

**Friday, November 30, 2 p.m., 201**

**Moses Hall**

**Jeffrey Anderson**

*BMW Center for German and European  
Studies*

*Georgetown University*

**Information Session on the Graduate  
Programs in the School of Foreign Service,  
including the BMW Center at Georgetown  
University**

# Review Session with Prof. Crawford

- Thursday Dec. 6 @ 2 pm (one hour) in 2040 LSB (our regular classroom)
- The Final is worth 40% of your grade



- Remember: **Final Examination TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 2012 8-11AM PLEASE DO NOT BUY PLANE TICKETS OR MAKE OTHER PLANS. THERE WILL BE NO EARLY OR LATE EXAMS.**





# The Political Economy of Nationalism and Imperialism

**Why do some National Communities want to conquer  
others?**

# What is imperialism?

- A strong state usurps control over a weak one creating a power relationship characterized by dominance and dependence.
  - Imperial control may be imposed directly
    - In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this was colonialism
  - or indirectly, through informal diplomatic or military pressures or economic penetration.

# Old and “New” (19<sup>th</sup> Century) Imperialism

- Old Imperialism
  - Maritime and Mercantilist
  - Gold and silver
  - Sugar, rum, tobacco--
- 19<sup>th</sup> Century Imperialism
  - Raw materials and investments
  - Quinine and machine guns
  - The power of the Nation State
  - Emerged from Nationalism!
  - Imperialism emerges from Every school of political economy !
  - Liberal Imperialism
  - Ethnonationalist imperialism
  - Marxist imperialism

