TE WHARE WĀNANGA O TE ŪPOKO O TE IKA A MĀUI

# VICTORIA
## UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON

**SCHOOL OF HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMME**
**2009 TRIMESTER 1**

**INTP250: SPECIAL TOPIC: RACE IN WORLD POLITICS**
**CRN 15287**

2 March to 1 July 2009

| | |
|---|---|
| **Lecturer**: | Dr Robbie Shilliam |
| **Room**: | MY509 |
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| **Email**: | robbie.shilliam@vuw.ac.nz |
| **Lecture Times**: | Wednesdays & Thursdays 12.00 – 12.50 pm |
| **Venue:** | Hugh Mackenzie LT105 |
| **Office Hours**: | Fridays, 2.00 – 4.00 pm |
| **Tutorial times**: | T.B.A. |

## Course delivery:
The course is taught via two weekly lectures and one weekly tutorial. Further information on tutorial times will be posted on Blackboard in the first week of term. There is a final examination that will occur in the mid-year examination period from Friday 12 June to Wednesday 1 July 2009. The exact date for the examination will be released later in the term. Students will be introduced to broad themes in the lectures that must be complemented by undertaking the required reading. Tutorials will provide an arena for students to further discuss issues that have arisen for them in the lectures and readings.

## Communication of additional information:
All additional information will be communicated via Blackboard. It is important that you check Blackboard regularly.

## Course content:
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.  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 full reading list is provided below.

## Learning objectives:

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.

As with all POLS and INTP courses, learning objectives of this course contribute to the attainment of specific attributes in the areas of critical thinking, creative thinking, communication and leadership.  Please consult the Programme Prospectus 2009, p. 10, for more details or on our website http://www.victoria.ac.nz/pols/

## Expected workload:

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

## Essential readings:

All essential readings can be found in the Student Notes edition of this course. Books of Reading are distributed from the Student Notes Shop on the ground floor of the Student Union Building. Customers can order textbooks and 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

## Assessment requirements:

**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 **1500-2000 words**.
Research essays are due by **5pm Thursday 9th April (week 6)** and **5pm Friday 29th May (week 11).**
_Detailed instructions for writing and submitting essays are provided at the end of this course outline._

**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 mid-year examination period runs from Friday 12 June to Wednesday 1 July 2009. The exact date for the examination will be released later in the term.

## Return of assignments:

Assignments will be returned approximately two weeks after the submission deadline. An announcement of their availability will be made in the lectures. They will be available for picking up from the PSIR office, 5th floor Murphy Building, **but only between 3 and 4pm.**

## 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 (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

**Mandatory course requirements:**
To gain a pass in this course each student must:
  a) **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).**
  b) **Sit the final exam and pass the exam with a mark of at least 40%**

**Statement on legibility:**
  Students are expected to write clearly.  Where work is deemed 'illegible', the options are:
  • the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) within a specified time frame after which penalties will apply
  • the student will be given a photocopy of the work and asked to transcribe it to an acceptable standard (preferably typed) and lateness penalties apply
  • if the student does not transcribe it to an acceptable standard, the work will be accepted as 'received' (so any associated mandatory course requirements are met) but not marked.

**Statement on the use of Turnitin:**
Student work provided for assessment in this course may be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine http:/www.turnitin.com. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which identifies material that may have been copied from other sources including the Internet, books, journals, periodicals or the work of other students. Turnitin is used to assist academic staff in detecting misreferencing, misquotation, and the inclusion of unattributed material, which may be forms of cheating or plagiarism,. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. You are strongly advised to check with your tutor or the course coordinator if you are uncertain about how to use and cite material from other sources. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions will not be made available to any other party.

**Academic integrity and plagiarism:**
Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

  • Material from books, journals or any other printed source

  • The work of other students or staff

  • Information from the internet

  • Software programs and other electronic material

  • Designs and ideas

  • The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the
University's website:
*http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx*


**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* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy
sections on:


http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy


This website also provides information for students in a number of
areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct,
Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student
support/VUWSA student advocates.

## Full course outline and reading list:

| | | INTRODUCTION |
|---|---|---|
| 4th & 5th Mar | 1 | Racism, ideology and discourse |
| 11th & 12th Mar | 2 | Race, sex and bodies |
| | | **RACIAL FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN WORLD POLITICS** |
| 18th & 19th Mar | 3 | Atlantic slavery: the foundation of the modern world system |
| 25th & 26th Mar | 4 | Civilization and its others: Asian and Pacific encounters in the 19th century |
| 1st & 2nd Apr | 5 | Humanity and its others: Social Darwinism and eugenics |
| | | **RACE IN 20th AND 21st CENTURY WORLD POLITICS** |
| 8th & 9th Apr | 6 | International organization 1: standards of civilization and the League of Nations<br>*First research essay due 9th April* |
| 29th & 30th Apr | 7 | International organization 2: Apartheid, the United Nations and the challenge from the Third World |
| 6th & 7th May | 8 | "Failed states" and "liberal imperialism": Race, development and security |
| 13th & 14th May | 9 | Islamophobia: "culture clash" as the new racism? |
| | | **RACE AND GLOBAL TRANSFORMATIONS** |
| 20th & 21st May | 10 | Globalization and indigenous rights |
| 27th & 28th May | 11 | Rastafari as a global culture<br>*Second research essay due 29th May* |
| 3rd & 4th Jun | 12 | Cosmopolitanism and racism: towards a "new humanism"? |

*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 the lecturer.*

*Each week's list of "considerations" is just a set of questions for you to ponder as you go through the required readings.*

## 1. Racism, ideology and discourse
Lectures: 4th & 5th Feb

**Considerations:**
- To what extent is "race" a natural aspect of human diversity?
- Is racism irrational?
- Can we still take part in racist discourse even though we think we aren't racist?

