

Princeton University

WWS556B/POL587

Spring Term 2009

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Thurs: 1:30 – 4:30pm  
Room 020 Robertson

### Empires and Imperialism

Empires and imperialism are old 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 everyone 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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, both formal and informal. 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. Moreover, 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 for students 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. Each student will also make a class presentation and participate regularly in the seminar.

## Readings

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

### Books Ordered\*

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

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

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

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).

Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, The United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*, Metropolitan Books, 2007.

Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*, Beacon, 2004.

**\*Many of these books are also 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.

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 (We 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).

Herfried Munkler, *Empires* (Polity Press, 2007, translated from German). Good overview of concepts and theories with an eye on the American case.

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.

**Session 7: America's Global Order in Comparative Perspective**

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).

Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*, Penguin, 2004 (an important but uneven book that urges the US to come out of the closet and be a real imperialist).

George Liska, *Imperial America: The International Politics of Primacy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967).

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).

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).

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).

**Session 8: The American "Project" -- The Logic of Liberal Hegemony**

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

G. John Ikenberry, "Liberal Internationalism 3.0: America and the Dilemmas of Liberal World Order," *Perspectives on Politics*, Spring 2009, forthcoming.

**Recommended Readings:**

G. John Ikenberry, ed., *America Unrivaled: The Future of the Balance of Power* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

Michael Hunt, *The American Ascendancy: How the United States Gained and Wielded Global Dominance* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

Michael Mandelbaum, *The Case for Goliath: How America Acts as the World's Government in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005).

Christopher Layne, "The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Powers Will Rise," *International Security*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Spring 1993), pp. 5-51.

William Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999).

John Judis, *The Folly of Empire* (New York: Scribner, 2004).

Stewart Patrick, *The Best Laid Plans: The Origins of American Multilateralism and the Dawn of the Cold War* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009).

Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights* (Harvard, 2005).

G. John Ikenberry, *The Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton, 2009).

G. John Ikenberry, "Rethinking the Origins of American Hegemony," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 104, no.3, Fall 1989, pp.375-400.

Richard Gardner, *Sterling-Dollar Diplomacy: Anglo-American Collaboration in the Reconstruction of Multilateral Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).

Alfred E. Eckes, Jr., *A Search for Solvency: Bretton Woods and the International Monetary System, 1941-1971* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975).

Armand Van Dormael, *Bretton Woods: Birth of a Monetary System* (London: Macmillan, 1978).

Fred Block, *The Origins of International Economic Disorder* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

Robert A. Pollard, *Economic Security and the Origins of the Cold War, 1945-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

Stephen Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Geir Lundstad, “‘Empire by Invitation’ in the American Century,” *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring 1999), pp. 189-217.

### **Session 9** The American “Project” – Modernization and Development

David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order, 1914 to the Present* (unpublished book manuscript, 2008).

Tony Smith, “National Security Liberalism and American Foreign Policy,” in Michael Cox, G. John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi, eds., *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impact* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (Norton, 2003), Chapter One. The rise and fall of the “Washington consensus.”

### **Recommended Reading:**

Bradley R. Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968* (Stanford 2008).

David Milne, *America’s Rasputin: Walt Rostow and the Vietnam War* (Hill and Wang).

Tony Smith, *America’s Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

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

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).

Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: American Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq* (a journalistic account of US interventions in a number of well known cases).

Robert Packenham, *Liberal America and the Third World: Political Development Ideas in Foreign Aid and Social Science*, 1977 (a somewhat outdated but still a useful account of some of the ideas that have molded American approach to the developing world).

**Session 10: America in East Asia: An Empire of Bases?**

Peter Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), Chapters One, Two, and Three.

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire*, selected chapters.

Bruce Cummings, “Japan’s Position in the World System,” in Gordon, ed., *Postwar Japan as History*.

Michael Schaller, “Securing the Great Crescent: Occupied Japan and the Origins of Containment in Southeast Asia,” *Journal of American History*, Vol. 69 (September 1982), pp. 392-414.

**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).

Theodore Cohen, *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation as New Deal* (The Free Press, 1987).

Michael Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan: The Origins of the Cold War in Asia* (Oxford University Press, 1985).

Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*, (a useful, Pulitzer prize-winning, popular account of the subject).

### **Session Eleven: America in Latin America -- Domination and Development**

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).

**Week Twelve: America and the Middle East**

Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire*, 2004

**Recommended Readings:**

Toby Dodge, *Iraq: The failure of Nation Building and a History Denied*, 2003 (Revisits British colonial impact on Iraq with the aim of addressing America's recent involvement).

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.)

Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (a popular but controversial account of western influence in the Middle East).

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).