

GLOBAL 260:
Theories of Imperialism
Thursdays 3:30-6:20pm, SSMS 2001

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COURSE DESCRIPTION:

Few terms in the vocabulary of politics are so confused as "imperialism." Does it refer essentially to colonial rule? Or is it primarily an economic phenomenon, connected to the export of capital? What is its relation to state actors, and to nationalism? Which societies, in the past or present, can be properly described as imperialist? This graduate seminar will explore a range of theoretical and empirical debates that bear on the question of what imperialism is, how it functions in relation to capitalism, the state, and class relations, and its relevance as an analytical category in the contemporary global order. Topics for reading and discussion will include debates concerning the historical linkage between racial capitalism and empire, the impact of capitalist development on different societies around the world, whether and how imperialism can be exercised through non-territorial rule after the age of formal empire, and the extent to which the contemporary capitalist system is governed by imperial relations or something more multipolar in form. The seminar aims to deepen our understanding of theoretical approaches to studying imperialism within broadly Marxist and critical traditions of social theory, and second, to examine empirical studies that explicate the relation between these theories and concrete historical, ethnographic, and interdisciplinary social scientific investigations.

QUICK LINKS / JUMP TO:

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REQUIRED TEXTS:

We will be reading substantial portions of the following books. If you like reading from actual paper, I recommend buying the books below, partially because many of these books are from independent radical presses who could use support. Please purchase them from your favorite bookseller. Bookshop.org is a good alternative to Amazon for purchasing books from independent bookstores online. I have also been advised to tell you that copyright law

prohibits you from downloading books from sites such as libgen.is. Do not download free books from libgen.is. It is a very effective site that will give you access to virtually any PDF or Epub version of these books at no cost!

Books from which we will be reading substantial portions:

- Arboleda, Martin. 2020. *Planetary Mine: Territories of Extraction Under Late Capitalism*. pp. 1-74.
- Suwandi, Intan. 2019. *Value Chains: The New Economic Imperialism*. London: Monthly Review Press.
- Arrighi, Giovanni. 2007. *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*. London and New York: Verso Press. pp. 309-378
- Ho-fung Hung. 2022. *Clash of Empires*. Cambridge University Press (Global China Series)
- Mies, Maria. 2014 [1986]. *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*. London: Zed Books

READINGS:

All readings are available through the hyperlinks on this syllabus. Please check the [live syllabus](#) carefully before starting your readings each week; as the quarter moves along, I may shorten or change readings, but will always make sure to do so by each Friday morning.

Additional sources may be of interest or relevant to your specific research topics and chosen approaches, so they are included at the end of each week and at the end of the syllabus for your reference and their potential utility in formulating further research.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING:

- Class participation and presentation of readings: 20%
- Reading responses: 30%
- Final Paper: 50%

1. Class Participation (20% total)

- a. As this is a seminar course, a main requirement is thoughtful participation during all classes. Students are expected to not only attend all classes having completed all weekly readings, but set aside time to think through them before coming to class. I hope this will be a baseline commitment of graduate students.
- b. Most of your work involves reading academic books and articles. Reading all the material is essential. Before you plunge in, I strongly recommend reading Paul N. Edwards, "[How to Read a Book](#)." Even the most accomplished and experienced students, postdocs, and faculty find this guide useful for getting through large amounts of reading in limited amounts of time.
- c. PhD students in the humanities and social sciences are taught to critique. That is a crucial skill. But you should not conflate critique with criticism. Critique represents serious engagement, while criticism all too often involves demolition. Make every effort to engage with readings on their own terms. What did the author intend? Who is their audience? What value can you find in their arguments? Is the evidence they present persuasive -- does it support these arguments? Would additional (or different) evidence have produced a different argument?

Presentation of Class Readings

- a. Once in the quarter, in partnership with another student, you will present the week's readings to class. Students will sign up for their presentation during the first class meeting.
- b. Start by preparing a presentation that introduces the readings and places them in conversation with each other. These prefatory remarks should be aimed at opening up questions or topics for discussion. These presentations should *not* aim merely at summary, but should rather introduce major themes, common confusions or questions, or background to the contexts or authors discussed. The bulk of the presentation should be focused on the reactions you had to ideas you see as particularly profound, interesting, or unconvincing in the readings, and pull out common themes to introduce a few questions for class discussion.
- c. Do a little research on the author(s). What's their disciplinary background? What else have they published? Look for information that illuminates the arguments you read, and that helps to situate them relative to other literature. You could look at reviews of some of the suggested readings to help you with this task, or use Edwards's techniques to browse through a few of them.
- d. Please work collaboratively with your presentation partner to split the readings into two (or three or four) groupings so that your presentations will be complementary. On your presentation week, please split the reading load of your weekly reading memo (see below) in half, addressing the readings you will be presenting. Please bring copies of both handouts to the class as well as post it on Canvas.
- e. At the beginning of that class session or section, working in tandem, please present the readings for discussion for 20 minutes (total for both presenters). You might divide this by presenting background (5-7 min) and elaborating on how you understood these author's main arguments, ending by posing some discussion questions (13-15 min). You can either go one after the other or split the presentation by section - it's up to you how you want to structure this. These presentations should be delivered without reading from a text (a skill you should all be practicing!). All presenters should participate equally – you can do so by splitting up the readings or by taking one section of the presentation each.

2. *Reading Response memos* (30%)

Due by 12pm the day of class on Canvas.