**Required readings:**
- Eduardo Bonilla-Silva "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation" *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Jun., 1997), pp. 465-480.
- David Theo Goldberg, "The social formation of racist discourse" in David Goldberg (ed), *Anatomy of Racism* (University of Minnesota Press, 1990),  pp.295-318

**Further readings:**
- Howard Winant, "Race and Race Theory", *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 2000, pp.169-185
- Ashley Doane, "What is Racism? Racial Discourse and Racial Politics", *Critical Sociology* 32, 2006
- Ivan Hannaford, *Race: the history of an idea in the West* (John Hopkins Press, 1996)
- 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)

- Charles Mills, *The Racial contract* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)
- R. Gordon, "Critical Race Theory and International Law", *Villanova Law Review* 45 2000
- Jon Johansson, "Orewa and the rhetoric of illusion", Special Edition of *Political Science* on Political Leadership in New Zealand. Vol. 56. No. 2. (December 2004). *On Don Brash's controversial Orewa speech.*
- B. Hesse, "Racialized Modernity: An Analytics of White Mythologies", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (4), 2007

**Further readings on the global nature of racist ideology etc***:*
- Denise Ferreira Da Silva, Toward a Global Idea of Race (University of Minnesota Press, 2007)
- Branwen Gruffydd Jones, "Race in the Ontology of International Order", *Political Studies* 56 (4), 2008
- Frank Dikotter, "The racialization of the globe: an interactive interpretation", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (8), 2008. *Draws attention to the non-uniformity of racist ideology across the globe.*
- Howard Winant, The World is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II (NY: Basic Books, 2001). His notion of "global racial formations" is very influential.
- M. Banton, "Racism Today: a Perspective From International Politics", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (3), 1999
- Robert Vitalis, "The Graceful and Generous Liberal Gesture: Making Racism Invisible in American International Relations", *Millennium* 29 (2) 2000
- 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.L. Doty, "The Bounds of 'Race" in International Relations", *Millennium* 22 (3), 1993

## 2. Race, sex and bodies
Lectures: 11th & 12th Mar

**Considerations:**
- How is the embodiment of race also the embodiment of sexuality?
- How closely inter-twined are the identities of race and gender?

**Required readings:**
- Eldridge Cleaver, "The Allegory of the Black Eunochs", in *Soul on Ice* (Various, 1969). **Warning: this is a _very explicit_ text.** *Try not to take personal offence, but instead think about the ways in which the text speaks to how race might be embodied sexually. To what extent does ideology or discourse explain this "feeling"?*

- Lynn Weber, "A conceptual framework for understanding race, class, gender, and sexuality", *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 22 (1998), 13-32

**Further readings on the "intersectionality" between race, class and gender (*much,but not all, of this literature is US-centric*)**
- Margaret L. Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins (eds.), *Race, Class and Gender: an Anthology* (Wadsworth, 1998)
- Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* 2nd ed (Routledge, 2000)
- Bonnie Thornton Dill, "Race, class and gender: prospects for an all-inclusive sisterhood", *Feminist Studies* 9 (1), 1983
- bell hooks, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (South End Press, 1990)
- bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist: Thinking Black* (South End Press, 1989)
- Kimberle Williams Crenshaw "Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics and violence against women of color", www.wcsap.org/Events/Workshop07/mapping-margins.pdf
- Nira Yuval-Davis, "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics", *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13 2006
- Jennifer C. Nash, "Re-thinking intersectionality", *Feminist Review* 89 (2008)
- Amina Mama, *Beyond the Masks: Race, Gender and Subjectivity* (Routledge, 1995)
- A. Katherine Wing, *Global Critical Race Feminism: an International Reader* (New York University Press, 2000)
- Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair, *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading race, gender and class* (Routledge, 2004)
- V. Spike Peterson, "New wars and gendered economies", *Feminist Review* 88 (2008). *Good application of intersectionality to some of the content matter of IR.*

**Further readings on the embodiment of race and sex *(this literature can be quick difficult to grasp but it is extremely important and extremely rewarding to dip into)***
- Ashis Nandy, "The psychology of colonialism: sex, age and ideology in British India", in *The Intimate Enemy* (Various,1983). *A classic psychological investigation into colonialism aand sexuality.*
- Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (Various)
- Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Various). *Written in the 1950s by a Martiniquan, this is one of the most important texts for this subject. Very influential and challenging.*
- Frantz Fanon, "Algeria Unveiled", in Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (Various). *Fanon turns his attention to the participation of women in the struggle against French colonialism in the 1950s. It is controversial, but also presages many of the issues we will discuss in the week on Islamophobia*
- A.M. White, "All the men are fighting for freedom, all the women are mourning their men, but some of us carried guns: a race-gendered analysis of Fanon's psychological perspectives on war", *Signs* 32 (4), 2007. *A good, careful critique of Fanon with empirical evidence from some of Africa's wars of liberation.*
- Anna Agathangelou, *The global Political Economy of Sex: Desire, Violence and Insecurity in Mediterranean Nation States* (Palgrave 2004), Ch.2

