

Empire, Colonialism, and Democracy

Advanced Undergraduate Seminar

Instructor: Nazmul Sultan

Office Hour: TBD

Email: nazmulsultan@uchicago.edu

Class Meetings: TBD

Course Description:

With the rise and consolidation of global empires in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the political thought of the European and non-European parts of the globe came to be organized around a shared set of concerns. How did modern European and non-European political thought conceive of and respond to this imperial reordering of the world? In this seminar, we will analyze the conceptual resources with which democratic and liberal thinkers approached, and often legitimated, imperial rule. We will also explore how nineteenth-century European political thought traveled around the globe, and how anticolonial political thinkers participated in and diverged from European frameworks. Along the way, we will tackle some of the big questions in empire and anticolonialism studies: how did European understanding of empire and colonialism change from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century? What were the theoretical assumptions that helped reconcile empire and democracy for canonical thinkers such as John Stuart Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville? Was the nation-state an inevitable outcome of colonial rule? And, finally, how did the long history of colonial subjection shape the understanding of democracy in the postcolonial world?

Course Requirements:

- 1) **Three papers:** first two papers approximately 4-5 pages, and the second one approximately 7-8 pages. The papers should be submitted as word documents via email.
- 2) In addition to regular class participation, students will be required to lead discussion on the basis of the reading for one session. Students will be paired up with one of their peers for class presentation. As discussion leaders, you will be free to choose the topics and questions of your discussion. Please note that discussion leaders will have to post their set of discussion questions, as well as a brief summary of the reading, on Canvas at least 48 hours before the session. On presentation days, discussion leaders should elaborate upon the questions/topics, invite responses from other students, and ensure engaged discussion.
- 3) Please note that **suggested readings** are **not compulsory**. I have listed a set of relevant readings for advanced students who would be interested in exploring particular themes further.

Attendance and Late Paper Policy:

Attendance is mandatory and will be recorded. Students with more than two absences will be assumed to have withdrawn from the class. With the exceptions of documented illness, religious observance, or family emergency, absences will not be excused.

Late papers will be penalized. I will deduct one full grade (A to B, for example) for each day of late submission. If you have a compelling reason and get in touch with me at least 24 hours prior to the deadline, an extension may be granted (no more than 48 hours).

Participation: This is a seminar, organized around class discussion. You are expected to arrive to the class prepared. Please make sure that you read the text carefully, take note of passages that you wish to discuss, and come prepared with questions. The quality of your class participation will be a central component of how I evaluate your overall performance.

Electronics are not permitted. Unless you have a legitimate reason, laptops, cellphones, and tablets should not be used during the class.

Grade Distribution:

First Paper 20%

Second Paper 25%

Final Paper 30%

Class Presentation 10%

Class Participation 15%

Academic Integrity:

Any instance of plagiarism will result in automatic failure of the paper, and likely of the class. It will also be referred to the University for further action. If you are unsure of what constitutes plagiarism, please feel free to get in touch with me.

Schedule:

Week 1: Enlightenment and Empire I: The Boundary of Humanity

Session 1:

1. Michel de Montaigne, "On the Cannibals" in *The Complete Essays* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 228-241.
2. Denis Diderot, "Supplément au voyage de Bougainville" in *Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 31-76.

Session 2:

1. Johann Gottfried Herder, *Outlines of a Philosophy of History of Man* (selections)
2. Immanuel Kant, "Review of Herder's Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind" in *Kant: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 201-220.
3. Immanuel Kant, "What is Enlightenment?" in *Kant: Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 54-60.

Suggested Reading for the Week:

1. Anthony Pagden, "The Effacement of Difference: Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism in Diderot and Herder" in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* ed. Gyan Prakash (NJ: Princeton UP, 1995), 129-52.
2. Inés Valdez, "It is not About Race: Good Wars, Bad Wars, and the Origins of Kant's Anti-Colonialism," *American Political Science Review*, 111 (4): 819-834.

Week 2: Enlightenment and Empire II: Reason and Its Limits

Session 1:

1. Adam Smith, "Of Colonies" in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations by Adam Smith*, vol 2 ed. Edwin Cannan (London: Methuen, 1904), 58-66, 91-140.
2. Edmund Burke, "Speeches on the Impeachment of Warren Hastings" (selected).

Session 2:

1. Rammohun Roy, "Petition against the Press Regulation" and "On the Settlement in India by Europeans" in *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy* (Calcutta: Sadharan Brahma Samaj, 1947 [1823, 1829]) 12-31, 79-86
2. Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment Against Empire* (NJ: Princeton UP, 2003), 11-71, 258-83.

Suggested Reading for the week:

1. Jeremy Bentham, *Emancipate your Colonies!* (London: C. & W. Renyell, 1830).
2. Michel Foucault, "What is Enlightenment" in *Foucault Reader* ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 32-50
3. Frederick G. Whelan, "Burke on India" in *The Cambridge Companion to Edmund Burke*, ed. D. Dwan and C. Insole (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 168-180.
4. Sunil Agnani, *Hating Empire Properly: The Two Indies and the Limit of Enlightenment Anticolonialism* (NY: Fordham Press, 2013).

Week 3-4: Colonialism and the Re-Ordering of the World in the Nineteenth Century

Session 1:

G.W.F. Hegel, *Lecture on the Philosophy of World History* trans. H.B. Nisbet (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975), 5-43, 124-151.

Session 2:

Hegel, *Lecture on the Philosophy of World History*, 152-208.

Session 3: Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), 3-78.

Session 4: Edward Said, *Orientalism* (NY: Vintage Books, 1978), 1-72.