- a. Each week, please write a short, 1-2 page memo that summarizes the reading's main positions and points. Of the 10 weeks of the quarter, our first meeting is excluded, and you may skip three other weeks, i.e. you should turn in five memos in total and it is up to you to choose which weeks you would like to take a break.
- b. Please use these memos as a way to actively take notes on the readings. These are low stakes writing assignments, meant to allow you to have a nice summary of these literatures at the end of the course. The memo should try to encapsulate in a pithy fashion, the following elements:
 - i. What does this group of readings share in common? If you were writing a literature review, how would you summarize the main theoretical concerns of this group of readings, and why they are important?

- ii. A short 1-2 line thesis statement encapsulating the main argument of each reading. This thesis should encapsulate what the author is arguing about imperialism.
- iii. Accompanying notes of the key points of each reading, e.g. who they are arguing against, how their arguments depart from other theorists, etc. - about one short paragraph per reading
- iv. If relevant, the methods by which they go about making this argument (e.g. structuralist marxism; articulation approach; *longue durée*) and why this method is important
- v. If space, 1-2 questions.
- vi. I encourage you to take active notes as you read and to practice summary: often it's easier to track a reading by writing down important quotations and burrowing into the argument at the sentence level. This is important and essential. However, it's easy to miss the forest for the trees if you are not actively reading to suss the author's overall argument, so read actively and practice summary.
- vii. Try to keep these memos to 1 page, but it's okay to go to 2. It should not exceed that length.

3. *Research Paper* (50%)

Final paper due June 15th at 5pm. Please email your paper to me in a word or google document. 3500-4000 (max) words (not including references).

- Please write a substantial literature review or concept formulation paper (3500-4000 words max) answering the question: "what is the relevance of imperialism today?" Your review should try to help us arrive at a better understanding of the concept, as well as its limitations or possible applications to underexplored domains.
- As many of the readings will demonstrate, a literature review of this sort does not only summarize pre-existing positions; it rather makes an effort to clarify their stakes, identify holes and gaps in the theory, theorize the confusion inherent in them in order to arrive at a better understanding, or to propose an underemphasized element of the literature in order to pull out an important missing dimension.
- There are three approaches you might take with this paper.
 - a. Imperialism and X: You may choose a specific angle or theme and write a literature review exploring how one might construct a theory of, e.g. the intersections of race and empire / sexuality and empire / non-western theorizations of imperialism / the debates over primitive accumulation / different positions on the national vs. international dimensions of their readings of Marx's law of value, etc.
 - b. Encyclopedia entry: You may choose to write a paper that is more birds-eye in scope, i.e. "What the hell is imperialism and why do we still not have an answer to this question"? If you take this broad overview approach, imagine you are writing an Encyclopedia entry to the term "imperialism" in a given handbook, e.g. in the Handbook of Marxism, or in the Handbook of Global Studies, or the Handbook of literary studies. Depending on which handbook you choose, the entry should try to speak directly to the relation of the question of imperialism to that chosen field and engage authors in that field.

- c. **Bringing imperialism to a discipline:** Engage a theory of imperialism and assess its usefulness for a research discipline or region, critically engaging how scholars have used this term in their discipline or field, offering an argument from what we might gain or lose from a deeper engagement with this theory in your field. For example: "Why does the field of Asian American Studies lack a theorization of imperialism, and how does this absence affect the field's theoretical and political aims?"
- d. **Prospectus:** If your dissertation prospectus substantially engages these themes, You may choose to use this opportunity to compose a review essay assessing how we should understand imperialism in the contemporary era in relation to your dissertation research.
- There is great room for pursuing your own interests, but at minimum the research paper should lay out your conceptualization of what imperialism is, based on a reading of how it has shifted conceptually over time, and engage significantly with theories covered in this course.

Research proposal + initial bibliography

Due printed, in class, Week 6, and uploaded to Canvas by the end of the day

Please prepare a research paragraph that does not exceed one page, and which briefly outlines the contours of your final project. Your paragraph should try to address the following questions:

- o Question and Issue: What are you proposing to investigate, and why do you think this is important?
- o Hypotheses and Tentative Argument: What are potential answers to this question, and which seems likely to prove most useful/insightful/revealing/correct (pick your epistemological stance)?
- o What sets of literatures on imperialism will you expect to engage in your paper?

IMPORTANT DATES

- Staggered: Reading memos, five in total
- Staggered: 1 class presentation
- Week 6: Research proposal due in class
- June 15th: Final paper due

COURSE READINGS

Please read all readings in the order that they appear on the syllabus.

Topics of Sessions

1. What is imperialism?
2. Marx on imperialism and colonialism
3. Formal imperialism: Classical theories
4. Dependency and World Systems Theory
5. American Empire as Capitalist Imperialism: New theories Post-9/11
6. Breaking with Economism: Race and Imperialism
7. Break

8. Patriarchal Accumulation and Empire
9. Finance and Commercial Capitalism
10. Non-Western Imperialisms? China, Japan, and the BRICs
11. Delinking, Degrowth, and Anti-Imperial Struggle

Week 1 April 6: What is Imperialism? An introduction

Required:

1. David Harvey, John Smith, Patrick Bond, Adam Mayer, Walter Daum, Andy Higginbottom, Esteban Mora, Lee Wengraf, and James Parisot. 2018. Debates over contemporary imperialism. 12 posts from "David Harvey Denies Imperialism" to "The Real History of Imperialism: A Comment on Recent Debates" *Review of African Political Economy*, <https://roape.net/category/imperialism-in-the-21st-century/>

Week 2 April 13: What did Marx say about imperialism and colonialism?