- Paul Gilroy, "'After the love has gone': bio-politics and etho-poetics in the black public sphere", *Public Culture* 7 1994. *A very good discussion of hypermasculinity and race in hip-hop and R&B. No less relevant for being written over 10 years go!*
- C.A. Smith, "The symbolics of blood: Mestizaje in the Americas", *Identities* 3 (4), 1997. *Looking at the question of mixed-race identity in Latin America – this ties in with the sexuality of racial identity.*
- Derek Hook, "Pre-discursive Racism", *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* 16 (2006). *Excellent, and VERY challenging.*
- Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (Various, 1993). *To be read in conjunction with the above: Excellent, and VERY challenging.*
- Shannon Winnubst, "Is the mirror racist? Interrogating the space of whiteness", *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 30 (2004). *If you are interested in psychoanalysis then this is for you.*
- Christopher Lane, *The Psychoanalysis of Race* (Columbia University Press 1998). *See especially the introduction about race, irrationality and fantasy.*
- J.E. Munoz, *Disidenitifications: Queers of colour and the performance of politics.* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999). *Ask me for a copy of this if you want it.*


## 3. **Atlantic slavery: the foundation of the modern world system**
<u>Lectures: 18th & 19th Mar</u>

**Considerations:**
- To what extent has New World slavery been central to the development of the modern world?
- Did abolitionists give slaves their freedom, or did slaves take it themselves – and why does this difference in emphasis matter?
- Is slavery over?

**Required readings:**
- J. Chaplin, "Race", in D. Armitage and M.J. Braddick, *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800* (London: Palgrave, 2002)
- Thomas Reinhardt, "200 Years of Forgetting: Hushing up the Haitian Revolution", *Journal of Black Studies* 35 (4): 246-261
- Joel Quirk, "The Anti-Slavery Project: Linking the Historical and Contemporary", *Human Rights Quarterly* 28 (2006)

**Further readings on slavery and the Atlantic world:**
- 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 challenge to Williams arguing that the roots of racism existed in Europe prior to New World slavery*

- Special issue of *Theory and Society* 20 (3), 1991, especially McMichael and Tomich. *Good articles on relationship between capitalism and slavery*
- Drescher, S. 1997. *Capitalism and Slavery* After Fifty Years. *Slavery and Abolition* 18 (3): 212-227. *A report on the "Williams debate".*
- David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford University Press)
- David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 2000)
- 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)
- Santiago-Valles, K. 2005. Racially Subordinate Labour Within Global Contexts *Race and Class* 47 (2): 54-70
- Jeremy Smith, *Europe and the Americas: State Formation, Capitalism and Civilizations in Atlantic Modernity* (Brill 2006)
- Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic* (London: Verso, 1993)
- Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Harvard, 2005). *Good overview of the idea of "Atlantic history".*
- Eltis, David, Stephen Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: a Database on CD-ROM*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Anthony Pagden, "The defence of civilization in eighteenth century social theory" , *History of the Human Sciences* 1 (1), 1988

**Further readings on slavery, gender and sexuality:**
- Doris Garraway, *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the early French Caribbean* (Duke Uni Press, 2005)
- Cecily Jones, *Engendering Whiteness: White Women and Colonialism in Barbardos and North Carolina* (Manchester Uni Press, 2007)
- Patrick Wolfe, "Land, labour and difference: elementary structures of race", *The American Historical Review* 106 (3) 2001
- 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.*
- Deborah White, Ar'n't *I a woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York, 1999)
- Hilary McD. Beckles, *Centering woman: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (Wiener, 1999)
- Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (1987). *A VERY influential novel*

**Further readings on emancipation and abolition**:
- 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!*
- 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)
- Drescher, S. 1999. From Slavery to Freedom: Comparative Studies in the Rise and Fall of Atlantic Slavery. New York University Press
- Cooper et al (eds.), *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies.* 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)
- 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!!*

### *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)

### Further readings on slave resistance:
- 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)
- 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)
- 1805 Constitution of Haiti. [http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/history/earlyhaiti/1805-const.htm](http://www.webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/history/earlyhaiti/1805-const.htm)
- R. Shilliam, "What the Haitian Revolution might tell us about Development, Security and the politics of Race", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50 (3), 2008


## 4. Civilization and its others: Asian and Pacific encounters in the 19th century

Lectures: 25th & 26th Mar

**Considerations:**
- Do we really know the "orient"?
- How do savages, barbarians and civilized peoples differ according to imperial ideology?
- Was it only non-whites that could be conceived of as savages?

**Required readings:**
- Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Penguin, 1978), Ch.1, Part 1: "Knowing the Oriental"
- Pat Moloney, "Savagery and Civilization: Early Victorian Notions", in *New Zealand Journal of History* 35 (2), 2001
- Susanne Williams Milcairns, *Native Strangers: Beachcombers, Renegades and Castaways in the South Seas* (Penguin, 2006), chs.1 & 6.

**Further readings on 19th century imperial ideology in general:**
- 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.*
- Rudyard Kipling, "The White Mans Burden", 1899 (poem), [http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/Kipling.html](http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/Kipling.html)
  *The famous poet of British imperialism (and the writer of the Jungle Book!)*

- Ronald Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage.* (CUP, 1976). *A classic work showing how thought on "stages of development" was influenced by imperial ideology*
- Jacinta O'Hagan, *Conceptualizing the West in International Relations* (Palgrave, 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
- F. Cooper and A. Stoler, *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*
- 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?*
- Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (London: Palgrave 2002).

