

Senior Seminar in International Relations: Hegemony in Modern World Politics Fall 2020

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Registration: PSCI 425-002 (13209)
Meetings in McKee 137, 3:35-4:25
Meetings on Zoom: Fridays, 2:30-3:20
Office hours: McKee 305, MW, 1:30-2:30, and by appointment

An ancient concept, hegemony rests on two uneven pillars: force and consent. We will investigate the meaning of hegemony in the international system as well as examples of the world's hegemonic powers over the last several centuries. We will also address the current distribution of power on the world stage. By the end of the semester, students should be able to develop critical perspectives on this enduring yet timely idea.

In addition to readings posted on Canvas, you should buy the following books:

Barrow, Ian. 2017. *The East India Company, 1600-1858*. Indianapolis: Hackett. [EIC]
Ikenberry, G. John. 2006. *Liberal Order and Imperial Ambition*. Cambridge: Polity. [LO]
McCormick, Thomas J. 1995. *America's Half-Century*, 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins. [AHC]
Mearsheimer, John J. 2018. *The Great Delusion*. New Haven: Yale. [GD]

This is a mixed online and face to face class. Unless the university moves all classes online as part of its coronavirus response, students are not allowed to simply skip the in-class component. Still, to accommodate students' legitimate health concerns, there is not separate attendance grade (though there is a participation grade). While in class, students are expected to treat one another with respect and hold themselves to high academic standards. Students caught cheating or plagiarizing will likely fail the course and may face disciplinary action. Unrelatedly, students who believe they might benefit from the Disability Resource Center should contact its office at the start of the semester.

Grades are comprised of the following four components:

1) Participation (7%). You should do the reading before coming to class each day. Grades are holistic and non-formulaic, based on the quality of your comments in class.

2) Summaries and Question (7%). Twice you will be asked to help lead a discussion on that day's topic. One day, you will orally summarize the reading for your classmates, and submit on Canvas a two-page written summary. (When you present, please speak extemporaneously or from notes. Do not read your summary.) On a separate occasion, you will ask three to five critical questions to spark a class discussion, and hand in your questions on Canvas.

3) Papers (60%). Twice this semester, you will submit formal papers. Please see the guidelines handout for specific instructions.

4) Paper Outline (26%). Once this fall, between the first paper and the final, you will submit a paper outline. It is not a whole paper, merely the essentials in outline form. You will provide a thesis statement and outline each step of your argument, with supportive facts. Please see the guidelines handout for specific instructions.

We will follow the schedule below, with adjustments as needed (and announced in class). There are six main topics in the course:

I. Fear, Love, and Power in the Modern World

Monday, 8/24: Welcome to the Senior Seminar

Wednesday, 8/26: What Happens When Politics Happens?

Fernand Braudel, *Civilization & Capitalism II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (1982), pp. 458-474.
Immanuel Wallerstein, "There is No Such Thing As Sociology," *The American Sociologist* 6, no. 4 (1971): 328.

Friday, 8/28: The International System, Realism, and Liberalism

Jennifer Sterling-Folker, *Making Sense of International Relations Theories*, 2nd ed. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2013). → Ch.'s on "Realism" and "Liberalism"
Jack S. Levy and Williams R. Thompson, *Causes of War* (2010), pp. 1-54.

Monday, 8/31: Marxist Explanations

AHC, Ch. 1: The Analytics Framework: The World-System, Hegemony, and Domestic Power

Wednesday, 9/2: What is power?

Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, pp. 61-71.

Friday, 9/4: Hegemony, the domestic context

Stuart Hall, *Cultural Studies 1983* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), pp. 154-179.

Monday, 9/7: No Class—Labor Day

Wednesday, 9/9: Hegemony, the international context

Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Three Instances of Hegemony in the Capitalist World-Economy,” *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 24, no. 1-25 (1983): 100-108.

II. Dutch Hegemony

Friday, 9/11: The Dutch Advantage

Fernand Braudel, *Civilization & Capitalism III*, trans. Siân Reynolds (1984), pp. 175-178, 190-195, 207-210.

Monday, 9/14: Hegemony as Economic Power

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (New York: Academic Press, 1980). Ch. 2: Dutch Hegemony in the World-Economy (pp. 36-73).

Wednesday, 9/16: Hegemony as State Power

Peter J. Taylor, “Ten Years That Shook the World? The United Provinces as First Hegemonic State,” *Sociological Perspectives* 37, no. 1 (1994): 25-46.

Friday, 9/18: Around These Parts, the VOC is Sovereign

Matthias van Rossum, “Labouring Transformations of Amphibious Monsters: Exploring Early Modern Globalization, Diversity, and Shifting Clusters of Labour Relations in the Context of the Dutch East India Company (1600-1800),” *International Review of Social History* 64, no. S27 (2019): 19-42.

Monday, 9/21: Review

—How does the Dutch case exemplify hegemonic power? What is surprising or exceptional about the United Provinces?

Paper One topic handed out

Wednesday, 9/23: Question Time

III. British Hegemony

Friday, 9/25: Some Practice

J.W. Blake, "The First British Empire," *Current History* 22, no. 8 (1972): 537-546.

