

# Asian Political Thought

MA course, 2 credits

**Winter Semester**

AY 2016/2017

**Schedule:** Thursdays 9-10.40

**Office hours:** Thursdays 11.00-13.00 or by appointment.

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**Prerequisites:** none.

## **Course description and objectives:**

This course is a short introduction into the vast body of political thought originating in East, South and Southeast Asia. Defined in this way, Asian political thought has tapped the rich traditions associated with Confucian, Taoist, Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim worldviews. However, it has also been an arena for debating and interpreting ideologies originating outside the region, such as nationalism, Marxism or liberalism. At the same time, Asian political thought itself has provided a rich source of inspiration to authors, thinkers and practitioners worldwide, especially those of the Age of Enlightenment and postmodernism.

This course is not confined to the ancient political theories before the times of intense exchanges. Neither is it confined to the study of ideas isolated from their interaction with political realities. In fact, the study of Asian political thought illuminates regional political realities. The backdrop of ideas popular at the time helps to more adequately understand the processes of state formation, regional power dynamics, nationalism, Communism and postcolonialism.

The course depicts Asian political thought in conversation with political theories popular in the West and tackling the universally relevant questions of self, society, power, politics, nation-state and modernity. The course is organised around these questions, addressed through several dimensions wherever possible: arguments and commentary, original sources to contemporary interpretations as well as theory and practice.

The course consists of two parts. The first part is focused on the pre-colonial political thought. The introductory lecture deliberates the suitable lens for studying Asian political thought, the premises under which it can be considered 'philosophy' and its relationship to the European-original political thought. The course then proceeds with the building block of political theories and the source of difference from Western political thinking – the perception of self. Going up the ladder of abstraction,

two further sessions debate the normative order of relationships among the selves, juxtaposing the view that hierarchy is a primordial characteristic of the human society and the position that hierarchy is contingent upon specific relationships rather than on inherent differences of individuals. The final two sessions tackle the concepts of power and rule.

The second part moves into the modern era and the terrain of international politics marked with Eurocentrism. It starts with a lecture on colonialism that forced the Asian and European traditions of conceptualising politics into an intense and continuing encounter. Later sections consider nation-building, Asian Communisms as one possible route in a postcolonial setting and Japan's attempt at offering an alternative to Western modernity. Another session considers the contribution of postcolonialism literature by Asian authors in tackling the global hierarchies of race and gender. The concluding session returns to the question of how to engage in comparative political thought across traditions without reifying their boundaries.

### **Learning outcomes:**

*Generic skills:* successful completion of the course should enhance the students'

- independent critical thinking ability;
- analytical thinking – the ability to discern, summarise, compare and debate complex theoretical arguments;
- academic writing skills.

*Course-specific learning outcomes:* by the end of the course, students are expected to have grasped:

- the richness and complexity of Asian political thought;
- its ties to religious traditions influential in Asia;
- its influence on major historical political developments in Asia;
- the reasons why Asian societies have been portrayed as hierarchic, collectivist and under despotic rule;
- the reasons why such portrayals have missed important aspects of political life;
- the main points of exchanges and debate with European-origin political ideas;
- the contemporary relevance of Asian-origin political ideas.

*Course-specific skills:* by the end of the course, students are expected to have gained:

- the ability to discuss and use the concepts learned;
- the ability to compare and engage in a dialogue within and between the bodies of thought analysed.

### **Course format:**

The course combines lecturing and class discussions based on the prescribed readings. The sessions take place once a week – Thursdays 9-10.40. Apart from introductions and clarifications, the sessions are organised in a seminar form, with participants discussing the questions raised on the basis of the texts. Group work tasks and occasional succinct presentations can be assigned to facilitate discussions.

Students are encouraged to come for consultations during office hours or set up an appointment with the lecturer at another mutually suitable time to discuss any concerns regarding the course, especially (but not limited to) written and oral assignments.

### **Assessment:**

Course assessment is based on class participation (40% of the overall mark) and written assignments (60% of the overall mark). Class participation entails a demonstrated grasp of the reading, engagement in seminar discussions and group work. On 2-3 occasions, general class discussions can be organised as **role plays** where students or groups of students will be responsible for arguing in the name of a prescribed strand of thought or author in a particular situation. Attendance is marked. Absences should be explained as unexcused absences affect the course mark. Please refer to the [MA handbook](#) for details.

The written assessment of the course is based on **two 1,500 word position papers**. They must abide with the [CEU policy on plagiarism](#). The papers should offer a succinct exploration of a specific, clearly delineated issue and be by no means descriptive. A paper should bring together or work out the stances of different schools of political thought (that may include non-Asian bodies of ideas put in conversation with the Asian ones), authors or texts regarding some particular aspect. There are thus two possible approaches: either selecting a specific issue and considering how the stances from different theories would interpret and explain that issue or selecting a number of texts which analyse a particular issue and contrasting those perspectives. The papers will need to briefly identify the issue in the introduction, summarise the approaches and then consider their respective strengths and weaknesses, or their ability to explain certain elements of the issue. The discussion should be well-structured and signposted, elaborating the argument point by point (preferably thematically) and followed by clear conclusions summarising the findings.

