

Chapter 1 : Rethinking imperialism: past, present and future – International Socialism

Imperialism has become a key focus of debate about world politics in the post-9/11 world. This major new text provides a systematic reappraisal of the evolution of the phenomenon and the concept from the 19th century as the basis for a reassessment of Globalization and US hegemony in the world today.

The literature on imperialism suffers from a fundamental confusion about the relationship between capitalism and imperialism. The aim of this paper is to remove this confusion. The paper is organised in three parts. In Part I we state our own position of the capitalism-imperialism relation. In part II we discuss some major points at issue in the Marxist debate on imperialism. And in Part III we review the changing forms that imperialism has taken in Latin America in the course of the capitalist development process. The main focus of the paper is on the form taken by imperialism in the current conjuncture of capitalist development, namely extractive capitalism. Our analysis of these dynamics is summarized in the form of twelve theses. In this essay we are concerned with unravelling the intimate relation of imperialism to capitalism and clearing some confusion surrounding it. There are two major problems in the way these two concepts are often understood and used in the literature. In the liberal tradition of political science the projection of imperial power and associated dynamics are generally disconnected from capitalism and its economic dynamics, reducing imperialism to a quest for world domination based on a lust for power or purely geopolitical considerations by the guardians of the national interest in the most powerful countries. On the other hand, in the Marxist tradition of political economy, among world system theorists of the new imperialism there can be found the opposite tendency in which the institutional specificity of the state as an instrument of class power is ignored, and imperialism is reduced to a purely economic dynamic, essentially confusing imperialism with capitalism. In this paper we argue that capitalism and imperialism are intimately connected but engage distinct dynamics in the geoeconomics and the geopolitics of capital that need to be clearly distinguished. We advance this argument in the Latin American context, with reference to the capitalist development process and associated dynamics in their temporal and spatial dimensions. But first we engage several points of dispute among Marxists in regard to imperialism. We then trace out the salient features of imperialism at various stages in the capitalist development process in Latin America. The Marxist Debate on Imperialism: Points of Dispute Almost all theories of contemporary imperialism, both in its neo Marxist and neo liberal variants, lack any but the crudest sociological analyses of the class and political character of the governing groups that direct the imperial state and its policies Harvey ; Magdoff ; Amin ; Panitch and Leys ; Foster ; Hardt and Negri The same is true for contemporary theorizing about the imperial state, which is largely devoid of both institutional and class analysis. Panitch and Leys As for the shifts in the political and economic orientation of governing capitalist politicians representing the imperial interests of the dominant class, resulting in the formation of links with other capitalists and imperialist centres with major consequences in the configuration of world power, they are glossed over in favour of abstract accounts of statistical shifts in economic measures of capital flows. Contemporary theorizing about imperialism generally ignores the sociopolitical and ideological power configurations of imperial policy, as well as the role of international financial institutions such as the World Bank in shaping the institutional and policy framework of the new world order, which not only provides a system of global governance but the rules of engagement for the class war launched by the global capitalist class against labour in its different redoubts of organised resistance. The focus of most contemporary and recent studies of the dynamics of imperial power is on the projection of military power in the project of protecting and advancing the geopolitical interests of the United States and the geo-economic interests of monopoly capital in the middle east and other zones of capital accumulation, or on the economic operations of the large multinational corporations that dominate the global economy. Nevertheless, the dynamics of imperial power relations are political as well as economic, and do engage the political apparatus of the state. As for the economic dynamics, as theorized by Lenin in a very different context, they derive from the search by capital for profit and productive investments as well as cheaper sources of raw materials and labour and markets. In terms of these dynamics, particularly those that relate to the fusion of industrial and financial capital, the

