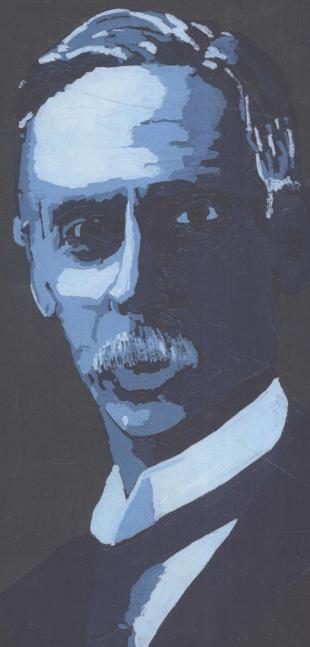
# SELECTED WRITINGS OF JOHN A. HOBSON, 1932–1938

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MIND

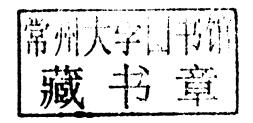




# Selected Writings of John A. Hobson 1932–1938

The struggle for the international mind

Edited by John M. Hobson and Colin Tyler







First published 2011 by Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge 270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business.

© 2011 John Hobson

Typeset in Times by Glyph International Printed and bound by the MPG Books Group, UK

Hobson, J. A. (John Atkinson), 1858-1940.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Selected writings of John A. Hobson 1932–1938: the struggle for the international mind / John A. Hobson; edited by John M. Hobson and Colin Tyler.

p. cm. — (Routledge/Warwick studies in globalisation; 21) Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. International relations. 2. International economic relations. 3. World politics—1933–1945. 4. Liberalism—Great Britain—History—20th century. I. Hobson, John M. II. Tyler, Colin, 1968–III. Title.

JZ1308.H634 2011 327.101-dc22

2010026541

ISBN: 978-0-415-59823-1 (hbk) ISBN: 978-0-203-83443-5 (ebk)

# Selected Writings of John A. Hobson 1932–1938

John A. Hobson is widely recognised as one of the most important British New Liberal analysts and critics of politics and political economy of the twentieth century. The *Selected Writings of John A. Hobson* showcases an exciting and previously unpublished collection of Hobson's writings and lectures from 1932–1938 that Hobson presented at the South Place Ethical Society in the last decade of his life.

The lectures and the introduction produce a fresh reading of Hobson's thinking and theorisation of International Relations, thereby revealing a much more complex thinker than has conventionally been understood. Edited by Colin Tyler, a framing introduction written by the author's great grandson, John M. Hobson, situates these lectures in the context of his life-work on International Relations between 1897 and 1940.

Selected Writings of John A. Hobson 1932–1938 is an essential read for all Hobson scholars and students, and scholars of globalization, international relations and political economy.

**John M. Hobson** is Professor of Politics and International Relations at the University of Sheffield.

Colin Tyler is Reader in Politics and Joint Director of the Centre for Idealism and the New Liberalism, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Hull.

#### Routledge/Warwick studies in globalisation

Edited by Leonard Seabrooke

Published in association with the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, *University of Warwick*.

Editorial Board includes Jason Sharman, Griffith University, Australia; Diane Stone, University of Warwick, UK and Catherine E. Weaver, University of Texas at Austin, USA.

What is globalisation and does it matter? How can we measure it? What are its policy implications? The Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at the University of Warwick is an international site for the study of key questions such as these in the theory and practice of globalisation and regionalisation. Its agenda is avowedly interdisciplinary. The work of the Centre will be showcased in this series.