Students can choose the topics for their papers but they have to be approved by the lecturer. Students will receive written feedback on their papers and are welcome to discuss their preparation and results during consultations. For help with structuring the argument, they are welcome to contact the Center for Academic Writing – **no later than during the week before the deadline**.

The papers should be submitted over the e-learning platform (<http://ceulearning.ceu.hu>):

- the first one by Monday **February 22<sup>nd</sup>** midnight;
- the second one by Thursday **March 31<sup>st</sup>** midnight.

### **Literature:**

The lack of sources is a potential problem for this course. The core readings that students have to study for each session will be accessible on the e-learning site. Additional ones – for more in-depth study and assignments – may be added. Additions to the CEU library have been ordered. When facing issues locating additional sources, students should not hesitate to contact the lecturer for solutions.

### **General sources:**

Angle, Stephen C., 2012. *Contemporary Confucian Political Philosophy: Toward Progressive Confucianism*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity (CEU).

Basic writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu, 1967. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press (CEU, e-book: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.06027>).

Bonevac, Daniel and Stephen Phillips (eds.), 2009. *Introduction to World Philosophy: A Multicultural Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chan, Joseph, 2014. *Confucian Perfectionism: A Political Philosophy for Modern Times*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press (CEU).

Chan, Wing-Tsit (ed.), 1963. *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (CEU: 181.1/1 CHA).

Chatterjee, Satischandra and Dhirendramohan Datta, 1960. *An introduction to Indian Philosophy*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1960.

Clark, J. J., 1997. *Oriental Enlightenment: The Encounter between Asian and Western Thought*. London: Routledge.

De Bary, William Theodore et al. (eds.), 1960. *Sources of Chinese tradition*. Vol. I-II. New York: Columbia University Press (multiple editions, CEU).

De Bary, William Theodore, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann (eds.), 1964. *Sources of Japanese tradition*. Vol I-II. New York: Columbia University Press (multiple editions, CEU).

Deutsch, Eliot and Ron Bontekoe (eds.), 1997. *A Companion to World Philosophies*. Blackwell Companions to Philosophy Series. Malden, Oxford: Blackwell.

Huang, Chun-chieh and John Allen Tucker (eds.), 2014. *Dao Companion to Japanese Confucian Philosophy*. Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy Series No. 5. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands (CEU, e-book: <http://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-90-481-2921-8>).

Ivanhoe, Philip J. and Bryan W. van Norden (eds.), 2005. *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub.

Johnson Tan, Paige, 2016 (forthcoming). *Routledge Handbook of Asian Political Thought*. Routledge.

Kasulis, Thomas P., 2002. *Intimacy or Integrity: Philosophy and Cultural Difference*. The 1998 Gilbert Ryle Lectures. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Lomperis, Timothy J., 2011. 'Asian Political Thought.' In John T. Ishiyama and Marijke Brenning (eds.), *21<sup>st</sup> Century Political Science: A Reference Handbook*. Vol. 2. 21<sup>st</sup> Century Reference Series. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage Publications, pp. 560-576.

Olberding, Amy (ed.), 2014. *Dao Companion to the Analects*. Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy Series No. 4. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands (CEU, e-book: <http://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-94-007-7113-0>).

Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli and Charles A. Moore (eds.), 1957. *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (CEU).

Singh, Aakash, and Silika Mohapatra (eds.), 2010. *Indian Political Thought: A Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge (CEU).

Watts, Alan, 1995. *The Philosophies of Asia: The Edited Transcripts*. London: Eden Grove Editions (CEU).

## Course Outline and the Reading List

January 14<sup>th</sup>

### 1. Introduction: setting the scene

An overview of the course syllabus and requirements

January 21<sup>st</sup>

### 2. Conceptualising Asian Political Thought

- What does 'Asian Political Thought' entail?
- What is its relationship to 'philosophy'?
- In what sense can we speak of 'Asian' political thought? Japanese, Chinese, Indian, Confucian or Buddhist political thought?
- What are the uses and dangers of such classifications? What assumptions are they based on?
- How do we pursue Comparative Political Thought without reifying difference and without losing analytical rigour?
- Why should the study of ideas retain an awareness of the political practice?

#### Core readings

Please choose and study one of the following sets of texts:

1. **Jenco**, Leigh K., 2014, 'Histories of Thought and Comparative Political Theory: The Curious Thesis of "Chinese Origins for Western Knowledge," 1860–1895.' *Political Theory* Vol. 42, No. 6, pp. 658–681. Available at: <http://ptx.sagepub.com/content/42/6/658.full.pdf+html> [Accessed 12-12-2015]  
**Zhang**, Wei, 2006. *Heidegger, Rorty and the Eastern Thinkers: A Hermeneutics of Cross-Cultural Understanding*. SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture. New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 27-44 (Chapter 2).
2. **Defoort**, Carine, 2001. 'Is There Such a Thing as Chinese Philosophy? Arguments of an Implicit Debate.' *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (July), Eighth East-West Philosophers' Conference, pp. 393-413. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1399849> [Accessed 09-12-2015].  
**Raud**, Rein, 2006. 'Philosophies versus Philosophy: In Defense of a Flexible Definition.' *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (October), pp. 618-625. Available at: <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/pew/summary/v056/56.4raud01.html> [Accessed 09-12-2015].  
**Brockner**, H. Gene and Christopher L. **Starling**, 2001. *Japanese Philosophy*. New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 1-23 (Introduction).