export of capital and the emergence of monopoly capital, Lenin theorized imperialism as the highest form of capitalism, a manifestation of its fundamental laws of development. However, while liberal theorists of imperialism tend to emphasize the political, and to isolate the political dimension of imperialism from its economic dynamics, viewing imperialism purely in terms of the quest for world domination or the pursuit of geopolitical strategic concerns and the national interest, Marxist theorists following Lenin recognize that the imperial state is a critical agency of capitalist development and a fundamental source of political and military power pursued in the service of capital, to ensure its dominion. Not that there is a consensus on this point—on imperialism as the bearer of capital, an agency of capitalist development. Notwithstanding arguments to the contrary, and taking into consideration both its economic and political dynamics and its actual operations investments, production, sales, imperialism now as before is clearly designed and works to advance the project of capital accumulation in whatever and in as many ways as possible—to penetrate existing and open up new markets, exploit labour as humanely as possible but as inhumanely as needed, extract surplus value from the direct producers where possible, and access as needed or process raw materials and minerals. Insofar as the capitalist class is concerned the aim and the agenda of its individual and institutional members is to accumulate capital. As for the imperial state and its agents and agencies, including the World Bank and the agencies of international cooperation for security and development, the agenda is merely to pave the way for capital, to create the conditions needed for economic and social development. In neither case is uneven development of the forces of production and its social conditions social inequality, unemployment, poverty, social and environmental degradation, etc. Under these strategic and structural conditions it is illuminating but not particularly useful to measure the impact of imperialism merely in economic terms of the volume of capital inflows FDI, bank loans, portfolio investments, etc. By no means can they be described today as relations of domination and subordination. In addition, members of the global ruling class investors, financiers, big bankers, industrialists, etc. This is not only a question of inter-capitalist and intra-imperialist rivalry. It is also a development and political issue embedded in the social structure of the capital-labour relation and the economic structure of international relations within the world system. Capitalist Development, Class Struggle and Imperialism In outlining his conception of Historical Materialism, the foundation of Marxism as a social science, Marx had argued that at each stage in the capitalist development process[9]—the development of the forces of production—can be found a corresponding system of class relations and struggle. For Marx this was a matter of fundamental principle arising out of a fundamental conflict between the forces and relations of production. But he could have added that at each stage of capitalist development can also be found both a corresponding and distinct form of class struggle based on the forces of resistance to this advance, as well as imperialism in one form or the other and distinctly understood as the projection of state power in the service of capital—to facilitate its advance in the sphere of international relations and secure its evolution into and as a world system. That is, the projection of state power in the quest for world domination—to establish hegemony over the world system—is a necessary condition of capitalist development. Capitalism requires the state not only to establish the necessary conditions of a capital accumulation process, but to ensure its inevitable expansion—the extension of the capital-labour relation, and its mechanism of economic exploitation the extraction of surplus value from the labour of the direct producers—into a world system. These features encompassed an economic dynamic of capital accumulation, but this dynamic and the economic structure of this system evidently required and was secured politically with the projection of state power, including military force. Lenin astutely identified the fundamental structural features of the world capitalist system at this stage of development. And imperialism was also a distinct feature and an adjunct to the capital accumulation process in later periods of capitalist development, as discussed below. Imperialism in an Era of State-led Capitalist Development —80 In the wake of the Second World War the United States emerged as an economic super-power, in command of at least one half of world industrial capacity and up to 80 percent of financial resources or capital for productive investment. This system provided a set of rules used to govern relations of international trade—rules that favoured the operations and expansion of what had emerged as a complex of predominantly US-based multinational corporations and thus the hegemony of US capital. However, it also provided the institutional framework of a project of international

