

Hegemony or Survival?

Binghamton University

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PLSC380L

Summer 2007

Days: M-F

General Note: The syllabus is a living document that can and will be altered throughout the duration of the course based both on need and design. All changes will be listed on Blackboard, so make sure to check announcements for any such change. Additionally, I maintain the copyright to all of my own intellectual property presented in this course, whether it is the course lectures or this syllabus and ought not to be reproduced without my expressed permission.

Course Description

Students will apply tools of political science to understand the effect, if any, of a single, dominant nation-state in the international arena. Primarily, the class will be interested in issues of trade liberalization and conflict. After discussing the current state of the academic literature, the class will engage popular academic and media portrayals (from Hugo Chavez and Noam Chomsky to the Project for a New American Century) of American hegemony that have gained prominence over the last decade while discerning their normative and empirical merits.

Course Format (Distance Learning)

This is a distance learning course that will be administered entirely online primarily through the Blackboard Learning System. Consequently, to participate, you will need to not only have access to the internet throughout the entire term (May 29th to June 29th), but you will also have to have the latest updated technology. A steady stream to the internet may also be required for larger files and for online tests (the midterm), making sure that you have access to this is important, though the speed is not as important as the consistency.

Technology wise, it is of utmost importance that you have the latest versions of these tools or the ability to read documents that are generated in them: Adobe Acrobat, Microsoft Power Point 2007 and Word 2007. **You do not need to purchase the latter two products; you do need to make sure you have the latest updates for your versions (however), such that you can read files generated in later iterations of the program.** Specifically, Microsoft has switched to openxml files and new word documents (As well as others) are generated as .docx which is different than the traditional .doc file. Make sure you are updated. Most articles will be in Adobe Acrobat format.

The class will “meet” five days a week. For each day, you are expected to have done the reading for that day and willing to participate in class “discussion”. This course carries the full weight of a normal course and you should expect to participate in it with as much time as a normal summer course (1 hour and 45 minutes) every day. The daily routine of the class will involve two components. The first is a lecture-based component that is available from 12:01 AM until 11:59 PM the day of the lecture – not all days will have a lecture, but most will. **This will be done in Microsoft Power Point and will require you to have your sound on to listen to what being said.** After the lecture, each student will be expected to contribute to the discussion in the “Discussion Board” section of class. For daily participation, each student is expected to submit about a paragraph in response to the daily inquiry and then also respond to any previous poster with a unique insight into their post. Posts on non-lecture days are expected to be longer and more thought out than posts on lecture-days to compensate for the lack of a lecture. This can be done at any time during the day up to midnight that day.

Key functions in Blackboard

You cannot survive in this class without accessing Blackboard, please familiarize yourself with it early in the summer. Some key features that you must be familiar with are:

- **Announcements:** Announcements regarding the course will be posted here. Changes to the syllabus or anything outside the normal routine of the course will be posted in this area when you log in.
- **Lectures:** This area will contain the daily lectures. A new lecture will become available under this section at 12:01 Am of the day it is assigned. The lecture will expire daily at 11:50 PM and will no longer be available.
- **Course Documents:** This section will contain any documents related to the course and not available elsewhere (some articles, this syllabus, etc.).
- **Discussion Board:** The discussion board is a primary component of the course and will have 3 different sections that one should check daily:
 - **Daily discussion:** This will contain the daily thread for all users to post on and discuss the readings. Each person will be expected to post her about twice daily and head their posts with either “Answer” or “Response” depending on what function their post serves.
 - **Critical Reviews:** This will be for posting critical reviews written by students and are expected to be read by the class.
 - **Course Questions:** This is a space where students may ask me questions directly about either material or course structure that are not directly related to the daily happenings. You should check all new posts here before making a new post. Duplicate questions will be ignored if they are already answered in this section.

- **Communication:** This section contains various ways to communicate with the instructor or other students. Two important functions are Send E-Mail and Collaboration:
 - **Send E-mail:** Allows users to send E-mails to other participants in the class. This should be used very rarely when the discussion board is not accessible.
 - **Collaboration:** Virtual office hours will be conducted under this section in real-time, java chat window. I will also be in my office at BU during this time.