Presenters:

Required:

1. Marx, Karl. 1976 [1867]. *Capital Vol. 1*. Preface to the first edition, and Chapters 25, 26, and 33: "The General Law of Capitalist Accumulation," "So-Called Primitive Accumulation," and "The Modern Theory of Colonization. London: Penguin Classics. P. 89-93, 762-876, 931-940. [127 pages] Also available on Marxists.org
2. Marx, Karl. 1976 [1863-78]. *Capital Vol. 2*. Chap. 21, "Accumulation and Reproduction on an Expanded Scale" pp. 565-599, or [at Marxists.org](http://Marxists.org) [34 pages]
3. Anderson, Kevin. (2016). [*Marx at the Margins: Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*](#). Chapters 1 and 5, "Colonial Encounters in the 1850s" and "From the *Grundrisse* to *Capital*." Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 9-41; 154-195 [73 pages]
4. Marx, Karl. 1981 [1863-83]. *Capital Vol 3*. Part Three "The Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit to Fall" Chapters 14 & 15: "Counteracting Factors" and "Development of the Law's Internal Contradictions." London: Penguin Classics. P. 338-375. [37 pages] Also available on Marxists.org

Supplementary readings:

- Siegel, Tilla. Politics and Economics in the Capitalist World Market: Methodological Problems of Marxist Analysis. *International Journal of Sociology* 1984 (Spring) 14:1, pp. 1-154
- Bagchi, Amiya. 2019. Colonialist Primitive Accumulation, *Journal of Labor and Society*, 2, 717-732.
- Amin, S. 1972. Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa, *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10(4), 503-524.
- George L Henderson, "Value: The Many-Headed Hydra," *Antipode*, 36(3), 2004: 445-460.
- Shivji, I. 2009. Accumulation in an African Periphery. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota. 26-54
- Patnaik, P. 2017. The Concept of Primitive Accumulation of Capital, *Marxist*, 33(4).
- Moyo, S., P. Yeros & P. Jha. 2012, Imperialism and Primitive Accumulation: Notes on the New Scramble for Africa, *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy*, 1(2), 181-203.

- Patnaik, U. 2020. Looking Back at Karl Marx's Analysis of Capitalism in the Context of Colonialism. In: Jha, P., P. Yeros & W. Chambati (Eds.), *Rethinking the Social Sciences with Sam Moyo* (pp. 267–275). New Delhi: Tulika Books.
- Magdoff, Harry. 2013. "Primitive Accumulation and Imperialism" *Monthly Review*. <https://monthlyreview.org/2013/10/01/primitive-accumulation-and-imperialism/>
- Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*. (trans. Martin Nicolaus). New York: Vintage Books, 1973. First three sections of Introduction (Notebook M), titled "(1) Production in general, (2) General relation between production, distribution, exchange and consumption, (3) The method of political economy," pp 83-111, and selections from "The Chapter on Money," pp. 136-147, 156-163, 165-168. (Available on-line, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1857/grundrisse/index.htm>).
- Karl Marx, Chapters 8-15, and 17-18, in *Capital Vol. 1*.
- Timothy Mitchell, "The Object of Development," "Dreamland," in *Rule of Experts*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002: pp. 209-243, pp. 272-303.
- Gayatri Spivak, "Scattered Speculations on the Question of Value," *Diacritics* 15(4), 1985: 73-92.
- Karl Marx, *Value, Price and Profit*, an address delivered June 1865 at two sittings of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association. Read particularly sections VI, "Value and labour" and VII, "Labouring power," as well as Sections VIII, "Production of Surplus Value," through section XII, "General Relation of Profits, Wages and Prices." In order to understand the way he is distinguishing his theory of value from then-influential conceptions, you should probably also skim the first five sections. (The entire pamphlet is only 55 pages.) (Available on-line [here](#).) (This very readable statement represents the core arguments of *Capital, Volume I*. Marx, himself, is claimed to have said that only by the time of this presentation had he fully worked out his theory.)
- Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. Volume 1: The Process of Capitalist Production*. (ed. Frederick Engels). New York: International Publishers, 1967. Read Part I, "Commodities and Money," pp. 35-145.

Week 3 April 20: Formal imperialism: Classical theories

Presenters:

Required:

1. Hobson, J.A. *Imperialism: A Study*, 1902. Part I.II, IV, & VI "The Commercial Value," "Economic Parasites" and "The Economic Taproot"
2. Hilferding, Rudolf. *Finance Capital: A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development*, 1910, chapter 22.
3. Luxemburg, Rosa. 2003 [1913]. *The Accumulation of Capital*. Chapters 25 & 26, "Contradictions within the Diagram of Enlarged Reproduction" and "The Reproduction of Capital and Its Social Setting." New York: Routledge Classics. P. 307-347 [40 pages] Also available on Marxists.org
4. Kautsky, Karl. September 1914. "[Ultra-imperialism](#)."
5. Du Bois, WEB. 1915. "[The African Roots of War](#)" *The Atlantic Monthly*, May 1915
6. Lenin, Vladimir. 1916. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. [95 pages: Focus on Chapters I-IV, VI-X]
7. Gallagher, John and Robinson, R. 1953. "[The Imperialism of Free Trade](#)" *The Economic History Review* VI:1, pp. 1-15 [14 pages]

Supplementary:

- Salar Mohandesi. 2018. "The Specificity of Imperialism" *Viewpoint Magazine*. <https://viewpointmag.com/2018/02/01/the-specificity-of-imperialism> [online; 13,000 words - a good example of a field statement]
- Kiernan, VG. 1995. *Imperialism and Its Contradictions*, ed. Kaye. New York: Routledge.
- Kiernan, VG. 1975 [*Marxism and Imperialism*](#). Edward Arnold Press
- Bagchi, A. 1983. "Towards a Correct Reading of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism" *Economic and Political Weekly* 18:31 (July). pp. 2-12
- Smith, John. Ch. 8 "Imperialism and the Law of Value" in his *Imperialism in the Twentieth Century*. London: Monthly Review Press.
- Chatterjee, Choi. 2017. "Imperial Subjects in the Soviet Union: M.N. Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, and Re-Thinking Freedom and Authoritarianism" *Journal of Contemporary History* 52:4 (October), pp. 913-934
- Mao Tse-tung. "[On Practice: On the Relation Between Knowledge and Practice, Between Knowing and Doing](#)." July 1937.
- Terry Martin. 2001. "An Affirmative Action Empire: The Soviet Union as the Highest Form of Imperialism," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, 67-90. Edited by Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001.

Week 4 April 27: Dependency Theory

Presenters:

Required:

1. Frank, Andre Gunder. 1966. "[The Development of Underdevelopment](#)," *Monthly Review* 18, no. 4 (September 1966): 17-31. [14 pages]
2. Cardoso, Fernando Henrique. 1977. "[The Consumption of Dependency Theory in the United States](#)" *Latin American Research Review*, Vol 12:3 , 1977 , pp. 7 - 24 [17 pages]
3. Rodney, Walter. 2022. Chap. 4 "Marxism as a Third World Ideology" and Chap. 8, "Problems of Third World Development" in In Rodney W, eds. Rodney A, Rodney P, Mabie B and Benjamin J, [Decolonial Marxism: Essays from the Pan-African Revolution](#), pp. 22-60 & 193-224 [69 short e-book pages]
4. Amin, Samir. 1977. Chap. 5 "The Crisis of Imperialism" and Chap. 6 "International Trade and Imperialism in his [Imperialism and Unequal Development](#). New York: Monthly Review. Pp. 103-137 [34 pages]
5. Patnaik, Utsa and Patnaik, Prabhat. 2017. [A Theory of Imperialism](#). Chs. 1 "Introduction", 2 "The Threat of increasing Supply Price," (just grasp the main argument, p. 8-17, and skim the rest of the chapter) 4, "The Reserve Army", 5, "Capitalism, Poverty and Inequality" and David Harvey's Commentary; pp. 1-17, 47-77, 154-174. [66 pages]

Supplementary:

- Prebisch, Raúl. 1950. "[The Economic Development of Latin America and its Principal Problems](#)." *Economic Bulletin for Latin America*, New York: United Nations. p. 1-22 [22 pages] - skim for the main argument about terms of trade; don't worry about the math
- Love, Joseph. 1980. "[Raúl Prebisch and the Origins of the Doctrine of Unequal Exchange](#)" *Latin American Research Review* 15:3 pp. 45-72

- [Millenials are Killing Capitalism podcast episode on Rodney's Decolonial Marxism](#)
- Kvangraven, Ingrid Harvold. 2022. "[Beyond Eurocentrism](#)" *Aeon Magazine*. [A quick and readable summary of Amin's oeuvre and contributions to dependency theory]
- Kvangraven, Ingrid Harvold. 2020. "[Beyond the Stereotype: Restating the Relevance of the Dependency Research Programme](#)" *Development and Change* 52:1, 76-112.
- Bashir Abu-Manneh. "The Illusions of Empire." *Monthly Review* Vol. 56:2 (June 2004): 31-47.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16, 1974: pp. 387-415. [29 pages]
- Ocampo, Jose Antonio. "[Raúl Prebisch and the development agenda at the dawn of the twenty-first century](#)" *CEPAL Review* 75: Dec 2001
- Foster, John Bellamy. 2007. "[The Imperialist World System](#)" *Monthly Review*.
- Amin, Samir. 1977. "The End of A Debate" *Imperialism and Unequal Development*. New York: Monthly Review Press
- Sanyal, Kalyan. 2007. *Rethinking Capitalist Development: Primitive Accumulation, Governmentality, and Postcolonial Capitalism*. Mumbai: Routledge
- Hickel, J., D. Sullivan & H. Zoomkawala. 2021. "Plunder in the Post-Colonial Era: Quantifying Drain from the Global South Through Unequal Exchange," 1960–2018, *New Political Economy*, 1–19.
- Hickel, J., C. Dorninger, H. Wieland & I. Suwandi (2002). Imperialist Appropriation in the World Economy: Drain from the Global South through Unequal Exchange, 1990–2015, *Global Environmental Change*, 73, 1–13.
- Ricci, A. (2019). Unequal Exchange in the Age of Globalization, *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 51(2), 225–245.
- Rice, J. (2007). Ecological Unequal Exchange: International Trade and Uneven Utilization of Environmental Space in the World System, *Social Forces*, 85(3), 1369–92.
- Arghiri Emmanuel, *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade* (trans. B. Pearce), New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972. (For some years after its publication much read and actively discussed, but now largely dismissed and disparaged, this provides an orthodox Marxist theory of value and inequality at the global level. It's worthy of your awareness.)

