

Princeton University

WWS556B/POL587
Spring Term 2007

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Thurs: 1:30 – 4:30pm
Rm. – Robertson 005

Empires and Imperialism

Empires and imperialism are old scholarly subjects of enduring relevance. After years of oblivion, the terms have reentered America's mainstream political discourse. A number of scholars and public intellectuals have in recent publications described US foreign policies, especially towards the developing world, as constituting a type of imperialism. Of course, not every one agrees. Yet others have suggested instead that the US is not an imperialist power at all, and that the US, as the world's preponderant power, needs to and must provide a global public good, namely, world order. In order to make sense of such disagreements, this course will systematically situate America's 'informal empire' in a comparative and historical context. A major point of comparison will be colonial empires of the 19th and the early twentieth century, especially that of Great Britain, but also of Japan. With this as background, we will study how America's informal empire is similar to and how it differs from old colonial empires. While taking stock of the historical origins of US foreign policies towards the lesser regions of the world, the focus will be on the US role in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East since WWII.

The course is designed for researchers as well as for those with a serious policy interest in the subject. Since we will study both the causes and the consequences of imperialism, the course ought to appeal to students of both international relations and of developing countries. After situating the subject matter within the frame of competing theoretical perspectives (realism, liberalism, and Marxism) and providing a historical overview, we will devote some 4 weeks to a more detailed study of colonialism. Beyond overviews, specific topics will include British colonialism in India and Nigeria, Britain's informal empire, and Japanese colonialism in Korea. The second half of the course will focus on the global activities of the US. Once again, beyond introducing you to competing interpretations and regional overviews, there will be an opportunity to focus more specifically on U.S. modes of influence in one part of the world or another.

Course Requirements

The course is designed as a seminar. Since we are teaching the course for the first time, it is somewhat of an experimental course; we too will learn as we go along. There will be two "take home" written exercises, a mid-term and a final. Each student will also make a class presentation and participate regularly in the seminar. Doctoral students will have an opportunity to pursue a research paper.

Readings

All required readings ought to be on e-reserve in the WWS library. The books you might read in entirety (or close to it) have been ordered at the university bookstore.

Books Ordered*

Stephen Howe, *Empire: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 2002.

Charles Maier, *Among Empires*, Harvard University Press, 2006.

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*, Metropolitan Books, 2004.

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory*, Princeton University Press, 2001.

Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*, Penguin, 2004.

Tony Smith, *The Pattern of Imperialism*, Cambridge University Press, 1981 (This book is out of print but readily available from Amazon.com and other outlets).

Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change*, Times Books, 2006.

***Many of these books are easily and cheaply available from Amazon.com.**

Session 1: Introduction

Stephen Howe, *Empire: A Very Short Introduction*.

Session 2: Competing Perspectives on Imperialism

Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*, vii-ix; and (from Penguin edition), Book 1, Ch. 6 (the debate at Sparta); Book 2, Ch. 4 (Pericles' funeral oration); and Book 5, Ch. 7 (the Melian dialogue).

Benjamin Cohen, *The Question of Imperialism*, 229-58.

J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, 71-93.

V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism*, 62-98.

Paul Baran, "On the Political Economy of Backwardness," *The Manchester School of Economy and Social Studies*, January, 1952, V.XX, No. 1: 66-84.

Joseph Schumpeter, *Imperialism and Social Classes*, 83-130.

John Stuart Mill, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 111-24.

Recommended Readings:

Michael W. Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*, 1997 (a detailed study of realist, liberal and socialist political thought in the study of interstate relations).

Anthony Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism*, 1980 (a useful survey, from Marx to dependency theory).

Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Theories of Imperialism*, 1980 (a good overview of various theories of imperialism).

Johan Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Empire," *Journal of Peace Research* 8, 2 (1971), 81-117 (an attempt to define imperialism in terms of global inequalities).

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 1979 (Ch. 2 provides a sharp critique of Hobson-Lenin types of theories of imperialism; Waltz's critique sets the stage for Benjamin Cohen's, *The Question of Empire*, which is a detailed realist perspective on imperialism).

David Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, 2003 (a recent effort to update and apply a Marxist type of analysis to "new" imperialism).

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*, 2000 (a "cultural analysis" of sorts to reinterpret "modern" imperialism).

Session 3: Historical Overview

Tony Smith, *The Pattern of Imperialism*.

Recommended Readings:

Michael W. Doyle, *Empires*, 1986 (a useful monograph with a focus on nineteenth century imperialism in Africa).

Wolfgang Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel, *Imperialism and After*, 1986 (a wide ranging but uneven collection; many of the major scholars working on imperialism are brought together in a single volume).