Questions to the instructor

I do have office hours and will be available in them. However, if you have a general question related to the course, asking during that time may be inefficient for both parties. **General questions that apply to everyone should be asked in the discussion board only.** Personalized questions are welcomed; however, general questions that may be redundant will be referred to the discussion board. I will check the discussion board daily and answer all the questions there.

E-Mailing me should be a rare event and only should be done with items that cannot be addressed in the discussion board or during office hours. **I will only answer an email once per day as this is the least preferred method of communication.**

Course Requirements

- Each student is expected to attend class daily and complete all required readings for the course. This will be fundamental for most activities that are graded.
- All papers must be submitted to turn it in by the date specified as this is the only format in which I will accept it as turned in officially.
- I will post questions daily to the discussion board (and they will be posted at the end of lecture. Each student will be expected to post twice daily on the board and answer both the question posed by the instructor and, later, respond to with a unique insight to another student. Each post is worth up to 10 points, with an average post receiving a 7.5/10. Discussion posts on non-lecture days (primarily days were we are discussing a book) are worth twice as many points (20 total).

Discussion Board Participation is worth 15% of the grade

- Students are expect to submit two (2) short (3-5 pages, double spaced, Times New Roman or equivalent font and 1" margins) critical reviews for the course. These can be done at the participant's discretion but at least one (1) of the reviews must be done on one of the four books read for the class. The other review can be done on any article or another book. Each review must contain very little summary and

spend more time expanding on or critiquing the piece covered. The primary focus is on unique insight and discussion. Each review **must be posted by 11:59 PM the day before the reading is assigned. Late Reviews will not be accepted;** they are expected to facilitate discussion and the class should read them before posting on the discussion board. **All citations must be done in the American Political Science Association Style.**

Each Critical Review is worth 15% of the grade, both of them are collectively worth 30% of your course grade.

- Midterm: After two weeks, there will be an online midterm in the course. This will be a timed midterm that you should expect to take 2 hours to take. Obviously I cannot prevent the midterm from being open note, so it is. However, the midterm is also timed and you may have to make a tradeoff between answering the question and searching your notes/the readings. The format of the midterm will be posted later. There will not be a study sheet for the midterm.

The Midterm is worth 25% of your grade.

- Final Paper: At the end of the class you will have to submit a final research or analysis paper. The exact assignment will be posted later in the class. After 2 weeks, each student will submit a one page (double spaced) proposal to me of what their final topic will be and this is worth 5% of the final grade. The final paper is expected to be at least 10 pages in length (though longer papers will be accepted and encouraged). The final paper will be worth the remainder of your grade for 25%. All citations must be done in the American Political Science Association Style. I will not accept late papers.

The proposal is worth 5% of your grade, the final paper is worth 25% of your grade.

Grade calculation

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Participation and Discussion | 15% |
| Critical Review 1 | 15 |
| Critical Review 2 | 15 |
| Midterm | 25 |
| Paper Proposal | 5 |
| Final Paper | 25 |
| Total | 100% |

Your progress throughout the semester will be recorded on blackboard and available to you.

Readings

There are four (4) required readings for this course. Other readings will come in the form of journal articles that are available on the Binghamton University website. Please become familiar with how to use the library website early in the semester as you will be reading articles throughout.

You are expected to read the following books:

- Chomsky, Noam. 2004. *Hegemony or Survival America's Quest for Global Dominance*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Gilpin, Robert. 1981. *War & Change in World Politics*. Cambridge, U.K.: The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.
- Keohane, Robert O. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Robinson, William I. 1996. *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

You will complete one book per week. We will be discussing the book formally at the end of each week. However, do not wait until the day before to start reading the book as you will not have enough time (especially with the Robinson and Keohane books, start early).

We will read the books in the following order: Gilpin, Keohane, Robinson, and then Chomsky.

Reading Schedule

This is the reading you are expected to have done by the day it is assigned. As mentioned earlier, the books are going to be the longest part and you should start reading them well in advance of the due date for discussion. Initially, this will be a skeleton of what we are going to be doing and will be filled in as time goes on or class interest suggest a change in a topic or two. Suggestions for readings will also be welcomed if they are offered early enough.