Week 5 May 4: American Empire and Capitalist Imperialism: New theories Post-9/11

Required:

Theory:

1. Harvey, David. 2004. "[The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession](#)" *The Socialist Register* 40. Pp. 63-83 [20 pages]
2. Brenner, Robert. 2006. "[What Is, and What Is Not, Imperialism?](#)" *Historical Materialism* 14:4 pp. 79-105 [26 pages]
3. Wood, Ellen Meiksins. 2003. Intro, Ch 1 "The Detachment of Economic Power," and "Chap 7 ""Surplus Imperialism, War Without End"" in her [The Empire of Capital](#), pp. 1-25, 143-168 [49 pages]
4. Panitch, Leo and Sam Gindin. 2005 "[Superintending Global Capital](#)" *New Left Review* 35: (Sept Oct): 101-123 [21 pages]
5. Silver, Beverly and Giovanni Arrighi, "[The End of the Long Twentieth Century](#)," in eds. Calhoun and Derluquian, *Business as Usual: The Roots of the Global Financial Meltdown*. [16 pages] (it may be useful to read a review of Arrighi's magnum opus *The Long Twentieth Century* such as [this one](#) to get some context for the method of longue-duree and the broader argument this article sits within).

6. (if you have time) Arrighi, Giovanni. Chap. 4 "The Long Twentieth Century" in his *The Long Twentieth Century*. Pp. 247-335 [88 pages]

Supplementary

- Panitch, Leo and Sam Gindin. 2004. "[Global Capitalism and American Empire](#)" *Socialist Register*: 2-33 [31 pages]
- Baran, Paul A. & Sweezy, Paul M. 1966. *Monopoly Capital: An essay on the American economic and social order*. New York: Monthly Review Press
- Paul Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, "Notes on the Theory of Imperialism," *Monthly Review*, 17(10), March 1966.
- Freddy Perlman. 1984. *The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism*. PM Press.
- Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe, eds., 2003. *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*. Longmans, 1972.
- Gopal Balakrishnan (ed.), *Debating Empire*. London and New York: Verso, 2003.
- David F. Ruccio, 2003 "Globalization and Imperialism," *Rethinking Marxism*, 15(1), 2003: 75-94.
- Dunga Gustavo and Juan Chingo, 2009. "[Empire or Imperialism? A Debate with Giovanni Arrighi's 'Long Twentieth Century'](#)" *International Strategy*

Week 6 May 11: Breaking with Economism: Racial Capitalism & the Race / Class Debate

Presenters:

Required:

1. Hall, Stuart. 2021 [1980] "[Race, Articulation, and Societies structured in Dominance](#)" in Hall, eds. Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*. pp. 195-245 [50 pages]
2. Chen, Chris. 2015. "[The Limit Point of Capitalist Equality](#)" *Endnotes* 3.
3. Cedric J. Robinson. 2000 [1983] *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* Chapel Hill: UNC Press. [Intro, Ch 1; pp. 1-5, 9-28](#) [24 pages]
4. Julian Go, "[Three Tensions in the Theory of Racial Capitalism](#)," *Sociological Theory* 39:1 pp. 38-47 [10 pages]
5. Newton, Huey. 1971. "[Intercommunalism](#)" in *The Huey Newton Reader*. pp. 179-199 [20 pages]

Supplementary:

- Conroy, William. 2022 "[Race, Capitalism, and the Necessity / Contingency Debate](#)" *Theory, Culture & Society* 1:19
- Alami, Ilias. "Racial Capitalism, Uneven Development, and the abstractive powers of race and money" *forthcoming* [7 pages]
- Singh, Nikhil. 2016. On Race, Violence and So-Called Primitive Accumulation. *Social Text* 128. Vol 34. No. 3. pp. 27-43 [16 pages]
- Santiago-Valles, Kelvin. 2005. "Racially subordinate labour within global contexts: Robinson and Hopkins re-examined" *Race & Class* 47:2. pp. 54-70
- Bledsoe, Adam and Willie Wright. "The anti-Blackness of global capital" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* Vol 37:1
- Virdee, S. 2019. Racialized capitalism: An account of its contested origins and consolidation. *The Sociological Review* 67:1, pp. 3-27 [24 pages]

- Melamed, Jodi. "Racial Capitalism," *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2015): 76–85. [19 pages]
- Iyko Day. 2016. *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press. Introduction, pp. 1-40 [39 pages]
- Yousuf Al-Bulushi. 2020. "Thinking racial capitalism and black radicalism from Africa: An intellectual biography of Cedric Robinson's world-system." *Geoforum* online first. [11 pages of small font; 10,000 words]
- Bhandar, Brenna and Alberto Toscano. 2015. "Race, Real Estate and Real Abstraction" *Radical Philosophy* 194 (Nov / Dec 2015): *Property, Power, Law*: pp. 8-17 [9 pages]
- Burden-Stelly, Charisse. 2020. "Some Theoretical Insights On Modern US Racial Capitalism" *Monthly Review*.
- Gargi Bhattacharya, "Social Reproduction: Gender, Racism, Nature" in *Rethinking Racial Capitalism*. London: Rowman & Littlefield
- Singh, Nikhil Pal. 2017. Ch. 2 "From War Capitalism to Race War" in *Race and America's Long War*. LA: UC Press.
- Callinicos, Alex. 1992. "Race and Class" *International Socialism* 2:55 Summer 1992. (A critique of Cedric Robinson's *Black Marxism* and an attempt to construct a Marxist theory of racism)
- Zachariah Mampilly. 2022. "[Race and the American Century](#)" *Foreign Affairs*
- Michael McIntyre, "Race, Surplus Population and the Marxist Theory of Imperialism," *Antipode*, 2011, 43(5), 2011: 1489-1515
- Manning Marable, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America: Problems in Race, Political Economy, and Society* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2015 [1983]): 47–115.
- Michael Ralph and Maya Singhal, "Racial Capitalism," *Theory and Society* 48, no. 6 (2019): 851–81.
- Mintz S. 1978. Was the plantation slave a proletarian? *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 2(1): 81-98.
- Singh NP and Clover J (2018) [The blindspot revisited](#). Verso Blog
- Wood EM. 2002. [Class, race, and capitalism](#).