This series comprises two strands:

Warwick Studies in Globalisation addresses the needs of students and teachers, and the titles will be published in hardback and paperback. Titles include:

#### Globalisation and the Asia-Pacific

Contested territories

Edited by Kris Olds, Peter Dicken, Philip F. Kelly, Lily Kong and Henry
Wai-chung Yeung

#### **Regulating the Global Information Society**

Edited by Christopher Marsden

#### **Banking on Knowledge**

The genesis of the global development network *Edited by Diane Stone* 

#### **Historical Materialism and Globalisation**

Edited by Hazel Smith and Mark Rupert

#### Civil Society and Global Finance

Edited by Jan Aart Scholte with Albrecht Schnabel

#### **Towards a Global Polity**

Edited by Morten Ougaard and Richard Higgott

#### New Regionalisms in the Global Political Economy

Theories and cases

Edited by Shaun Breslin, Christopher W. Hughes, Nicola Phillips and Ben Rosamond

#### **Development Issues in Global Governance**

Public-private partnerships and market multilateralism Benedicte Bull and Desmond McNeill

#### **Globalizing Democracy**

Political parties in emerging democracies Edited by Peter Burnell

#### The Globalization of Political Violence

Globalization's shadow

Edited by Richard Devetak and Christopher W. Hughes

#### Regionalisation and Global Governance

The taming of globalisation?

Edited by Andrew F. Cooper, Christopher W. Hughes and Philippe De Lombaerde

#### Global Finance in Crisis

The politics of international regulatory change Edited by Eric Helleiner, Stefano Pagliari and Hubert Zimmermann

#### **Business and Global Governance**

Edited by Morten Ougaard and Anna Leander

Routledge/Warwick Studies in Globalisation is a forum for innovative new research intended for a high-level specialist readership and the titles will be available in hardback only. Titles include:

#### 1 Non-State Actors and Authority in the Global System

Edited by Richard Higgott, Geoffrey Underhill and Andreas Bieler

#### 2 Globalisation and Enlargement of the European Union

Austrian and Swedish social forces in the struggle over membership Andreas Bieler

#### 3 Rethinking Empowerment

Gender and development in a global/local world Edited by Jane L. Parpart, Shirin M. Rai and Kathleen Staudt

#### 4 Globalising Intellectual Property Rights

The TRIPs agreement Duncan Matthews

#### 5 Globalisation, Domestic Politics and Regionalism

The ASEAN free trade area Helen E. S. Nesadurai

#### 6 Microregionalism and Governance in East Asia

Katsuhiro Sasuga

#### 7 Global Knowledge Networks and International Development

Edited by Diane Stone and Simon Maxwell

#### 8 Globalisation and Economic Security in East Asia

Governance and institutions Edited by Helen E. S. Nesadurai

#### 9 Regional Integration in East Asia and Europe

Convergence or divergence?

Edited by Bertrand Fort and Douglas Webber

#### 10 The Group of Seven

Finance ministries, central banks and global financial governance Andrew Baker

#### 11 Globalisation and Poverty

Channels and policy responses

Edited by Maurizio Bussolo and Jeffery I. Round

#### 12 Democratisation, Governance and Regionalism in East and Southeast Asia

A comparative study Edited by Ian Marsh

#### 13 Assessment and Measurement of Regional Integration

Edited by Philippe De Lombaerde

#### 14 The World Bank and Governance

A decade of reform and reaction

Edited by Diane Stone and Christopher Wright

#### 15 Nationalism and Global Solidarities

Alternative projections to neoliberal globalization Edited by James Goodman and Paul James

#### 16 The Evolution of Regionalism in Asia

Economic and Security issues Edited by Heribert Dieter

#### 17 The World Bank and Social Transformation in International Politics

Liberalism, governance and sovereignty David Williams

#### 18 The Political Consequences of Anti-Americanism

Edited by Richard Higgott and Ivona Malbasic

#### 19 The Role of Ideas in Political Analysis:

A portrait of contemporary debates Edited by Andreas Gofas and Colin Hav

#### 20 Governance of HIV/AIDS

Making participation and accountability count Edited by Sophie Harman and Franklyn Lisk

#### 21 Selected Writings of John A. Hobson 1932-1938

The struggle for the international mind John A. Hobson Edited by John M. Hobson and Colin Tyler

## Preface and acknowledgements

This book comprises a number of previously unpublished lectures that John A. Hobson delivered to the South Place Ethical Society in London between 1932 and 1938, together with two associated published pieces in 1938 whose typescripts survive alongside the unpublished lectures. Hobson is widely recognized as one of the most important British New Liberal political theorists and political economists of the twentieth century. He is widely known for inspiring Vladimir Lenin's theory of imperialism as well as John Maynard Keynes' 'General Theory'. Hobson's most famous book, *Imperialism: A Study* (1902) is still a standard text for courses on imperialism.