Introduction to Hegemony and Relevant Concepts

May 29th

-Read and Understand Syllabus
First Lecture Posted

May 30th

What is Hegemony?

Bates, Thomas R. 1975. "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony." *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 36(2): 351-366.

Nye, Joseph S, Jr. 1990. "The Changing Nature of World Power." *Political Science Quarterly*. 105(2) 177-192.

May 31st

Images, Structure, and political outcomes

Brawley, Mark. R. 1995. "Political Leadership and Liberal Economic Subsystems: The Constraints of Structural Assumptions." 28 (1): 85-103

June 1st

-Finish Gilpin

No Lecture today

June 4th

-Spiezio, Edward K. 1990. "British Hegemony and Major Power War, 1815-1939: An Empirical Test of Gilpin's Model of Hegemonic Governance." *International Studies Quarterly*. 34(2): 165-181.

-Bremer, Stuart A. 1992. "Dangerous Dyads: conditions affecting the likelihood of interstate war, 1816-1965." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 36(2): 309-341.

Hegemonic Stability Theory

June 5th

Introducing the Theory

Gallagher, John, and Ronald Robinson. 1953. "The Imperialism of Free Trade." *The Economic History of Review* VI (1):1-15.

Kindleberger, Charles P. [1973] 1975. *The World in Depression: 1929-1939*. Berkeley: University of California Press. [will be posted on blackboard]

Kranser, Stephen D. 1976. "State Power and the Structure of International Trade." *World Politics* 28 (3):317-47.

June 6th

Gill, Stephen R. and David Law. 1989. "Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital." *International Studies Quarterly*. 33(4): 475-499.

Testing the theory?

Mansfield, Edward D. 1992. "The Concentration of Capabilities and International Trade." *International Organization* 46 (3):731-54.

June 7th

Critics

Snidal, Duncan. 1985. "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory." *International Organization* 39 (4):579-614.

World Systems Theory

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2000. "The Three Instances of Hegemony in the History of the Capitalist World-Economy." In *The Essential Wallerstein*, ed. I. Wallerstein. New York: The New Press. [will be posted on blackboard]

Wallerstein, Immanuel. [1974] 2000. "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis." In *The Essential Wallerstein*, ed. I. Wallerstein. New York: The New Press.

June 8th

-Finish Keohane

No Lecture Today

Recommended Reading (No longer required):

Strange, Susan. 1987. "The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony." *International Organization*. 41(4): 551-574.

Garst, Daniel. 1989. "Thucydides and Neorealism." *International Studies Quarterly*. 33(1): 1989.

June 11th

Further Exploration via Game Theory

Alt, James E., Randall L. Calvert, and Brian D. Humes. 1988. "Reputation and Hegemonic Stability: A Game-Theoretic Analysis." *The American Political Science Review* 82 (2):445-66.

Hausken, Kjell, and Thomas Plümpner. 1997. "Hegemons, Leaders and Followers: A Game-Theoretic Approach to the Postwar Dynamics of International Political Economy." *Journal of World-Systems Research* 3 (1):35-93.

June 12th

-Midterm today
No Lecture Today
No office hours today
No Discussion/Participation

June 13th

Summing up what we know

Gowa, Joanne. 1987. "Rational Hegemons, Excludable Goods, and Small Groups: An Epitaph for Hegemonic Stability Theory?" *World Politics* 41 (3):307-24.

Lake, David A. 1993. "Leadership, Hegemony, and the International Economy: Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential?" *International Studies Quarterly*. 37(4): 459-489.

Keshk, Omar M. G., Brian M. Pollins, and Rafael Reuveny. 2004. "Trade Still Follows the Flag: The Primacy of Politics in a Simultaneous Model of Interdependence and Armed Conflict." *The Journal of Politics* 66 (4):1155-79.

June 14th

Do domestic politics matter?

Gourevitch, Peter. 1978. "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics." *International Organization* 32 (4):881-912.

Hiscox, Michael J. 1999. "The Magic Bullet? The RTAA, Institutional Reform, and Trade Liberalization." *International Organization* 53 (Autumn):669-98.