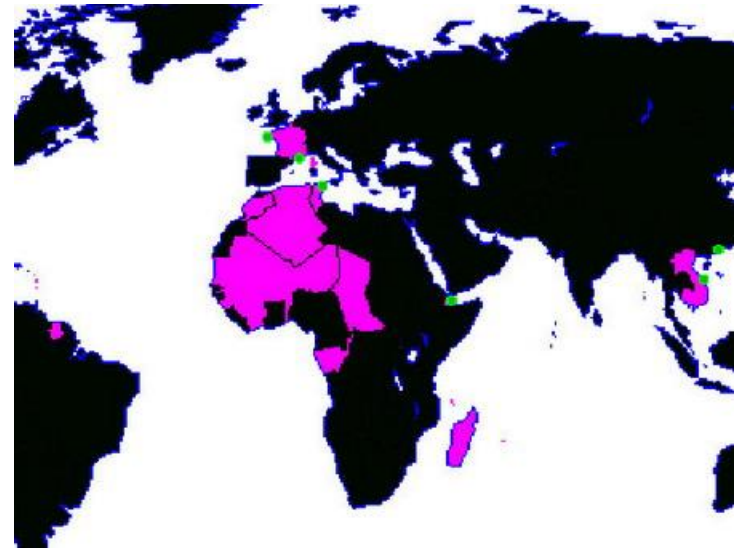


# Empires of the “Liberals”

- British Empire

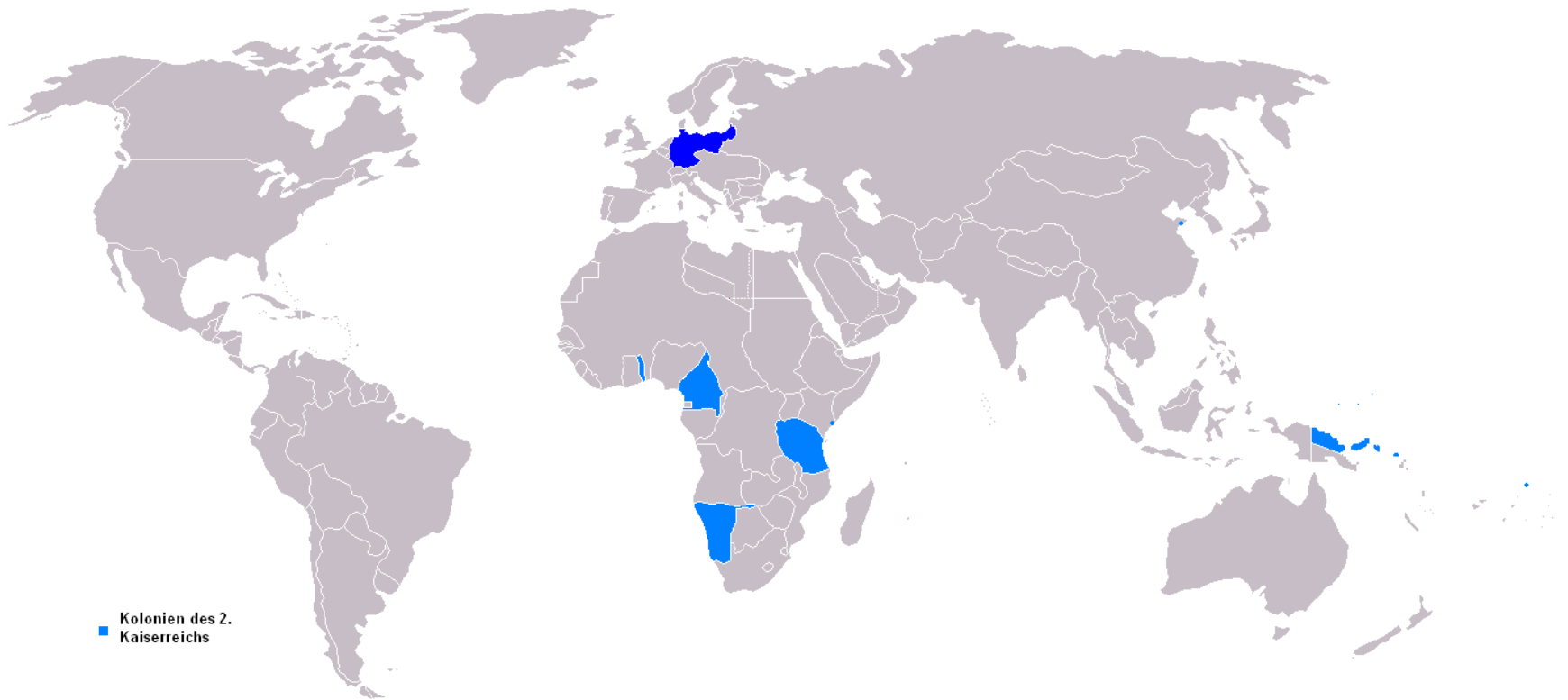


- French colonies



# Empire of the ethnonationalists---

## The German empire 1914

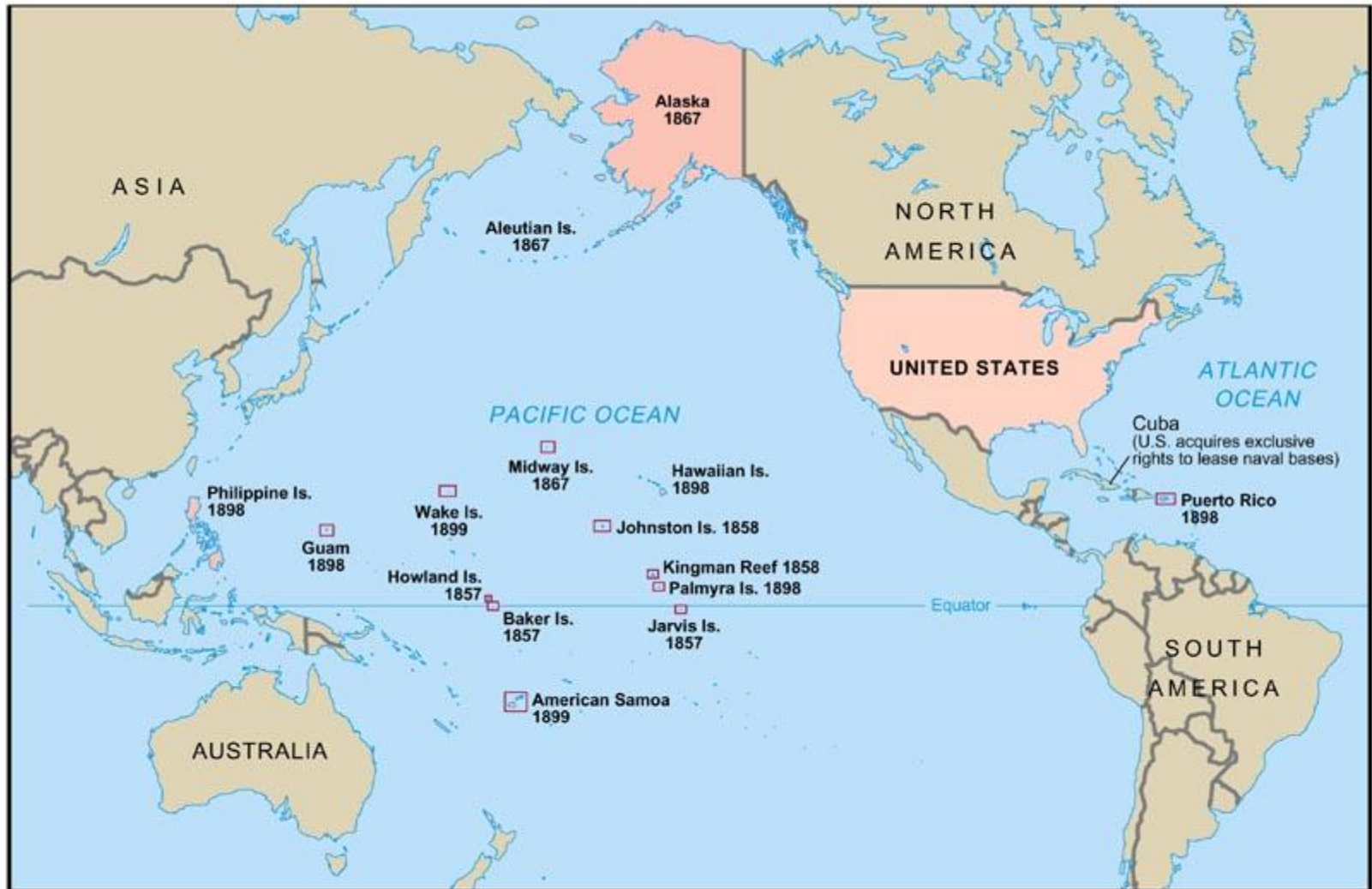


# Hitler's Third Reich





# American Empire 1900

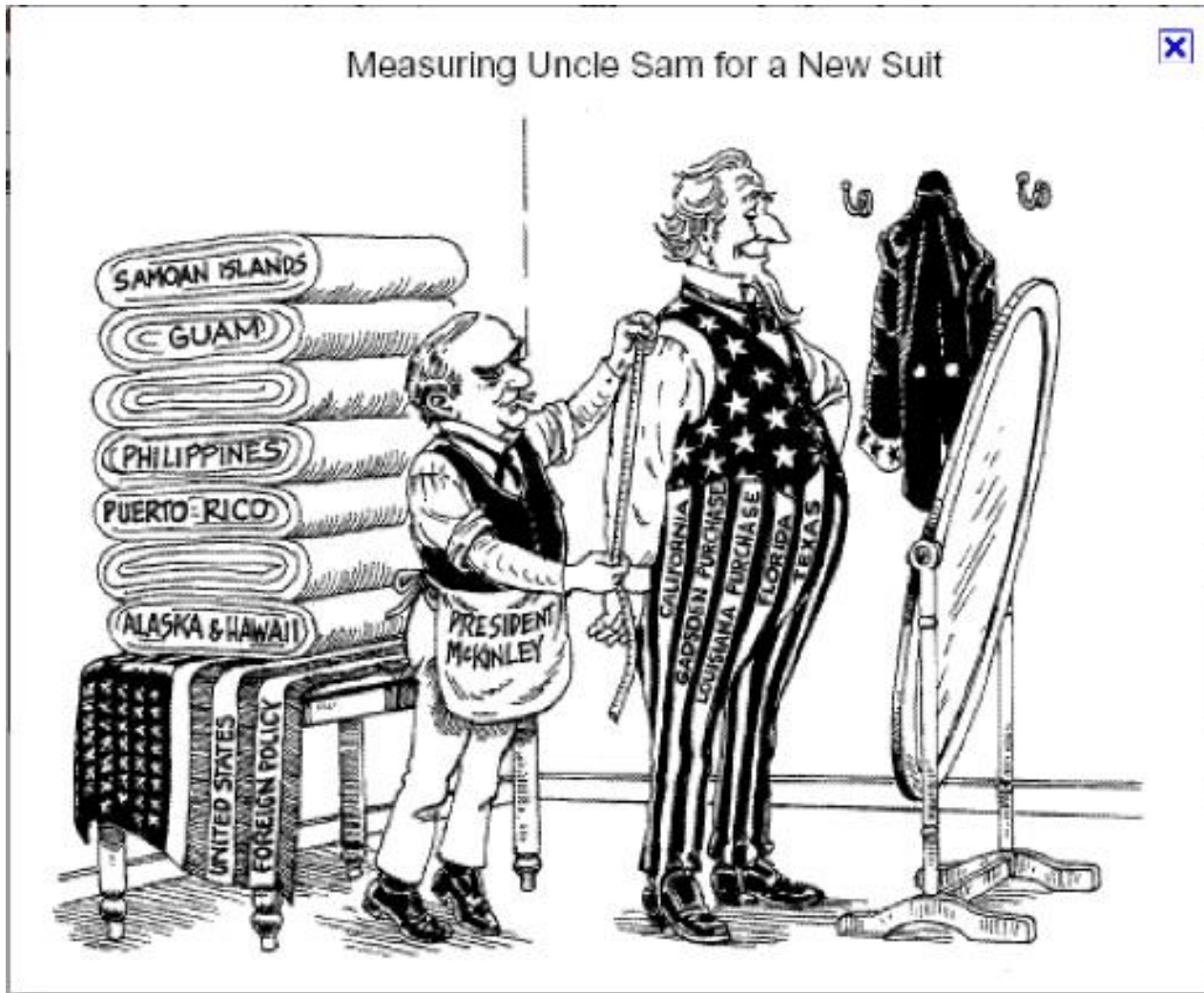


AMERICAN EMPIRE, 1900

# Liberals Clash over the National Bird!: should it be a peaceful nationalist or an imperialist?



Measuring Uncle Sam for a New Suit



“Cuba, the Philippines and Hawaii are but the hors d’oeuvre to whet an appetite for an ampler banquet.”  
» Hobson



# Empire of the Communists---the Soviet empire after 1917



So....all kinds of nations (Liberal, ethnonationalist, Marxist) had empires. But.....Aren't nationalism and imperialism antithetical to one another?

- Nationalism is the ideology of a community
  - With its own language and/or
  - Religion and/or