The writings presented in this volume contain, to our knowledge, some of the very few lectures and essays written by Hobson that remain unpublished. There are three core reasons for making them available to a wider audience. First, interest in Hobson's ideas has escalated in the last twenty years, especially within International Relations (IR) and politics, political economy and the history of ideas more generally. Second, many of the issues that confronted Hobson and which he sought to tackle in his writings remain pressing today. The focus on (US) imperialism and war, the problems confronting the United Nations, the unequal distribution of economic resources between the first and third worlds, and the need to forge a fairer and more peaceful international order are uncannily similar to the issues that Hobson wrote about in his day. Indeed, but for the substitution of the League of Nations for the United Nations, and the British Empire for US imperialism, the issues remain the same. Third, it is generally believed that in the 1930s J.A. Hobson's writings reverted back to the economically reductionist, radical critique of capitalist imperialism that he had supposedly espoused in 1902 and for which he became immediately famous. But these lectures and essays reveal a sustained attack on economic reductionism, where Hobson emphasises ethicalmoral, ideational and international institutional forces that can promote peace and put an end to a division of the world between the haves and the have-nots.

<sup>1</sup> V.I. Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, London: Martin Lawrence, 1973 [1917], esp. p. 1; J.M. Keynes, The General Theory of Employment, Money and Interest, London: Macmillan, 1936, esp. p. 365 and pp. 364–71.

Indeed these works enable us to recast the traditional reading of Hobson, to reveal a much more complex thinker than has conventionally been understood.

John M. Hobson wrote the introduction and made the final decision regarding which typescripts to include. Colin Tyler organised the initial transcription and annotation of the texts by Christopher Bearman, who also provided the opening references in each piece to the South Place Ethical Society's Monthly Record. Colin Tyler also oversaw the initial checking of the transcripts by Pip Tyler, as well as writing the opening textual note. He also established the texts, finalising the transcriptions and completing the annotation. The editors bear separate responsibility for their respective individual contributions. The editors are jointly responsible for identifying the relevant copyright holders. In this regard, we are pleased to thank the controller of the copyright on J.A. Hobson's papers, Mr Timothy John Hobson, for his kind permission to publish these typescripts and to the University of Hull for their permission to consult the original typescripts included here. We are pleased to thank also the editors of Political Quarterly, Andrew Gamble and Tony Wright, for their permission to include 'Thoughts on Our Present Discontents'. We are very grateful to the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Hull, for the generous funding that it gave in support of this project. We also thank Garrett W. Brown for the specially painted portrait which graces the cover of this book, and to Christopher Martin, Peter Nicholson and Daniel W. Stowell for their assistance in regard to the annotation. We are grateful to the anonymous readers of this volume for their very helpful comments. And we are very pleased to thank Routledge and the series editor Len Seabrooke for publishing this material.

Finally, Colin wishes to express his deep gratitude and love to Pip and Lucy as always, for their encouragement and patience while he was editing these lectures. He dedicates his work on this volume to them. And John wishes to thank his parents, Tim and Nora, as well as his daughter Gabriella, to whom for his part he would like to dedicate this book.

John M. Hobson University of Sheffield Colin Tyler University of Hull June 2010

## Note regarding the texts

Colin Tyler

John Atkinson Hobson (1858–1940) wrote the pieces included in this volume between 1932 and 1938. In addition to the global economic collapse of the Great Depression and the growing military instability that prefigured the Second World War, another, less widely shared spectre haunted Hobson's writings in the 1930s. This was his long-standing fear of the dehumanisation of civilised society, and especially capitalism's creeping materialisation and mechanisation of personal consciousness, family life and civil society. Hobson's reaction – especially his desire to effect the 'humanising of economic thinking' – was sustained and nurtured by his association with the South Place Ethical Society (SPES). However, his project flew in the face of the intellectual mainstream, where, to Hobson's mind, reason came second to the prejudices and interests of the academically powerful. Long before 1932, Hobson's trajectory made him a 'heretic' to most orthodox university-based economists, something that, in the politics of the time, had denied him an academic career.