#### Additional readings:

Balslev, Anindita Niyogi, 1999. *Cultural Otherness: Correspondence with Richard Rorty*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Atlanta: Scholars Press (CEU: 191 ROR/BAL).

Defoort, Carine, 2001. 'Is "Chinese Philosophy" a Proper Name? A Response to Rein Raud.' *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (October), pp. 625-660. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4488057> [Accessed 09-12-2015].

Deshpande, Sharad, 2015. 'Introduction—Modern Indian Philosophy: From Colonialism to Cosmopolitanism.' In Deshpande (ed.), *Philosophy in Colonial India*. Sophia Studies in Cross-cultural Philosophy of Traditions and Cultures Series No. 11. New Delhi: Springer India, pp. 1-39 (Chapter 1) (CEU, e-book: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-81-322-2223-1>).

Jung, Hwa Yol, 1999. 'Postmodernity, Eurocentrism, and the Future of Political Philosophy.' In Fred R. Dallmayr (ed.), *Border Crossings: Toward a Comparative Political Theory*. Lanham: Lexington Books, pp. 237-252 (CEU: 320.5 DAL).

Larson, Gerald James, and Eliot Deutsch (eds.), 2014. *Interpreting across Boundaries: New Essays in Comparative Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 3-83 (CEU ILL).

Lin, Tongqi, Henry Rosemont, Jr. and Roger T. Ames, 1995. 'Chinese Philosophy: A Philosophical Essay on the "State-of-the-Art".' *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (August), pp. 727-758. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2059449> [Accessed 08-12-2015].

March, Andrew F., 2009. 'What Is Comparative Political Theory?' *The Review of Politics*. Vol. 71, No. 4 (September), pp. 531-565. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0034670509990672> [Accessed 20-12-2015].

OuYang, Min, 2012. 'There is No Need for Zhongguo Zhexue to be Philosophy'. *Asian Philosophy*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 199-223. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09552367.2012.708982> [Accessed 09-12-2015].

Raud, Rein, 2014. 'What is Japanese about Japanese Philosophy?' In Janhui Liu and Mayuko Sano (eds.), *Rethinking "Japanese Studies" from Practices in the Nordic Region*. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, pp. 15-27. Available at: <http://publications.nichibun.ac.jp/region/d/NSH/series/symp/2014-03-31/s001/s008/pdf/article.pdf> [Accessed 12-11-2015].

Shih, Hu, 2013. *English Writings of Hu Shih: Chinese Philosophy and Intellectual History*. Vol. 2. Ed. by Chih-P'ing Chou. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, pp. 81-101 (e-book, CEU). Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-31181-9> [13-01-2016].

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, 2008. 'Position Without Identity – 2004: An Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak by Yan Hairong.' In Spivak, *Other Asias*. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 239-255 (CEU: 320.9/5 SPI).

Zhang, Wei, 2006. *Heidegger, Rorty and the Eastern Thinkers: A Hermeneutics of Cross-Cultural Understanding*. SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture. New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 1-26 (Chapter 1).

January 28<sup>th</sup>

### 3. (No-)Self and Other

- What is in common among Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian conceptions of self?
- What are the differences between these conceptions?
- What are the arguments underlying these conceptions?

- What understanding of human life and of social relationships do they imply?

*Core readings:*

Please choose and study one of the following sets:

1. **Anatta-lakkhana Sutta: Discourse on the Not-self Characteristic** (Pañcavaggi Sutta: Five Brethren) (SN 22.59). In Access to Insight (ed.), *Index of Suttas*. 30th November 2013. <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/sn/sn22/sn22.059.nymo.html> [Accessed 16-11-2015]  
**Berkson**, Mark A., 2005. 'Conceptions of Self/No-Self and Modes of Connection: Comparative Soteriological Structures in Classical Chinese Thought.' *Journal of Religious Ethics*, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 293–331.
2. **Anatta-lakkhana Sutta: Discourse on the Not-self Characteristic** (Pañcavaggi Sutta: Five Brethren) (SN 22.59). In Access to Insight (ed.), *Index of Suttas*. 30th November 2013. <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/sn/sn22/sn22.059.nymo.html> [Accessed 16-11-2015]<sup>1</sup>  
**Ames**, Roger T., 1997. 'The Chinese conception of selfhood.' In Eliot Deutsch and Ron Bontekoe (eds.), *A Companion to World Philosophies*. Blackwell Companions to Philosophy Series. Malden, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 148-154.  
**Confucius: The Analects**, 1993. Translated and with an introduction and notes by Raymond Watson. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 12-23 (Books 4-6). Alternatively: *The Analects of Confucius*, 1997. Translation and notes by Simon Leys. New York: Norton, pp. 15-18, 24-28 (CEU: 181.1/12 CON).  
**Hsün Tzu** [Xunzi], 1967. 'Man's Nature is Evil (Section 23)'. In *Basic writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 157-171 (CEU, e-book: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.06027>).  
**Kasulis**, Thomas P., 1997. 'The Buddhist concept of Self.' In Eliot Deutsch and Ron Bontekoe (eds.), *A Companion to World Philosophies*. Blackwell Companions to Philosophy Series. Malden, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 400-409.  
**Lao-tzu**, 1993. *Tao Te Ching*. Introduced by Burton Watson. Translated by Stephen Addiss and Stanley Lombardo. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co., pp. 7, 13, 16, 19, 22, 54 (in other editions these appear as numbers of respective chapters).  
**Mencius**, 2004. Translated with an Introduction and notes by D. C. Lau. Rev. ed. London: Penguin Books, pp. 94, 128-129.  
**The Book of Chuang Tzu**, 1996. Translated by Martin Palmer with Elisabeth Breuilly, Chang Wai Ming and Jay Ramsay. London: Penguin Books, pp. 112-115, 130-131.

