

International History

Academic year 2018-2019

Decolonisation: A History

HI101 - Printemps - 6 ECTS

Course Description

Decolonization was complex array of phenomena. Rooted in the 19th century and covering much of the 20th century and encompassing many experiences, it also had a core space and a peak time â Africa and Asia in the 1940s-60s â and indeed at some point was seen as one single â ring of fire burning all along the Tropics.â Many historians see it as a central-most development in the twentieth century, shaping, and been shaped by, other large-scale historical processes such as the Cold War, development, globalization, and the post-colonial refashioning of the United States and Europe. They disagree often, however, on causes, processes, and dimensions. This seminar introduces graduate students to crucial optics and topics on this question.

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Syllabus

Structure of the course

- This course has five modules. Measured in weeks: 5 + 1 + 5 + 1 +2
 - o Classes 1-5: regular class
 - o Class 6: review session of classes 1-5
 - o Classes 7-11: regular class
 - o Class 12: review session of classes 7-11
 - o Classes 13+14: discussion of papers

Grade

- 50%: class participation. Talk – if you do not, your grade will suffer – but be brief, and as important, do listen to others' arguments and interact with them.
- 25%: 7-minute in-class oral presentation of a text chosen from "Further readings" in the syllabus below. You will spend half of the time of the presentation – i.e., 3-4 minutes – summing up the argument, and the other half, evaluating it also in light of the other readings of that week.
- 25%: Final paper, maximum 3,000 words for PhD students and maximum 2,000 words for MA students, on a topic of your choice to do with decolonization. Deadline: June 10, 2019. A 300 word draft is due on Friday of week 12, and will be presented by each student in weeks 13 or 14 (alphabetical order).

Languages

- All written and oral communication may be in French or in English.

Eating / drinking

- Eating no, drinking yes.

Readings

Class 1: Overview:

- Dane Kennedy, *Decolonization: a Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)
- Jan Jansen and Jürgen Osterhammel, *Decolonization. A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 1-34 (ch.1, 'Decolonization as Moment and Process')

Further readings:

- Stuart Ward, "The European Provenance of Decolonization," *Past and Present* 230 (2016): 227-60
- Martin Thomas, Larry Butler, and Bob Moore, *Crises of Empire: Decolonization and Europe's Imperial States, 1918-1975* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), "Introduction: Constructions of Decolonization" (pp. 1-12), "Conclusion: Changing Attitudes to the end of empire" (pp. 333-346)
- Raymond Betts, "Decolonization: A Brief History of the Word," in *Beyond Empire and Nation*, ed. Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012), 23-37
- Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson, "Empire and Globalization: from 'high Imperialism' to decolonization," *International History Review* 36 (2014): 142-70
- Raymond Betts, *Decolonization 2nd ed.* (New York: Routledge, 2004)
- Martin Thomas, *Fight or Flight. Britain, France, and their Roads from Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)
- Prasenjit Duara, "Introduction: the decolonization of Asia and Africa in the 20th century," in *Decolonization*, ed. id., (London: Routledge, 2004), 1-18
- Prasenjit Duara, "Decolonization and its Legacy," in *Cambridge World History*, ed. John McNeill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 395-419
- Stephen Howe, "When – if ever – did empire end? Recent studies of imperialism and decolonization," *Journal of Contemporary History* 40 (2005): 258-99
- Mark Berger, "After the Third World? History, destiny, and the fate of Third-Worldism," *Third World Quarterly* 25 (2004): 9-39
- Christoph Kalter, *Die Entdeckung der Dritten Welt: Dekolonisierung und neue radikale Linke in Frankreich* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2011), 44-80
- Anthony G. Hopkins, "Rethinking Decolonization," *Past and Present* 57 (2008): 211-47
- African decolonization overviews:

- o Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact: a Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires* (Malden: Blackwell, 2008), 114–231
- o John Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa* (London: Longman, 1988)

Class 2: Historical background, I

- Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). E-book: Intro.
- David Armitage, "The Contagion of Sovereignty: Declarations of Independence since 1776," *South Africa Historical Journal* 52 (2005): 1-18
- Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, "Settler Colonialism: A Concept and its Uses," in *Settler Colonialism in the 20th Century*, ed. idem (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1-20

Further readings:

- David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 1-144
- Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 2010), 219–250 [Era of revolutions]
- Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006)
- Gabriel Paquette, "The Dissolution of the Spanish Atlantic Monarchy," *Historical Journal* 52:1 (2009): 175-212
- Cemil Aydin, *The Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia: Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007)
- Eric Weitz, "From the Vienna to the Paris System: International Politics and the Entangled Histories of Human Rights, Forced Deportations, and Civilizing Missions," *AHR* 113:5 (2008): 1313-43
- Claude Liauzu, *Histoire de l'anticolonialisme en France du XVI siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Colin, 2007)
- Juergen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: a Theoretical Overview* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005)

Class 3: Historical background, II

- Martin Shipway, *Decolonization and Its Impact: a Comparative Approach to the End of the Colonial Empires* (Malden: Blackwell, 2008), 35–60 [increased international anti-colonial coordination]
- Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), Introduction. E book.
- Cyrus Schayegh, "The Mandates and/as Decolonization," in *Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*, ed. id. and Andrew Arsan (London: Routledge, 2015), 412-419
- Primary Source: V. I. Lenin, 'Draft Theses on National and Colonial Questions' for the Second Congress of The Communist International, in <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/jun/05.htm>

Further readings:

- Andreas Eckert, Bringing the "Black Atlantic" into Global History: The Project of Pan-Africanism, in *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880s–1930s*, ed. Sebastian Conrad (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), 237–257
- Frederick Cooper, "Reconstructing Empire in British and French Africa," in *Post-War Reconstruction in Europe: International Perspectives, 1945–1949*, ed. Mark Mazower et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 196–210
- Michael Goebel, *The Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Introduction

- Michael Adas, "Contested hegemony: the Great War and the Afro-Asian assault on the civilizing mission ideology," *Journal of World History* 15 (2004): 31-63
- John Darwin, *After Tamerlane: the Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400-2000* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009), chapter "Towards the crisis of the world, 1914-1942" (pp. 365–423)
- Anthony Anghie, "Colonialism and the Birth of International Institutions: Sovereignty, Economy, and the Mandate System of the League of Nations," *N.Y.U. Journal of International Law and Politics* 34 (2002): 513-632
- Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005)
- Peter O. Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: the Idea and Movement, 1776-1991* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1994)
- Nicholas White, "Reconstructing Europe through Rejuvenating Empire: the British, French and Dutch Experiences Compared," in *Post-War Reconstruction of Europe*, ed. Mark Mazower, Jessica Reinisch, and David Feldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 211-236
- Bayly / Harper, *Forgotten Wars* (2007)
- Gregory Mann, "Anti-colonialism and Social Science: Georges Balandier, Madeira Keita, and 'the colonial situation' in French Africa," *CSSH* 55 (2013): 92-119
- "Georges Balandier, lecture et re-lecture," special issue of *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* 110 (2001)
- Other primary sources:
 - o Mao Zedong, Report on An Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan (1927) , in http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/classics/mao/sw1/mswv1_2.html
 - o Georges Balandier, "The Colonial Situation: a Theoretical Approach (1951)," in *Social Change*, ed. Immanuel Wallerstein (New York: John Wiley, 1966), 34-61

Class 4: Causes of decolonization

- Argument 1: colonies' rising political demands: John Lonsdale, "Anti-Colonial Nationalism and Patriotism in sub-Saharan Africa," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 318-337
- Argument 2: metropolitan calculations: Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire. The Road to Decolonization, 1918-1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-29, 398-410
- Argument 3: combinations of factors; processes: John Darwin, "Decolonization and the End of Empire," in *Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. Robin Winks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), vol. 5, 541-558

Further readings:

- John Kelly and Martha Kaplan, "Nation and Decolonization: Toward a New Anthropology of Nationalism," *Anthropological Theory* 1 (2001): 419-437
- Guia Migani, *La France et l'Afrique sub-saharienne, 1957-1963: histoire d'une décolonisation entre idéaux eurafricains et politique de puissance* (Bruxelles: Lang, 2008), chapter "De Gaulle et la décolonisation de l'Afrique sub-saharienne"

Class 5: Roads not taken; key dimensions

Roads not taken:

- Frederick Cooper, "Alternatives to Nationalism in French Africa, 1945-1960," in *Elites and Decolonization in the 20th Century*, ed. Jost Duelffer and Marc Frey (London: Palgrave, 2011), 110-137

- Michael Collins, "Decolonization and the 'Federal Moment,'" *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 24 (2013): 21-40

Dimensions:

- Violence: David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (New York: Norton, 2005), chs. 1 & 7
- Gender: Philippa Levin, "Gendering Decolonization," *Histoire@Politique: Histoire, Politique, Société* 11 (2010): 1-15 [especially on India, Algeria, Kenya]

Further readings:

- Tony Smith, "Patterns in the Transfer of Power: A Comparative Study of French and British Decolonization," in *The Transfer of Power in Africa. Decolonization, 1940-60*, ed. P. Gifford et al (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 87-115
- Elizabeth Schmidt, "Top Down or Bottom Up? Nationalist Mobilization Reconsidered, with Special Reference to Guinea (French West Africa)," *American Historical Review* 110 (2005): 975-1014
- Tanya J. Lyons, "Guerrilla girls and women in the Zimbabwean National Liberation Struggle," in *Women in African Colonial Histories*, ed. Jean Allman et al. (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002), 305-326
- Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper, *Forgotten Wars: The End of Britain's Asian Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2007)
- Leslie James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below: Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the End of Empire* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2014)
- Robert Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918-1981: an Introductory Survey* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985) [emphasizes metropolises' changing calculations]
- Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954-1962* (New York: NYRB 2006 [1977])
- Adria Lawrence, *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism. Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) [to be read with Cooper]

Class 6: Review of classes 1-5

Class 7: Aid and development

- James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development,' Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 3-22, 251-278
- Joseph M. Hodge, "British Colonial Expertise, Post-Colonial Careerism and the Early History of International Development," *Journal of Modern European History* 8 (2010): 24-46
- David Webster, "Development advisors in a time of cold war and decolonization: the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, 1950-59," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 249-272
- David Engerman, "Development Politics and the Cold War (Presidential Address)," *Diplomatic History* 41:1 (2017): 1-19

Further readings:

- Michael Mahony, "Estado Novo, Homem Novo (New State, New man): Colonial and Anti-colonial Development Ideologies in Mozambique, 1930-1977," in *Staging Growth*, ed. David Engerman et al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 165-97
- Roger Pasquier, "Les milieux d'affaires face à la décolonisation (1956-1960)," in *L'Afrique noire française: L'heure des indépendances*, ed. Charle-Robert Ageron and Marc Michel (Paris: CNRS, 2010), 331-60

- Suzanne M. Moon, "Takeoff or Self-Sufficiency? Ideologies of Development in Indonesia, 1957-1961," *Technology and Culture* 39:2 (1998): 187-212
- David Fieldhouse, *Merchant Capital and Economic Decolonization: The United Africa Company, 1929-1987* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 337-410
- J. Thomas Lindblad, "British Business and the Uncertainties of Early Independence in Indonesia," *Itinerario* 37 (2013): 147-64
- Catherine Hodeir, *Stratégies d'Empire: Le grand patronat colonial face à la décolonisation* (Paris: Belin, 2003)
- Jacques Marseille, *Empire colonial et capitalisme français: histoire d'une divorce*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Albin Michel, 2005)
- Jean-Pierre Dormois and François Crouzet, "The Significance of the French Colonial Empire for French Economic Development (1815-1960)," *Revista de Historia Economica* 15 (1998): 323-49
- Bouda Etemad, "L'Europe et le monde colonial. De l'apogée des empires à l'après-décolonisation," *Revue économique* 51:2 (2000): 257-68
- Larry Butler, *Copper Empire: Mining and the Colonial State in Northern Rhodesia, c. 1930-1964* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007)
- Amy Staples, *The Birth of Development: How the World Bank, Food and Agriculture Organization, and World Health Organization Changed the World, 1945-1965* (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 2006)

Class 8: Ideas & intellectuals

- Andreas Eckert, "Anti-Western Doctrines and Nationalism," in *Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 56-74
- Yoav Di-Capua, "Arab Existentialism: An Invisible Chapter in the Intellectual History of Decolonization," *AHR* (2012): 1061-1091
- Three primary sources:
 - o Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, translated from the French by Richard Philcox; introductions by Jean-Paul Sartre and Homi K. Bhabha (New York: Grove Press, 2004)
 - o Jawaharlal Nehru, "The importance of the national idea: changes necessary in India," in *The Discovery of India* (1985), 515-523
 - o Ho Chi Minh, "The path that led me to Leninism," from Ho Chi-Minh, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, ed. and intro. Jack Woddis, pp. 156-158

Further readings:

- Pankaj Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Intellectuals who Remade Asia* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), 1-11, 215-241, 299-310
- Eric Weitz, "Self-Determination: How a German Enlightenment Idea became the Slogan of National Liberation and a Human Right," *AHR* 120 (2015): 462-96
- Margaret Kohn and Keally McBride, *Political Theories of Decolonization: Postcolonialism and the Problem of Foundations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Daniel Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)
- Ian Hall, "The revolt against the West: decolonization and its repercussions in British international thought," *International History Review* 33 (2011): 43-64
- Other primary sources:
 - o Sun Yat-sen, *The Three Principles of the People* tr. Frank W. Price, ed. L.T. Chen (Shanghai, China: China Committee, Institute of Pacific Relations 1927), 76-100.
 - o Kwame Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970) 56-77