cooperation with the nation-building and development efforts of a large number of countries that were engaged in a war of national liberation and independence from the colonial powers that had subjugated them for so long. In this context capitalism engaged a process of productive and social transformation—the transformation of an economic system based on agriculture and an agrarian society and social system based on pre-capitalist relations of production into a modern industrial capitalist system based on capitalist relations of production, or wage labour. This process of capitalist development, and the associated process of productive and social transformation, can be traced out in different countries and regions at different points of time. But the process unfolded in different ways, engaging different forces of change and resistance in the class struggle, in the countries at the centre of the system and those on the periphery. First, in peripheral regions Latin America and the Caribbean, parts of Asia and Africa were found countries that were struggling to escape colonial subjugation and imperialist exploitation as well as class rule. Governments in these countries were in a position to choose between a capitalist and a socialist path towards nation-building and economic development, a situation that called for a strategic and political response from the guardians of the capitalist world order. There is considerable evidence to suggest that the most powerful states within the institutional framework and system what can now be described as Pax Americana the hegemony and dominion of the United States in the post-war era of capitalism began to deploy the idea of development as a means of facilitating the entry into and the operations of capital in peripheral countries—in the development of their forces of production and the accumulation of capital in the process. In this context diplomatic pressure and military force were deployed as required or dictated by circumstance, but only secondarily, i. Thus the projection of military force to achieve the geopolitical objectives of the imperial state used predominantly by the US state in the s and early 60s to maintain imperial order in its backyard—Guatemala , Cuba , the Dominican Republic , , Brazil , Guyana and Chile The class struggle at the time the ’60s assumed two main forms. The first was as a land struggle waged by the peasantry, most of which had been either proletarianized rendered landless or semi-proletarianized forced to take the labour path out of rural poverty.

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2 Rethinking Imperialism: A Study of Capitalist Rule concept, that is to say as part of Marxist theory (theoretical Marxism). At this level, however, a variety of different analyses are advanced and.

Moreover, these changes have been presented as a turn towards a nationalism or even isolation. In what follows I will try to offer my thoughts on these questions in an attempt to problematize them but also to suggest what these changes imply regarding radical left strategy. In particular I will insist on the need for a new anti-imperialism based upon a rethinking of the notions of the people and popular sovereignty. However, I think that globalization has been a misleading term since it suggested that we were moving towards some form of a unified system of social relations, a transnational social formation, with a transnational bourgeoisie. This process has been instrumental regarding the reproduction and enhancement of aggressive forms of capitalist accumulation. Moreover, increased internationalization of production, in the form of increased capital flows, direct investment and trade, has been a mechanism of constant pressure for capitalist restructuring and for the expansion of neoliberalism as the dominant regime of accumulation. However, national capitalist formations and nation-states have remained the main loci of capitalist accumulation. By this I do not mean that there have not been important changes. The centrality of competitiveness as the main measure of success and the main justification and legitimacy for aggressive capitalist restructuring and neoliberal reform after the 1980s attests to this. Processes of regional integration such as European Integration, with their extensive forms not only of lowering barriers to trade and the free movement of capitals, but also of ceding of forms of sovereignty, have been the most aggressive cases of using the exposure to increased foreign competition as a pressure for capitalist restructuring. Such an approach can explain both the tendency towards increased liberalization of trade and capital flows but also the presence of increased antagonism. In this sense, what we are witnessing today is a tendency towards increased conflict and competition within this process of capitalist internationalization. However, before proceeding along this line, we must also see some other important aspects of modern imperialism. If we are to keep something from what in a very schematic way has been presented as a Marxist or even Leninist theory of imperialism are two important insights. The first has to do with the way that the Marxist tradition, including Lenin revolutionized the theorization of international relations by giving priority not to interstate relations, but to class relations and strategies and their projection to the international plane. The second is that the hierarchy in the international plane, namely the complex interplay of interdependency and antagonism that the notion of the imperialist chain suggests, is not determined simply on the economic level, but also on the basis of political and even ideological relations of forces. The dominant social formation in the imperialist chain is not simply the most powerful in economic terms but also the one that can in a certain way guarantee the collective capitalist-imperialist interest of the entire imperialist chain, by having the political and military capacity to do so. Moreover, this also implies that modern capitalist imperialism has been fundamentally non-territorial having to do with the expansion of social relations of production, of social forms and of accumulation strategies and less with direct territorial domination, despite the importance of territorially based resources such as energy flows, minerals etc. The antagonistic and hierarchical relations inside the imperialist chain also have to be treated as hegemonic relations. By this I am not referring to the traditional conception of hegemony one can find in the discourse of mainstream International Relations Theory, or even at classical Marxist texts on imperialism. To give an obvious example, the United States became the hegemonic force of global capitalism after because they were the most advanced and productive capitalist economy, the only country that could match Soviet military capabilities but also a country that offered a hegemonic project. The fact that for example the United States initially helped other social formations becoming more competitive in relation to the US as part of a strategy to strengthen the reproduction of capitalist social relations, is something that can be seen in the support given by the US to both European Integration and the capitalist development of Japan. We are still in the aftermath of the capitalist crisis of 2008. There is an impressive literature and an open debate regarding the actual causal mechanisms of this crisis, and in a certain way the discussion has not yet been concluded. However, we can

