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Class Page: <http://www.angel.msu.edu>

## **MC 492: Senior Seminar in International Relations** **Hegemonic Foreign Policy (Fall Semester 2006)**

### **Scope of the Course**

The purpose of this seminar is to study about the foreign policies of hegemonic powers. We will read about and discuss the rise and fall of past hegemonic powers and the policies that they pursued. We will seek to uncover what insights the experience of past hegemonic powers has for the United States today. We will read works that praise and criticize hegemony.

The literature on hegemonic powers is proliferating. Works can be roughly divided into three categories: 1) comparisons of past hegemonic powers; 2) discussions of some aspect of hegemony, and 3) works focusing on U.S. hegemony. We will be reading, in common, examples of each of these. This will underscore how the seminar is interdisciplinary and, as such, an appropriate capstone to your undergraduate International Relations major.

In terms of skill building, the seminar aims to hone research, writing, listening and speaking skills. All students will revise papers and run a seminar as well as be active participants in all others. All students, on a random basis, will be responsible for summarizing the key points of another's presentation.

### **Reading Requirements**

Each student is asked to purchase the following five books. All are available at the area bookstores and all are on reserve at the university library. The Doyle book is also available electronically as an e-book.

Barkin, J. Samuel. *Social Construction and the Logic of Money: Financial Predominance and International Economic Leadership*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.

Doyle, Michael W. *Empires*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Friedman, Jonathan and Christopher Chase-Dunn. Editors. *Hegemonic Declines: Present and Past*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2005.

Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Case for Goliath: How America Acts as the World's Government in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: Public Affairs, 2005.

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993.

You are expected to read the assigned materials in advance and be prepared to discuss them at the indicated session.

In addition, certain *recommended readings* are listed at various places in this syllabus. These are not required, but are suggested as supplements to the required readings and may be of assistance in writing your research paper.

### **Writing Requirements and Oral Presentation**

Each member of the seminar is required to write a formal paper proposal, a briefing paper (due three days before the oral presentation), a term-long research paper (for which a draft will be submitted, and do an oral presentation. *No student can pass the seminar without turning in these papers and doing the oral presentation.*

*Each student will be required by the beginning of class on September 19<sup>th</sup> to submit to the instructor, in writing, a formal paper proposal for his or her research paper.* Students are to choose their own topics, but all papers must be comparative and relate to the theme of the course. Thus, for example, papers can compare the rise or decline of two or more hegemonic powers or compare the same aspect of two or more hegemonic powers (e.g. cultural or economic hegemony) or assess the insights offered from past hegemonic powers for U.S. hegemony today or some aspect of past hegemonic powers for some aspect of U.S. hegemony today (e.g. military, economic, cultural hegemony).

### **Formal Paper Proposal**

Before you start composing your research project, you must submit a formal paper proposal. The instructor will try to make sure your topic is focused enough, is responsive to the course requirements, etc. Researching and writing the proposal should serve to get you started with your reading in time to recall sources that have been checked out of the

library, find sources that are missing, and inter-library loan sources that are unavailable at MSU. Your proposal should precisely define your topic, tell what one will learn from reading your paper, provide a thesis/conclusion (however tentative it may be), and explain and enumerate the sources critical to your proposed research, demonstrating that those available are adequate for your paper.

**Your proposal should be 4-5 pages long, not counting the bibliography that you should also attach to it.** Before you turn in your proposal, you should have done an extensive bibliographical search on your topic, using specialized bibliographies and indexes, as well as on-line sources. Your proposal should cover the following areas, arranged however you find most useful:

- *Topic of the Paper* – you should be able to summarize the topic in a few sentences or questions, a paragraph at most. Include a statement as to its relevance to the class and how it is responsive to the course requirements as enumerated on the syllabus. You must narrow your topic down to a do-able level of specificity. One way to do this is to define your topic in terms of questions you want to answer or hypotheses you wish to examine.
- *What literature already exists on your topic and how does your paper augment that literature?* This is not a preliminary bibliography (which includes citations in bibliographic format) but rather a literature review.
- *Anticipated Problems and Next Steps* -- Where do you think you are going to have the most trouble doing this paper? What other sources are there that you haven't had time to consult yet? What other aspects of the topic do you need to take into consideration?
- *Preliminary Bibliography* -- You need to have looked up the topic in several indices or bibliographies and used a variety of search engines (e.g. Google) and electronic data bases. Your goal here is to be sure that there are enough books and articles about your topic. You should have a mix of books and articles, on-line materials and those checked out from the library.

### **Briefing Paper**

Three days prior to giving their oral presentations (dates will be established after students have selected their paper topics), students will post on the class Angel page a brief factual background sheet of information that students in the class should have for following the presentation. This can be in outline or “bullet” format and should be no longer than 3 pages. It might also contain maps and/or timelines.