Class 9: Politics: 'South-South'

- Jeffrey Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). E-book. Introduction
- Christopher Lee, "Between a Moment and an Era: the Origins and Afterlives of Bandung," in *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and its Political Afterlives*, ed. idem (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 1-42
- N. Miskovic, "Introduction," in *The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War*, ed. idem et al. (London: Routledge, 2014), 1-18
- Primary source: "President Sukharno of Indonesia, Speech at the Opening of the Bandung Conference (1955)," in Bonnie G. Smith, *Modern Empires: A Reader* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Further readings:

- Peruse <https://medium.com/afro-asian-visions>
- Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Legacies of Bandung: Decolonisation and the Politics of Culture," *Economic and Political Weekly* (November 12, 2005)
- Jeffrey Ahlman, "The Algerian Question in Nkrumah's Ghana, 1958-1960: Debating 'Violence' and 'Non-violence' in African Decolonization," *Africa Today* 57 (2010): 67-84
- Jerry Davila, *Hotel Tropico: Brazil and the Challenge of African Independence, 1950-1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 1-90
- Penny von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anti-colonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 1-21, 145-190 (a U.S. 'sidenote')
- Piero Gleijeses, *Visions of Freedom: Havana, Washington, Pretoria and the Struggle for Southern Africa, 1976-1991* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013)
- D.A. Low, "The Asian Mirror to Tropical Africa's Independence," in *The Transfer of Power in Africa: Decolonization, 1940-1960* 2nd ed., ed. Prosser Gifford and Wm. Roger Louis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 1-29
- Primary source:
 - o Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference* (Cleveland, World Pub. Co., 1956)

Class 10: Politics: the Cold War and decolonization

- Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-157
- Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1-9 ("Prologue"), 135-171 ("Revolutions in the American South and Southern Africa")

Further readings:

- William Louis and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Decolonization," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 22 (1994): 462-511
- J.R. McNeill and Corinna R. Unger, "Introduction: The Big Picture," in *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, ed. idem (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1-20
- David Engerman, "The Second World's Third World," *Kritika* 12 (2001): 183-211
- Prasenjit Duara, "The Cold War as a historical period: an interpretive essay," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 457-80
- Tony Smith, "New Bottles for New Wine: A Pericentric Framework for the Study of the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 24:4 (2000): 567-91
- Robert McMahon, ed., *The Cold War in the Third World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

- Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *All You Need Is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998)
- Talbot Imlay, "International Socialism and Decolonization during the 1950s: Competing Rights and the Postcolonial Order," *American Historical Review* 118 (2013): 1105-1132
- Michael Latham, "The Cold War in the Third World," in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, ed. Melvyn Loffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 258-80
- Ryan Irwin, "Decolonization and the Cold War," in *Routledge Handbook of the Cold War*, ed. Artemy Kalinowski and Craig Daigle (London: Routledge, 2014), 91-104
- Cary Fraser, "Decolonization and the Cold War," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*, ed. Richard Immerman/Petra Goedde (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2013, 469-85
- Paul Kramer, "Review Essay: Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States in the World," *AHR* 116 (2011): 1348-91
- D. Ryan and V. Pungong, eds., *The United States and Decolonization. Power & Freedom* (London: Palgrave, 2000), ch. 1 ("By way of introduction: the US, decolonization, and the world system," and ch. 3 ("The road to our America: the United States in Latin America and the Caribbean")
- Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010)

Class 11: World politics: the United Nations and human rights

- Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: the End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 149–189. E book
- Matthew Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Introduction, 119-141. E book.
- Alanna O'Malley, "Ghana, India, and the Transnational Dynamics of the Congo Crisis at the United Nations, 1960-1961," *International History Review* 37:3 (2015): 970-990
- Roland Burke, *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights* (Philadelphia 2010), 1-58. E book.

Further readings:

- Fabian Klose, *Human Rights in the Shadow of Colonial Violence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)
- Bradley Simpson, "Self-determination, human rights, and the end of empire in the 1970s," *Humanity* 4 (2013): 239-60

Class 12: review of classes 7-11

Classes 13+14: Discussion of your seminar paper outlines