say that what happened was neither a typical cyclical recession nor just a crisis of financialization. Also, it was not another manifestation of a prolonged crisis that started in the s. What we witnessed was the combined crisis of an entire social paradigm that comprised the productive model based upon post-fordist capitalist restructuring, the over expansion of the financial sector, neoliberalism as a regime of accumulation and a certain form of international monetary, financial, productive architecture. The reason is that what is needed is a new social and technological paradigm that has yet to emerge. Moreover, another important aspect is the uneven character of both the extent of the crisis and the responses to it. The economic crisis also created "especially in the US" certain cleavages inside the dominant power block. Although neoliberalism, deregulation and reduced taxation along with the intervention of the FED towards keeping the banking system afloat have been common elements, it is interesting to see the divergence between those sectors that were based upon globalized production and supply networks and those more based in the US, a fact that can account for different approaches towards international trade agreements and also different approaches towards the politics of Trump administration. At the same time this economic crisis was combined with a deep political and in some sense hegemonic crisis in many formations. There is growing widespread disillusionment with mainstream politics as a result of austerity policies, an authoritarian post-democratic turn enhanced by the absence of any real difference between centre-right and centre-left political parties along with a broader tendency towards an insulation of the political scene against the demands and aspirations of the subaltern classes. All these tendencies and developments in their articulation not only represent the effectivity of social antagonism, but also form the basis of the new wave of increased antagonisms in the imperialist chain. Especially China managed not only to expand its domestic economy but also to play an increasingly important role in the global economy, not only as the leading force in manufacturing or as attracting foreign investments but also as a major investor abroad. At the same time the emerging alliance with Russia, which not only has advanced military capabilities but also an important productive and high technology base, suggests an attempt indeed to create an alternative pole in the global system. The response to this by the United States has been a preemptive attempt towards military confrontation, by means of attempting to turn regional crisis into forms of pressure towards Russia and China. From Ukraine and Syria to North Korea and the renewed attempt at aggression towards Iran, this has taken many forms in the past years with differing degrees of success for example the Syria crisis ended up in a situation of increased Russian presence as an integral aspect of the attempt to solve the crisis. At the same time we are witnessing the deep crisis of European Integration, which also leads to the inability of the EU to play a leading role. On the one hand we face the same problem as in the US of an inability to attain increases in productivity that would enable increased and sustainable profitability. The economic, institutional and financial architecture of the Euro as a single currency has exacerbated both regional differences but also indebtedness. Although designed as the most aggressive use of the ceding of sovereignty as a means to enhance capitalist restructuring it also led to increased divergences in competitiveness which in their turn also created conditions for increased private and public debt. Moreover, as a result of the German dominance in the EU combined with reluctance of German capital and the German political system to even think about redistributive policies or even some form of mutualisation of the debt e. One might say that Germany has been dominant but not hegemonic. At the same time the political crisis in Europe also comes as a result of an increased authoritarian, disciplinary turn, exemplified in the unprecedented social and political violence unleashed upon Greek society. At the same time the increased turn of countries that became part of the EU as part of the enlargement process, especially in Eastern Europe, towards a much more authoritarian and racist politics is also an element stressing the extent of the political crisis at traversing European integration. All this points towards a period of transition and a period of increased conflict and antagonism within the imperialist chain. It is not the end of globalization, but rather a period of a more conflictual form of capitalist internationalization, a period in which it is open what hegemonic relations will emerge. It is in light of the above tendencies that we can see the re-emergence of nationalist rhetoric and also of certain forms of the Far-Right. Especially the Far-Right usually manages to gain the political space left open by the combination of the crisis of systemic political forces and the inability or inexistence of radical left forces that could represent and at the same time transform growing sentiments of resentment from the part of