***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).

**Further readings on the Pacific encounter:**
- 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).
- 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)
- Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* (1839), ch.18: "Tahiti and New Zealand" *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.*
- V.G. Kiernan, *The Lords of Human Kind: European Attitudes towards the Outside World in the Imperial Age* (Penguin 1972), ch. 7
- James Belich, "Myth, Race and Identity in New Zealand", in H. Hiery & J. MacKenzie, *European Impact and Pacific Influence* (Taurus)

## 5. Humanity and its others: Social Darwinism and eugenics
Lectures: 1st & 2nd Apr

**Considerations:**
- How does social Darwinism differ to the ideology of the "civilizing mission"?
- What is the link between social Darwinism, eugenics and genocide?

**Required readings:**

- Richard Weikart  Progress through Racial Extermination: Social Darwinism, Eugenics, and Pacifism in Germany, 1860-1918, *German Studies Review*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (May, 2003)
- 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)
- C.C. Mukhopadhyay, R. Henze & Y.T. Moses, *How Real is Race?* (London: Rowman and Littlefied, 2007), ch.4 pp.61-73.

**Further readings on social Darwinism and eugenics:**
- Raymond Williams, "Social Darwinism", in J. Benthall, *The Limits of Human Nature* (Butler and Tanner, 1973)
- Saul Dubow, *Scientific Racism in modern South Africa* (CUP, 1995)
- Mike Hawkins, Social Darwinism in European and American thought, 1860-1945 (CUP, 1997)
- Ivan Hannaford, *Race: the History of an Idea in the West* (John Hopkins, 1996), ch.8-10
- Kenan Malik, *The meaning of race : race, history and culture in Western society* (NY University Press, 1996)
- Nancy Stephan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (Archon Book,s 1982)
- F. Voltaire, "Of the different races of men", in R. Bernasconi and T.L. Lott, *The Idea of Race* (Hackett, 2000)
- Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation - An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 257-337. *A very challenging, but fantastically rewarding read which takes a vast sweep of world history from the Spanish encounter with Amerindians through to the development of 19th Century Scientific Racism.*
- RJ Halliday, "Social Darwinism. A Definition", *Victorian Studies*, 1971
- Kenan Malik, *The meaning of race : race, history and culture in Western society* (NY University Press, 1996), ch.8
- 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)
- E. Weitz, *A century of genocide : utopias of race and nation* (Princeton University Press, 2003)
- R Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Beacon Press, 1992) *The classic and influential interpretation of social Darwinism.*
- E. Black, *War against the weak : eugenics and America's campaign to create a master race* (NY 2003)
- K. Irving, *Immigrant mothers: narratives of race and maternity, 1890-1925* (Urbana, 2000)
- Bashford, *Imperial hygiene : a critical history of colonialism, nationalism, and public health* (Palgrave, 2003)
- John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), ch 8). *This book details the way in which Africans in the 19th century were given the label "primitive" and thus sub-human.*
- Dirk Moses, A. and Stone, D. 2007. *Colonialism and Genocide*. London: Routledge

   ***On the possible return of eugenics and social darwnism via the contemporary discourse on "socio-biology".***
- HL. Kaye, *The social meaning of modern biology: from social Darwinism to socio-biology* (Yale, 1986)

- R.Hernstein and C.Murray**,** *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* New York : Simon & Schuster, 1996. *An influential application of socio-biology*
- Claude S. Fischer et al, *Inequality by design : cracking the bell curve myth* (Princeton University Press, 1996)
- R. Carter, "Genes, Genomes and Genealogies: The Return of Scientific Racism", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (4), 2007

*In the late 19th and throughout the 20th century there has been a public policy concern – at national and global levels – for population control. The target groups have often been (or all) poor and/or indigenous and/or non-white women.  Is this the eugenics of social Darwinism in a "scientific" and "humanitarian" guise? The following readings deal with this.*
- D. Marie Ralstin-Lewis, *The Continuing Struggle against Genocide: Indigenous Women's Reproductive Rights Wicazo Sa Review* 20.1 (2005) 71-95
- Laura Doyle, "The Long Arm of Eugenics", *American Literary History* 6 (3) 2004
- Nancy Ordover, *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism* (University of Minnesota Press, 2003)
- Anant Phadke *A thorough critique of Depo-Provera*, 2005  http://www.issuesinmedicalethics.org/131br031.html
- Mohan Rao "Quinacrine Sterilisation Trials: A Scientific Scandal?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No. 13 (Mar. 26 - Apr. 3, 1998)Andrea Smith, "Beyond Pro-Choice Versus Pro-Life: Women of Color and Reproductive Justice" *NWSA Journal;* Spring 2005. An excellent article with contemporary relevance.
- Tiesha Rashon Peal, "THE CONTINUING STERILIZATION OF UNDESIRABLES IN AMERICA**"** Rutgers Race & L. Rev. 225 (2005)
- L. Gannett, "Racism and Human Genome Diversity Research: The Ethical Limits of "Population Thinking", *Philosophy of Science i68 (3) 2001*

*Regarding Nazism:*
- R.N.Proctor**,** *Racial Hygiene. Medicine under the Nazis* Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1988.
- M. Burleigh, *The Racial State: Germany, 1933-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- R. Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler : evolutionary ethics, eugenics, and racism in Germany* (Palgrave, 2004)
- E. Gretchen, *From racism to genocide : anthropology in the Third Reich* (Urbana, 2004)

## 6. International organization 1: standards of civilization and the League of Nations
Lectures: 8th & 9th Apr

**Considerations:**
- Was Japan an equal to Western empires at the close of WW1?
- Did the League break from or re-instate 19th century imperial ideologies?

