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (Womens Press, 1981). *The first two chapters of this book draw out the extremely important way in which abolitionism and anti-slavery were organically linked to the women's rights movement in North America*
- Sojourner Truth, "Ain't I a woman?" (1851), <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/sojtruth-woman.html> *See if you can figure out how this famous speech combines issues of race and gender in order to secure women's rights. For Sojourner's life story see <http://www.lkwdpl.org/wihohio/trut-soj.htm>*
- Adam Hochschild, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves* (Houghton Mifflin, 2005)
- T. Bender (ed), *The Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Uni of California Press, 1992)
- Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Popular Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1987)

These are examples of how the abolitionist movement has been dealt with in IR

- Keene, E. 2007. A Case Study of the Construction of International Hierarchy: British Treaty-Making Against the Slave Trade in the Early Nineteenth Century. *International Organization* 61: 311-339.
- Addelmann, E.A. 1990. Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society. *International Organization* 44 (4): 479-526

- Kaufmann, C.D. and Pape, R.A. 1999. Explaining Costly International Moral Action: Britain's Sixty-Year Campaign against the Atlantic Trade. *International Organization* 53 (4): 631-668
- Klotz, A. 2002. Transnational Activism and Global Transformations: The Anti-Apartheid and Abolitionist Experiences. *European Journal of International Relations* 8 (1): 49-76
- Neta Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge University Press, 2001)

All of the following question, in various ways, the idea that emancipation in the 19th century ended the problem of slavery

- Drescher, S. 1999. *From Slavery to Freedom: Comparative Studies in the Rise and Fall of Atlantic Slavery*. New York: New York University Press
- Cooper, F., Holt, T.C., and Scott, R.J. 2000. Introduction, in Cooper et al (eds.), *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies*. London: University of North Carolina Press
- Manzo, K. 2005. Modern Slavery, Global Capitalism and Deproletarianisation in West Africa. *Review of African Political Economy* 32 (106): 521-534
- Caribbean Freedom: Society and Economy from Emancipation to the Present, edited by Beckles, H. & Shepherd, V. London: James Curry:
- Sheller, Mimi. 2000. *Democracy After Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica*. London: Macmillan.
- Rebecca J. Scott, "Exploring the Meaning of Freedom: Postemancipation Societies in Comparative Perspective," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 68 (3), 1988
- Suzanne Miers, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Pattern* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2003)

The following deal with the crucial contribution of slave resistance to the ending of slavery

- Linebaugh, P. and Rediker, M. 2000. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press
- Bogues, A. 2004. "The Haitian Revolution and the Making of Freedom in Modernity"
<http://www.polisci.upenn.edu/programs/theory/bogues.pdf>
- R. Price (ed), *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (New York: Anchor Press, 1973)
- 1805 Constitution of Haiti. <http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/history/earlyhaiti/1805-const.htm>
- Fischer, S. 2004. *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*. London: Duke University Press. **The introduction is a challenging but extremely interesting read.**
- Robin Blackburn, "Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of the Democratic Revolution," *The William and Mary Quarterly* October 2006
- C. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution from Below* (University of Tennessee Press, 1990)
- James, C.L.R. 2001. *The Black Jacobins*. London: Penguin. (especially Appendix). **The classic attempt to put slaves at the centre of modern world history**

- Langley, L.D. 1996. *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850*. London: Yale University Press
- Rex Nettleford, "The Haitian Revolution and the Struggle Against Slavery: Challenges to Knowledge, Ignorance, and Silence", *International Social Science Journal* 58 (188), 2006
- William Wordsworth, "To Toussaint L'Ouverture" [http://thelouvertureproject.org/index.php?title=To Toussaint Louverture -
_poem_by_Wordsworth](http://thelouvertureproject.org/index.php?title=To_Toussaint_Louverture_-_poem_by_Wordsworth)

4. Ideologies of European Imperialism: “Orientalism” and the “Civilizing Mission”

Lectures: 18th & 20th Mar

Considerations:

- Do we really know the “orient”?
- How might we say that religion, civilization, technological advancement (and sexuality) are all mobilised into the construction of an imperial hierarchy of races?

Required readings:

- Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Penguin, 1978), Ch.1, Part 1: “Knowing the Oriental”
This famous book argues that the European production of knowledge of non-European people was not a neutral act but part of a relation of domination over those peoples.
- Rudyard Kipling, “The White Mans Burden”, 1899 (poem), <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/Kipling.html>
The famous poet of British imperialism (and the writer of the Jungle Book!)
- Michael Adas, “Contested Hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian Assault on the Civilizing Mission Ideology”, *Journal of World History* 15 (1) 2004
This article explains how European powers used the idea of civilizing savages as a way of justifying colonialism and how this justification fell apart because of the First World War.