Week 7 May 18: Patriarchal Accumulation

Presenter:

1. Mies, Maria. 2014 [1986] Chap. 3 & 4, "Colonization and Housewifization" and "Housewifization International: Women and the New International Division of Labor" in [Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale](#). London: Zed Books pp. 74-144 [70 pages]
2. Fraser, Nancy. 2016. "[Contradictions of Capital and Care](#)" *NLR* [16 pages]
3. Boyce Davies, Carol. Introduction (optional) and chapt. 1 "Womens' Rights / Workers' Rights / Anti-Imperialism" in her *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*. Durham: Duke UP pp. 1-28 (optional) and 29-68 [39 pages]

Supplementary:

- Jayawardena, K. 1986. *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. London: Zed Books
- Boyce Davies, Carol. Introduction (optional) and chapt. 1 "Womens' Rights / Workers' Rights / Anti-Imperialism" in her *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*. Durham: Duke UP pp. 1-28 (optional) and 29-68 [39 pages]
- Lydia Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko. "On the Question of Women's Liberation" He-Yin Zhen (1907)," "On Feminist Antimilitarism" in *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory*, edited by Lydia Liu, et al. New York: Columbia University Press 2013.

- Serene J. Khader. "Is Universalism the Cause of Feminist Complicity in Imperialism?" *Social Philosophy Today* 35 (2019): 21-37.
- Hennessy, R. 2006. Returning to reproduction queerly: sex, labor, need. *Rethinking Marxism* 18 (3): 387–395.
- Spivak, G. (1985). Scattered speculations on the question of value. *Diacritics* 15 (4): 73–93.
- Chitty, Christopher. 2020. *Sexual Hegemony: Statecraft, Sodomy, and Capital in the Rise of the World System*. Ed. Max Fox. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Bannerji, H. 2001. Pygmalion nation: towards a critique of subaltern studies and the 'resolution of the woman question. In: *Of Property and Propriety: The Role of Gender and Class in Imperialism and Nationalism* (eds. H. Bannerjee, S. Mojab and J. Whitehead), 34–84. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Parrenas, R. 2008. *The Force of Domesticity*. New York: New York University Press.
- Spivak, G. 1985. Scattered speculations on the question of value. *Diacritics* 15 (4): 73–93. Mariarosa Dalla Costa and Selma James. *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community* (Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1972)
- Silvia Federici, "Introduction," *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation* (Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 2004), 11-19
- Leopoldina Fortunati. *The Arcane of Reproduction*
- Silvia Federici. *Revolution At Point Zero*
- Mariarosa Dalla Costa "Development and Reproduction"
- Caffentzis – On the Notion of a Crisis of Social Reproduction
- Michael Hardt, "Affective Labor" boundary (1999)
- Dalla Costa (ed). *Women, Development and Labour Reproduction: Issues of Struggles and Movements*
- A good syllabus on Feminism and Imperialism (not only focused on Marxist theories is [here](#))

Week 8 May 25: Finance and Supply Chain Imperialism

Presenters:

Required:

1. Alami, Ilias. 2019. Global finance capital and third world debt. In I. Ness & Z. Cope (Eds.), *The Palgrave encyclopedia of imperialism and anti-imperialism*. Houndmills and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 2-17 [15 pages]
2. Alami, Ilias and Vincent Guermond. "The Color of Money at the Financial Frontier" *RIPE* online first. 2-20 [18 pages]
3. Smith, John. 2016. Chapter 2 (optional) "Outsourcing, or the Globalization of Production," and 7 (required), "Global Labor Arbitrage: The Key Driver of the Globalization of Production" in his *Imperialism in the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Monthly Review Press. Pp. 39-67 (optional, 28pp); 187-223. [36 pages]
4. Arboleda, Martin. 2020. Ch. 1 and 2, "The Mine as Transnational Infrastructure" and "Resource Imperialism After the West" in his *Planetary Mine: Territories of Extraction Under Late Capitalism*. pp. 1-74 [73 pages]
5. Suwandi, Intan. 2019. Chap. 2 and 3, "Labor-Value Commodity Chains" and "Flexibility and Systematic Rationalization" in *Value Chains: The New Economic Imperialism*. London: Monthly Review Press. pp. 42-97 [55 pages]
6. Tsing, Anna. 2009 "Supply Chains and the Human Condition" *Rethinking Marxism* 21:2. pp. 148-176 [28 pages]