Yet, Hobson was not merely a heretic to the powerful academics, and he had come to the SPES as a result of his growing disillusionment with another organisation within the Ethical Movement: the London Ethical Society (LES). The LES represented the practical continuation of the activist citizenship advocated by J.H. Muirhead and Bernard Bosanquet, both of whom were British idealist philosophers. After about five years of sustained involvement with the LES, Hobson gradually distanced himself from the LES, dismayed by what he saw as its harsh 'moral individualism': the LES was 'committed so strongly to the stress on individual character, as the basis of social progress, as to make it the enemy of that political-economic democracy which I was coming to regard as the chief

<sup>1</sup> John Atkinson Hobson, Confessions of an Economic Heretic, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1938, p. 56. See further Michael Freeden, The New Liberalism: An ideology of social reform, second edition, Oxford: Clarendon, 1986, Sandra M. den Otter, British Idealism and Social Explanation: A study in late Victorian thought, Oxford: Clarendon, 1996, and, on idealism more generally, Colin Tyler, Idealist Political Philosophy: Pluralism and conflict in the absolute idealist tradition, London: Continuum, 2006.

#### xiv Note regarding the texts

instrument of social progress and justice.'2 (This issue divided the British idealists themselves, with some of their number, such as D.G. Ritchie, being far more inclined to support state action rather than relying as heavily as Bosanquet and Muirhead on pre-existing personal virtue.)

From 1897 onwards, Hobson found more congenial homes with more collectivist associations in the Rainbow Circle and the SPES.<sup>3</sup> He became an 'official lecturer' at the latter in 1899, giving monthly lectures until 1935 and 'figuring as a sort of middle-man between J.M. Robertson and Herbert Burrows, a committed Socialist'.<sup>4</sup> Other regulars at the SPES at this time included Cecil Delisle Burns, Norman Angell and Edward Carpenter, all of whom were left-liberals and socialists of various types and with concerns that included social justice, international peace and sexual liberation.<sup>5</sup> Hobson's role as an official lecturer to the SPES had a significant impact on his intellectual development, as he made clear in his autobiography:

My close connection with this liberal platform, lasting continuously for thirty-six years, was of great help to me in clarifying my thought and enlarging my range of interests in matters of social conduct. Addressing audiences consisting for the most part of men and women of the business and professional classes, with a scattering of educated clerks and manual workers, I found myself driven to put ethical significance into a variety of current topics and events, many of which belonged to the fields of politics and economics. But I had first to make up my own mind, before communicating the result to others. Though such a fragmentary process had its defects, it served on the whole to bring together what at first sight seemed widely sundered pieces of thought and valuation, and so to give an increasing measure of cohesion to the deeper process of intellectual order needed to carry out the humanization of economic thinking which I had taken as my primary intellectual task.<sup>6</sup>

Throughout the SPES lectures and essays included in this volume, one is reminded of the radicalism that drove Hobson during one of the world's most precarious and important periods. It is a radicalism that is examined in much greater depth in John M. Hobson's introduction to this volume.

The typescripts of J.A. Hobson's SPES lectures together with various other papers came into the possession of his son Harold, when J.A. Hobson died in July 1940. In the 1970s, Harold's widow lent them to an interested doctoral student at the University of Hull. Before returning the typescripts and papers, sadly the student died and the material was deposited at the University of Hull without the

<sup>2</sup> Hobson, Confessions, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Freeden, The New Liberalism, [1976], pp. 256-57.

<sup>4</sup> Hobson, Confessions, p. 56; G. Spiller, Ethical Movement in Great Britain: A documentary history. London: Farleigh, 1934, p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Sheila Rowbotham, Edward Carpenter: A life of liberty and love, London: Verso, 2008, p. 381.

<sup>6</sup> Hobson, Confessions, pp. 57-58.