the subaltern classes. At the same time, it is obvious that most far-right formations do not actually challenge the basic premises of both the dominant regime of accumulation and the core of the process of the internationalization of capital. In this sense, I would not present contemporary politics as a return of isolationism. We are still living in a world of increased interdependency, yet this is becoming a contested terrain. This has been the hard reality of Fortress Europe. The forms that the conflict in the imperialist chain will take along with the form of a new balance of forces or a new hierarchy, are not easy to discern. At the same time, one cannot rule out the possibility that in the end this struggle for hegemony in the imperialist chain will take a more open or even violent form, as it has been the case in the 20th century with two world wars! I believe that in such a conjuncture anti-imperialism acquires a new meaning. First of all the very fact of a world with more conflicts is also a world with more ruptures and more openings which means that it is possible to suggest a strategy of de-linking from imperialist networks, on the economic, political and ideological level. However, this approach does not suggest simply taking advantage of cleavages in the sense of an attachment to one or the other pole in the international system. The centrality of the de-linking is not linked to some form of isolationist utopia but to the fact that any process of social change must reduce its exposure to the pervasive influence of internationalized capitalism and the ways that competitive pressure induces the reproduction of capitalist social relations. In this sense, any process of radical change today is in a certain sense a form of reclaiming of sovereignty. However, as always with questions of sovereignty the crucial question has to do with the subject of sovereignty, the subject that exercises sovereignty or the collective subjective of which sovereignty is exercised. To play a little with words I would like to suggest that we do not need some form of national sovereignty; rather we need to re-invent popular sovereignty. There are two important points to be made here. The first one is whether such an approach towards an anti-imperialist de-linking runs the danger of nationalism. To take an example in the debates in the European Left regarding the question of the Euro and the European Union in general, advocates of a strategy of rupture and exit have often been accused of having the same position as the populist far-right. I believe that such criticisms make two mistakes. Any anticapitalist strategy must necessarily include some form of rupture with these processes. There can be no socialism under the supervision of the European Central Bank and the European Commission. On the other hand, they underestimate the possibility that the demand for sovereignty can be articulated in a progressive, democratic, radically emancipatory fashion representing a broad alliance of the subaltern classes against not just the European Union but also capitalists. Such an alliance also makes possible to rethink internationalism. I do not think that it is possible to conceive of internationalism in the form of a pan-European movement that could coordinate movements of the subaltern classes in 27 different countries, with different languages, traditions, histories of struggle and relations of force. In contrast, I think that it is more probable to see the possibility of a sequence of ruptures, based upon the uneven development of class struggles. In such a sequence each rupture will induce destabilizing tendencies in other social formations along with offering examples of successful struggles. This can be the basis of a new internationalism. States that have reclaimed sovereignty by means of movements that challenge imperialism but also capitalist social relations are more likely to find new forms of cooperation. Rather it would be a process of intensified class struggle around the possibility of a transition program that would represent a radical alternative in an anticapitalist direction. Processes of integration, such the European Union, have pervasive effects upon national economies and the forms of accumulation. Consequently, it is no longer possible to think in terms of segments of capital supporting some form of reclaiming sovereignty. Even in those cases in which we saw fractions of capital supporting some form of rupture such as Britain or Italy these are internationalised fractions that feel that they could compete in the international plane better outside the contours of European Integration. In a country like Greece, where the measures imposed by the EU, the IMF and the ECB led to an economic depression without precedent, [9] the forces of capital remained loyal to the euro and insisted on Greece remaining inside the Eurozone. The other important point concerns the very subject of sovereignty. This cannot be conceived in terms of the nation. It is here that the notion of the people acquires a new importance. In such an approach the people is not a discursive construction or a signifier waiting to be articulated as part of the antagonism of discourses as Laclau and the neo-populist current have

