

THE **TELOS**

PAUL PICCONE

INSTITUTE

THE 2018 TELOS EUROPE CONFERENCE

THE ENDURANCE OF

EMPIRE

FRIDAY, AUGUST 31, TO SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 2018

RAGUSA, SICILY

THE 2018 TELOS EUROPE CONFERENCE WILL DISCUSS THE ENDURANCE OF EMPIRE, ITS NATURE, AND ITS MEANING. ARE WE WITNESSING THE RESURGENCE OF OLD EMPIRES OR THE FORMATION OF NEW ONES? ARE EMPIRES BASED ON ECONOMIC POWER AND MILITARY MIGHT, OR ON IDEOLOGY AND CULTURAL APPEAL? CAN POWER BE CONTAINED OR IS IT INHERENTLY IMPERIAL?

SPEAKERS

RUSSELL BERMAN · JAY GUPTA · WAYNE HUDSON · TIM LUKE

ADRIAN PABST · DAVID PAN · MARIA PICCONE

RICHARD SAKWA · ADAM WEBB · ANDREW WENDER

FOR MORE DETAILS, VISIT THE TELOS-PAUL PICCONE INSTITUTE WEBSITE AT WWW.TELOSINSTITUTE.NET

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

The 2018 Telos Europe Conference

Friday, August 31, to Sunday, September 2, 2018

Marina di Ragusa, Sicily

The Endurance of Empire

The end of the two world wars saw the fall of mighty empires—from the Tsarist Empire, the *Kaiserreich* and the Ottoman Empire to the Third Reich and the Japanese Empire. This was followed by the dissolution of the French and British empires in the 1950s and 1960s. After 1989, the demise of the Soviet Union—dubbed the “evil empire”—seem to confirm the triumph of liberal democracy over tyranny and of national independence over imperial domination. The age of revolution from 1789 to 1989 appeared to mark the end of empire.

But at the same time, the post–Cold War era is often characterized as the hegemony of the Anglophonic liberal empire led by the United States of America. Officially, the United States denies that it is in the business of building an empire, arguing that the independent United States came into existence precisely to throw off the shackles of colonial rule and to fight imperialism everywhere. Donald Rumsfeld famously said in 2003, “We don’t seek empires. We’re not imperialistic. We never have been.” In the same year however, Karl Rove—adviser to George W. Bush’s—was quoted as saying that “We’re an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality.”

According to the historian Niall Ferguson, “the United States is an empire in denial, and U.S. denial of this poses a real danger to the world. An empire that doesn’t recognize its own power is a dangerous one.” If so, then this has implications for Trump’s America and just as much for both contemporary Russia and China. Putin’s actions in Crimea, Ukraine, and Syria suggest that there is a profound continuity with the Soviet Union and Tsarist Russia. And the “Chinese Dream” invoked by Xi Jinping is the idea that the “Middle Kingdom” will regain what many in China see as her ancient birth-right since the Qin dynasty—a global primacy at the heart of world affairs.

Much of nineteenth- and twentieth-century philosophy and history focused on the decline and fall of empires and civilizations. Faced with the resurgence of imperial politics, a question for the twenty-first century is rather about the endurance of empire both in theory and practice. From Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri’s conception of empire as multitude via Pierre Manent’s work on the metamorphoses of

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

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Western political organization to ideas of liberal empire in International Relations (John Ikenberry or Michael Ignatieff), the attempt to renew this theme requires critical engagement.

Today there is a further twist. Alongside the resurgence of old empires and the emergence of new ones, we are also witnessing the return of nationalism and a reaffirmation of the nation-state as the natural locus of sovereignty. Brexit and the election of Donald Trump reflect popular unrest and a rejection of dominant elites in the name of “taking back control” and “making America great again”—a consequence of the liberal imperium. This raises questions about the endurance of both nationalism and imperialism. Appeals to imperial traditions have often met with ridicule. “Neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire,” Voltaire quipped. Yet this ignores long-standing continuities in terms of both ideas and institutions, which were marginalized by revolutions but never entirely destroyed.

The 2018 Telos Europe conference will explore the endurance of empire, its nature and meaning. Among others, the questions that will be debated include the following: Are we witnessing the resurgence of old empires or the formation of new ones? Are empires based on economic power and military might, or on ideology and cultural appeal? Winston Churchill remarked that the empires of the future would be “empires of the mind.” Can power be contained or is it inherently imperial?

FRIDAY SCHEDULE

August 31, 2018

- 0900 to 1430 Arrival in Marina di Ragusa and check-in at conference hotels
- 1415
Aria Di Mare Bus pick-up to go to the conference venue (Hotel Silva Suri)
- 1430 to 1500
Silva Suri Registration and Coffee
- 1500 to 1515
Silva Suri Welcome: Mary Piccone (Telos Press Publishing), Russell Berman (Stanford University), and Adrian Pabst (University of Kent)

Session 1: Order, Power, and Empire

1515 to 1645
Silva Suri

Chair: David Pan, University of California, Irvine

The Concept of Order, the Post-Westphalian European System of States, and the Hubris of the Idea of World Order after the Cold War

Lars Erslev Andersen, Danish Institute for International Studies

Imperial Ethics and Ethical Empire:
Resisting the Discursive Valorization of Power

Jay A. Gupta, Mills College

Imperial After-Effects and 21st-Century Great Power Relations

Samir Puri, King's College London

Coffee/Tea

1645 to 1715
Silva Suri

FRIDAY SCHEDULE

Plenary Debate: (Why) Are Empires Enduring?

