

Race and Empire
Am St 590
Washington State University
American Studies
Thursdays 1:25 pm to 4:25 pm
Wilson-Short Hall 4

FALL 2014

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Office Hours: Thursdays 10:30 am to 12:00 pm and by appointment

If every colonial immediately assumes the role of the colonizer, every colonizer does not necessarily become a colonialist. However, the facts of colonial life are not simply ideas, but the general effect of actual conditions.

—Taken from *The Colonizer and the Colonized*

The concept of Empire is presented as a global concert under the direction of a single conductor, a unitary power that maintains the social peace and produces its ethical truths. And in order to achieve these ends, the single power is given the necessary force to conduct, when necessary, “just wars” at the borders against the barbarians and internally against the rebellious.

—Taken from *Empire*

[What] if war is no longer a state of exceptional condition but the normal state of affairs, if, that is, we have now entered a perpetual state of war not to be a threat to the existing structure of power, not a destabilizing force, but rather, on the contrary, an active mechanism that constantly creates and reinforces the present global order.

—Taken from *Multitude*

Course Objectives and Rationale:

Race and Empire explores contemporary manifestations of Empire (the collection of colonizing forces and colonized subjects) and their relationship to race and the process of racialization, paying special attention to the roles Empire and racialization play in the

international division of labor and rampant global inequality. The main goal of the course is to depart from and interrogate current theoretical currents intent on assuming that imperialism as a project is a past phenomenon. Engaging with and problematizing the now-common academic rhetoric of postcoloniality, the course will examine notions such as “postcolonial,” “the world order,” “globalization,” and “the world economy” as both derivative from and constitutive of a bigger endeavor: that of Empire. Deviating from the idea that political independence automatically means decolonization, this course makes connections between political formations, power, and the racialized world order as it currently stands.

Caveat: Although I use the sociological concept of racialization (i.e., the processes by which “we” attach meaning to socially-identified and socially-articulated racial categories), it is imperative that we talk about racism (i.e., the institutional processes by which people within certain racial categories are systemically and systematically oppressed). Discussing the world order or Empire without discussing racism, is like discussing sun exposure without discussing sun burns. Thus, although we will talk about the more clinical/sanitized concepts racialization, racial categories, racial dynamics, and race relations, such notions will always and unfailingly be grounded in discussions of racism and its horrible, messy faces.

A Few Definitions: So we can all be “on the same page,” I am including here are a few definitions. In that way, you do not have to wonder what exactly do I mean when I use them.

Colonialism: For the purposes of this course, colonialism refers to a political state of being in which a subjugated political entity and its people, constituting the colony, are controlled by another political entity and its people, constituting the Metropolis. Under colonialism, the Metropolis officially rules the subjugated entity and its people, making use of legal devices and stratagems.

Empire: In this class, Empire (with capital “E”) refers to a collection of modern political, military, and economic entities in concert exerting power over, controlling, and ruling, directly or indirectly, other political entities. Empire always benefits from the exertion of power; other entities usually suffer from it, even if they legally consented to their present situation.

Imperialism: I will talk about imperialism (in lower case) as a relatively recent process (i.e., last 500 years or so) by which a powerful political entity appropriates the economic, natural and/or human resources from other (multiple) political entities. In the case of imperialism, political and economic subjugation to the metropolis is possible and perhaps at times desirable (by the Metropolis), but not necessary.

Texts for the class:

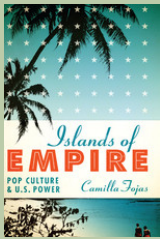
Note: The Bookie is supposed to have the texts. I, however, knowing how bureaucracy operates, assigned articles that can be found online for the second week. That means we are not starting to read the books until week three. That will give you plenty of time to get a hold of the books, “by any [non-criminal] means necessary”—and I know I’m butchering Malcom X’s speech and intent, my apologies to him. So I’m saying all this, because I do not want to hear “I have not been able to get/find the books” from you. I do not even allow my (CES) 101 students to get away with that.



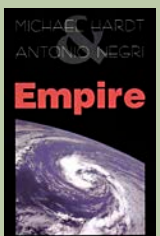
Aronowitz, Stanley and Heather Gautney. 2003. *Implicating Empire: Globalization and Resistance in the 21st Century World Order*. New York: Basic Books. ISBN: 0-465-00494-6.