Further readings:

- Roland Paris, “International Peacebuilding and the ‘Mission Civilisatrice’,” *Review of International Studies* 28:4 (October 2002)
- Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (eds), *Colonialism as a Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London: Anthem, 2003)
- T.D. Dubois, “Hegemony, Imperialism and the Construction of Religion in East and Southeast Asia”, *History and Theory* 44 (4), 2005
- Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002)
- Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (London: Palgrave 2002).
- R.J. Vincent, “Racial Equality”, in H. Bull and A. Watson, *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984)
- Fred Dallmayr, *Beyond Orientalism: Essays on Cross-Cultural Encounter* (SUNY Press, 1996)
- Dunch, R. 2002. Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity. *History and Theory* 41: 301-325
- A. Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Uni of California Press, 2002)

- Keene, E. 2007. A Case Study of the Construction of International Hierarchy: British Treaty-Making Against the Slave Trade in the Early Nineteenth Century. *International Organization* 61: 311-339
- Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (various, 1965)
- Ashis Nandy, "The Uncolonized Mind: A Post-Colonial View of India and the West", in Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy* (Oxford University Press, 1983). *This is a challenging yet fascinating discussion on Rudyard Kipling the poet of British Imperialism. Nandy paints a paradoxical picture of Kipling as an Indianized Westerner*
- Joseph Conrad, *The Heart of Darkness* (Various). *The classic short novel that deals with justifications of imperialism based on savagery/civility. For a critical and very interesting discussion on the celebrated nature of Conrad's book, see Caryl Phillip's interview with the famous African author, Chinua Achebe, "Out of Africa" (2003)*
http://books.guardian.co.uk/review/story/0,12084,900102,00.html#article_continue
- John Stuart Mill, Considerations on Representative Government (Various), chapters 4 and 18. *Here Mill, the quintessential English Liberal (writing at the time of the Indian "Mutiny"), justifies when it is appropriate for a liberal government to be imperial. Is this justification still used by liberal foreign policy makers in our present day?*
- Beate Jahn, "Kant, Mill, and Illiberal Legacies in International Affairs", *International Organization* 59 (1), 2005

Part of Mahatma Gandhi's importance lies in his attempt to build an approach towards Western modernity that was not informed by its imperial ideologies. On Gandhi see:

- Bikhu Parekh, *Gandhi's Political Philosophy* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), especially chs 2,5,6
- David Hardiman, *Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of His Ideas* (London: Hurst and Company, 2003), especially chs 2-4
- M.K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography or the Story of my Experiments with Truth* (1927).
- Ashis Nandy, "The Psychology of Colonialism: Sex, Age and Ideology in British India", in Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy* (Oxford University Press, 1983).

5. Pacific Encounters

Lectures: 27th Mar (only)

Considerations:

- Were the Māori pure savages in the eyes of the Victorians?
- What themes from last week are present in Darwin's conception of the inter-cultural relationship between the English and the Māori?
- Were non-whites the only people in the Pacific who could be viewed as savages?

Required readings:

- Pat Moloney, "Savagery and Civilization: Early Victorian Notions", in *New Zealand Journal of History* 35 (2), 2001
This article shows how notions of civilizing savages was used in the European encounter with indigenous peoples first in the Americas and then the Pacific
- Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1839), ch.18: "Tahiti and New Zealand" (abridged)
A first hand account of European encounters with Māori. NOTE how Darwin's narrative combines comments on the use of the natural environment with analogies to the English countryside as well as observations on religion, manners and civility.
- Susanne Williams Milcairns, *Native Strangers: Beachcombers, Renegades and Castaways in the South Seas* (Penguin, 2006), chs.1 & 6.
These chapters document how Europeans, stranded on Pacific islands, had to "go native".