1715 to 1830

Silva Suri

Chair: Russell A. Berman, Stanford University

With Wayne Hudson (Charles Sturt University), Adrian Pabst (University of Kent), Nicholas Rengger (University of St. Andrews), and Adam K. Webb (Johns Hopkins)

Cocktails

1830 to 1900

Silva Suri

1900 to 1915

Silva Suri

The Telos-Paul Piccone Institute

David Pan, University of California, Irvine

Dinner

1915

Silva Suri

2200

Silva Suri

Bus pick-up to go to Aria Di Mare

SATURDAY SCHEDULE

September 1, 2018

0830

Aria Di Mare

Bus pick-up to go to the conference venue (Hotel Silva Suri)

Session 2: Empires of the Orient?

0900 to 1015

Silva Suri

Chair: Richard Sakwa, University of Kent

Manga as Martial Palimpsest: Allegories of Empire in *Ashita no Joe*

Loren Goodman, Yonsei University/Underwood International College Seoul, Korea

On Oriental Despotism

Marco Antonio Patriarca, Journalist and Author

Messianic Imperialism: The Nature of a Modern Paradox

Andrew M. Wender, University of Victoria

Coffee/Tea

1015 to 1045

Session 3: Liberalism and the Fall of Empires

1045 to 1200

Silva Suri

Chair: Tim Luke, Virginia Tech

Why Empires Decline from Within

Robert Reuschlein, Real Economy Institute

Why Do Empires Fall? Christianity, Liberalism, and the Dissolution of the *Polis*

Matthew Dal Santo, University of Copenhagen

Liberal Empires of the Mind, Indigenous Resurgence, and Reverse Mission

Timothy Stacey, University of Ottawa

Lunch

1200 to 1315

Silva Suri

SATURDAY SCHEDULE

Session 4: Russia and the Shadow of Empire

1315 to 1430

Silva Suri

Chair: Russell A. Berman, Stanford University

The Tsar Legacy: Russian Foreign Policy in the Mediterranean Area from the Romanovs to Putin

Maria Teresa Giusti, State University G. d'Annunzio Chieti-Pescara

The Empire of Rights and the Meaning of Politics

Paul Grenier, Simone Weil Center of Political Philosophy

In the Shadow of Empire: Russia, China, and the Anti-Hegemonic Alignment

Richard Sakwa, University of Kent

Excursion to Ragusa with Guided Tour

1430 to 1900

Silva Suri

Drinks and Dinner in Ragusa

1900

2200 *Bus transfer back to conference hotels*

SUNDAY SCHEDULE

September 2, 2018

0830

Aria Di Mare

Bus pick-up to go to the conference venue (Hotel Silva Suri)

Session 5: Otherness, Imperialism, and Ideology

0900 to 1030

Silva Suri

Chair: David Pan, University of California, Irvine

Cultural Resistance and Assimilation in the French Empire

Steven Ekvovich, American University of Paris

Between Center and Periphery in the Levinas–Dussel Debate:

A Philosophy of Otherness or a “Praxis of Liberation” from Imperialism?

Silvana Kandel Lamdan, University of Haifa

#RhodesMustFall—Poverty, Property, and Power—the Imperial Legacy
and Constitutional Narrative of Post-Apartheid South Africa

Gideon Rossouw, North West University, South Africa

Ideology, Political Order, and Foreign Policy

Luis Valenzuela-Vermehren, Catholic University of Temuco, Chile

Coffee/Tea

1030 to 1100

Session 6: New Empires: Hegemony and Warfare

1100 to 1230

Silva Suri

Chair: Tim Luke, Virginia Tech

Empires and Counter-insurgency as Cynegetic Warfare

Martin Bolle, Free University of Brussels

The Corporate Empire, as More Than a Figure of Speech

Haeun Kim, New School for Social Research

Outer Space and Empire: Controlling and Partitioning the Infinite

Jo Ann Oravec, University of Wisconsin–Whitewater

Carl Schmitt on Empire and Asymmetric Warfare

Samuel Garrett Zeitlin, University of California, Berkeley

SUNDAY SCHEDULE

Lunch

1230 to 1330

Session 7: Empire in Question

1330 to 1445

Silva Suri

Chair: Adrian Pabst, University of Kent

Illusions of “Empire”

Wayne Hudson, Charles Sturt University

Forgotten, but Not Gone: American Imperialism as an Empire of Bases

Tim Luke, Virginia Tech

From the Political Honeycomb to the Unbundling of Sovereignty: Cosmopolitanism, Tradition, and Liberty in the Future Global Constitutional Settlement

Adam K. Webb, Johns Hopkins

Empire Today

David Pan, University of California, Irvine

Coffee/Tea

1445 to 1515

Plenary Debate: Empires of the Future, Empires of the Mind?

1515 to 1630

Silva Suri

Chair: Nicholas Rengger, University of St. Andrews

With Russell Berman (Stanford University), Jay A. Gupta (Mills College), David Pan (University of California, Irvine), and Richard Sakwa (University of Kent)

SUNDAY SCHEDULE

Excursion to Scicli with Guided Tour

1630 to 1930

Wine Tasting and Dinner

1930

Silva Suri

Wine tasting (you can purchase) followed by dinner at Hotel Silva Suri

Monday, September 3, 2018

0900 to 1400 Departure