**Required readings:**
- Gerrit Gong, *The Standard of "Civilization" in International Society* (Oxford, 1984), ch.6
- Nele Matz., "Civilization and the Mandate System under the League of Nations as Origin of Trusteeship", *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law* (2005),  pp.47-73 only

**Further readings on the league, race, and the mandates:**   *SEE ALSO LITERATURE FOR WEEK 8*
- Andrew J. Crozier, "The Establishment of the Mandates System 1919-25: Some Problems Created by the Paris Peace Conference", J*ournal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Jul., 1979)
- D. Gorman, "Liberal Internationalism, the League of Nations Union, and the Mandates System", *Canadian Journal of History* 40 (3), 2005
- 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. *An EXCELLENT article on the importance of the mandate system*
- 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?*
- M. Pomerance, "The United States and Self-Determination: Perspectives on the Wilsonian Conception", *American Journal of International Law* 70 (1), 1976
- Wm. Roger Louis, "African Origins of the Mandates Idea", *International Organization* 19 (1) 1965
- A.J. Crozier, "The Establishment of the Mandates System 1919-1925: Some Problems Created by the Paris Peace Conference", *Journal of Contemporary History* 14 (3), 1979
- 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*
- William Rappard, "Mandates and Trusteeships with Particular Reference to Palestine", *Journal of Politics* 8 (4), 1946. *The present presaged???*

**Further readings on Japan and the West:**
- Paul Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Westview, 1996), ch.3. *An EXCELLENT detailed account of the racial discrimination systematically dished out on Japanese delegates to the League.*
- 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. International organization 2: Apartheid, the United Nations and the challenge from the Third World
Lectures: 29th & 30h Apr

**Considerations:**
- How important was racism to the evolution of the UN human rights regime?
- How did proponents of the civil rights movement understand the Cold War foreign policies of the US government?
- What kind of moral challenge did Sukarno lay down to the West?

**Required readings:**
- Paul Lauren, *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplomacy of Racial Discrimination* (Westview, 1996), ch. 6
- James A. Tyner and Robert J. Kruse, II, "The Geopolitics of Malcolm X", *Antipode* 36 (1), 2004.
- President Sukarno of Indonesia, "Speech at the Opening of the Bandung Conference, 1955", http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1955sukarno-bandong.html

**Further readings on UN, civil and 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.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/9.htm
- 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
- Brenda Gayle Plummer (ed), *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs 1945-1988* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
- Saul Dubow, "Smuts, the United Nations and the Rhetoric of Race and Rights", *Journal of Contemporary History* 43 (1) 2008. *This shows how racial ideas that were prevalent during the League of Nations interfaced with the construction of the UN human rights agenda.*
- UN, *The United Nations and Apartheid 1948-1994* (1994). *Some great original documents in here!*

**Further readings on race and the Third World  in Cold War politics:**
- H. Roeslan Abdulgani, *Bandung Spirit: Moving on the tide of History* (Prapantja, 1964)
- Prime Minister Nehru of India, "Speech to the Bandung Conference, 1955", http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1955nehru-bandung2.html
- 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
- Hedley Bull, 'The Third World and International Society ', The Year Book of World Affairs (Vol. 33, 1979). *A famous IR scholar writes on the Third World in the late 1970s.*
- 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)
- Thomas Borstelman, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Harvard University Press, 2001)
- Anthony Bogues, "Radical anti-colonial thought, anti–colonial Internationalism, and the politics of human solidarities", in R.Shilliam (ed), *Non-Western Thought and International Relations (Forthcoming). Ask me for this. It's a great treatment of the various threads of transnational resistance to colonialism in the 20ᵗʰ century, including the Tricontinental Conference held in Cuba – an attempt to expand the "spirit of Bandung" in the 1960s*
- 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). *More on the impact of the tricontinental ideology*
- Subcommittee to Investigate the Admin of the Internal Security Act (1966), *The Tricontinental Conference of African, Asian, and Latin American Peoples. A US Govt assessment of the Tricontinental Conference. Revealing reading.*
- Tilden J. LeMelle, "Race, International Relations, U.S. Foreign Policy, and the African Liberation Struggle" Journal of Black Studies 3, 1 (September 1972)
- Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, bad Muslim : America, the Cold War, and the roots of terror* (NY, 2004)
- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Various, 1963). *The classic statement on Anti-colonial internationalism in the Cold War era*
- Documents of Non-aligned Movement, NAM : Bandung to Durban, 1961-1998] / published by International Institute for Non-aligned Studies (1998)

- Mark Berger, *The Battle for Asia: From Decolonization to Globalization* (Routledge, 2004), ch.1. *This is a good overview of US influence on Asia's decolonizaton during the Cold War*
- Christina Klein, *Cold War orientalism : Asia in the middlebrow imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley 2003). *On orientalism in American cold war film and literature*

## 8: "Failed states" and "liberal imperialism": Race, development and security

Lectures: 6th & 7th May

**Considerations:**
- Is it racist to call a state "failed"?
- How far removed is the discourse of new liberal imperialism from 19th century imperial ideology?

