

Interdisciplinary Programmes

Academic year 2018-2019

Empire: Past, Present and Future

IA098 - Printemps - 6 ECTS

Course Description

From antiquity till today, empires have been politics central to the world. Focusing on the time from the late 19th to the early 21st century, this course takes a look at the changing forms and functions of empires, their cultures, ideologies and critics, competitive and cooperative patterns, effect on metropolitan societies, and interactions with large-scale historical patterns including globalization, decolonization, and the Cold War. We will focus mainly on what may be considered the modern times' big two, Britain and United States, but also on others, including France, Russia, and China.

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Syllabus

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 "Texts for oral presentation" 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 2,000 words, on a topic of your choice to do with empire. Deadline: June 10, 2019.

Languages

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

Eating / drinking

- Eating no, drinking yes

Reading list:

Week 1: Introduction

- Mandatory readings:

1. Stephen Howe, *Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 9-34 (ch. 1, "Who's an Imperialist?")

2. Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism* (Princeton, 1997), 15-22 (ch. “‘Colonialism’ and ‘Colonial Empires’”)

Week 2: Theories of Imperialism: Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Classics

- Mandatory readings:

1. Wolfgang Mommsen, *Theories of Imperialism* transl. P.S. Falla (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 3-58
2. Primary sources:
 - a) “J.A. Hobson’s Classic Assault on Imperialism, 1902,” in Louis Snyder, *The Imperialism Reader* (Princeton: D. van Nostrand, 1962), 148-155
 - b) “Lenin Denounces Imperialism as the Last Stage of Capitalism, 1917,” in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 158-163

Week 3: The British Empire (and Globalization) in the Long Nineteenth Century

- Mandatory readings:

1. Dane Kennedy, *Britain and Empire, 1880-1945* (London: Longman, 2002), 1-42
2. Gary Magee and Andrew Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods, and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1-21 (“Introduction”)
3. Primary sources:
 - a) “Disraeli’s Crystal Palace Speech, 1872,” in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 114-115
 - b) “Jules Ferry’s Defense of French Imperialism, 1890,” in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 123-125
 - c) “Joseph Chamberlain Preaches the Doctrine of Commercial Imperialism, 1893,” in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 125-126
 - d) “Ferdinando Martini Presents the Italian Case for ‘Imperialism of the Have-Nots,’ 1897,” in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 126-128
 - e) “William II, Kaiser of Germany, Speech to the North German Regatta Association (1901),” in Bonnie G. Smith, *Modern Empires: A Reader* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2017)
 - f) “Stories of Japanese Heroes of Empire: Nogi Maresuke,” in Smith, *Modern Empires: A Reader*

- Texts for oral presentation:

1. P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2013), 23-61
2. Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, “Introduction: Settler Colonialism: A Concept and its Use,” in *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, ed. idem (New York: Routledge, 2005), 1-20
3. Jack Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, “The Imperialism of Free Trade,” *The Economic History Review* 2nd series 6:1 (1953): 1-25
4. Pierre Singaravélou, « Les stratégies d'internationalisation de la question coloniale et la construction transnationale d'une science de la colonisation à la fin du xix^e siècle, » *Monde(s)* 1 (2012): 135-157
5. Martin Thomas and Richard Toye, *Arguing about Empire: Imperial Rhetoric in Britain and France, 1882-1956* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1-18 (“Introduction”)
6. Marc-William Palen, *The ‘Conspiracy’ of Free Trade: The Anglo-American Struggle Over Empire and Economic Globalisation, 1846-1896* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), xv-xxxvi
7. R. Mac Leod, “On visiting moving metropolis: reflections on the architecture of imperial sciences,” *Historical Records of Australian Science* 5:3 (1982): 1-16

Week 4: Empires and/or Nation-States, with special attention to the Russian/Soviet Case

- Mandatory readings:
 1. Ronald Grigor Suny, "The Empire Strikes Out: Imperial Russia, "National" Identity, and Theories of Empire," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, ed. Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 23-66
 2. Roger Brubaker, "Aftermaths of Empire and the Unmixing of People," in *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*, ed. Karen Barkey and Mark Hagen (Boulder: Westview, 1997), 155-180
- Texts for oral presentation:
 1. Terry Martin, "An Affirmative Action Empire: The Soviet Union as the Highest Form of Imperialism," in *A State of Nations*, 67-92
 2. Naoki Sakai, "Imperial Nationalism and the Comparative Perspective," *Positions: East Asia Critique* 17:1 (2009): 159-205