Further readings:

- Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (London: Palgrave 2002).
- Patrick Brantlinger, "Dying Races: Rationalizing Genocide in the Nineteenth Century", in Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh, *The Decolonization of the Imagination* (London: Zed Books, 1995)
- I.C. Campbell, "Gone Native" in *Polynesia – Captivity Narratives and Experiences from the South Pacific* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998)
- Max Quanchi and Ron Adams (eds), *Culture Contact in the Pacific* (Cambridge University Press, 1993)
- Daniel Thorp, "Going native in New Zealand and America: Comparing Pakeha Maori and white Indians", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 31:3 2003
- Toon van Meijl, "The Māori as Warrior: Ideological Implications of a Historical Image", in Toon van Meijl and Paul van der Grijp (eds), *European Imagery and colonial History in the Pacific* (Saarbrücken, 1994)
- Richard Lansdown, *Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought: An Anthology* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2006)
- Harriet Guest, "Curiously Marked: Tattooing, Masculinity, and Nationality in Eighteenth Century British Perceptions of the South Pacific:", in J. Barrell, *Painting and the Politics of Culture* (1992)

- N. Gunson. "British Missionaries and Sexuality: The Polynesian Legacy and its Aftermath", in H.Hiery and J.MacKenzie (eds), *European Impact and Pacific Influence. British and German Colonial Policies in the Pacific and the Indigenous Response*, (London 1997). ***Gender and sexuality are implicitly yet foundationally implicated in the racialisation of the distinction between barbarism and civilization. See also the next article.***
- K. Green, "Colonialism's Daughters: Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Western Perceptions of Hawaiian Women", in Spickard, Rondilla and Wright, *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2002)
- S. Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (NY: Ballantine Books, 1990)
- V.G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes to the Outside World in the Imperial Age* (Pelican, 1972), ch.7

6. Japanese empire and the League of Nations

Lectures: 1st & 3rd Apr

Considerations:

- Is “international society” a racist society?
- In what ways did race factor into Japan’s attempt to rise to “great power” status?

Required readings:

- Gerrit Gong, *The Standard of “Civilization” in International Society* (Oxford, 1984), ch.6
This chapter looks at how Japan had to negotiate entry, as a non-European imperial power, into a European dominated “international society”
- Paul Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Westview, 1996), ch.3
This chapter looks at the racist attitude help by the United States and European powers towards Japan’s entry into the League of Nations as a non-European “great power”

Further readings:

On the currents of racism that informed the League of Nations

- Lloyd Ambrosius, “Woodrow Wilson and The Birth of a Nation: American Democracy and International Relations”, *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 18:4 (2007). *An important exposure of the much beloved “liberal” President Woodrow Wilson, and the racist elements of his political thought that lay behind his support of the League of Nations*
- Anthony Anghie, “Colonialism and the Birth of International Institutions: Sovereignty, Economy and the Mandate System of the League of Nations”, *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 34 (3), 2002. *The mandate system, administered through the League of Nations, is a crucial example of how prevailing racist understandings of e.g. the civilizing mission might have informed a putatively “liberal” international institution.*
Rayford W. Logan, “The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa”, *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 13, No. 4. (Oct., 1928). *Written in 1928 – what are the ideological currents underneath this assessment?*

On Japan and the West. Was Japanese empire racist too?

- Akira Iriye, *Japan and the Wider World: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present* (London, 1997)
- Prasenjit Duara, “The Discourse of Civilization and Pan-Asianism” in *Journal of World History* 12:1 (2001).
- Mark Peattie, “Japanese attitudes toward colonialism,” in Myers and Peattie, *The Japanese Colonial Empire* (Princeton University Press, 1984)

- Frank Dikotter (ed), *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1997)
- Gary Leupp, *Interracial Intimacy in Japan: Western Men and Japanese Women* (NY: Continuum, 2003), *especially chs 1 & 10*
- J.P. Lehmann, *The Image of Japan: from Feudal Isolation to World Power, 1850-1905* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1978, *especially ch.6*)
- J. Dower, *Japan in War and Peace: Essays on History, Culture and Race* (London: HarperCollins, 1995)
- S. Hirakawa, *Japan's Love-Hate Relationship with the West* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2005)\
- W.G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism 1894-1945* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), especially ch.1
- L. Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Uni of California Press, 1998)
- Edwin O. Reischauer & Albert M. Craig, *Japan: Tradition & Transformation* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1978), ch.4
- R. Storry, *Japan and the Decline of the West in Asia 1894-1943* (NY: St Martin's Press, 1979)
- Hall, Jansen et al, *The Cambridge History of Japan: Vol.6* (CUP), especially ch.5: The Japanese Colonial Empire

7. Race and the Human Rights agenda: The Holocaust, Apartheid, and Cold War Politics

Lectures: 8th & 10th Apr

Considerations:

- In what ways did the problem of race link together America's domestic politics and foreign politics during the Cold War?
- How important was racial discrimination to the evolution of a UN human rights regime?