**Required readings:**
- Kaplan, R.D. 1994. The Coming Anarchy. *Atlantic Monthly* 273 (2)
- Robert Cooper, "The New Liberal Imperialism", URL: http://observer.guardian.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,680095,00.html
- Mark Driscoll, "White dude's burden", *Cultural Studies* 23 (1), 2009

**Further readings on "failed states" and intervention:**
- Fund for Peace, 2008. Failed States Index 2008. http://www.fundforpeace.org/
- 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
- 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
- Roland Paris, "International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice'," *Review of International Studies* 28:4 (October 2002)
- William Bain, "The idea of trusteeship in international society", *The Round Table* 92 (368), 2003

- April Biccum, "Development and the "new" imperialism" A reinvention of colonial discourse in DFID promotional literature", *Third World Quarterly* 26 (6), 2005
- Siba Grovogui, "Regimes of Sovereignty: Rethinking International Morality and the African Condition," European Journal of International Relations, vol. 8, no.3 (September 2002)
- Beate Jahn, "Kant, Mill, and Illiberal Legacies in International Affairs", *International Organization* 59 (1), 2005
- 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*

### *Further readings on "development"*:
- 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
- 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"*
- John Hobson, "Civilizing the global economy: Racism and the continuity of anglo-saxon imperialism" in B. Bowden and L. Seabrooke (eds), *Global Standards of Market Civilization* (Routledge ,2006)
- 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
- 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)
- "Neo-Modernization? IR and the Inner Life of Modernization Theory," (with David Blaney). *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 8(1): 103-137, 2002

## 9: Islamophobia: "culture clash" as the new racism?
<u>Lectures: 13th & 14th May</u>

**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?

**<u>Required readings:</u>**
- Paul Gordon & Francesca Klug, *New Right, New Racism* (Searchlight, 1986), ch.2
- Samuel Huntington, "The West, Unique not Universal", *Foreign Affairs* Nov/Dec 1996
- 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

**<u>Further readings on the "new racism":</u>**
- 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/whitness.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"?*
- K. Durrheim and J. Dixon, "Theories of culture in racist discourse", *Race and Society* 3 (2), 2000 *Considers the ways in which White South African holidaymakers justify racial segregation and criticize social transformation by explaining segregation as the natural and hence inevitable outcome of the 'fact' that humans are cultural beings.*
- Charles A. Gallagher, *Rethinking the color line : readings in race and ethnicity* (McGraw-Hill, 2007)
- Raymond d'Angelo, Herbert Douglas, *Taking sides. Clashing views in race and ethnicity* (McGraw-Hill, 2008) *Some good articles on recent events in the USA, including Hurricane Katrina*
- D. Kertzer and Dominique Arel, *The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Census* (CUP, 2001)
- UN World Conference on Racism 2001 – various documents - http://www.racism.gov.za/substance/confdoc/index.html
- A. Lentin, "Europe and the Silence about Race", *European Journal of Social Theory* 11 2008

**<u>Further readings on cultural conflict and "Islamophobia":</u>**
- F. Halliday, "'Islamophobia' reconsidered", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (5), 1999
- P. Werbner, "Islamophobia: Incitement to religious hatred - legislating for a new fear?", *Anthropology Today* 21 (1), 2005
- H,. Afshar, "Feminisms, Islamophobia and Identities", *Political Studies* 53 (2), 2005

- 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
- Anthony D. Smith, "Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism", International Affairs 72 (3) 1996
- E. Abrahamian, "The US Media, Huntington and September 11", *Third World Quarterly 24 (3), 2003*
- 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
- Arshin Adib-Moghaddam, "A (short) history of the clash of civilizations", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 21 (2), 2008
- Burak Erdenir, *The future of Europe*: *Islamophobia?* http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/esi_turkey_tpq_id_34.pdf

*"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/

## 10. Globalization and indigenous rights

<u>Lectures: 20ʰ & 21ˢᵗ May</u>

**<u>Considerations:</u>**
- 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
- Andrea Muehlebach, "What Self in Self-Determination? Notes from the Frontiers of Transnational Indigenous Activism", *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 10, 2003
- Adam Kuper, "The Return of the Native", *Current Anthropology* 44 (3), 2003

**Further readings on issues regarding indigenous identity:**

- K. Shaw, "Indigeneity and the International", *Millennium* 31 (1) 2002
- 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*
- Erich Kolig and Hermann Mückler (eds), *Politics of Indigeneity in the South Pacific: Recent Problems of Identity in Oceania* (New Brunswick: Transactions Publishers, 2002)
- Carole Nagengast, "Women, Minorities, and Indigenous Peoples: Universalism and Cultural Relativity", *Journal of Anthropological Research* 53 (3), 1997
- Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism: Human Rights and the Politics of Identity* (Uni of California Press, 2003)
- Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh, *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past – A New Zealand Commentary* (Bridget Williams Books), especially chapter by Lyndsay Head.
- D. Chakrabarty and B. Attwood, "Risky histories: indigenous pasts, democracy, and the discipline of history", *Meanjin* 65 (1), 200-208. *You can find this online.*

**Further readings on indigenous movements:**

- T. Koivurova, "From High Hopes to Disillusionment: Indigenous Peoples' Struggle to (re)Gain Their Right to Self-Determination", *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 15 (1) 2008
- Paul Oldham, and Miriam Anne Frank "'We the peoples…': The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples", *Anthropology Today* 24 (2) 2008