Supplementary

- Amin, Samir. *Modern Imperialism, Monopoly Finance Capital, and Marx's Law of Value*. Monthly Review Press.
- Alami, Ilias, Alves C, Bonizzi B, Kaltenbrunner A, Koddenbrock K, Kvangraven I, and Powell J. "International financial subordination: a critical research agenda". *Review of International Political Economy*
- Suwandi, Intan. 2018 *Value Chains: The New Economic Imperialism*. Monthly Review Press.
- Arboleda, M. 2017. On the alienated violence of money: Finance capital, value, and the making of monstrous territories. *New Geographies* 9: Posthuman, 95–101.
- Banaji, Jairus. 2020. *A Brief History of Commercial Capitalism*. New York: Haymarket Books
- Bracking, Sarah. 2009. *Money and Power: Great Predators in the POLitical Economy of Development*. Pluto Press.
- Vasudevan, R. 2008. Finance, imperialism and the hegemony of the dollar. *Monthly Review*, 59:11.
- Milios, J., & Sotiropoulos, D. 2009. [*Rethinking imperialism: A study of capitalist rule*](#). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Marazzi, C. 1996. Money in the world crisis: The new basis of capitalist power. In W. Bonefeld & J. Holloway (Eds.), *Global capital, national state and the politics of money* (pp. 69–91). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McNally, D. 2014. The blood of the commonwealth: War, the state and the making of world-money. *Historical Materialism*, 22(2), 3–32
- Saad Filho, A., & Tomkinson, J. K. 2017. Walking the tightrope: UNCTAD, development and finance-driven globalisation. *Development and Change*, 48, 1168–1181, Forum.
- Norfield, Tony. 2017. *The City: London and the Global Power of Finance*. London: Verso Books
- Paineira, J. P. 2012. Developing countries in the era of financialisation: From deficit accumulation to reserve accumulation. In C. Lapavistas (Ed.), *Financialisation in crisis*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lapavistas, C. (2013). *Profiting without producing: How finance exploits us all*. London: Verso Books.
- Maher, Steve and Scott Aquanno. 2022. "The New Finance Capital: Corporate Governance, Financial Power, and the State" *Critical Sociology* 48:1 pp. 55-72
- Werner Bonefeld, "Debating abstract labour," *Capital & Class*, 35 (3), 2011: 475-479.
- Bill Lucarelli, "Marxian theories of money, credit and crisis," *Capital & Class*, 34 (2), 2010: 199-214.

Week 9 June 1: Is Imperialism Western?

Required:

1. Arboleda, Martin. 2020. Ch. 2, "Resource Imperialism After the West" in his [*Planetary Mine: Territories of Extraction Under Late Capitalism*](#).
2. Ho-fung Hung. 2022. [*Clash of Empires*](#). Cambridge University Press (Global China Series). pp. 1-67. [66 pages]
3. Samir Amin. 2013. "[China 2013](#)" *Monthly Review*
4. Friedman, Eli. 2020 "[Why China is Capitalist](#)." *Spectre Journal*.
5. Smith, Richard. 2020. "[Why China Isn't Capitalist \(Despite the Pink Ferraris\)](#)". *Spectre Journal*
6. Minqi Li. 2021. "[China: Imperialism or Semi-Periphery?](#) *Monthly Review*.
7. Li, Promise. 2023. "[Against Multipolar Imperialism](#): Toward Socialist Multipolarity" *Spectre* (Jan 6).

8. Francesco Macheda 2020. "[Samir Amin in Beijing: Delving into China's delinking trap](#)"
9. Nathan Sperber. 2023 "[Forecasting China?](#)" Sidecar.

Supplementary:

- Arrighi, Giovanni. 2007. Chap. 11 and 12, "States, Markets, and Capitalism, East and West" and "The Origins and Dynamics of China's Ascent" in his *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century* London and New York: Verso Press. pp. 309-378 [69 pages]
- Marini, Ruy Mauro. 1965. "Brazilian Interdependence and imperialist integration" *Monthly review* 17:7 pp 14-24
- Ho-Fung Hung. 2020. "The US–China Rivalry Is About Capitalist Competition," *Jacobin*, July 11, 2020.
- Lydia Liu, Rebecca Karl, and Dorothy Ko. "On the Question of Women's Liberation" He-Yin Zhen (1907)," "On Feminist Antimilitarism" in *The Birth of Chinese Feminism: Essential Texts in Transnational Theory*, edited by Lydia Liu, et al. New York: Columbia University Press 2013
- Wen Liu, Ana Huang, Jingchao Ma. "II. Young activists, new movements: Contemporary Chinese queer feminism and transnational genealogies." *Feminism & Psychology* Vol. 25:1 (2015): 11–17.
- Nicola Spakowski. "Socialist Feminism in Postsocialist China." *Positions: Asia Critique* 26: 4 (November 2018): 561-592.
- Duara, Prasenjit. *The Crisis of Global Modernity: Asian Traditions and a Sustainable Future*. Cambridge University Press

Week 10 June 8:

Delinking, Degrowth, and the climate question

- Samir Amin. 1990 [1985]. Chap 1 "The Worldwide Expansion of Capitalism" and Chap. 2 "The Problematic of Delinking" in *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World*. London: Zed Books. Pp. 1-80 [79 pages]
- Max Ajl. 2023 "[Theories of Political Ecology: Monopoly Capital Against People and the Planet](#)" *Agrarian South* 12:1

Supplementary:

- Kohei Saito. 2023. *Marx in the Anthropocene* Cambridge University Press
- Max Ajl. 2021 *A People's Green New Deal*. Pluto Press.
- Christian Dorninger et al. 2021. "[Global patterns of ecologically unequal exchange: Implications for sustainability in the 21st century](#)" *Ecological Economics* 179
- For an excellent syllabus on late neocolonialism from the Agrarian South network, see [here](#)

COURSE POLICIES

Use of Laptops, Tablets and Phones: Laptops or tablets are allowed during class to reference readings, participate in activities, or take notes. Cell phones must be silenced and out of sight during class. If I see your cell phone during class time, I will ask you to please put it away. You are expected to be mentally present during class time. Communication devices/modes should be off. Only use your laptop to refer to the readings. We can all tell when you're using it for other purposes: it's not only rude, but also distracting. I will call you out if I get the sense that you're off in the fourth dimension.

