Princeton University

WWS556/POL587
Spring Term 2008

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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, liberalisme, 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*


*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 ovation); 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.


**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).


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).


**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.)


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).


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).


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)


**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 Schwcnitz, *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).


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).


**Session 5: Britain’s Informal Empire**


*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).


**Session 6: Japanese Colonialism** (in Korea)


**Recommended Readings:**


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).

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**


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:**


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”).


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).


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).


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

Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow*.


**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).


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.)

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

Alice Amsden, *Escape from Empire*.


**Recommended Readings:**


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:**


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).


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).

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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:**


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).


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:**


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


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).