- Thomas Hall and James Fenelon, "Indigenous movements and globalization: what is different? What is the same?", *Globalizations* 5 (1), 2008
- 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* (Oxord Unviersity Press, 2005)
- Simon Hope, "Self-determination and Cultural Difference", *Political Science* 58 (1), 2006
- R. Overmyer-Velazquez, "The Self-determination of indigenous peoples and the limits of United Nations advocacy in Guerrero, Mexico", *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.*
- C. Smith and G. Ward, *Indigenous Cultures in an Interconnected World* (Washington D.C.: University of Washington Press, 2001
- D. Mato, "Transnational Networking and the Social Production of Representations of Identities by Indigenous Peoples' Organizations of Latin America", *International Sociology*, 15 (2), 2000

***This DVD makes interesting global connections between indigenous rights and race awareness through the medium of music:***
- *Dean Hapeta,* Ngatahi: Know the Links (2003)

***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/indigenousrightsdeclarationtoguidecommissionwork.php
- United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, "Decision on Foreshore and Seabed Act", 2004 http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/fs110305.htm

*The WAI262 claim is also interesting in that it seeks to qualify private intellectual property ownership on objects that have a cultural value to Māori. It is somewhat, but not entirely, a challenge to e.g. the principles of the World Trade Organization. See:*

- http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/inquiries/floraandfaunawai262/
- BRIEFING PAPER TO UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON THE WAI 262 CLAIMS TO INDIGENOUS FLORA AND FAUNA ME O O RATOU TAONGA KATOA  http://www.pcpd.org.nz/sr/wai262.pdf
- Nga Ringa Whakahaere o te Iwi Maori website information: http://www.nrw.co.nz/content/category/5/18/43/


## 11. Rastafari as a global culture
Lectures: 27th & 28th May

**Considerations:**
- What is political about Rastafari?
- Why might some Māori be positively inclined towards an Afro-Caribbean religion?

**Required readings:**
- Anthony Bogues, *Black Heretics, Black Prophets: Radical Political Intellecutals* (NY: Routledge, 2003), ch.7
- 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)
- Harold Turner, "Rastafari and New Zealand Maori", *South Pacific Journal for Mission Studies* 1991

**Further readings on the globalization of Rastafari and global culture in general:**
- 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)
- L. Chude-Sokei, "Post-nationalist geographies: rasta, raga, and reinventing Africa", *African Arts* i27 (4), 1994
- K. Hansing, "Rasta, race and revolution: transnational connections in socialist Cuba", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27 (4), 2001
- C. White, "Living in Zion: Rastafarian repatriates in Ghana, West Africa", *Journal of Black Studies* 37 (2007)
- N. Savishinsky, "Rastafari in the Promised Land: the spread of a Jamaican socioreligious movement among the youth in West Africa", *African Studies Review* 37 (3) 1994

- C. Price, D. Nonini, E. Tree, "Grounded utopian movements: subjects of neglect", *Anthropology Quarterly* Winter 2008. *On rastafari and the native American ghost dance of the great plains*
- M. Stephens, "Babylon's 'natural mystic': the North American music industry, the legend of Bob Marley, and the incorporation of transnationalism", *Cultural Studies* 12 (2), 1998. *An indictment of the commodification of Rastafari through the global music industry.*
- T. Rommen, "Protestant vibrations? Reggae, Rastafari, and conscious Evangelicals", *Popular Music* 25 (2) 2006

**Further readings 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*
- E. Edmonds, *Rastafari: from outcasts to culture bearers* (Oxford, 2003)
- Special Issue on Rastafari in *Caribbean Quarterly* 26 (4) 1980
- 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/
- 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)
- *The first Rasta : Leonard Howell and the rise of Rastafarianism* / by Hélène Lee Lawrence Hill Books, 2003.
- *Rastaman : the Rastafarian movement in England* / Ernest Cashmore G. Allen & Unwin, 1979
- *The Rastafarians : sounds of cultural dissonance* / Leonard E. Barrett, Sr Beacon Press, c1988
- *Dread : the Rastafarians of Jamaica* / Joseph Owens Heinemann Educational Books, 1982
- R. Shilliam "What about Marcus Garvey? Race and the transformation of sovereignty debate", *Review of International Studies* 32 (3), 2006

**Further readings on Rastafari in Aotearoa NZ:**
- Gordon Campbell, "Rasta in Aotearoa", NZ Listener 17 (January), 1981, pp.18-19
- 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
- Luis Alvaraz, "Reggae Rhythms in Dignity's Diaspora: Globalization, Indigenous Identity, and the Circulation of Cultural Struggle", *Popular Music and Society* 31 (5) 2008
- Tony Mitchell, "He Waiata Na Aotearoa" Maori and Pacific Islander Music in Aotearoa/New Zealand", in P. Hayward, *Sound Alliances: Indigenous Peoples, Cultural Politics and Popular Music in the Pacific* (London: Cassell)
- "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)

*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 and racism: towards a "new humanism"?
### Lectures: 3rd & 4th June

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

### Required readings:
- 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)
  Simon Gikandi, "Race and Cosmopolitanism", *American Literary History* 14 (3), 2002

### 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.*
- Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Various, 1963), conclusion
- Robert Bernasconi, "Casting the Slough: Fanon's new humanism for a new humanity", in Gordon et al *Fanon: a Critical Reader* (1996). *Ask me for a copy of this if you want it: an excellent chapter.*
- Steve Biko, *I write what I like* (Various), ch.14. *The leader of the black consciousness movement during Apartheid South Africa.*
- 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.
- D'Souza, Dinesh. 1995. *The end of racism: Principles for a multiracial society*. New York: Free Press.