Irwin, Douglas A., and Randall S. Kroszner. 1999. "Interests, Institutions, and Ideology in Securing Policy Change: The Republican Conversion to Trade Liberalization after Smoot-Hawley." *Journal of Law and Economics* XLII:643-73.

Power and Influence in Hegemony

June 15th

-Finish Robinson
No lecture today

June 18th

One page Proposal due today

No Lecture

Discussion based on critiques and discussion of other's proposals.

-Reading: Read every other person's proposal and offer some sort of comment. There should be less than 20 pages of reading, so you are making up for the lack of reading by offering thoughtful commentary.

June 19th

-Mares, David R. 1988. "Middle Powers under Regional Hegemony: to Challenge or Acquiesce in Hegemonic Enforcement." *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (4): 453-471.

Crone, Donald. 1993 "Does Hegemony Matter?: The Reorganization of the Pacific Political economy." *World Politics*. 45(4): 501-525.

June 20th

Introduction to Power Transition theory

-Organski and Kugler *The War Ledger* (on blackboard).

-Lemke *Regions of War and Peace* (on blackboard).

June 21st

Extensions of the theories

Allen, Michael. "When more than one bully wants your lunch money." (Available on Blackboard.

The future?

Boswell, Terry and Mike Sweat. 1991. "Hegemony, Long Waves, and Major Wars: A Time Series Analysis of Systemic Dynamics, 1496 -1967." *International Studies Quarterly*. 35 (2):123-149.

Ikenberry, John G. 1996. "The Future of International Leadership." *Political Science Quarterly*. 111(3): 385-402.

Policy Proposals and Analysis/Predictions

June 22nd

-Finish Chomsky

No lecture today

June 25th

Theories of Blowback?

Corn, Georges. 1998. "Avoiding the Obvious: Arab Perspectives on US Hegemony in the Middle East." *Middle East Report*. 208: 23-25.

Deng, Yong. 2001. "Hegemon on the Offensive: Chinese Perspectives on U.S. Global Strategy." *Political Science Quarterly*. 116(3): 343-365.

June 26th

Project for a New American Century (<http://www.newamericancentury.org/>)
Lead up to the Bush Administration

Solaraz and Wolfowitz. 1999. "Letter to the Editor" *Foreign Affairs*.
http://www.newamericancentury.org/iraq_pdf_01.pdf

Schmitt. 2001. "Why Iraq?" *The Weekly Standard*.
<http://www.newamericancentury.org/Schmitt-102901.pdf>

Gerecht. 2001. "A Cowering Superpower." *The Weekly Standard*.
<http://www.newamericancentury.org/defense-20010730.pdf>

Present

Schmitt, Gary. 2003. "Power and Duty: Us Action is Crucial to Maintaining World Order." <http://www.newamericancentury.org/global-032303.htm>

Donnelly and Serchuk. 2003. "U.S. Counterinsurgency in Iraq: Lessons from the Philippine War." *National Security Outlook*.
<http://www.newamericancentury.org/defense-20031103.htm>

Briefly Review (you do not have to read the whole thing, just browse relevant chapters to your own interests).

Donnelly, Kagan, and Scmitt. 2003. "Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century."
<http://www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf>

June 27th

The present and the Future – Terrorism and China

Lind, Michael. 2007. "Beyond American Hegemony." *The National Interest*. May/June.

Drexner, Daniel. 2007. "The New New World Order." *Foreign Affairs*. Mar/Apr 2007.

Boggs, Carl. 2004. "US Grand Strategy and its Contradictions." *New Political Science*. September. 26(3) 271-291.

China

Rosecrance, Richard. 2006. "Power and International relations: The Rise of China and Its Effects." *International Studies Perspectives*. 7(1): 31-35.

Chomsky, Noam. 2007. "Imminent Crises." *Monthly Review*. June. 59 (2): 1-19.

Shuja, Sharif. 2007. "Pragmatism in Chinese Foreign Policy." *Contemporary Review*. 289(1684): 62-69.

June 28th

No lecture today, use for final changes/studying for final examination
No formal discussion today

June 29th

Turn in Final Paper or Take Final Exam
No Lecture Today
No Discussion/Participation is recorded