### **Research Paper (Draft and Final Paper)**

The research paper – the final version of which will be at least 30 pages in length – will provide information related to the aspects of hegemonies that have been studied, including how they relate to the key questions discussed, in common, at the outset of the

course. Moreover, students are expected, in the final version of the research paper, to systematically integrate their classmates' suggestions made at the time of their presentations and those made by the instructor.

The *draft* of the research paper, which should be at least 20 pages long (with, if necessary, indications of areas to be developed and without a formal bibliography) is due at the beginning of class on October 24<sup>th</sup>. This is a draft, not a rough draft.

Correct bibliographic and end/foot/internal note citations will be expected. Each student can choose among the noting styles, but your papers must do noted *and you should provide a bibliography as well*. For assistance in proper footnoting see:

<http://www.lib.msu.edu/ref/readyreference/rr17.htm> and  
<http://www.lib.msu.edu/ref/readyreference/rr18.htm>

*The research paper is due on or before Noon on December 14, 2006.* This is true for all students no matter when they are scheduled for presentations. Severe grade sanctions will be applied to any late papers, except in the rarest of circumstances (such as hospitalization).

Throughout the entire paper process (selection of topic, hypothesis formulation, outlining, research, writing and revisions), students are encouraged to meet with the instructor, both during office hours and during separate appointments. Office hours, e-mail address and phone number are listed on the first page of this syllabus for this purpose.

### **Oral Presentation, Discussion Leader and Role as Summarizer**

Each student is required to give a *thirty* minute talk in which he or she addresses the key aspects the research undertaken. In all instances, the presentations, like the papers, need to be comparative. Students' grades will be determined on the basis of the substance *and* style of their presentations as well as their ability to generate a class discussion and their responses to questions and suggestions. **Students should not read their presentations or rely heavily on what they have on their PowerPoint slides if they use them.** Those doing so shall have their grades lowered.

At the conclusion of the presentation, the instructor will randomly select a student to summarize in 3 minutes or less the key points of the presentation. This will be done both to ensure that the presenter was heard correctly and to hone the listening and summary skills of the others in the classroom. *Summaries that take longer than 3 minutes or those that are simply students reading off their notes from the talk will be graded down.*

At the conclusion of the summary of the presentation, each student will be expected to lead a class discussion and to respond to questions and suggestions from the student's classmates. This should last at least another fifteen minutes.

The variety of writing, the required revision of the draft and the oral presentation of students' findings fits with this being a Tier 2 writing course. Also as part of the I.R. major's Tier 2 requirement, each member of the seminar will be required to submit their writing portfolio and checklist prior to the conclusion of the course. Details and the checklist can be found at: <http://www.jmc.msu.edu/ir/IRWritingPortfolio.doc>

### **Classroom Participation**

This is a seminar. Accordingly, all students will be expected to be active participants and thus will be graded on their comments in class, including in terms of providing suggestions for improvement at the end of each of their classmate's presentations. Students whose only classroom participation is in the form of their own oral presentations and summary of another student's presentation should expect a 0.0 for classroom participation.

### **Some Important Deadlines**

- Formal Paper Proposal due at beginning of class September 19th
- Draft of Research Paper due at beginning of class October 24th
- Exam in class on October 31st
- Briefing Paper Due Three Days Before Oral Presentation (dates to be set after topics are chosen)
- Final Research Paper due December 14th (Noon)

### **Grade Determinants**

In-class Examination	20%
Formal Paper Proposal	10%
"Briefing" Paper	10%
Oral Presentation	10%
Summary of Another Student's Presentation	5%
Oral Participation	15%
Draft of Research Paper	10%
Research Paper	20%

## Calendar

### Hegemonic Foreign Policy throughout World History

**August 29**

#### **Hegemony, Imperialism and Empire**

Required Reading:

Michael W. Doyle, *Empires*, chapter 1.

Recommended Readings:

Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*.

John Agnew, *Hegemony: The New Shape of Global Power*.

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "U.S. Power and Strategy After Iraq," *Foreign Affairs*, 82 (July/August 2003): 60-89.

Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors*, chapter 1

Andreas Bieler and Adam David Morton, "A Critical Theory Route to Hegemony, World Order and Historical Change: Neo-Gramscian Perspectives in International Relations," *Capital and Class*, 82 (2004): 89-113.

Jack Snyder, "Myths of Empire and Strategies of Hegemony," in *Lessons of Empire: Imperial Histories and American Power*, edited by Craig Calhoun, Frederick Cooper, and Kevin W. Moore.

**August 31**

**Historical Sociology of Empires**

Required Reading:

Doyle, Part I.

**September 5**

**19<sup>th</sup> Century Imperialism**

Required Reading

Doyle, chapters 7-10.

**September 7**

**19<sup>th</sup> Century Imperialism Continued**

Required Reading:

Doyle, chapter 11-14.

Recommended Reading:

Niall Ferguson, *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Great Power*

**September 12****Hegemonic Declines: A Theoretical Introduction**

Required Reading:

Jonathan Friedman and Christopher Chase-Dunn, editors, *Hegemonic Declines: Present and Past*, Introduction and chapter 1.