Required readings:

- Paul Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Westview, 1996), chs.4 & 6
These two chapters explore the roots of the UN Human Rights regime in the legacy of Nazism and the new challenge of South African Apartheid
- James A. Tyner and Robert J. Kruse, II, "The Geopolitics of Malcolm X", *Antipode* 36 (1), 2004
This article explores how a famous political figure linked the US Civil Rights movement with wider issues of US foreign policy during the Cold War

Further readings:

On Nazism, Social Darwinism and Scientific Racism

- RJ Halliday, "Social Darwinism. A Definition", *Victorian Studies*, 1971
- R.N.Proctor, *Racial Hygiene. Medicine under the Nazis* Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Kenan Malik, *The meaning of race : race, history and culture in Western society* (NY University Press, 1996), ch.8
- M. Burleigh, *The Racial State: Germany, 1933-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- E. Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 1992)
- S. Dubow, 'Placing "race" in South African History', in W. Lamont (ed), *Historical Controversies and Historians* (UCL Press, 1998)
- R.Hernstein and C.Murray, *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* New York : Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- Claude S. Fischer et al, *Inequality by design : cracking the bell curve myth* (Princeton University Press, 1996)
- E. Weitz, *A century of genocide : utopias of race and nation* (Princeton University Press, 2003)

On civil and human rights

- Newell M. Stultz, "Evolution of the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Regime", *Human Rights Quarterly*, 13 (1), 1991
- UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination 1963 www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/b/9.htm

- UN World Conference on Racism 2001 – various documents - <http://www.racism.gov.za/substance/confdoc/index.html>
- Mary L. Dudziak, Desegregation as a Cold War Imperative, *Stanford Law Review* 41 (1), 1988
- Brenda Gayle Plummer (ed), *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs 1945-1988* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
- Audie Klotz, “Transnational Activism and Global Transformations: The Anti-Apartheid and Abolitionist Experiences”, *European Journal of International Relations* 8 (1), 2002
- Carol Anderson, “From Hope to Disillusion: African Americans, the United Nations, and the Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1947,” *Diplomatic History* 20, 4 (1996): 531-563

On the “colour line” in Cold War politics

- M. Jones, “A ‘Segregated’ Asia? Race, the Bandung Conference, and Pan-Asianist Fears in American Thought and Policy, 1954-1955”, *Diplomatic History* 29 (5) 2005
- Harold Isaacs, “Color in World Affairs”, *Foreign Affairs* 47 1968-1969
- Justin Hart, “Making Democracy Safe for the World: Race, Propaganda, and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy during World War II”, *Pacific Historical Review* 73 (1)
- Brenda Gayle Plummer (ed), *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs 1945-1988* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
- Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Harvard University Press, 2001)
- B. Rodriguez, ““De la Esclavitud Yanqui a la Libertad Cubana”: US black radicals, the Cuban revolution, and the formation of a tricontinental ideology”, *Radical History Review* 92 (Spring), 2005
- Tilden J. LeMelle, “Race, International Relations, U.S. Foreign Policy, and the African Liberation Struggle” *Journal of Black Studies* 3, 1 (September 1972)
- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Various, 1963). ***The classic statement on Anti-colonial nationalism in the Cold War era***

8: The “New Racism” and “Islamophobia”

Lectures: 29th Apr & 1st May

Considerations:

- To what extent can we say that Huntington’s writings are based upon the “new racism”?
- How does racism articulate itself through religious, cultural and ethnic identification in the post 9-11 world?

Required readings:

- Paul Gordon & Francesca Klug, *New Right, New Racism* (Searchlight, 1986), ch.2
This short chapter examines how racism has now become attached to arguments about the “natural” tendency of humans to segregate themselves into cultural groupings.
- Samuel Huntington, “The West, Unique not Universal”, *Foreign Affairs* Nov/Dec 1996
Known for his “clash of civilizations” thesis..
- Steven Salaita, “Beyond Orientalism and Islamophobia: 9/11, Anti-Arab Racism, and the Mythos of National Pride”, *CR: The New Centennial Review* 6 (2) 2006
An investigation into the specific issues now facing Arab-Americans

Further readings:

- *On the “new racism”*
- Etienne Balibar, “Is There a ‘Neo-Racism’?”, in Balibar and Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991)
- Martin Barker, *The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe* (Aletheia Books, 1981)
- Amy E. Ansell, *New Right, New Racism: Race and Reaction in the United States and Britain* (New York University Press, 1997)
- Howard Winant, “Behind Blue Eyes: Whiteness and Contemporary US Racial Politics”, 1997
<http://www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/winant/whitnss.html>
- Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006)
- Eric Wolf, “Perilous Ideas: Race, Culture, People”, *Current Anthropology* 35 (1), 1994
- Lentin, A. 2005. Replacing “Race”, Historicizing “Culture” in Multiculturalism. *Patterns of Prejudice* 39 (4) *To what extent is multiculturalism informed by the “new racism”?*

