

Princeton University

WWS556B/POL587
Spring Term 2008

Professor Atul Kohli

Wed. 1:30-4:30
029 Robertson Hall

Imperialism and the Developing World

Global forces have shaped the politics and economics of the developing world, at times decisively. First there was European colonialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Along side there were a variety of less formal external influences, such as Britain's informal empire in Latin America and the Middle East. Since WW II, dependency and neo-colonialism – both real and imagined -- evoked considerable controversy. More recently, the term imperialism has even entered the mainstream political discourse in the United States; while far from embraced by all, a number of scholars and public intellectuals have described U.S. foreign policies towards the developing world as imperialist.

This course will introduce graduate students to the systematic study of imperialism and the developing world. The core focus will be a comparative analysis of Great Britain's role in molding the developing world in the nineteenth century with that of the United States in the twentieth.

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. 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 U.S. relations with parts of the developing world, especially Latin America, East Asia, and the Middle East. 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. There will be two "take home" written exercises, a mid-term and a final. Depending on the class size, each student will also make one or more class presentations and participate regularly in the seminar. Doctoral students (and others with permission) 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 Labyrinth Books.

Books Ordered*

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

Alice H. Amsden, *Escape from Empire*, MIT Press, 2007.

Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire*, Beacon Press, 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.

Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*, Metropolitan Books, 2006.

Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire*, Metropolitan Books, 2000.

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*, Metropolitan Books, 2004.

***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:

Patrick O'Brien and Armand Cleese, eds., *Two Hegemonies: Britain 1846-1914 and the United States 1941-2001*, 2002 (I have not read this volume but the title sounded quite relevant.)

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

Giovanni Arrighi, *The Long Twentieth Century*, Verso, 1994 (a good study of the transfer of hegemony from Britain to the United States).

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)

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. As you will notice, the literature on these themes is vast.

P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism* (2 volumes), 1993 (V. 1 is a 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 the 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.

Anne Booth, "Did it really help to be a Japanese Colony?" *Japan Focus*, (an e-journal; google the title to access this essay.)

Session 7: Competing Perspectives on American Imperialism

G. John Ikenberry, "A Liberal Hegemony or Empire? American Power in the Age of Unipolarity, in David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, eds., *American Power in the Twenty-First Century*, 2004, 83-113.

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

Stephen Krasner, *Defending the National Interest*, Ch. 2.

Franz Schurmann, *The Logic of World Power*, Ch. 1 (skim; read for the focus on ideology as the driving variable of American imperialism).

Recommended Readings:

Daniel H. Nexon and Thomas Wright, "What is at Stake in the American Empire Debate," *American Political Science Review*, May 2007 (a useful definitional exercise that distinguishes imperialism from hegemony and unipolarity; good bibliography).

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory*, 2001 (an important study that situates the "world order" created by the U.S. in a historical and comparative perspective, arguing that American order is best understood as a "liberal hegemony.")

Niall Ferguson, *Colossus*, 2004 (argues that the U.S. runs an empire but is reluctant to admit it; urges the U.S. to be a more effective imperial power).

Charles Maier, *Among Empires*, 2006 (a liberal account that situates U.S. "empire" in a comparative context; focus is on U.S. Relations with Europe).

Michael Mann, *Incoherent Empire*, 2003 (a learned, critical overview of the "American empire").

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

Tony Smith, *A Pact with Devil*, 2007 (a scathing critique of the role of "liberal missionaries" in promoting neo-imperialism).

Andrew Bacevich, *American Empire*, 2002 (a critical study by a former military officer that is difficult to situate ideologically).

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

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

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

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).

Motyl, Alexander J. 2006. "Is Everything Empire? Is Empire Everything?" *Comparative Politics* 38 (2): 229-249. (A critique of some of the recent literature that characterizes the US as imperialist).

Graham Greene, *The Quiet American*, 1957.

Session Eight: Modes of U.S. Control, I: Politics

Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow*.

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*, pp. 1-96, 151-86.

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).

Robert Packenham, *Liberal America and the Third World: Political Development Ideas in Foreign Aid and Social Science*, 1976 (a study of some core beliefs that structured American attitudes towards the developing world during the Cold War.)

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

Session Nine: Modes of U.S. Control, II: Economics

Alice Amsden, *Escape from Empire*.

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*, pp. 255-82.

Recommended Readings:

Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and its Discontents*, 2002 (a useful critique of the impact of U.S.-led globalization on the developing world).

Branko Milanovic, "Two Faces of Globalization," *World Development*, 2003, V. 31, No. 4, pp. 667-83. (Provides evidence that economic growth in the developing world in the era of globalization has slowed down when compared to the earlier era of import substitution.)

William Grieder, *One World, Ready or Not*, 1997 (a critical account of globalization.)

Jagdish Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization*, 2004 (as the title suggests, this is a defense of globalization against its critics).

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, 1979 (a classic, neo-Marxist statement about how economic dependency molded the political and social structures of Latin America).

Peter Evans, *Dependent Development*, 1979 (a critical account of how economic dependency shapes development, especially in Brazil.)

Session Ten: Regional Perspectives, I: U.S. and Latin America

Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop*.

Recommended Readings:

Thomas F. O'Brien, *Making the Americas*, 2007 (a synthetic overview of U S relations with Latin America by a historian who specializes in business interests in Latin America).

Lars Schoultz, *Beneath the United States: A history of US Policy toward Latin America*, 1998 (one of the better overviews by a fine scholar who is a political scientist but with a sharp historical sensibility).

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

Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Story of the American Coup in Guatemala*, expanded edition, 1999. (a very fine book about an ugly episode)

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).

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, 1979 (a classic, neo-Marxist statement about how economic dependency molded the political and social structures of Latin America).

Peter Evans, *Dependent Development*, 1979 (a critical account of how economic dependency shapes development, especially in Brazil).

Session Eleven: Regional Perspectives, II: U.S. and East Asia

Chalmers Johnson, *Blowback*.

Recommended Readings:

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

Bruce Cumings, *Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American East-Asian Relations at the end of the Century*, 1999 (a useful collection of essays).

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).

Franz Schurmann, *The Logic of World Power*, 1974 (a detailed account of the bureaucratic and the ideological origins of US' imperial policies, with a focus on East Asia, especially the Vietnam war).

Gareth Porter, *Perils of Dominance: Imbalance of Power and the Road to Power in Vietnam*, 2005 (A recent account of an old subject).

Warren Cohen, *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations*, 1990 (a good short overview of U.S.-China relations from the opium war to the 1980s.)

Sandra Sturdevant and Brenda Stoltzfus, *Let the Good Times Roll*, 1992 (a useful collection of essays on military prostitution in Asia).

Session Twelve: Regional Perspectives, III: U.S. and the Middle East

Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire*, 2004

Recommended Readings:

Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945*, 2002, (a useful overview pitched for general audience).

Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror*, 2004, (a sophisticated account by a smart scholar.)

Robert Vitalis, *America's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier*, 2007 (focuses on the development of ARAMCO in Saudi Arabia.)

Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (a classic, albeit a controversial one, that deconstructs Western scholarship of the Arabs, arguing that the scholarship served imperial ends.)

James A Bill, *The Eagle and the Lion*, 1988 (a useful overview that provides background information on US-Iran relations.)

Anthony Sampson, *The Seven Sisters*, 1975 (A fine journalistic account of the global activities of major oil multinationals).

Daniel Yergin, *The Prize*, 1991 (a fine account of the international development of the oil industry).