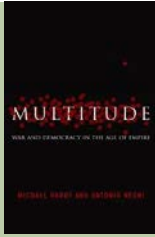
De Genova, Nicholas, and Nathalie Peutz. 2010. *The Deportation Regime*. Durham: Duke University Press. ISBN: 978-0822345763.



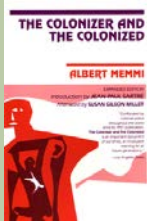
Fojas, Camilla. 2014. *Islands of Empire: Pop Culture and U.S. Power*. Austin: University of Texas Press. ISBN: 978-0-292-75630-4.



Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. ISBN: 0-674-00671-2.



Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2004. *Multitude*. London: Penguin Press. ISBN: 1594200246.



Memmi, Albert. 1991. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press. ISBN: 0-8070-0301-8.



Pescheck, Joseph. 2005. *The Politics of Empire: War, Terror, and Hegemony*. New York: Routledge. ISBN: 978-0415376280.



Stoler, Ann L. 2006. *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*. Durham: Duke University Press. ISBN: 978-0813542157.

Readings for class:

Marx, Karl. "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" (Chapter 32) in *Das Kapital*. Can be found at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch32.htm>.

Parenti, Michael. 1995. "Imperialism 101" in *Against Imperialism*. Can be found at: <http://www.michaelparenti.org/Imperialism101.html>.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2005. "After Developmentalism and Globalization, What?" *Social Forces*. 83(3):1. Pp. 321-338. Can be found at: <http://www.iwallerstein.com/wp-content/uploads/docs/CORNELL.pdf>.

Requirements:

Attendance and participation (10 points): I will say two things: (1) Not coming to class every week shows a lack of professionalism, which will severely affect your grade; and (2) not participating in in-class discussions shows that either you are not ready to be in a graduate program or you are here to take knowledge from others without contributing back, which will also affect your grade severely. The academic world is fundamentally constituted by a constant sharing of knowledge, and this can only be done by being present and speaking up.

Reading Discussant and Respondent (10 points each = 20 points): At the beginning of the term you will sign up to lead a discussion of (i.e., be a discussant for) of one of our readings during the semester. The presentation involves a brief summary (10-15 minutes) of the readings' key points, a brief analysis (an extra 3-5 minutes), and finally, two or three questions to start the discussion. You will also sign up to lead a response (i.e., be a respondent) to another student's discussion during the semester. A response should not take more than 10 minutes, focusing on the discussant's take of the reading and also providing your classmates with several questions to pursue during the ensuing discussion.

Note: When you are a discussant, you will need to send the respondent your discussion points via electronic messaging no later than the previous Tuesday at 12 noon. You will copy me in your message. You will lose one point for every hour you are late with your message. After 24 hours, you will lose the entirety of the points for the discussion.

Questions and Quotes (Q & Q's) (30 points total): Each week you will need to submit (in class) one typed question and one typed quote from the readings assigned for the week. Pose open-ended questions, not questions that ask your audience to regurgitate "facts," or that can be answered with a "yes" or "no." Your question could address a specific reading, or a theme running through several readings. Quotes may be anything from the readings that resonates with you. Along with the quote, write a paragraph or two explaining why you find the quote significant. Q & Q's might be used (by me) to continue class discussion after the discussant and presenter are done with their respective presentations.

Final paper (25 points): Your final paper should be an article-length (ie, fifteen- to twenty-page) analysis of an aspect of Empire, as it affects social articulations of race and manifestations of racism.

Paper presentations (15 points): During the last two days of class, you and your classmates will discuss your respective final papers. Prepare to speak for roughly ten (and no more than fifteen) minutes, identifying your subject and your argument, then providing a few key details of your argument so your classmates can provide feedback.

Policies:

Cellular Phones and other Communication Devices: I am including here the statement that I unfailingly include in my undergraduate syllabi, because I want you to understand

how much this really (really) bugs me. So please, read it and turn everything off. There will be one exception only: people with small children. You are allowed to have your device on, but please, set it to vibrate. Here is the statement:

“Turn your cell phones and electronic devices off before coming to class (that includes laptop computers—even if your computer lacks an internet connection, and any other electronic device utilized to communicate with the world outside our classroom). Of course, MP3 players, tablets, and other gadgets used for entertainment are also prohibited. So are ear buds and headphones of any kind—put them away before class starts. The world can survive without getting a hold of you for an hour and fifteen minutes. And you will also survive without knowing what’s going on outside the classroom for a few minutes. If, for a reason I cannot fathom at this point, you forget to neutralize your communication device, and it does go off during class, you will annoy the heck out of me, and will have the option of (1) turning it off immediately, or (2) handing it to me and letting me answer it. You will take full responsibility for what happens when/if you allow me to answer your phone. If your device goes off more than once during the semester, I will deduct points (at my discretion and without notifying you) from your attendance and participation points. I may also ask you to leave the classroom.