*Additional readings:*

Albahari, Miri, 2006. *Analytical Buddhism: The Two-Tiered Illusion of Self*. Houndmills, New York: Palgrave Macmillan (CEU: 294.3/422 ALB).

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<sup>1</sup> The contents of this discourse is explicated in a short audio recording: Kongpop U-Yen, 2014. *Understanding the concept of non-self in Buddhism*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fXUKkD3Bi14> [Accessed 16-11-2015]

Attakārī Sutta: The Self-Doer (AN 6.38). In Access to Insight (ed.), *Index of Suttas*. 30th November 2013. <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/an/an06/an06.038.niza.html> [Accessed 16-11-2015]

Bonevac, Daniel, and Stephen Phillips (eds.), 2009. *Introduction to World Philosophy: A Multicultural Reader*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 205-248 (Chapters 7 and 8).

Collins, Steven, 1982. *Selfless Persons: Imagery and Thought in Theravada Buddhism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (CEU: 294.3/422 COL).

Fink, Charles K., 2012. 'The 'Scent' of a Self: Buddhism and the First-Person Perspective.' *Asian Philosophy*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 289-306. Available at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09552367.2012.709736> [Accessed 21-01-2016].

Galini, David, 2003. 'The Concepts of "Self", "Person" and "I" in Western Psychology and in Buddhism.' In B. Alan Wallace (ed.), *Buddhism and Science: Breaking New Ground*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 107-142.

Giles, James, 1993. 'The No-Self Theory: Hume, Buddhism, and Personal Identity.' *Philosophy East and West*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (April), pp. 175-200. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1399612> [Accessed: 12-11-2015].

Hsun-tzu, 1967. 'Improving Yourself (section 2).' In Basic writings of Mo Tzu, Hsun Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 24-32 (CEU, e-book: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heh.06027>).

Kupperman, Joel J., 2010. *Theories of Human Nature*. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co. (CEU: 128 KUP)

Menon, Sangeetha, Anindya Sinha and B. V. Sreekantan (eds.), 2014. *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Consciousness and the Self*. New Delhi: Springer India (CEU, e-book: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-81-322-1587-5>).

Munro, Donald J., 1969. *The Concept of Man in Early China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 49-83, 117-139 (Chapters 3 and 5).

Nishida, Kitaro, 1937. 'The Historical Body.' In David A. Dilworth and Valdo H. Viglielmo with Agustin Jacinto Zavala (eds.), 1998. *Sourcebook for Modern Japanese Philosophy: Selected Documents*. Westport, London: Greenwood Press, pp. 37-53.

Spiro, Melford, 1982. *Buddhism and Society: A Great Tradition and Its Burmese Vicissitudes*. 2nd expanded ed. Berkeley, London: University of California Press, pp. 84-90.

Wong, David B., 2014. 'Cultivating the Self in Concert with Others.' In Amy Olberding (ed.), *Dao Companion to the Analects*. Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy Series No. 4. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, pp. 171-197 (CEU, e-book: <http://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-94-007-7113-0>).

February 4<sup>th</sup>

#### 4. Society: a hierarchical view

- What is in common between the Brahmanic and Confucian conceptions of society?
- What is the difference between the hierarchy implied by the concepts of *varnas* (castes) on the one hand and the filial piety on the other?
- What is the reasoning underlying such hierarchy?

Core readings:

- **Ames**, Roger T., and Henry **Rosemont** Jr., 2014. 'Family Reverence (xiao 孝) in the Analects: Confucian Role Ethics and the Dynamics of Intergenerational Transmission.' In Amy Olberding (ed.), *Dao Companion to the Analects*. Dao Companions to Chinese Philosophy Series No. 4.



Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, pp. 117-136 (CEU, e-book: <http://link.springer.com/book/10.1007%2F978-94-007-7113-0>).

- **Mo Tzu** [Mo Zi, Mo Di], 1967. 'Identifying with One's Superior. Part I (Section II).' In *Basic writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu*. Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 34-38 (CEU, e-book: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.06027>).
- **Olivelle**, Patrick, 2005. *The Law Code of Manu*. New York: Oxford University Press, sections 1.1-1.110, 10.1-10.129.