Week 5: The British Empire, 1914-1945

- Mandatory readings:
 1. Dane Kennedy, *Britain and Empire, 1880-1945*, 43-88
 2. Daniel Gorman, "Fractured Empire: Ideas of Imperial Citizenship in the British Empire after the First World War," *Comparativ* 26:6 (2016): 15-36
 3. Primary sources:
 - a) "The Statue of Westminster, 1930," in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 441-444
 - b) Georges Orwell, "Shooting an Elephant" (1936), at <https://hilo.hawaii.edu/~tbelt/Pols360-S08-Reading-ShootingAnElephant.pdf>
 - c) "The First French Imperial Economic Conference Seeks Colonial Reform, 1934-1935," in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 455-458
 - d) "Adolf Hitler, Speech (1937)," in Smith, *Modern Empires: A Reader*
 - e) "The 'Independence Day' Resolution of the Indian Nationalist Congress, January 20, 1930," in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 439-441
 - f) Jomo Kenyatta, *Facing Mount Kenya* (1937), in Smith, *Modern Empires: A Reader*
 - g) "Mao Tse-tung, "Imperialism in China, 1939," in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 477-481
- Texts for oral presentation:
 1. Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), Introduction
 2. 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
 3. Philip Dwyer and Amanda Nettelbeck, "'Savage Wars of Peace:' Violence, Colonialism, and Empire in the Modern World," in *Violence, Colonialism, and Empire in the Modern World*, ed. idem (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1-24
 4. Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, "Imperialism and the European Empires," in *The Short Oxford History of Europe. Europe 1900-1945*, ed. Julian Jackson (Oxford: OUP, 2002),
 5. Antony Anghie, "Colonialism and the Birth of International Institutions: Sovereignty, Economy, and the Mandate System of the League of Nations," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* no. 513 n° 34 (2002)
 6. Martin Thomas, Larry Butler, and Bob Moore, *Crises of Empire: Decolonization and Europe's Imperial States, 1918-1975* (London:

- Bloomsbury, 2015), 117-135 (ch. 5: "The roots of French decolonization: Ideas, Economics, and Reform, 1900-1946")
7. Jacques Thobie and Gilbert Meynier, *Histoire de la France coloniale. II. L'Apogée* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1991), 531-573 (« les années 20: revendication anticoloniale et glaciations coloniales »)
 8. Véronique Dimier, "'L'internationalisation' du débat colonial: rivalités franco-britanniques autour de la Commission permanente des Mandats," *Outre-mers* 336-337 (2002): 333-60
 9. Quinn Slobodian, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018), 27-54 (ch.1. "A World of Walls")
 10. Florian Wagner, "An Anti-Colonial Empire? Non-European Perspectives on the Weimar Republic and the German Dream of Empire (1919–1930s)," *Comparativ* 26:6 (2016): 56-72

Week 6: Decolonization. The French Case

- Mandatory readings:
 1. Martin Thomas, Larry Butler, and Bob Moore, *Crises of Empire: Decolonization and Europe's Imperial States, 1918-1975* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 136-192
 2. Primary sources:
 - a) "Ferhat Abbas, Premier of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic, Proclaims the Historical Phenomenon of Decolonization While Demanding Algerian Independence, 1960," in Snyder, *Imperialism Reader*, 519-524
 - b) Film: Gillo Pontecorvo, *The Battle of Algiers* (1966). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_N2wyq7fCE
- Texts for oral presentation:
 1. Jan Jansen and Jürgen Osterhammel, *Decolonization. A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 1-34 (ch.1, 'Decolonization as Moment and Process')
 2. William Louis and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Decolonization," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 22 (1994): 462-511
 3. Michael Collins, "Decolonization and the 'Federal Moment,'" *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 24 (2013): 21-40
 4. 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
 5. John Kelly and Martha Kaplan, "Nation and Decolonization: Toward a New Anthropology of Nationalism," *Anthropological Theory* 1 (2001): 419-437

Week 7: Post-Imperial Memories and Silences

- Mandatory readings:
 1. Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: the Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 1-16 ("Introduction"), 269-272 (Conclusion)
 2. Bill Schwartz, *Memories of Empire. Volume 1: the White Man's World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1-32 ("Introduction: 'The Thing'")
 3. Primary source:
 - a) Enoch Powell, speech to the Conservative Association meeting in Birmingham on April 20 1968 (known as the "Rivers of Blood speech"), at <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643823/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html>
- Texts for oral presentation:
 1. Laurent Dubois, "*La République métisée: Citizenship, Colonialism, and the Borders of French History*," *Cultural Studies* 14:1 (2000): 15-34