- http://www.dalitnetwork.org/
- Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political culture Beyond the Color Line* (Harvard Uni Press, 2000)
- Various, *Fighting Identities: Socialist Register* 2003


**Further readings on cosmopolitanism**
- Daniele Archibugi (ed), *Debating Cosmopolitics* (London: Verso, 2003)
- Banham, G. 2007. Introduction: Cosmopolitics and Modernity. In Cosmopolitics and the Emergence of a Future. Edited by Morgan, D. and Banham, G. Basingstoke: Palgrave: xiii-xvii
- Pagden, A. 2000. Stoicism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Legacy of European Imperialism. Constellations 7 (1): 3-22
- Vertovec ,S. and Cohen, R. 2002. Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Bhambra, G. 2007. Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination. Basingstoke: Palgrave

*These readings make a case for cosmopolitanism based on the exceptionality of the European experience. Compare these with readings below:*
- Linklater, A. 2002. Cosmopolitan Political Communities in International Relations. International Relations 16 (1): 135-150
- Habermas, J. 2001. The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Delanty, G. 2005. The Idea of a Cosmopolitan Europe: On the Cultural Significance of Europeanization. International Review of Sociology 15 (3): 405-421
- Delanty, G. 2006. The Cosmopolitan Imagination: Critical Cosmopolitanism and Social Theory. British Journal of Sociology 57 (1): 25-47
- Beck, U. 2006. Cosmopolitan Vision. Cambridge: Polity
- Žižek, S. 1998. A Leftist Plea for "Eurocentrism". *Critical Inquiry* 24 (4): 988-1009

*These are alternative "non-elitist" and extra-european articulations of cosmopolitanism:*
- *Cosmopolitan geographies: New locations in literature and culture*, edited by Vinay Dharwadker. New York: Routledge 2001
- M. Munro & R. Shilliam, "Alternative Sources of Cosmopolitanism: Nationalism, Universalism and Créolité in Francophone Caribbean Thought", in R. Shilliam (ed), *Non-Western Thought and International Relations* (Forthcoming). *Ask me for a copy of this if you want to read it.*
- Breckenridge, C.A., Pollock, S., Bhabha, H.K., and Chakrabarty, D. *Cosmopolitanism*. London: Duke University Press (2002)
- Robbins, B. 1998. Introduction Part I: Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism. In *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation.* London: University of Minnesota Press: 1-19
- Van Der Veer, P. 2002. Colonial Cosmopolitanism. In *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 165-179
- 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

**Research essay instructions:**

1) **You must pick essay questions from the list of questions provided below**. If you wish to formulate your own question you <u>MUST FIRST</u> okay this with your tutor.
2) The mark for your essay will be affected by the following:
    a) You must use substantially (not just references in passing) at least 2 additional readings that are *not* required readings.
       **Failure to do so will be penalised by a deduction of 10% off your final mark.**
    b) If you do not use a correct citation style with consistency **you will be deducted 10% of your final mark**.
    c) If you do not adequately and correctly reference your work, **your essay will fail**.
    d) If you do not provide a bibliography **your essay will fail**.
3) Research essays are due **by <u>5pm Thursday 9ᵗʰ April</u> (<u>week 6</u>) and <u>5pm</u> <u>Friday 29ᵗʰ May</u> (week 11).
4) Instructions for **ELECTRONIC** submission are to be found on Blackboard, in the "announcements" section. Follow these instructions exactly. **I will NOT accept printed submissions.**

NOTE: the following questions posit themes that run throughout the course as a whole. You are encouraged to be imaginative. To this effect, you don't necessarily 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. The additional readings are there for you as a resource for further research. However, you do not have to feel bound by these lists.

Questions:

1. Is racism irrational?

2. In what ways might we say that racist ideology exists globally?

3. In what ways might racialized bodies also be considered sexualized bodies?

4. "Only those who actually feel racism can understand it". Discuss

5. What is more oppressive: sexism or racism?

6. "Slavery was abolished in the nineteen century". Discuss

7. Why should we remember the Haitian Revolution?

8. What was the "civilizing mission" and did it finish with de-colonization?

9. Why was the Orient deemed dangerous for "civilized" peoples?

10. Why did 19th century Europeans think Maori were a dying race?

11. How did Europeans disagree over their assessments of Maori as savages?

12. Is social Darwinism a "realist" position rather than a racist ideology?

13. What kinds of bodies does Eugenics seek to evolve?

14. How does the "new racism" re-articulate nineteenth century ideologies of race?

15. In what ways did considerations of race inform the attempt to construct a new world order post-World War One?

16. In what ways did the "colour line" influence world politics during the Cold War?

17. How might we argue that the Civil Rights movement in the USA was an integral part of Cold War politics?

18. "Nineteenth century imperial ideologies have returned to inform twenty first century international relations." Do you agree?

19. "There is no causal link between the colour of a population and the degree to which their state has "failed"". Do you agree?

20. "Islamophobia is a prejudice against culture rather than race." Discuss

21. To what extent can we say that Huntington's writings are informed by the "new racism"?

22. "Globalization is a continuation of the genocide of indigenous peoples." Discuss

23. "New Zealanders are not racist, but their state's policies are." Do you agree?

24. Are Māori rastas black?

25. Can we extract a cosmopolitan project from the Rastafari faith?

26. Was Frantz Fanon a racist?