Recommended Reading:

Jack Snyder, *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*.

**September 14****Hegemonic Declines: Theory and Preliminary Application**

Required Reading:

Friedman and Chase-Dunn, chapters 2-3.

Recommended Readings:

Owen Worth, "The Janus-like Character of Counter-hegemony: Progressive and Nationalist Responses to Neoliberalism, *Global Society* (No. 3, 2002): 297-315.

Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*.

**September 19****Comparing Modern Hegemonic Declines: The Dutch and Ottoman Empires**

Formal Paper Proposal Due at the Beginning of Class

Required Reading:

Friedman and Chase-Dunn, chapters 4-5

**September 21****Comparing Modern Hegemonic Declines: Theoretical Insights**

Required Reading:

Friedman and Chase-Dunn, chapters 6-7

**September 26****Hegemonic Decline and Resistance**

Required Reading:

Friedman and Chase-Dunn, chapters 8-9.

Recommended Reading:

Gerald Horne, "A Gathering Storm: Anti-Imperialism Brews Tempest – Mounting Evidence Indicates that U.S. Hegemony in Global Politics is Under Strong Challenge by Anti-Imperialist Forces," *Political Affairs*, 84 (No. 10, 2005): 40-43.

**September 28****Economic Hegemony: Theoretical Perspectives**

Required Reading:

J. Samuel Barkin, *Social Construction and the Logic of Money: Financial Predominance and International Economic Leadership*, chapters 1-2.

Recommended Reading:

Steven E. Lobell, *The Challenges of Hegemony: Grand Strategy, Trade, and Domestic Politics*.

**October 3****Economic Hegemony: Case Studies**

Required Reading:

Barkin, chapters 3-4.

**October 5****Economic Hegemony: Additional Studies, Including Insights about the U.S.**

Required Reading:

Barkin, chapters 5-7.

Recommended Reading:

E. Yeldan, "The Rising Hegemony of Global Finance and the Demise of Development," *Revue Canadienne d'Etudes du Développement: Canadian Journal of Development*, (No. 24, Part 2, 2003): 122-214.

## **October 10**

### **Cultural Hegemony: Theoretical Overview**

Required Reading:

Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, chapter 1

Recommended Reading:

Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*.

## **October 12**

### **Cultural Hegemony: Case Studies**

Required Reading:

Said, chapter 2.

## **October 17**

### **Cultural Hegemony: Resistance and Opposition**

Required Reading:

Said, chapters 3-4.

Recommended Reading:

Samir Khalaf, *Cultural Resistance: Global and Local Encounters in the Middle East*.

Stephen Duncombe, editor, *Cultural Resistance: A Reader*.

### **October 19**

#### **The U.S. as a Hegemonic Power (with an emphasis on military security issues)**

Required Reading:

Michael Mandelbaum, *The Case for Goliath: How America Acts as the World's Government in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, chapters 1-2.

Recommended Readings:

John G. Ikenberry, "Getting Hegemony Right – If it is to avoid global resentment and ward off potentially hostile coalitions, the United States must continue to ensure that others have a stake in its hegemonic system," *The National Interest*, 63 (2001): 17-24.

Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences*.

Andrew Kydd, "In America We (Used to) Trust: U.S. Hegemony and Global Cooperation," *Political Science Quarterly*, 120 (No. 4, 2005): 619-636.

David A. Lake, "American Hegemony and the Future of East-West Relations," *International Studies Perspectives* (2006): 23-30.

### **October 24**

#### **The U.S. as a Hegemonic Power (with an emphasis on the global economy)**

*Draft of Term-Long Research Paper Due at Beginning of Class*

Required Reading:

Mandelbaum, chapters 3-4.

Recommended Reading:

Mark Rupert, *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power*.

Robert T. Kudrie, "Hegemony Strikes Out: The U.S. Global Role in Antitrust, Tax Evasion, and Illegal Immigration," *International Studies Perspectives*, 4 (No. 1, 2003): 52-71.

**October 26**

**The Future of the Global Order**

Required Reading:

Mandelbaum, chapter 5.

Recommended Readings:

Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire*.

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*.

Andrew Hurrell, "Hegemony, Liberalism and Global Order: What Place for Would-Be Great Powers?" *International Affairs*, 81 (No. 1, 2006): 1-19.

Elke Krahnemann, "American Hegemony or Global Governance? Competing Visions of International Security," *International Studies Review*, 7 (No. 4, 2005): 531-545.

**October 31**

**In-Class Examination**

**November 2**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**November 7**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**November 9**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**November 14**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**November 16**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**November 21**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**November 28**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**November 30**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**December 5**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**December 7**

**Class presentations, summaries and discussions and Summary and Conclusions to the Seminar**

Required Reading:

Students' Briefing Papers on Angel

**December 14th 10:00 - Noon**

**FINAL PAPER DUE**