- ✓ If I catch you “texting” during class, and in addition to taking points off, I will confiscate your phone and will make you stand in front of the entire class to share with your classmates why you were texting, who you were texting, and the content of your message. You will also lose points for attendance and participation (see explanation above). Finally, under those circumstances, I reserve the right to keep your phone in my office until one of two things happens: (1) you drop the class, or (2) the semester end.
- ✓ But what if I want to take notes using my computer?—you may ask. Here is my standard answer: for over a century now, students have been able to take notes using a pad of paper and a pen or a pencil. This method has worked for generations of students, so it will work for you as well. Only students with permission from the Access Center are exempted from this rule.”

Communicating in the classroom: I want to encourage you to exercise your right to academic freedom in thoughtful, intellectually honest ways, while always avoiding hateful and abusive speech. Discussions, even heated discussions are the cornerstone of academia. Having said that, I will not allow anyone to hijack the discussion to indulge their own agenda, nor will I allow anyone to create a hostile intellectual/learning environment. Finally, I have been around the block a few times, so I know when you are talking without having done the reading, and I will call you on it. So be prepared, and be professional.

Official University Statement on Special Accommodations: Reasonable accommodations are available for students with a documented disability. If you have a disability and need accommodations to fully participate in this class, please either visit or call the Access Center (Washington Building 217; 509-335-3417) to schedule an appointment with an Access Advisor. All accommodations MUST be approved through the Access Center.

Plagiarism: If I actually have to ask graduate students not to plagiarize their work or not to cheat, something has gone terribly wrong. Seriously. So I won't ask, but I will, however, use this space as a "teachable moment," and suggest that plagiarism and colonialism are tightly linked. So s/he who plagiarizes is no better than s/he who colonizes, for they are both stealing someone else's hard work, resources, and property. So please, do your own darn work, for crying out loud. I will also say that if you dare to engage in any form of intellectual dishonesty, things will get rather unpleasant for you, as the matter will involve the Director of the American Studies Program, the Chair of CCGRS, the Graduate School, and the Office of Student Standards and Accountability.

READING SCHEDULE

Thursday, August 28

Introductions, syllabus, and all those things we are supposed to do on the first day of class.

Thursday, September 4

"Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" by Karl Marx;
 "Imperialism 101" by Michael Parenti; and
 "After Developmentalism and Globalization, What?" by Immanuel Wallerstein.

Thursday, September 11

The Colonizer and the Colonized by Albert Memmi.

Special instructions for this day: We will be having our class on Tuesday, September 9 (same time and same place). We will merge Bloodsworth-Lugo's AM ST 506 seminar and this one and we will all discuss Memmi's book.

Thursday, September 18

Empire by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (pp. xi-204).

Thursday, September 25

Empire by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (pp.205-end).

Thursday, October 2

Multitude by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri.

Thursday, October 9

Implicating Empire: Globalization and Resistance in the 21st Century World Order by Stanley Aranowitz and Heather Gautney (Introduction and Chapter 1-10).

Thursday, October 16

Implicating Empire: Globalization and Resistance in the 21st Century World Order by Stanley Aranowitz and Heather Gautney (Chapter 11-21).

Thursday, October 23

The Politics of Empire by Joseph Pescheck.

Thursday, October 30

Haunted by Empire by Ann Stoler (pp. xi to 239).

Thursday, November 6

Haunted by Empire by Ann Stoler (pp. 240-272).

Thursday, November 13

The Deportation Regime by Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Puetz.

Thursday, November 20

Thanksgiving Holiday

Thursday, November 27

Islands of Empire by Camila Fojas.

Thursday, December 4
Student Presentations

Thursday, December 11
Student Presentations

Grading Scale

A	94 points or above
A-	90 to 93 points
B+	87 to 89 points
B	84 to 86 points
B-	80 to 83 points
C+	77 to 79 points
C	74-76 points
C-	70 to 73 points
D+	67 to 69 points
D	60 to 66 pints
F	59 points and below