  - Ethnicity and/or
  - Traditions and culture
  - Land
  - symbols
- So how could nationalism cause imperialism?

.....why would a nation want to acquire the land of other unique nations?

- Liberal explanations: Schumpeter and Hobson
- J.S. Mill and the superiority of liberalism
- Marxist explanations: Lenin

# Some possible explanations

- A consequence of “civic” nationalism---A right to conquer based on belief in the superiority of specific ideology and culture
- A consequence of ethnonationalism/ A right to conquer based on ethnic claims to land
- imperialism is a natural, inevitable consequence of capitalism? Of capital accumulation and the concentration of finance capital...
- It is a consequence of economic nationalism (the struggle for wealth and power in the international arena?)

# What did Schumpeter think?

- Imperialism is atavistic – not a consequence of capitalism, but of autocratic, 18<sup>th</sup> century politics and militarism
- “A purely capitalist world...can offer no fertile soil to imperialist impulses.”
- “In a genuine state of free trade, foreign raw materials and foodstuffs are as accessible to each nation *as though they were within its own territory.*”





# Was Schumpeter the reincarnation of Smith?

- Free markets → growth → free trade → more growth → no need to conquer markets → less war → less imperialism
- Economic competition — depletes energy for military competition
- Atavistic institutions (military) still have the the ear of government → can push the state into imperialism

# Was Schumpeter right?

- In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, capitalists wanted imperial conquest
  - Capitalists wanted new markets
  - But capitalist nations competed with each other for those markets
  - They raised tariffs against each other
- Wanted a colonial empire for “sheltered markets”