On "Islamophobia"

- Tony Blair, "A Battle for Global Values", *Foreign Affairs* 86 (1), 2007
- Samuel Huntington "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (summer 1993)
- Said, Edward. "The Clash of Definitions" in Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002)
- Euben, R.L. 2002. Contingent Borders, Syncretic Perspectives: Globalization, Political Theory and Islamizing Knowledge. *International Studies Review* 4 (1): 23-48
- Shampa Biswas, "The 'New Cold War': Secularism, Orientalism, and Postcoloniality", in G. Chowdhry and S. Nair (eds), *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations* (Routledge, 2004)
- Piscatori, J. 2003. Order, Justice and Global Islam. In *Order and Justice in International Relations*, edited by Foot, R., Gaddis, J. and Hurrell, A. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 262-286

"Islamophobia" is implicated especially in justifications of civilizational superiority made through the rubric of human rights. For some readings that, while not "extremist", still provocatively challenge the currents of "Islamophobia" see:

- Abdullah Ahmed An-Na'im, "Islamic Law, International Relations, and Human Rights: Challenge and Response", *Cornell International Law Journal* 317, 1987
- Jane Freedman, "Women, Islam and Rights in Europe: Beyond a Universal/Culturalist Dichotomy", *Review of International Studies* 33, 2007
- Soroush, A. 2000. Tolerance and Governance: A Discourse on Religion and Democracy. In *Reason, Freedom and Democracy in Islam: Essential Writings of 'Abdolkarim Soroush*, edited by Sadri, M. and Sadri, A. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Heiner Bielefeldt, "'Western' versus 'Islamic' Human Rights Conceptions? A Critique of Cultural Essentialism in the Discussion on Human Rights", *Political Theory* 28 (1), 2000
- ***See also, and especially, the UN sponsored "Dialogue Among Civilizations", <http://www.unu.edu/dialogue/>***

9. “Failed states”: development, security and race

Lectures: 6th & 8th May

Considerations:

- Is it racist to call a state “failed”?
- Who are failed states a danger to?

Required readings:

- Kaplan, R.D. 1994. The Coming Anarchy. *Atlantic Monthly* 273 (2): 44-76.
A seminal article on the dangers of “third world” state failure to the “first world”. To what extent is this argument dependent upon racist ideologies?
- Duffield, M. 1996. The Symphony of the Damned: Racial Discourse, Complex Political Emergencies and Humanitarian Aid. *Disasters* 20 (3): 173-193
A challenging but interesting argument that links responses to state failure, aid, and development to the “new-racism”

Further readings:

On “failed states”

- Fund for Peace, 2006. Failed States Index 2006. <http://www.fundforpeace.org/programs/fsi/fsindex2006.php>
- Helman, G.B. & Ratner, S.R. 1993. Saving Failed States. *Foreign Policy* 89: 3-21
- Rotberg, R. 2002. Failed States in a World of Terror. *Foreign Affairs* 81 (4): 127-140
- Krasner, S.D. & Pascual, C. 2005. Addressing State Failure. *Foreign Affairs* 84 (4): 153-163
- Robert Cooper, “The New Liberal Imperialism”, URL: <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,680095,00.html>
- Fearon, J.D. and Laitin, D.D. 2004. Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States. *International Security* 28 (4): 5-43
- Barkawi, T. & Laffey, M. 2006. The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies. *Review of International Studies* 32 (2): 329-352
- Bilgin, P. & Morton, A.D. (2002). Historicising Representations of “Failed States”: Beyond the Cold-War Annexation of the Social Sciences? *Third World Quarterly* 23 (1): 55-80
- Branwen Gruffydd Jones, 'The global political economy of social crisis: towards a critique of the 'Failed State' ideology' *Review of International Political Economy* 15 (2) 2008
- Mintz, S.W. 1995. Can Haiti Change? *Foreign Affairs* 74 (1): 73-86. *An excellent article to read if we relate it to our week on the Haitian revolution*