2. Jean-Luc Chabot, "L'idée d'empire dans la représentation de la construction européenne," in *L'idée d'empire*, ed. Thierry Ménissier (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006), 245-262
3. Elizabeth Buettner, *Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016), 1-20
4. Amy Kaplan, "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. idem and Donald Pease (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 3-21

Week 8: The Pre-World War II and Post-War United States

- Mandatory readings:
 1. Anders Stephanson, *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 66-110 ("Blessings of Civilization, 1865-1914") and 111-131 ("Falling into the World, 1914-1990")
 2. Robert J. McMahon, "The Republic as Empire: American Foreign Policy in the 'American Century,'" in *Perspectives on Modern America: Making Sense of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Harvard Sitkoff (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 80-100
 3. Primary source:
 - a) Henry R. Luce, "The American Century," *Life*, February 17, 1941, 61-65
- Texts for oral presentation:
 1. Paul Frymer, *Building an American Empire. The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017)
 2. Mary Ann Heiss, "Bernath Lecture: The Evolution of the Imperial Idea and U.S. National Identity," *Diplomatic History* 26:4 (2002): 511-540
 3. Daniel Immerwahr, "The Greater United States: Territory and Empire in U.S. History," *Diplomatic History* 40 (2016): 373-391
 4. Paul Kramer, "How Not to Write the History of U.S. Empire" *Diplomatic History* 42:5 (2018): 911-931 (a critique of Immerwahr, "The Greater United States")
 5. Benjamin Allen Coates, *Legalist Empire: International Law and American Foreign Relations in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016)
 6. Paul A. Kramer, "Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule between the British and United States Empires, 1880-1910," *Journal of American History* 88 (2002): 1315-1353
 7. Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012)
 8. William Appleman Williams, *Empire as a Way of Life: An Essay on the Causes and Character of America's Present Predicament, along with a Few Thoughts about an Alternative* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980)
- Bibliographical essays and guides to further reading:
 1. Frank Ninkovich, "The United States and Imperialism," in *A Companion to American Foreign Relations*, ed. Robert D. Schulzinger (London: Blackwell, 2003), 79-102
 2. Paul Kramer, "How Not to Write the History of U.S. Empire" *Diplomatic History* 42:5 (2018): 911-931, last part

Week 9: The Post-War United States

- Mandatory readings:
 1. Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 8-38 (ch. 1: "The empire of liberty: American ideology and foreign interventions")
 2. Paul Kramer, "Shades of Sovereignty: Racialized Power, the United States, and the World," in *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, ed.

Frank Castigliola and Michael Hogan 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 245-270

3. Primary source:

a) W.W. Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth," *Economic History Review* 12:1 (1959): 1-16

- Texts for oral presentation:

1. Julian Go, *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1-28 ("Introduction")
2. Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997)
3. Greg Grandin, "Your Americanism and Mine: Americanism and Anti-Americanism in the Americas," *AHR* 111:4 (2006): 1042-1066
4. George Steinmetz, "Major Contributions to Sociological Theory and Research on Empire, 1830s-Present," in *Sociology and Empire*, ed. idem (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 1-50

Week 10: Postwar Neo-Marxist Theories of Imperialism

- Mandatory reading:

1. Murray Noonan, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism* (London: Tauris, 2017), 123-141 & 159-178 (ch. 4, "Andre Gunder Frank" and ch. 6: "Samir Amin: A Bridge from Neo-Marxism to 'Globalisation-Era' Marxist Theorising")

2. Primary sources:

a) Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," *Monthly Review* 18:4 (1966) 17-31

b) Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (New York, International Publishers 1966 [1965]), Introduction. At <https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nkrumah/neo-colonialism/introduction.htm>

- Texts for oral presentation:

1. Samir Amin, *Neo-colonialism in West Africa* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973)
2. David Fieldhouse, *The West and the Third World: Trade, Colonialism, Dependence, and Development* (Malden: Blackwell, 1999), 1-8 ("Introduction"), 225-253 ("Aid and Development" [after colonialism]), 348-355 ("Some Conclusions")
3. Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 1-23 (ch. 1, "Modernization Theory and American Modernism")
4. Noonan, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism*, 96-122 (ch. 3, "Paul Sweezy and Paul Baran")