# Both liberals and ethnonationalists were economic nationalists

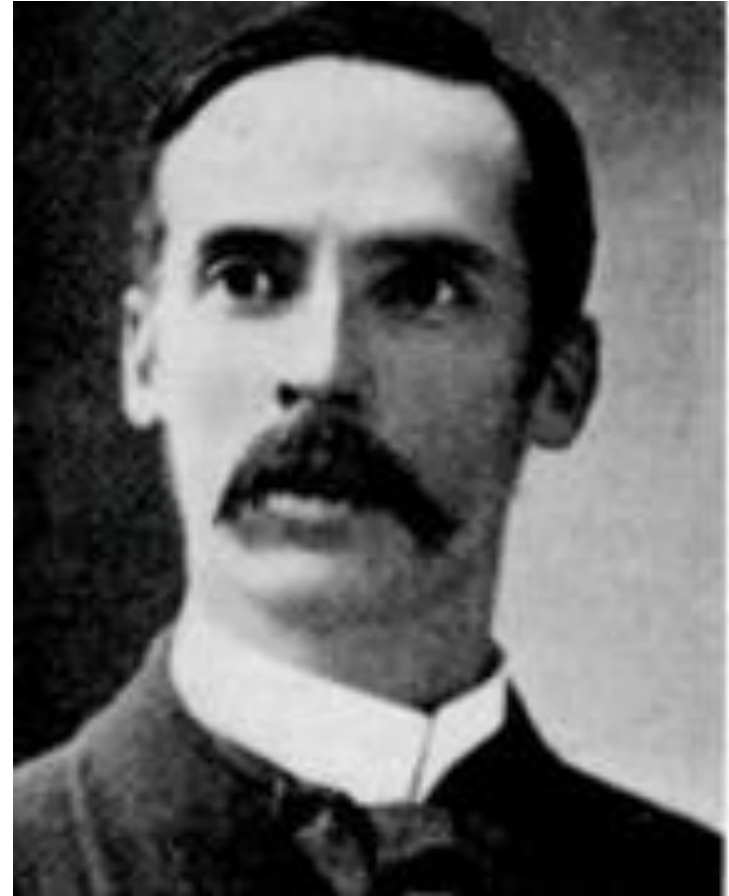
- Both wanted to create self-sufficient trading units
  - Secure access to raw materials
  - Guaranteed market
  - Protection from competition
  - Wealth and prosperity for the home country
- Revived the mercantilism of the “old imperialism” and became “neo-mercantilism”

# Finance and the “new” imperialism

- Money invested in the periphery brought a higher rate of return than money invested in industrial countries
  - Cheap labor
  - High demand
- But investments were risky
- So Investors wanted “civilized” political control over their areas of investment.
- So it was the profit motive—the desire to invest “surplus capital” that promoted imperialism

# What did Hobson think?

- A liberal and a social reformer---his analysis was marxist and his solutions were liberal
- He believed that imperialism is a consequence of overproduction and underconsumption