Suggested Reading for the week:

1. G.W.F Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 366-379 (§ 330- § 360).
2. John Stuart Mill, "Civilization" in *Dissertations and Discussions, Political Philosophical and Historical* (J.W. Parker, 1859), 160-205.
3. Ranajit Guha, *History at the Limits of World-History* (NY: Columbia UP, 2003).
4. Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (NJ: Princeton UP, 2014), 45-107.

Week 5: Despotism for Democracy?

Session 1:

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Writings on Empire and Slavery* ed. Jennifer Pitts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 1-13, 59-116.

Session 2:

1. Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Government of India" in *Macaulay: Prose and Poetry*, ed. G.M. Young (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970 [1833]), 688–718.
2. Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India," *New York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853 (around 3-4 pages).

Suggested Reading for the week:

1. Stefan Collini, Donald Winch, and John Burrow "The Cause of Good Government: Philosophic Whigs versus Philosophic Radicals," in *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 91-126.
2. Cheryl B. Welch. "Colonial Violence and the Rhetoric of Evasion: Tocqueville on Algeria," *Political Theory* 31.2 (2003): 235-264.
3. Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Week 7: Development, Progress, and Democracy

Session 1:

John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 1-17, 45-85.

Session 2:

1. John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), 5-18.
2. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, *Samya [Equality]* (New Delhi: Liberty Institute, 2002), 11- 42. [1873].

Suggested Reading for the week:

1. Alan Ryan, *John Stuart Mill* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1970), 169-186 (especially).
2. S. Ambirajan, "John Stuart Mill and India" in *J.S. Mill's Encounter with India* ed. Martin I. Moir, Douglas M. Peers, and Lynn Zastoupil (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 221-264.

Week 8: Liberal Imperialism and Its Contradictions

Session 1:

1. James Fitzjames Stephen, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* (London: H. Elder and Co., 1874) (selections).
2. Uday Mehta, *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 1-45.

Session 2:

1. Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (NJ: Princeton UP, 2005), 1-22, 123-162.

Suggested Reading:

1. Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the End of Liberal Imperialism* (NJ: Princeton UP, 2010), 1-20, 56-88.
2. Jeanne Morefield, *Covenants without Swords: Idealist Liberalism and the Spirit of Empire* (NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Week 9: The Making of Anticolonial Sovereignty

Session 1:

1. Dadabhai Naoroji, "Presidential Address at the 1906 Congress Session [The Swaraj Speech]" in *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji* (Madras: G.A. Nathesen & Co., 1917).
2. Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (NY: MR Press, 1972), 29-78.

Session 2:

1. M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj* ed. Anthony Parel (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 13-75.

Movie Screening: *The Home and the World* (director: Satyajit Ray, story: Rabindranath Tagore)

Suggested Reading:

1. Uday Singh Mehta, "Gandhi on Democracy, Politics and the Ethics of Everyday Life" *Modern Intellectual History* 7.2 (2010): 355-371.
2. Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 32-64, 100-114.

Week 10: Empire and Interwar Pluralism

Session 1:

1. Harold Laski, *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917) (selections)
2. Radhakamal Mukerjee, *Democracies of the East: A Study in Comparative Politics* (London: P.S. King & Son Ltd., 1923) (selections).

Session 2:

3. Mary Parker Follett, *The New State: Group Organization the Solution of Popular Government* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 189-245.
4. Alfred E. Zimmern, "Nationality and Government" in *Nationality and Government with Other Wartime Essays* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1918), 32-60.

Suggested Reading for the week:

1. B.N. Seal, "Meaning of Race, Tribe, Nation" in *Papers on Inter-Racial Problems* edited by G. Spiller (London: P.S. King & Son, 1911), 1-13.
2. Frederick Cooper, *Citizenship Between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945-1960* (NJ: Princeton UP, 2014), 1-66.
3. Samuel Moyn, "Fantasies of Federalism," *Dissent* 62, no. 1 (2015): 145–51

Week 11: End of Imperial Rule and the Postcolonial Founding

Session 1:

1. Jawaharlal Nehru, *Discovery of India* (Delhi: Oxford UP, 2004), 49-68.
2. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Color and Democracy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945) (selections).

Session 2:

1. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (NY: Grove Press, 2004), 1-52, 97-180.

Suggested reading for the week:

1. Margaret Kohn and Keally McBride. *Political Theories of Decolonization: Postcolonialism and the Problem of Foundations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

2. Eric D Weitz, "Self-Determination: How a German Enlightenment Idea Became the Slogan of National Liberation and a Human Right," *The American Historical Review* 120.2 (2015): 462-496.

Week 12: Empire and Gender

Session 1: Begum Rokeya, *Sultana's Dream* (1905) [novella]

Session 2: Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Imperial Conquest* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1-17, 73-180.

Suggested Reading:

Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995) (selections)

Week 15: From Anti-Colonialism to Post-colonialism

Session 1: Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (NJ: Princeton UP, 2000), 3-26, 47-71.

Session 2:

1. Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (NJ: Princeton UP, 2019), 1-13, 142-82.
2. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (NC: Duke UP, 2004), 1-57.

Suggested reading for the week:

1. Inés Valdez, *Transnational Cosmopolitanism: Kant, Du Bois, and Justice as a Political Craft* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2019).
2. Lea Ypi, "What's Wrong with Colonialism," *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 41, no. 2 (2013): 158-191.
3. Jeanne Morefield, *Empires without Imperialism: Anglo-American Decline and the Politics of Deflection* (NY: Oxford UP, 2014).