suggested. It is here that the question of a post-national and post-colonial conception of the people acquires its significance. Moreover, racism and what can only be termed as neo-colonialism create new divisions and new forms of increased exploitation and oppression among the subalterns. A post-national and post-colonial conception of the people as the ensemble of all those who live at the same state territory and share the same conditions of exploitation and oppression and also the same needs, aspirations and struggle, can help overcoming these divisions. The speech-act must create itself as a foreign language in a dominant language, precisely in order to express an impossibility of living under domination. For Gramsci the historical bloc, [13] a complex conceptual elaboration that refers to the relation between structure and superstructures, is not simply a reference to the combination between an alliance of the subaltern classes, a transition program of social transformation and new forms of organization and political practice. In this sense, there is a dialectical correlation between anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. The question of sovereignty becomes a stake in the class struggle, and only a socialist perspective can indeed point towards reclaiming popular sovereignty and reclaiming democracy. Yet at the same time this implies the articulation of reclaiming sovereignty with crucial aspects of a contemporary socialist strategy and a project of profound social transformation. All these require a rethinking of the very notion of the people as the collective subject of this reclaimed form of popular sovereignty but also of a process of emancipation. University of Minnesota Press. Lawrence and Wishart Gramsci A. Lapatsioras , A political economy of contemporary capitalism and its crisis: I shall call these concepts of strategy, embracing in particular such phenomena as class polarization and class alliance.

Chapter 3 : University Press of Florida: Rethinking Colonialism

*Rethinking Imperialism (Rethinking World Politics) [R. Kiely] on calendrierdelascience.com *FREE* shipping on qualifying offers. Imperialism has become a key focus of debate about world politics in the post-9/11 world.*

Apologists for US and British imperialism seem to have a very selective memory. Britain had little strategic interest in Belize as it had little natural wealth or labor to exploit for a profit. The British government of Belize was minimal and there were few demands made on the population. Because the majority of the population was black and spoke creole english, they had little interest in being part of spanish-speaking Guatemala which they viewed as being a worse colonial master than the British. A sparse, isolated population under , with lots of isolated groups like the Maya and Garifuna is hardly a good test case for proving that people enjoyed living under imperialism. The Philippines does not prove your point at all. But you are forgetting how the Phillipinos viewed the US when it was acting like a traditional colonial power after the Spanish American War of Phillipino rebels fought a long and protracted war against the US occupation of their country. It was brutal and bloody, and hardly a model of enlightened imperialism by any stretch of the imagination. Many Americans were scandalized by what their government was doing and the Philippines was one of the chief reasons that the Anti-imperialist League was formed to protest imperialist policies. It is hard to argue that the Phillipines benefitted from US rule. The vast majority of Phillipinos are extremely poor with a tiny minority of wealthy elite. One of the reasons that the average Phillipino is so poor is because we installed dictators like Marcos who ruthlessly suppressed any attempts at social and economic reform that might have helped the common people. Subsequent presidents refused to honor the agreement. In Yalta, Stalin promised Hungary would have democratic electionsâ€” a promise he initially honored until the US refused to honor its side of the agreement. What are you counting as part of our benevolent imperialism? How about the tons of depleted uranium which we have dropped upon Iraqis which will turn their cities into low-level radiative zones for generations to come? How about the skyrocketing unemployment rate caused by the fact that the US decided to remove tariffs on imports, so our foodstuffs and manufactured goods could flood the Iraqi market and bankrupt the Iraqi agriculture and manufacturing sectors? How about the death squads we are funding and arming in Iraq? Iraq bore us no credible threat. What we did was aggression pure and simple. I see this same crazy reasoning being applied to Latin America all the time. The greatest threat to our own security is our own neoimperialism which will cause people all around the world to hate us and want to attack us. Invading Afghanistan and Iraq has generated hatred toward the US all over the world.