#### *Additional readings:*

Chan, Alan K. L., and Sor-hoon Tan (eds.), 2004. *Filial Piety in Chinese Thought and History*. London, New York: Routledge Curzon (e-book:

<http://14.139.206.50:8080/jspui/bitstream/1/1655/1/Chan%26Tan%20-%20%20Filial%20Piety%20in%20Chinese%20Thought%20and%20History%202004.pdf>)

Chan, Joseph, 2014. *Confucian Perfectionism: A Political Philosophy for Modern Times*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press (CEU: 320.9/51 CHAN).

Chan, Joseph, 1999. 'A Confucian Perspective on Human Rights for Contemporary China.' In Joanne R. Bauer and Daniel A. Bell (eds.), 1999. *The East Asian Challenge for Human Rights*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 212-237 (CEU: 323./09/5 BAU).

Chang, Wonsuk and Leah Kalmanson (eds.), 2010. *Confucianism in Context: Classic Philosophy and Contemporary Issues, East Asia and Beyond*. SUNY series in Chinese philosophy and culture. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 103-144 (Chapters 6 and 7).

Hsiao Ching (The Classic of Filial Piety), 1965. In Chai, Ch'u, and Winberg Chai, 1965. *The humanist way in ancient China: essential works of Confucianism*. New York: Bantam Books, pp. 325-324 (CEU: 181.1/1 CHAI).

Munro, Donald J., 1969. *The Concept of Man in Early China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 49-83 (Chapter 3).

Olivelle, Patrick, 2013. *King, governance, and law in ancient India: Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja, 1976. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 19-31 (Chapter 3).

*The Analects of Confucius*, 1997. Translation and notes by Simon Leys. New York: Norton, pp. 6-9 (Book 2, CEU: 181.1/12 CON).

*Xunzi 荀子: The Complete Text*, 2014. Translated and with an introduction by Eric L. Hutton. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, pp. 325-329 (Chapter 29).

February 11<sup>th</sup>

#### **5. Society: a social contingency view**

- What is the relationship between the Buddhist and Daoist perspective of society?
- How is it related to the respective conceptions of self?

- What is the relationship between the mundane hierarchies and the hierarchies of merit in Buddhist and Daoist perspective?
- How conducive to change does that make each perspective?

*Core readings:*

**Dauids**, Thomas William Rhys 2000. *Dialogues of the Buddha: translated from the Pali of the Dīgha Nikāya*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers. Vol. 3. 1st Indian ed., pp. 77-94 (Agganna Sutta).

**Munro**, Donald J. 1969. *The Concept of Man in Early China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 117-139 (Chapter 5).

**The Book of Chuang Tzu**, 1996. Translated by Martin Palmer with Elisabeth Breuilley, Chang Wai Ming and Jay Ramsay. London: Penguin Books, pp. 249-259 (Chapter 28).

*Additional readings:*

Collins, Steven, 1982. *Selfless Persons: Imagery and Thought in Theravada Buddhism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 188-195 (CEU: 294.3/422 COL).

Lao-tzu, 1993. *Tao Te Ching*. Introduced by Burton Watson. Translated by Stephen Addiss and Stanley Lombardo. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub. Co (or any other edition).

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja, 1976. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 9-18 (Chapter 2).

*The Book of Chuang Tzu*, 1996. Translated by Martin Palmer with Elisabeth Breuilley, Chang Wai Ming and Jay Ramsay. London: Penguin Books, pp. 296-307 (Chapter 33).

*February 18<sup>th</sup>*

**6. Rites of power: accumulation and channelling**

- Is the Hindu-Buddhist conception of power primarily concerned with gaining or exercise of power?
- How is power gained and exercised?
- Is 'political' power distinguishable from 'religious' power?
- What kind of political unit does such conception of power imply?

*Core readings:*

1. **Anderson**, Benedict R. O'G., 1990. 'The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture.' In Benedict R. O'G., *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, pp. 17-77 (CEU: 306.2/09/598 AND). Originally the article had appeared in Claire Holt (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell TamUniversity Press, pp. 1-69.
2. **Geertz**, Clifford, 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 11-25, 98-120 (Chapters 1 and 4) (CEU: 959.8/6 GEE).

*Additional readings:*

Black, Brian, 2012. *The Character of the Self in Ancient India: Priests, Kings, and Women in the Early Upanisads*. SUNY series in Hindu Studies. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 101-131.

Davids, Thomas William Rhys, 2000. *Dialogues of the Buddha: translated from the Pali of the Dīgha Nikāya*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers. Vol. 3. 1st Indian ed., pp. 53-76 (Cakkavatti Sihanada Sutta).

Errington, Shelly, 1989. *Meaning and Power in a Southeast Asian Realm*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 96-129 (CEU: 306.1/09/5984 ERR).

Heine-Geldern, Robert, 1942. 'Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia'. *The Far Eastern Quarterly*. Vol. 2, No. 1 (November), pp. 15-30. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2049276> [Accessed 01-02-2016].

Mabbett, I. W., 1969. 'Devarāja'. *Journal of Southeast Asian History*. Vol. 10, No. 2 (September), pp. 202-223. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20067742> [Accessed 01-02-2016].

Olivelle, Patrick, and Suman Olivelle, 2005. *Manu's code of law: a critical edition and translation of the Manava-Dharmasastra*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 154-166 (Chapter 7).