# Hobson's logic (part 1)

- Market competition → concentration of capital → capitalist elites get power



# Hobson's logic (part 2)

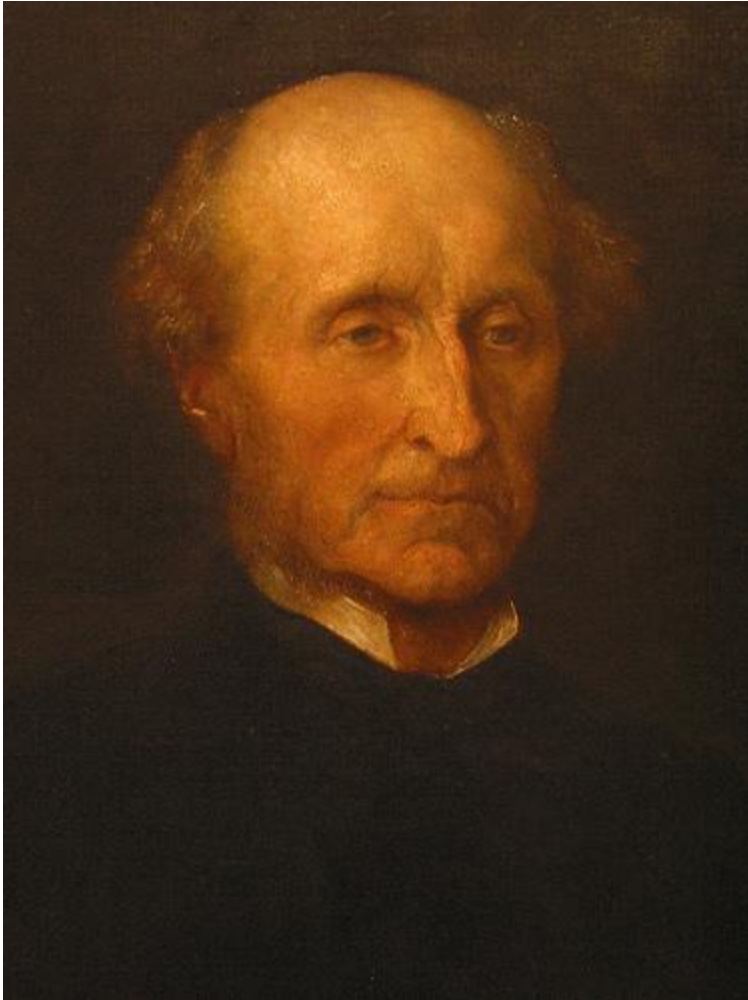
- Capitalism → inequality → immiseration of the working class → depression → radicalism → need for a “social dumping ground”
- Capitalism → lower profits –incentive to invest overseas → need for protection of investments + control of media, education, churches → imperialism

# But capitalism can change!

- Government can improve social equality
- Capitalists could raise wages and develop the “home market”
- No need for markets and investment abroad!
- And thus, no imperialism!



# What did John Stuart Mill think?



- He is a believer in individual liberty, a believer in representative government, but only for those people who have attained the requisite level of civilization

# The Marxist View

- Five Main Points:
  - 1. Industrialization leads to centralization of production and capital.
  - 2. Which leads to emergence of finance capital
  - 3. Which leads to the export of CAPITAL (not commodities) –FDI
  - 4. the formation of cartels and trusts
  - 5. A complete division of the world into capitalists and proletarians
- countries and proletarian countries; i.e. the third world, the global south,
- underdeveloped countries which can never catch up.



KARL MARX - 00 -

**I TOLD YOU  
I WAS RIGHT**  
ABOUT CAPITALISM

# The ultimate Marxist: V. Lenin



- Imperialism is an inevitable consequence of capital accumulation and capitalist modes of production

# Nationalism and Imperialism

- Is all Nationalism imperialistic?
- Civic and Ethnic nationalism breed different kinds of imperialism
- Civic Nationalism
  - Inclusive and superior ideology
- Ethnic Nationalism
  - Tries to conquer territory
  - At its most radical, “ethnic cleansing”

# Liberals Clash over the National Bird!: should it be a peaceful nationalist or an imperialist?

John Adams: The eagle.

Thomas Jefferson: The Dove

Dr. Benjamin Franklin: The Eagle looks classy but swoops down to feed on the helpless. The Eagle is an imperialist....

John Adams: I vote The eagle. "The eagle is a majestic bird! "

Thomas Jefferson: The dove.

John Adams: The eagle!

Thomas Jefferson: [*considers*] OK, The eagle.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin: The turkey. I say the eagle is an imperialist: "a bird of bad moral character. He does not get his living honestly. . . . He watches the labor of the fishing hawk; and when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to his nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues him, and takes it from him."

John Adams: [*confused*] The turkey?

Dr. Benjamin Franklin: The Turkey represents our humble nationalism He shares the feed with the other birds in the yard and is ready to give hell to anyone who tries to make trouble. "A truly noble bird. Native American, a source of sustenance to our original settlers, and a brave fellow who wouldn't flinch from attacking a whole regiment of Englishmen single-handedly! Therefore, the national bird of America is going to be...

John Adams: [*insistently*] The eagle!

Dr. Benjamin Franklin: The eagle.