Chapter 4 : Rethinking anti-imperialism today – Panagiotis Sotiris – Rupture Magazine

Rethinking anti-imperialism today - Panagiotis Sotiris Recent developments from the election to Donald Trump to Brexit and the increased tension between the US on the one hand, Russia and China on the other, have been presented as evidence for a broader crisis of 'globalization' and a turning point in modern imperialism.

Callinicos is a thinker who considers himself primarily a political fighter, and who is well known in both capacities. The author of this very dense book engages from start to finish with discussions bearing political consequences when they are not readily political, revisits old debates and partakes in more recent ones relating to the broad scope of his book. He tends to present this stance as an original one, peculiar to both David Harvey and himself, although one could regard it as being rather a continuation of a widely shared classical legacy. One holds that capitalism is now transnational, or supranational, and that geopolitical conflicts among capitalist powers have therefore become obsolete. The second considers that US supremacy holds the system together and prevents geopolitical conflicts, hence reaching a similar conclusion to the previous position albeit for an altogether different reason. Confronted with an actual evolution of inter-imperialist relations that differed from his initial forecast, Callinicos reconsidered the question radically – in the etymological sense of the word: The book consists of two parts: The first part combines theory and facts, the first being mainly devoted to clarifying the theory of imperialism and the second concerned with verifying the theoretical premises against the actual history of imperialism. It then turns to contemporary debates on the nature and shape of the global state system, mostly among Marxists but taking into account their engagements with non-Marxist discussions, especially in the field of International Relations. Predictably, part two reads better than the first, and is considerably longer. A general problem with the book, indeed, especially acute in its first part, is that it is written in such a way that it risks putting off all but the narrow circle of people who are familiar with the debates that the author refers to, debates that may often seem quite esoteric to lay readers. One might wish that Callinicos had left aside – or relegated to endnotes – some of the far too frequent discussions of secondary details or side issues he indulges in, in favour of a more didactic presentation in which erudition does not come at the cost of readability. Nonetheless, if you are brave enough to overcome such obstacles to smooth reading, you will find in the book an extremely precious mine of information. Full of insights of varying importance in the context of sustained debates and polemics, the book offers, as you would expect, a long list of assertions that may be questioned and discussed far beyond the scope of a normal book review or a short article. It will certainly elicit rejoinders in various forms and forums from the many writers the author criticises. Two major problems can be identified in these premises: Let me take an example to clarify: Thus, the drive of the US to world geopolitical, ie political-military, supremacy is not a goal in and by itself, but a mediation of the fundamentally economic profit-making drive of capitalism a feature distinguishing it from all other modes of production. The basic driving force of German imperialism was essentially similar to that of British imperialism, notwithstanding the structural differences between their two brands of capitalism: In Nazi Germany this driving force got combined with an irrational drive at world formal totalitarian domination, where extra-economic coercion would dictate an outcome that could very well revert ultimately to some form of slavery tried out in the concentration camps or tributary mode of production. The drive was irrational from a capitalist perspective the very reason why capitalism could expand in its heartlands was that it transcended the primarily extra-economic coercion of previous modes, and irrational from the common sense point of view of the adequacy of means to ends. We must thus already introduce here a necessary distinction between rivalries that occur from within the same world-system, such as between pre Britain and Germany, and systemic rivalries, or rivalries between systemic and counter-systemic powers with regard to a hegemonic world-system, such as the rivalry between the Axis and the US-UK alliance in World War II. The basic driving force of the Soviet Union was definitely not the same as pre Germany either. Ignoring this latter dimension leads to the postulation of a total discordance between ideology and actual social configuration that is absurd from a historical materialist point of view, especially when it lasts for several decades. It is for this reason that the Soviet Union was always regarded by world capitalism as a