Hobson family's knowledge. I 'rediscovered' them after coming to Hull in 2000, and contacted John M. Hobson with a view to producing the present edition.

This volume includes nine of the surviving twelve lectures, 'The Magic of Words' (26 February 1933), 'Men and Women' (6 May 1934) and a third short, partial, untitled and undated lecture being omitted on grounds of relevance and space. I have established each text from the original neat typescripts, which reside in the Hull History Centre (DHN/24), together with other printed material from Hobson's library (DCC/5/146-49, 334; DHN/19, 23, 27, 28 DX/215/16). I have annotated the lectures lightly, including biographical and (a few) explanatory notes as well as notes detailing Hobson's handwritten changes to the typescript where those changes seem to be more than merely stylistic or typographical corrections. Hobson's few other handwritten changes have been incorporated silently, as have editorial upper-case roman numerals to number each subsection of 'The Sense of Responsibility'. Hobson's original typescripts include a small number of notes, which I indicate here with 'Hobson's note' in square brackets immediately after Hobson's original text. Notes that do not include any square bracketed text are purely editorial. I have used the following editorial abbreviations throughout.

Editorial insertion [] [...?] Indecipherable word

Original typescript wording that was deleted and then superseded by MS orig.

J.A. Hobson's handwritten amendment

MS del. Word deleted by J.A. Hobson

Mistyped word in typescript which the editor has corrected in the MS reads

main text

Hobson's (not deleted) alternative rendering of a word or phrase MA alt.

Hobson's original spellings and punctuation are retained in this edition, except in a few cases, where minor typographical errors have been corrected. Hobson's original renderings are recorded in the editorial notes.

# **Contents**

	Preface and acknowledgements	X1
	Note regarding the texts	xiii
	COLIN TYLER	
PA	RT 1	
Int	roduction John A. Hobson, the	
int	ernational man: a report from earth	1
JOH	IN M. HOBSON	
1	First Session. Introducing John A. Hobson, the	
	international man	3
2	Second Session. Reimagining imperialism:	
	a Cobdenite 'versus' a radical Hobson?	9
3	Third Session. Beyond economic reductionism I: the political	
	and discursive tap-roots of imperialism	23
4	Fourth Session. Beyond economic reductionism II:	
_	constructing the international mind	42
5	Fifth Session. The struggle for the international mind:	
	the South Place Ethical Society lectures, 1932–1938	60
PA	RT 2	
	e South Place Ethical Society Lectures and	
	ated writings, 1932–1938	79
	IN A. HOBSON	
6	Remaking the world: July 1932	81
7	Is world government possible?: December 1932	91
8	Our selves: 19 March 1933	102
9	The will to power: 30 April 1933	112
10	The popular mind: 28 May 1933	122

x Contents
------------

11	Is international economic government possible?: 1933	133
12	The causes of war: 30 June 1935	143
13	Thoughts on our present discontents: 1937–38	152
14	The sense of responsibility: 1938	161
	Index	217

### Part I

# Introduction John A. Hobson, the international man

A report from earth

John M. Hobson\*

Every hundred years the celestial messenger whose business it is to study conditions upon Earth makes his Report to the Recording Angel. This volume contains fragments of the Millennial Report recently rendered. It presents a series of largely unpublished lectures that were given by John Atkinson Hobson to the South Place Ethical Society in London during the 1930s. It sets out some of the grave economic, political and moral situations of the last century which remain relevant today. It also includes an introduction in the shape of dialogues between the Messenger and the Recorder, dwelling in particular upon the ideas and circumstances that informed the many facets of Hobson's work on domestic and, above all, international society.

<sup>\*</sup> I would like to thank Duncan Bell, Michael Freeden, Roger Kanet, Myron Kok, David Long, Jeanne Morefield, Herman Schwartz, Leonard Seabrooke, and Colin Tyler for their advice and constructive comments on this chapter though, of course, the usual rider applies.

<sup>1</sup> J.A. Hobson, The Recording Angel: A Report from Earth, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1932. Note that this present Report is presented in the same style as Hobson's 1932 book. Note too that all subsequent references are to the writings of John A. Hobson unless otherwise stated.