Singh, G. P., 1993. *Political Thought in Ancient India: Emergence of the State, Evolution of Kingship, and Inter-State Relations based on the Saptāṅga Theory of State*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, pp. 29-62.

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja, 1976. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 102-158 (Chapters 7-8).

*Xunzi 荀子: The Complete Text*, 2014. Translated and with an introduction by Eric L. Hutton. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, pp. 68-82, 99-133 (Chapters 9, 11, 12).

Winichakul, Thongchai, 1994. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 81-94.

Wolters, O. W., 1999. *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Rev. ed. Studies on Southeast Asia Series No. 26. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, pp. 15-26.

February 25<sup>th</sup>

## 7. Colonial rupture: the 'old' and 'new' political ways

- Were pre-colonial political units 'states'?
- What tensions exist between the pre-colonial and colonial conceptions of a political unit?
- How do they relate to political practice?
- What changes of political practice were needed in order to bring it in line with the new conceptions?
- Were the changes smooth and uncontested? Were they complete?

*Core readings:*

For this session we will try a role play – more detailed instructions will follow in a Moodle post. For it to work students should divide into four groups, each of which will do one (or one set of) the readings according to the role of either:

1. *Siamese royal court in the 19th century*

**Winichakul**, Thongchai, 1994. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 37-80.

2. *British colonial administration of Burma in the 19th century*

**Winichakul**, Thongchai, 1994. *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, pp. 37-80.

3. *Japanese Meiji-era reformers*

**Gluck**, Carol, 1985. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 42-72 (CEU: 952./031 GLU).

4. *Academic advisers on colonialism and nationalism*

**Anderson**, Benedict, 1998. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World*. London, New York: Verso, pp. 29-74 (CEU: 320.5/409/59 AND)

**Streckfuss**, David, 1993. 'The Mixed Colonial Legacy in Siam: Origins of Thai Racist Thought, 1890-1910.' In Laurie Jo Sears (ed.), *Autonomous Histories, Particular Truths: Essays in Honor of John R.W. Smail*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 123-53.

The first two groups will enact the British-Siamese negotiations on the Burma-Siam border in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century, demonstrating their respective diverging ideas about the state. The third and the fourth groups will discuss Japanese Meiji modernisation and the ideas about polity and the relationship between the rulers and the ruled that emerged. Every member of the group has to be prepared to play the role and speak on behalf of the group, therefore it is advisable for groups to meet before the seminar to clarify their position.

*Additional readings:*

Anderson, Benedict, 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. New York, London: Verso, pp. 167-190.

Harris, Ian, 2010. 'Rethinking Cambodian Political Discourse on Territory: Genealogy of the Buddhist Ritual Boundary (sīmā).' *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 215-39.

Dalmia, Vasudha, 1997. *The nationalization of Hindu traditions: Bhāratendu Hariśchandra and nineteenth-century Banaras*. Delhi; Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 21-49.

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja, 1976. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 15. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 102-158 (Chapters 7-8).

Wolters, O. W., 1999. *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Rev. ed. Studies on Southeast Asia Series No. 26. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, pp. 27-40.

February 27<sup>th</sup>

**8. Ideas, words and images across time and space**

Visit to Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts for a guided tour of the exhibition 'In Search of Prince Genji - Japan in Words and Images' by its curator

Guided tour starts at 10.00

Location: Andrásy út 103, 1062 Budapest (Bajza utca metro stop)

Attendance is mandatory as the tour is considered part of the course and CEU is covering the costs. In case you cannot attend, please inform the lecturer in advance.

Readings:

- **Tyler**, Royall, 2001. 'Introduction' to Murasaki Shikibu, *The tale of Genji*. Translated by Royall Tyler. New York: Viking, pp. xi-xxix (CEU: 895.6 MURA).
- **Lowenhaupt Tsing**, Anna, 2009. 'Worlds in Motion.' In Gluck, Carol, and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (eds.), *Words in Motion: Towards A Global Lexicon*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 11-17 (CEU: 306.4/4 GLU).

The 11th-century saga *Genji Monogatari* or 'The Tale of Genji' is a long (well over a 1,000 pages) and slow, though absorbing read. To appreciate the exhibition more fully, please read the succinct translator's introduction that is illuminating about the Japanese selves and the social and gender hierarchies they were living in the Heian period. It also feeds into the discussion on personal names, whereas the list of chapters might help you to navigate the exhibition.

The exhibition deals mostly with images used and proliferated by 'Genji' but the written and spoken text likewise plays with words that ground our understanding, as Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing says in her introduction. Focus on words and their travel through time and space is a more fluid alternative to tracking certain notions popular in the public discourse to comparative philosophy which has to clarify and stabilise those notions before comparing them, thus denying them the possibility of change.

*March 3<sup>rd</sup>*

### **9. State and religious difference: struggling over borders**

- What did the refashioning of Asia into a patchwork of bounded states mean for group identities?
- What were the two main stances regarding the relationship between religion and nationality in colonial India?
- How did this conflict shape the anti-colonial struggle? Has it been resolved?
- What do Bhargava and Chatterjee disagree on regarding Indian secularism?