Monday, 9/28: Hegemonic Transition

Paper One due

Wednesday, 9/30: Silly States, Conquering is for Companies!

EIC, Introduction and Ch. 1 (pp. xxi-xxix, 1-41)

Friday, 10/2: Now Everyone Can Enjoy Tea

EIC, Ch. 2 (pp. 42-81)

Monday, 10/5: By Land or By Sea? The French and the British Battle for Supremacy

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (New York: Academic Press, 1980). Ch. 3: Struggle in the Core—Phase I: 1651-1689 (1st part, pp. 74-108)

Wednesday, 10/7: What Does it Mean to Be a Strong State?

Wallerstein (contd.), Ch. 3 (2nd part, pp. 108-125)

Friday, 10/9: All Great Powers Decline

EIC, Ch. 3 and Conclusion (pp. 82-133)

Monday, 10/12: Debate on British Power

IV. American Hegemony in the 20th Century

Wednesday, 10/14: Rising Power

AHC, Ch. 2: Seeking Supremacy (pp. 17-43)

Friday, 10/16: For the Soul of Mankind

AHC, Ch. 3: Cold War on Many Fronts, 1945-1946 (pp. 43-72)

Monday, 10/19: Cold, or Pretty Warm?

Immanuel Wallerstein, "What Cold War in Asia?" In *The Cold War in Asia: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*, Zheng Yangwen, Hong Liu, and Michael Szonyi, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2010, 15-24).

Wednesday, 10/21: As Good as It Gets

AHC, Ch. 6: Hegemony at High Tide, 1957-1967 (pp. 125-154)

Friday, 10/23: The Year That Changed Everything

AHC, Ch. 7: Dissent, Détente, and Decline, 1968-1976 (pp. 155-190)

Monday, 10/26: 1968: Carter's Paradox

AHC, Ch. 8: The Carter Cold War, 1977-1980 (pp. 191-215)

Wednesday, 10/28: Reagan and Détente

AHC, Ch. 9: The Reagan Cold War and Détente Revisited, 1981-1988 (pp. 216-236)

Friday, 10/30: Is Bipolarity Necessary for Hegemony?

AHC, Ch. 10: The End of the Cold War and the Future of Hegemony (pp. 237-258)

V. America's Role in the 21st Century

Monday, 11/2: Debate on American Hegemony

Wednesday, 11/4: The Necessary Power (part i)

LO, Introduction (pp. 1-18).

LO, Ch. 1: Rethinking the Origins of American Hegemony (pp. 21-50)

LO, Ch. 3: The Nature and Sources of Liberal International Order (pp. 88-110)

Friday, 11/6: The Necessary Power (part ii)

LO, Ch. 5: American Power and the Empire of Capitalist Democracy (pp. 143-171)

Monday, 11/9: The Necessary Power (part iii)

LO, Ch. 6: Getting Hegemony Right (pp. 186-196)

LO, Ch. 11: Is American Multilateralism in Decline? (pp. 245-277)

Wednesday, 11/11: The Declining Power (part i)

Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Eagle Has Crash-Landed," *Foreign Policy* (July-Aug., 2002): 60-68.

GD, Ch. 1: The Impossible Dream (pp. 1-13)

Friday, 11/13: The Declining Power (part ii)

GD, Ch. 5: Liberalism Goes Abroad (pp. 120-151)

Monday, 11/16: The Declining Power (part iii)

GD, Ch. 6: Liberalism as a Source of Trouble (pp. 152-187)

Wednesday, 11/18: The Declining Power (part iv)

GD, Ch. 7: Liberal Theories of Peace (pp. 188-216)

GD, Ch. 8: The Case for Restraint (pp. 217-234)

Friday, 11/20: What Happened to the American Century?

Fareed Zakaria, "The Self-Destruction of American Power," *Foreign Affairs* (July-August 2019): 10-16.

VI. China, the Once and Future Hegemon?

Monday, 11/23: The Consequence of Endorsement is Imitation*

Perry Anderson, *The H-Word* (London: Verso, 2017). Ch. 9 pp. 117-144.

*Please note: Monday's class this week will be on Zoom. There is no class Wednesday (11/25) or Friday (11/27). Happy Thanksgiving!

Monday, 11/30: Forum on Who Will Run the World → 1st Half

Gideon Rose, "The Fourth Founding: The United States and the Liberal Order," *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 1 (2019): 10-21.

Richard Haas, "How a World Order Ends: And What Comes in Its Wake," *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 1 (2019): 22-30.

Final Paper topic handed out

Wednesday, 12/2: Forum on Who Will Run the World → 2nd Half

Oriana Skylar Mastro, "The Stealth Superpower: How China Hid Its Global Ambitions," *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 1 (2019): 31-39.

Yan Xueton, "The Age of Uneasy Peace: Chinese Power in a Divided World," *Foreign Affairs* 98, no. 1 (2019): 40-49.

Friday, 12/4: Course wrap-up and debate

Monday 12/7 at 10:45am: Final Paper Due