Food and Drink: You are welcome to drink water or other non-alcoholic beverages during class, preferably in a bottle with a lid. There will be a brief break in the middle of each seminar, after about an hour, during which you are welcome to eat snacks.

Academic Integrity: Plagiarism, cheating, turning in others' work as your own, and any other forms of academic dishonesty are absolutely not tolerated and will be subject to consequences in line with university regulations. Academic dishonesty devalues the learning experience and the value of UCSB degrees not only for offenders, but for the whole community. It is your responsibility to know the campus's rules regarding academic integrity, so please read the UCSB Student's Guide to Academic Integrity here:

<https://judicialaffairs.sa.ucsb.edu/CMSMedia/Documents/academicintegflyer.pdf>.

This guide to academic citations may also be helpful:

<https://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/lipson/honestcollege/citationfaq.html>.

Excuses and Extensions: My philosophy on deadlines is reciprocal professionalism. I expect to receive your work on time, and I commit to returning your work promptly. I expect you to initiate a conversation with me if you have issues with turning work in on time. Please communicate with me in a professional manner if you are unable to meet a deadline. I will not approve deadlines that are sought less than 24 hours before a paper is due.

Students with Disabilities: UCSB is committed to providing full participation and access for students with disabilities. If you plan to request accommodations, please contact the Disabled Students Program (<https://dsp.sa.ucsb.edu/>). They can be reached by visiting the Student Resource Building, Room 2120, by emailing DSP.Help@sa.ucsb.edu, or by phone (805.893.2668) or fax (805.893.7127).

Policy on Children in Class: UCSB does not currently have a policy on children in the classroom, but the policies here reflect my own commitments to making the classroom accessible for students who are parents or guardians.

1. All exclusively breastfeeding babies are welcome in class as often as is necessary.
2. For older children and babies, if disruptions in childcare put parents or guardians in the position of having to miss class or stay home with a child, it is perfectly acceptable to occasionally bring a child to class to cover gaps in childcare. You do not need to ask for permission.
3. If you do bring a baby or older child to class, I ask that you please sit closer to the door, so that if your child needs special attention or is disrupting learning for other students, you can quickly step outside until their needs have been met.

Additional Sources

Imperialism and Class Analysis:

- Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Chapter 1, "Bourgeois and Proletarians" (Available on-line, <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/ch01.htm>.)
- Michael Barrett Brown. *The Economics of Imperialism*. Penguin books.
- John Milios, "Social Classes in Classical and Marxist Political Economy," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 59(2), 2000: 283-302. (Very informative summary overview.)
- William Robinson's work on the Transnational Capitalist Class
- Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working Class History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. (Among some other critical theorists and some historical materialists, this is considered the most important book of class analysis since E. P. Thompson's work.)
- Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. New York: Penguin Press, 2004. Read portions of 2.1, "Dangerous Classes," pp. 103-127, 129-138, 140-153
- Michael Denning. "Wageless Life." *New Left Review* 66, 2010: 79-97.
- Erik Olin Wright. "Understanding Class: Towards an Integrated Analytical Approach." *New Left Review* 60, 2009: 101-116.

Empire in the traditions of International Relations and Political Theory

- Anne McClintock. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. New York: Penguin Press, 2004.
- Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, "Retrieving the Imperial: Empire and International Relations," Special Issue: Empire, Millennium-Journal of International Studies, 31(1), 2002.
- Martin Shaw, 'Post-Imperial and Quasi-Imperial: State and Empire in the Global Era', Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 31(2), 2002: 327-336.
- R. B. J. Walker, 'On the Immanence/Imminence of Empire', Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 31(2), 2002: pp. 337-345.
- Special Issue of Rethinking Marxism, 13(3/4), Fall/Winter, 2001.
- Andreas Kalyvas, "Feet of Clay? Reflections on Hardt's and Negri's Empire," Constellations, 10(2), 2003: 264-279.
- Special Issue: Empires, Systems and States: Great Transformations in International Relations, Review of International Studies, 27, 2001.
- Paul A. Passavant and Jodi Dean (eds.), *Empire's New Clothes: Reading Hardt and Negri*. New York and London: Routledge, 2004
- Martin Coward, "The Globalisation of Enclosure: Interrogating the Geopolitics of Empire." *Third World Quarterly* 26(6), 2005: 855-71.
- Alex Callinicos, *Imperialism and Global Political Economy*. Oxford: Polity, 2009.
- Ronnie Lipschutz, *The Constitution of Imperium*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2009.

- Special Issue: Hierarchy in World Politics. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 14(2), 2011
- Anna M. Agathangelou and L. H. M. Ling. *Transforming World Politics: From Empire to Multiple Worlds*, London; New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2009.
- Christopher Lee, ed., *Making a World After Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*, Ohio University, 2010.
- Jennifer Pitts, "Political Theory of Empire and Imperialism." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13, 2010: 211-235. (A review of recent work on empire and imperialism in political theory.)