D.K. Fieldhouse, *West and the Third World: Trade, Colonialism, Dependence and Development*, 1999 (a learned, conservative perspective on the role of the West in the developing world).

David Abernathy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empire, 1415-1980*, 2000 (everything you wanted to know about European empires and then some; a good guide to further readings).

Anthony Pagden, *Peoples and Empires*, 2001 (a general, breezy overview).

Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (a classic; a scathing critique of colonialism by a North African psychiatrist).

Session 4: British Colonialism (India and Nigeria)

Note: The literature on these topics is vast, often written by historians. Aside from the two chapters by Atul Kohli, the rest of the readings assigned are by historians. An attempt will be made in the seminar to compare and contrast early British colonialism (in India) with late British colonialism (in Nigeria) in terms of both shifting motivations and differing impacts.

H.V. Bowen, "British India, 1765-1813: The Metropolitan Context," *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, V. II, 530-51.

D.A. Washbrook, "India, 1818-1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism," *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, V. III, 395-421.

Robin J. Moore, "Imperial India, 1858-1914," *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, V. III, 422-46.

Toyin Falola and A.D. Roberts, "West Africa," *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, V. IV, 515-29.

Atul Kohli, *State-Directed Development*, Chs. 6 and 8.

Recommended Readings:

Note: The Five volumes of *The Oxford History of the British Empire* are a useful reference and a good guide to further readings.

P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism* (2 volumes), 1993 (V I is an especially useful overview of motives and dynamics of British imperialism in India and Africa; a non-Marxist, economic interpretation).

D.K. Fieldhouse, *Colonialism, 1870-1945*, 1981 (a useful monograph that summarizes the views of this well known conservative scholar of colonialism).

Bipin Chandra, et. al., *India's Struggle for Independence, 1857-1947*, 1988 (a nationalist, detailed account of reaction to British imperialism in India).

Karl De Schweinitz, *The Rise and Fall of British India*, 1983 (focuses on political and economic issues).

The New Cambridge History of India, editor, Gordon Johnson, Part III: *The Indian Empire and the Beginnings of Modern Society* (9 monographs on a variety of subjects; useful guide for further readings as well).

Michael Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria*, 1978 (a good overview of Nigerian history, including the colonial phase).

Olufemi Ekundare, *An Economic History of Nigeria, 1880-1960*, 1978 (a useful volume that analyzes economic change in Nigeria during the colonial phase).

James Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, 1958 (this still remains one of the best accounts of the emergence of nationalist politics in Nigeria during the colonial phase).

Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize*, 1997 (on French colonialism in West Africa).

Session 5: Britain's Informal Empire

John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review*, second series, VI, 1, 1953.

D.C.M. Platt, "Further Objections to an "Imperialism of Free Trade, 1830-60," *Economic History Review*, second series, XXVI, 1, February 1973.

The Oxford History of the British Empire, V. III., "Introduction" (by Andrew Porter), 101-21 (by Martin Lynn), and 122-45 (by Alan Knight).

Glen Balfour-Paul, "Britain's Informal Empire in the Middle East," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, V. IV, 490-514.

Recommended Readings:

William Roger Louis, ed., *The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy*, 1976 (a collection of essays—two of which are required readings above—surrounding the controversy about depicting Britain's nineteenth century overseas economic/political activities as constituting an "informal empire").

Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 1993 (a useful monograph that synthesizes many debates about interpreting Britain's role in Latin America; the interpretation is sympathetic to the Gallagher and Robinson thesis).

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, 1979 (a classic, neo-Marxist statement about how the informal empire was experienced by the Latin Americans).

Bernard Semmel, *The Rise of Free Trade Imperialism*, 1970 (explores the ideological underpinnings of free trade imperialism).

Jürgen Osterhammel, "Semi-Colonialism and Informal Empire in Twentieth-Century China," in Wolfgang Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds., *Imperialism and After*, 1986, 290-314 (an attempt to extend the informal empire thesis to China).

D.C.M. Platt, *Finance, Trade, and Politics in British Foreign Policy, 1815-1914*, 1968 (a sustained critique of the informal empire thesis).

Session 6: Japanese Colonialism (in Korea)

Mark R. Peattie, "Introduction" in Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, Princeton University Press 1984, 3-60.

Atul Kohli, "Where do High Growth Political Economies Come from: the Japanese Lineage of Korea's Developmental State," *World Development*, 22, 9, 1994, 1269-93.

Stephan Haggard et al., "Japanese Colonialism and Korean Development: A Critique," *World Development*, 25, June 1997, 867-82 and Kohli's response, same issue, 883-888.

Bruce Cumings in Ramon Myers and Mark Peattie, ed., *The Japanese Colonial Empire*, Ch. 13.