*Readings:*

In this session, we will debate again – more detailed instructions will follow in a Moodle post. Students should divide into four groups, each of which will do one (set) of the readings according to the role of either position in two debates:

- 1.1.** "Hindus and Muslims are one nation" (Gandhi)
- 1.2.** "Hindus/Muslims are a nation by themselves" (Jinnah)

The two groups will work with the debate about the nature of independent India among various intellectuals in British India in the first half of the 20th century. To advocate a position championed by either Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1.1.) or Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1.2.), both Gujaratis but founders of respectively India and Pakistan, they will read these texts:

**Parel**, Anthony J., 2008. *Lessons from South Asian Political Thought*. James Madison University Gandhi Center Working Paper No. 4 (February 4). Available at: [http://www.jmu.edu/gandhicerter/wm\\_library/workingpaper4.pdf](http://www.jmu.edu/gandhicerter/wm_library/workingpaper4.pdf) [Accessed 12-11-2015]

**Gandhi**, Mohandas K., 1997. *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*. Edited by Anthony J. Parel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 42-61, 112-119 (CEU: 954./035 GAN).

**Appadorai**, Angadipuram, 1973. *Documents on Political Thought in Modern India*. Vol. 1. London: Oxford University Press, pp. 486-496, 505-508, 520-527, 530-531 (the documents numbered 257-258, 262-263, 266-269, 271).

## 2.1. Toleration (Chatterjee)

## 2.2. Indian Secularism (Bhargava)

The second debate is contemporary, among living Indian about the nature of India's secularism and its differences from the Western state-church relationship model(s). These two groups will read:

**Bhargava**, Rajeev, [2013?]. *The Distinctiveness of Indian Secularism*. Chaire de recherche du Canada sur l'Éducation et les rapports ethniques, Université de Montréal, pp. 1-42. Available at: [http://www.chereum.umontreal.ca/activites\\_pdf/session%202/Barghava\\_Distinctiveness%20of%20Indian.pdf](http://www.chereum.umontreal.ca/activites_pdf/session%202/Barghava_Distinctiveness%20of%20Indian.pdf) [Accessed 24-02-2016].

**Chatterjee**, Partha, 1997. *A Possible India: Essays in political Criticism*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 228-262 (CEU: 954./04 CHA).

### Additional readings:

Bhargava, Rajeev, 1998. *Secularism and its critics*. Delhi: Oxford University Press (CEU: 306.6/09/54 BHA).

Bhargava, Rajeev [2008?]. *What is Secularism for?* Victoria Colloquium in Social, Political and Legal Theory, University of Victoria. [http://law.uvic.ca/demcon/victoria\\_colloquium/documents/WhatisSecularismforPreSeminarReading.pdf](http://law.uvic.ca/demcon/victoria_colloquium/documents/WhatisSecularismforPreSeminarReading.pdf) [Accessed 04-03-2016].

Calhoun, Craig, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (eds.), 2011. *Rethinking secularism* Oxford: Oxford University Press (CEU: 291.1/7 CAL).

Gray, Stuart, and Thomas M. Hughes, 2015. *Gandhi's Devotional Political Thought*. Philosophy East and West, Vol. 65, No. 2 (April), pp. 375-400. [https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/philosophy\\_east\\_and\\_west/v065/65.2.gray.pdf](https://muse.jhu.edu/journals/philosophy_east_and_west/v065/65.2.gray.pdf) [Accessed 04-03-2014].

Needham, Anuradha Dingwaney and Rajeswari Sunder Rajan (eds.), 2007. *The crisis of secularism in India*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 107-189 (CEU: 322.1/09/54 NEE).

March 10<sup>th</sup>

## 10. Local imports: nationalist Communisms or Communist nationalisms

- What changes did Marxism attain in Asian settings?
- Why did it become the ideology of anti-imperial struggles?
- Why did it split rather than united the Asian continent?

Core readings:

- **Schram**, Stuart R. (ed.), 1963. *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung*. New York: Praeger, 1963, pp. 112-135, 143-147, 214-216, 234-244 (CEU: 951./05/092 SCH).
- **Ho Chi Minh**, 2011. *The Selected Works of Ho Chi Minh*. New York: Prism Key Press, pp. 13-28, 80-90.

Additional readings:

Lenin, V. I., 2006. *Theses on Nationalism and Colonialism*. D. R. SarDesai (ed.), *Southeast Asian History: Essential Readings*. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 145-148.

Mackerras, Colin, and Nick Knight (eds.), 2015. *Marxism in Asia*. Routledge Library Editions: Marxism. London and Sydney: Croom Helm (CEU: 335.4/309/5 MAC).

The Burma Socialist Programme Party, 1963. *The system of correlation of man and his environment: the philosophy of the Burma Socialist Programme Party*. Rangoon: The Burma Socialist Programme Party. Available at: <http://www.ibiblio.org/obl/docs/System-of-correlation.htm> [Accessed 22-01-2016].

Womack, Brantly, 2010. 'From urban radical to rural revolutionary: Mao from the 1920s to 1937.' In Timothy Cheek (ed.), *A Critical Introduction to Mao*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 61-86.