On Development and security

- Ibrahim, M. 2005. The Securitization of Migration: A Racial Discourse. *International Migration* 43 (5): 163-187
- Duffield, MR. 'Racism, migration and development: the foundations of planetary order', *Progress in Development Studies*, 6 (1) 2006
- Duffield, MR. 'Getting Savages to Fight Barbarians: Development, Security and the Colonial Present', *Conflict, Security and Development*, 5 (2), 2005
- Richards, P. 1996. *Fighting For the Rain Forest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone*. Oxford: James Curry. ***Especially introduction***
- Special issue on Race and Development in *Progress in Development Studies* 2006 (6)
- Sarah White, "Thinking race, thinking development", *Third World Quarterly* 23 (3), 2002
- Robbie Shilliam, "What the Haitian Revolution Might Tell Us About Development, Security and the Politics of Race", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (Forthcoming). ***Ask me for it if you want to read it, you will probably recognise a lot of the points from the lectures!***
- Etienne Balibar, "Outlines of a Topography of Cruelty: Citizenship and Civility in the Era of Global Violence", *Constellations* 8 (1), 2001
- Randolph Persaud, "Power, Production and Racialization in Global Labor Recruitment and Supply", in Gill and Bakkar (eds), *Power, Production and Social Reproduction* (Routledge, 2003)

10. Globalisation versus Indigeneity

Lectures: 13th & 15th May

Considerations:

- Is globalisation a new form of colonialism?
- Does indigenous politics resist racism, or is it complicit in re-producing racist ideologies?

Required readings:

- Lindsey Te Ato O Tu MacDonald and Paul Muldoon, "Globalisation, Neo-Liberalism and the Struggle for Indigenous Citizenship", *Australian Journal of Political Science* 41 (2), 2006
On recent neo-liberalisation policies and their effect – good and bad – on Australian Aborigines and Maori.
- United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, "Decision on Foreshore and Seabed Act", 2004
<http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/fs110305.htm>
A short comment by the UN on the racial discrimination evident in the contentious Foreshore and Seabed Act.
- Adam Kuper, "The Return of the Native", *Current Anthropology* 44 (3), 2003
A critical comment on the pitfalls of indigenous identity politics.

Further readings:

- Rhiannon Morgan, "On Political Institutions and Social Movement Dynamics: The Case of the United Nations and the Global Indigenous Movement", *International Political Science Review* 28 2007, 273-292
- Jane Kelsey, "Old Wine in New Bottles: Globalisation, Colonisation, Resource Management and Māori", in M. Kawharu (ed), *Whenua: Managing Our Resources* (Auckland: Reed, 2002)
- Maria Bargh (ed), *Resistance: An Indigenous Response to Neoliberalism* (Wellington: Huia, 2007)
- Belgrave et al (eds), *Waitangi Revisited* (Oxford University Press, 2005)
- Elizabeth Povinelli, "Settler Modernity and the Quest for an Indigenous Tradition", *Public culture* 11 (1) 1999. *An interesting article arguing that much of Australian Aboriginal culture is constructed as "tradition" by white Australians.*
- Allan Hanson, "The Making of the Māori: Culture Invention and Its Logic", *American Anthropologist*, 91 (4) 1989
- J. Marshall Beier, "Beyond Hegemonic State(ment)s of Nature: Indigenous Knowledge and Non-State Possibilities in International Relations" in G. Chowdhry and S. Nair (eds), *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations* (Routledge, 2004)

- Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh, *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past – A New Zealand Commentary* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 2001) **especially chapters by W.H. Oliver, Te Maire Tau and Lyndsay Head**
- Simon Hope, “Self-determination and Cultural Difference”, *Political Science* 58 (1), 2006
- Erich Kolig and Hermann Mückler (eds), *Politics of Indigeneity in the South Pacific: Recent Problems of Identity in Oceania* (New Brunswick: Transactions Publishers, 2002)
- Andrea Muehlebach, “What Self in Self-Determination? Notes from the Frontiers of Transnational Indigenous Activism”, *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 10, 2003
- Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Toward a New Legal Common Sense: Law, Globalization and Emancipation* (Butterworths, 2002), pp.237-259. **Interesting critical analysis of the challenge to existing forms of politics presented by the notion of indigenous rights.**
- Carole Nagengast, “Women, Minorities, and Indigenous Peoples: Universalism and Cultural Relativity”, *Journal of Anthropological Research* 53 (3), 1997

New Zealand was recently one of four states to vote against the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. See below. Considering the government’s prior dealings with e.g. Maori land claims, can we see this as a continuation of a racist current within NZ domestic and foreign policy? Or, if we take Kuper’s points, was it an anti-Racist position? Have a look at some of these reports, and think carefully about this question.

- UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Adopted 13th Sep 2007. <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/declaration.html>
- <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/ga10612.doc.htm>
- <http://www.win-hec.org/?q=node/180>
- <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/Media-and-publications/Media/MFAT-speeches/0-13-September-2007.php>
- <http://www.hrc.co.nz/home/hrc/newsandissues/indigenoustrightsdeclarationtoguidecommissionwork.php>

11. Rastafari as a Global Culture

Lectures: 20th & 22nd May

Considerations:

- In what ways might we consider Rastafarianism to be a global culture?
- How can an Afro-Caribbean culture be positively adopted to support Māori politics?

Required readings:

- Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellectuals* (NY: Routledge, 2003), ch.7
When reading this chapter on the “redemptive poetics” of Bob Marley you should think about how and to what extent we might consider popular music to be political in the broadest sense.
- Frank Jan Van Dijk, “Chanting Down Babylon Outernational: The Rise of Rastafari in Europe, the Caribbean, and the Pacific”, in N.S. Murrell, W.D. Spencer and A.A. McFarlane, *Chanting Down Babylon* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998)
This article examines the global spread of the Rastafari culture
- Gordon Campbell, “Rasta in Aotearoa”, *NZ Listener* 17 (January), 1981, pp.18-19
This short news article from back in the early 1980s looks at how the Rastafari culture was adopted by some Māori to inform and guide their political struggles in NZ.

Further readings:

- Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora”, in J. Rutherford (ed), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990)
- Featherstone, Mike, ed. *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity*. Sage Publications, 1990
- M.I. Franklin, *Resounding International Relations: On Music, Culture and Politics* (NY: Palgrave, 2005)

On Rastafari

- Murrell, Spencer and Mcfarlane, *Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader* (Temple University Press, 1998), **especially important are chapters by Chevannes on race and class in Jamaica, and Rowe on the patriarchal character of Rastafari**
- Horace Campbell, *Rasta and Resistance* (Hansib, 1985)
- Mortimo Planno, “The Earth’s Most Strangest Man: The Rastafarian”, <http://www.tc.columbia.edu/centers/cifas/caribbean/resources/planno/>
- **Planno taught Bob Marley the Rastafari religion**

- Barry Chevannes (ed), *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews* (Rutgers Uni Press, 1998)
- Rex Nettleford, *Mirror, Mirror: Identity, Race, and Protest in Jamaica* (Kingston, 1970)
- Peter Clarke, *Black Paradise: The Rastafarian Movement* (Aquarian Press, 1986)
- Ken Post, *Arise ye Starvelings: The Jamaican Labour Rebellion of 1938 and its Aftermath* (Nijhoff, 1978)

On the NZ context

- Lachlan Paterson, “Kiri Ma, Kiri Mangu: The Terminology of Race and Civilisation in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Maori-Language Newspapers”, in Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa & Jane McRae (eds), *Rere atu, taku manu! : discovering history, language and politics in the Maori language newspapers* (Auckland University Press, 2002). ***This chapter is very interesting; it also details how Māori were symbolically using the Haitian Revolution in the land wars of the 1860s!!***
- J. Pollock, “‘We Don’t Want Your Racist Tour’: The 1981 Springbok Tour and the Anxiety of Settlement in Aotearoa/New Zealand”, *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* 2:1 (2004), 32-43
- Jodi Ihaka, “Why the Kids Wanna Be Black”, *Mana: Māori News Magazine* No.3 Aug/Sep, 1993
- Steve Maharey, “What is This Thing Called Rastafari?” *New Zealand Social Work Journal* 7 (2), 1982
- “Tigilau Ness –Unity Pacific”, *NZ Musician magazine* April/May 2003 <http://www.geocities.com/SoHo/Study/9077/tiginess.html>
- “The Religion of Reggae”, *The Evening Post* Nov 29, 1980 <http://www.reggae.artist.maori.nz/Religion%20of%20Reggae/target0.html>
- Te Ahu, *The Evolution of Contemporary Māori Protest* [http://aotearoa.wellington.net.nz/back/tumoana/index.htm#\(ii\)](http://aotearoa.wellington.net.nz/back/tumoana/index.htm#(ii))

Watch these two documentaries (available in the DVD collection in the library) back-to-back – Is Rastafarianism in Māori culture a force for integration or for separation?

- Jodi Ihaka, *Rasta in Aotearoa*
- Hitendra Patel, *Children of Zion*

12. Cosmopolitanism Without Race?

Lectures: 27th & 29th May

Considerations:

- Does the progressive future of humankind lie with non-white people?
- Can cosmopolitanism really be color-blind?