Week 11: The Postwar United States, cont'd

- Mandatory readings:

1. Victor Bulmer-Thomas, *Empire in Retreat: The Past, Present, and Future of the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 129-158 ("Institutions")

2. Andrew Preston, "Monsters Everywhere: A Genealogy of National Security," *Diplomatic History* 38:3 (2014): 477-500

3. Barry Posen, "Command of the Commons: The Military Foundation of US Hegemony," *International Security* 28, no. 1 (2003): 5-46

- Texts for oral presentation:

1. Geir Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation?" *Journal of Peace Research* 23 (1986): 263-277

2. Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 1-14 ("Introduction: The Fast Way to Peace")

Week 12: The Post-Cold War Unipolar Moment of the United States Empire

- Mandatory readings:
 1. David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 26-86 (“How America’s Power Grew”)
 2. Andrew Bacevich, “Introduction,” in *The Imperial Tense: Prospects and Problems of American Empire*, ed. idem (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003) ix-xiv
 3. Primary sources:
 - a) George Bush, “America’s Responsibility, America’s Mission,” in *The Imperial Tense*, 5-9
 - b) Peter Bender, “The New Rome,” in *The Imperial Tense*, 81-92
 - c) G. John Ikenberry, “Imperial Ambitions,” in *The Imperial Tense*, 183-201
- Texts for oral presentation:
 1. Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America’s Empire* (London: Penguin, 2004), 1-32
 2. Alex Callinicos, *Imperialism and Global Political Economy* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009), 188-227 (ch. “Imperialism and Global Political Economy today”)
 3. John Reese, *Imperialism and Resistance* (London: Routledge, 2006), 221-240 (ch. 7: “Resisting imperialism”)
 4. Beverly Silver and Giovanni Arrighi, “Polanyi’s ‘Double Movement’: The Belle Époques of British and U.S. Hegemony Compared,” *Politics & Society* 31 (2003): 325-355

Week 13: Globalization and/as Empire, Then and Now

- Mandatory readings:
 1. Martin Thomas & Andrew Thompson, “Empire and Globalisation: from ‘High Imperialism’ to Decolonisation,” *The International History Review* 36:1 (2014): 142-170
 2. Akira Iriye, “Beyond Imperialism: The New Internationalism,” *Daedalus* 134:2 (2005): 108-116
 3. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), xi-xvii (“Preface”), 3-21 (“World Order”), and 22-41 (“Biopolitical Productions”)
- Texts for oral presentation:
 1. Frank Ninkovich, “The New Empire,” in *The Imperial Moment*, ed. Kimberley Kagan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 141-168
 2. A. G. Hopkins, *American Empire: A Global History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 691-729 (Ch. 15: “Dominance and decline in the Postcolonial Age”)

Week 14: Empire Today: A (Declining?) United States and/versus China

- Mandatory readings:
 1. Daniel J. Sargent, “Pax Americana: Sketches for an Undiplomatic History,” *Diplomatic History* 42:3 (2018): 357–376
 2. Fei-Ling Wang, *The China Order: Centralia, World Empire, and the Nature of Chinese Power* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2017), 195-214 (ch. 7, “The China Struggle between Tianxia and Westphalia) and 215-218 (“Epilogue: The Scenarios”)
 3. Primary sources:
 - a) Daniel W. Drezner, Gideon Rachman, and Robert Kagan, „Argument: The Rise or Fall of the American Empire. Tackling the great decline debate” (2012). At <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/02/14/the-rise-or-fall-of-the-american-empire>
 - b) *New York Times* Special: “China Rules” (2018):

- Part 1: “The Land that Failed to Fail.” At <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/18/world/asia/china-rules.html>
 - Part 3: Money and Muscle Pave China’s Way to Global Power. At <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/25/world/asia/china-world-power.html?module=inline>
 - Part 4: “China’s Economy Became No. 2 by Defying No. 1.” At <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/25/world/asia/china-economy-strategy.html>
 - Part 5: “The Road to Confrontation.” At <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/11/25/world/asia/china-us-confrontation.html>
- Texts for oral presentation:
1. Stephen Walt, *The Hell of Good Intentions: America’s Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of U.S. Primacy* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2018), 255-292 (“A better way”)
 2. Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *America Abroad: Why the Sole Superpower Should Not Pull Back from the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1-14 (“Introduction”), 73-88 (“America’s Grand Strategic Choice”), 190-200 (“Conclusion”)