March 17<sup>th</sup>

## 11. Whose modernity? Looking for a place in the world order

- What characteristics of Nishida's philosophy are 'Asian'?
- In what sense is it 'modern'?
- Why did it serve the interests of Japanese nationalist government?
- Did the Japanese alternative of a world order challenge the principles of the imperialist world order?

Core readings:

- **Nishida**, Kitarō, 1998. 'Fundamental Principles of a New World Order.' In David A. Dilworth, and Valdo H. Viglielmo with Agustin Jacinto Zavala (eds.), *Sourcebook for Modern Japanese Philosophy: Selected Documents*. Westport, London: Greenwood Press, pp. 73-77.
- **Nishida**, Kitarō, 1998. 'On the National Polity.' In David A. Dilworth, and Valdo H. Viglielmo with Agustin Jacinto Zavala (eds.), *Sourcebook for Modern Japanese Philosophy: Selected Documents*. Westport, London: Greenwood Press, pp. 78-94.

Additional readings:

Arisaka, Yoko, 1999. 'Beyond "East and West": Nishida's Universalism and Postcolonial Critique.' In Fred R. Dallmayr (ed.), *Border Crossings: Toward a Comparative Political Theory*. Lanham: Lexington Books, pp. 237-252 (CEU 320.5 DAL).

Bellah, Robert, 1985. *Tokugawa Religion: The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan*. New York: The Free Press, pp. 84-106 (CEU, e-book: <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb.02397.0001.001>).

Gluck, Carol, 1985. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 102-156 (CEU: 952/031 GLU).

Goto-Jones, Christopher S., 2005. *Political Philosophy in Japan: Nishida, the Kyoto School and Co-Prosperty*. Routledge.

Kawashima, Ken C. Fabian Schaefer and Robert Stolz (eds.), 2014. *Tosaka Jun: A Critical Reader*. Cornell East Asia Series. University Of Hawaii Press.

Han, Jung-Sun N., 2012. *An Imperial Path to Modernity: Yoshino Sakuzō and a New Liberal Order in East Asia, 1905-1937*. Cambridge (Massachusetts) and London: Harvard University Press (CEU: 952/03 HAN).

Ling, Trevor, 1979. *Buddhism, Imperialism and War: Burma and Thailand in Modern History*. London: Allen and Unwin, pp. 135-147.

Raud, Rein, 2007. 'A Comparative Analysis of Challenge Discourses: 'Overcoming Modernity' and the 'Asian Values' Debate.' In Rein Raud (ed.), *Japan and Asian Modernities*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 167-182.

Tansman, Alan, 2009. 'Saburaimu/Sublime: A Japanese Word and Its Political Afterlife.' Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing (eds.), *Worlds in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 129-147 (CEU: 306.4/4GLU).

Yan, Xuetong, 2011. *Ancient Chinese thought, Modern Chinese Power*. Edited by Daniel A. Bell and Sun Zhe, translated by Edmund Ryden. Princeton: Princeton University Press (320.9/51 YAN).

Zhang, Yongjin, 2014. 'The idea of order in ancient Chinese political thought: A Wightian exploration.' *International Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 1, pp. 167–183. Available as an article <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/1468-2346.12101/epdf> or a podcast <http://www.lse.ac.uk/newsAndMedia/videoAndAudio/channels/publicLecturesAndEvents/player.aspx?id=2117> [Accessed 25-01-2016].

March 24<sup>th</sup>

## 12. Deconstructing identity: postcolonialism, multiculturalism and transnationalism

- What are the supra-state structures of hegemony?
- What social hierarchies do they underpin?
- How do these structures shape selves?
- How do they impact the representation of marginal groups?

*Core reading:*

**Spivak**, Gayatri Chakravorty, 2008. '1996: Foucault and Najibullah.' In Spivak, *Other Asias*. Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 132-174 (CEU: 320.9/5 SPI).

*Additional readings:*

Aijaz, Ahmad. In *Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. London: Verso, 1992.

Bhabha, Homi, 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, Chapter 12 (CEU: 809.9/3358 BHA).



Kartini, Raden Adjang, 1985. *Letters of a Javanese Princess*. Edited and with an introduction by Hildred Geertz. Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, The Asia Society. Available at: <http://www.asiapacifiedcrossings.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/M4-Kartini-Letters-Of-A-Javanese-Princess.pdf> [Accessed 26-01-2016].

Kohn, Margaret and Keally McBride, 2011. *Political Theories of Decolonization: Postcolonialism and the Problem of Foundations*. New York: Oxford University Press (CEU, e-book: <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195399578.001.0001/acprof-9780195399578>).

Landry, Donna, and Gerald MacLean, 1996. *The Spivak reader: selected works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. New York: Routledge, pp. 287-308 (Chapter 11, CEU: 305.4/27 SPI).

Rao, Rahul, 2010. *Third World Protest: Between Home and the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, 1999. *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, pp. 198-311 (CEU: 325.3 SPI). Note: the above chapter is a reworked version of the classic Spivak, 1988. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' In Nelson and Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press (CEU: 335.4/01 NEL).

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, 2010. *Nationalism and the Imagination*. London: Seagull (CEU: 320.5/4 SPI).