Required readings:

- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Various, 1963), conclusion
This short, influential and powerful conclusion is written by Fanon to address the non-white "Third World". What colour is the progressive "Man" that Fanon speaks of? How does this make you feel? Is it segregationist or a different kind of inclusivity?
- Paul Gilroy, "After the Great White Error... The Great Black Mirage", in Donald Moore et al (eds), *Race, Nature, and the Politics of Difference* (Duke University Press, 2003)
Gilroy is perhaps the most eloquent and vociferous proponent of dropping racial identity in its entirety.
- Simon Gikandi, "Race and Cosmopolitanism", *American Literary History* 14 (3), 2002
This is a critical engagement with Gilroy's project and draws out a number of very profound points

Further readings:

Almost all the topics we have looked at speak to this week's issues. But see also:

- Kenan Malik, "Universalism and difference in discourses of race", *Review of International Studies* (2000), 26, 155–177
- Jean-Paul Sartre, "Preface to the Wretched of the Earth", in *Colonialism and Neocolonialism* (Routledge, 2001). ***This superb preface to Fanon's work, written by one of the most famous 20th century French philosophers, brings out a number of really important themes.***
- West, Cornel (1993) 'Black leadership and the pitfalls of racial reasoning.' pp 390-401 in Toni Morrison (ed) *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Briggs, C.L. 2005. Genealogies of Race and Culture and the Failure of Vernacular Cosmopolitanisms: Rereading Franz Boas and W.E.B. Du Bois. *Public Culture* 17 (1):75-100
- Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (eds), *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Uni of Minnesota Press, 1998)
- Daniele Archibugi (ed), *Debating Cosmopolitics* (London: Verso, 2003)
- D'Souza, Dinesh. 1995. *The end of racism: Principles for a multiracial society*. New York: Free Press.

- Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political culture Beyond the Color Line* (Harvard Uni Press, 2000)
- Various, *Fighting Identities: Socialist Register* 2003
- Appiah, K. Anthony. 2001. Cosmopolitan reading. In *Cosmopolitan geographies: New locations in literature and culture*, edited by Vinay Dharwadker. New York: Routledge.
- Shilliam, R. 2006. What About Marcus Garvey? Race and the Transformation of Sovereignty Debate. *Review of International Studies* 32 (3): 379-400

And on a very contemporary issue:

- Steve Sailer, "The Rise of Obama", *Washington Times*, December 25, 2007
<http://www.washingtontimes.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20071225/EDITORIAL/756439603/1013>
- Scott Helman, "Obama shows an ability to transcend race", *Boston Globe*, August 19, 2007
http://www.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2007/08/19/obama_shows_an_ability_to_transcend_race/
- Clarence Page, "Obama an escape from politics of race", *Chicago Tribune* January 9, 2008 <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/chi-oped0109pagejan09,0,5930544.column>

Research essay questions

NOTE: these questions posit themes that run throughout the course as a whole. You are encouraged to think hard and to be imaginative. To this effect, you don't have to limit your readings to the list of any one week. Study the reading lists closely and try and make connections between various topics when you write your research essays.

Research essays are due by 12 noon Friday 4th April (week 6) and 12 noon Friday 23rd May (week 11).

- Is race a natural attribute of human beings?
- “The past history of racism is no longer relevant to our understanding of contemporary world politics.” Discuss.
- Is racism a modern or pre-modern phenomenon?
- Is slavery an historical episode that no longer impacts upon world politics?
- Who defeated slavery?
- Was Kipling an Indian? And why is this question important for understanding the relationship between coloniser and colonised?
- Are there ways of thinking about modern civilization that do not use nineteenth century European ideologies of imperialism?
- In what ways, and to what extent, did the Europeans of the eighteenth and nineteenth century “orientalise” pacific islanders?
- Could only “white” states become great powers in the pre-World War One international system?
- Did Japanese imperialism reject or replicate the racist underpinnings of European imperialism?
- In what ways is EITHER scientific racism OR the “new racism” different to 19th century colonial ideas of race?
- How might we argue that the Civil Rights movement in the United States was an integral part of Cold War geopolitics?
- In what ways might the inter-section of religion and race inform post 9-11 world politics?
- How has the racial composition of world politics changed, if at all, since the 19th century?
- Is Huntington a “new” or “old” racist?
- Is the “Development project” a new form of colonialism?
- “The ‘failed states’ discourse is racist.” Discuss.
- “Indigeneity is another form of orientalism,” Discuss.
- “Māori rastas are Black.” Discuss
- Why might Rastafarianism be relevant to non Afro-Caribbean people?
- Is there anything potentially progressive about racial identities?
- “White people are not affected by racism.” Discuss
- Why is race by and large invisible to the discipline of International Relations?