counter-systemic forceâ€”one that was actually much more antithetical to the hegemonic world-system than Nazi Germany itself where German big business thrived. Hence the well-known inclination of mainstream capitalist powers to attempt to seduce Berlin into an anti-communist alliance. This also means, of course, that the post configuration of world powers was not of the same nature as the pre one, with the single difference of multipolarity in one case and bipolarity in the other. Nor was the role that Britain played in the capitalist world-system before similar to that played by the US within the Western world-system after , as Callinicos seems to believe. Thus it was for two combined reasons that the US was willingly accepted as overlord of the Western imperialist system by its dominant capitalist classes. First, the huge post disparity in power between a US which emerged from the war much stronger than it entered and than its Western partners who were devastated and exhausted by the same war. With this analytical framework, the evolution of post Cold War international relations is easier to understand. Under Reagan the US had experienced to the utmost degree the economic advantages and privileges that it could reap from exploiting its main comparative advantage, ie its overwhelming military superiority. This was the period during which Washingtonâ€”in order to maintain and expand both the Atlantic and the US-Japanese alliancesâ€”deliberately antagonised both Moscow and Beijing, although neither of the two countries was any longer counter-systemic. As I wrote at the time in an article that Callinicos mentions in his book: These strategic choices keep up a level of tension with these two powers that justifies the US suzerainty over their neighbours, Germany, Europe and Japan, and blocks any move towards possible regional alliancesâ€”Euro-Russian or Sino-Japaneseâ€”which might be able to challenge American hegemony. It is certainly much more difficult to define China as such. This means that neither Russia nor China is yet engaged in an economic competition with Western powers that can be compared in intensity and scope to the economic competition raging among Western powers. The US does its best to ostracise Russia and China geopolitically from its Western partners because it knows full well that the full integration of these two countries into the Western system would undermine the allegiance of its present vassals. None of the EU members can contemplate challenging US geopolitical hegemony alone, without an alliance with either Russia or China, or both; neither can the EU as a whole contemplate doing so alone. This is not only because of the huge economic cost that this would entail with regard to military expenditure, as Callinicos correctly emphasises. It is also, and above all, because the EU is still far from achieving political-military centralisation that translates into unified military command, a fact that he tends to overlook. There is a realistic possibility of it matching that of the US in less than two decades, and it has a much larger capacity to mobilise human resources for military purposes than Washington does. Beijing knows that time plays in its favour: Alex Callinicos has already published a new book this year:

Chapter 5 : Rethinking Athenian imperialism

A review of Alex Callinicos, Imperialism and Global Political Economy (Polity,), Â£ "Knowing Empire is part of fighting it": this short statement concludes this remarkable page book.

Chapter 6 : Rethinking Imperialism : Ray Kiely :

Talk of imperialism and empire came back into fashion in a big way in the first decade of the twenty-first century, to some extent displacing globalization as the keynote term of social and political analysis.

Chapter 7 : Project MUSE - Rethinking Colonialism

thoughts on " Rethinking Imperialism " Dave on at said: It's instructive to look at Thomas Barnett's integration map from his book The Pentagon's New Map and notice the overlap of the "integrated" world with the British Empire.

Chapter 8 : calendrieldelascience.com Nieuws: Imperialism and Capitalism: Rethinking an Intimate Relation

Free Editorial: Defending Immigrant Students “in the Streets and in Our Classrooms. Authored By the editors of Rethinking Schools. It has always been an educator's responsibility to act in solidarity with vulnerable students.

Chapter 9 : Rethinking Imperialism - Ray Kiely - Macmillan International Higher Education

Description This dissertation examines the territorial possessions of the members of the Delian League, which I refer to as sub-hegemonies, since these regional hegemonies existed under the overarching control of Athens.