Recommended Readings:

Ramon Myers and Mark Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*, 1984 (still the best collection on the Japanese imperial experience, including in Taiwan).

Gi Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, eds., *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, 2000 (focuses on both political economy and identity themes).

Carter J. Eckert, *Korea Old and New*, 1990 (excellent volume with good coverage of the colonial phase; other more specific studies by Carter Eckert are also of very high quality).

Alice Amsden, "Taiwan's Economic History," *Modern China*, July 1979, 341-79.

Session 7: America's Postwar Order in Comparative Perspective

Charles Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and its Predecessors*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

G. John Ikenberry, "Liberal Hegemony or Empire? American Power in the Age of Unipolarity," in David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, eds., *American Power in the 21st Century*, London: Polity Press, 2004, 83-113

Williams, William Appleman, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, Chs. 1, 2, and 6.

Recommended Readings:

Raymond Aron, *Imperial Republic: The United States and the World, 1945-1973* (a classic European view on the role of the U.S.)

George Liska, *Imperial America: The International Politics of Primacy*, 1967.

Niall Ferguson, *Empire: the Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, 2003 (the title is self explanatory; this is a pro-imperialist account).

Michael Mann, *Incoherent Empire*, 2003 (a learned, critical overview).

Session 8: America and the West: Liberal Hegemony and Empire by Invitation

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory*, Chs. 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7.

Geir Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 23 (September 1986), pp. 263-77.

Recommended Readings:

G. John Ikenberry, *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power*, 2003.

Tony Smith, *America's Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century*, 1994.

Randall Schweller, "The Problem of International Order Revisited," *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (2001), pp. 61-186

Christian Reus-Smit, *American Power and World Order*, 2004.

Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-2002*, 2004 (a widely used text book that provides a "revisionist" account of *pax Americana*).

Warren I. Cohen, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Foreign Relations*, 1993 (several volumes by different authors; useful guide for further reading).

Session 9: America and East Asia: An Empire of Bases?

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*.

Bruce Cumings, "Japan's Position in the World System," in Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History*.

G. John Ikenberry, "America in East Asia: Power, Markets, and Grand Strategy," in T.J. Pempel and Ellis Kraus, eds., *Beyond Bilateralism: The Emerging East Asian Regionalism*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Recommended Readings:

Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback*, 2000 (similar to *The Sorrows of Empire* but much more focused on East Asia; good guide to further reading).

Michael Cox, "Empire, Imperialism, and the Bush Doctrine." *Review of International Studies* 30, no. 3 (2004), pp. 585 - 608.

Andrew Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*, 2002 (a critical study by a former military officer that is difficult to situate ideologically).

Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War, Vol. 2: The Roaring of the Cataract*, 1990 (a near classic; extremely detailed).

Franz Schurmann, *The Logic of World Power*, 1974 (focuses on the domestic roots of US policies in East Asia, especially the Vietnam War).

Jonathan Mirsky, "The Never Ending War," *The New York Review of Books*, May 5, 2000 (a review of some 11 books on the Vietnam War published in the late 1990s).

Session Ten: America and the Developing World: Regime Change

Stephan Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change From Hawaii to Iraq*.

Stephen Krasner, *Defending the National Interest: Raw Materials Investments, and U.S. Foreign Policy*, 1978, Ch. 2.

Recommended Readings:

Note: The National Security Archive at the George Washington University (www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/) is a very useful resource.

Peter Kornbluh, *Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*, 2005 (based on the most recently declassified evidence on U.S. Role in Chile).

Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America*, 1993 (a little dated but still one of the best regional overviews).

Neil Smith, *The Endgame of Globalization*, 2005 (a popular but useful radical critique; also useful for further readings).

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War*, 2005 (traces the roots of numerous contemporary conflicts to the politics of the Cold War).

Thomas Carothers, *Critical Mission: Essay on Democracy Promotion*, 2004 (aimed at improving democracy promotion abroad).

Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*, 2004 (traces the roots of opposition to patterns of Western domination in the past).

Week Eleven: Unipolarity and the Imperial Temptation

Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*

Motyl, Alexander J. 2006. "Is Everything Empire? Is Empire Everything?" *Comparative Politics* 38 (2): 229-249.

Recommended Readings:

Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation: America's Place in the World from the Earliest Days to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*, 2006 (argues that the U.S. has always been an internationalist, if not an expansionist, power).

Noan Chomsky, *America's Quest for Global Dominance: Hegemony or Survival*, 2003 (vintage Chomsky; highly critical overview).

Tony Smith, *A Pact with Devil: Washington's Bid for World Supremacy and the Betrayal of the American Promise*, 2007 (a scathing critique of the role of "liberal missionaries" in promoting neo-imperialism).

Week Twelve: Conclusion (no reading assigned).