

The Politics of Empire

Spring 2016

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Office Hours: Fridays, 9:00-12:00

Course Description:

Much of international relations scholarship proceeds from the starting point that states are formally equal and constitutionally sovereign. This class explores a broad set of cases in which this traditional starting point is problematic – namely those relationships that are characterized by hierarchy rather than anarchy. We will cover relationships that are traditionally known as “empire,” but will also address more recent variants of hierarchical organization that are less formal.

The readings and materials for this course are by their nature interdisciplinary. We will cover a wide range of arguments from political scientists, economists, and historians. That said, the starting point for analysis in this class is not a normative one: in other words, we will ask questions about why empires form, but in general will not spend much time discussing whether they are just or right. While there are no formal requirements for this class, on occasion we will engage with readings that include economic principles, statistical inference, and formal logic.

Class Policies

I. Grading (note that the following cutpoints include all rounding):

A	92.50-100%	C	72.50-76.49%
A-	89.50-92.49%	C-	69.50-72.49%
B+	86.50-89.49%	D+	66.50-69.49%
B	82.50-86.49%	D	62.50-66.49%
B-	79.50-82.49%	D-	59.50-62.49%
C+	76.50-79.49%	F	<59.50%

Breakdown:

I (a). Participation. This is a seminar-format class. It is therefore imperative that everyone comes to class having done the readings and is prepared to discuss them. I do not want to lecture for three hours straight and I am positive none of you wish to hear me do so. The class will therefore heavily lean on discussion. I will on occasion ask for volunteers to diagram arguments

Participation	20%
Weekly emails	10%
First writing assignment	10%
Second writing assignment	20%
Research paper	30%
annotated bibliography	10%

on the board, and failing enthusiastic response will be forced to draw names from a hat.

I (b). Weekly emails. In order to better facilitate in-class discussion, you should all email me at least two questions you have about the readings each week. These should arrive at least 24 hours before the start of the class. This has the double-feature of ensuring that you do not wait until the day of class to start the readings. I don't have a strong preference on the format of these emails. If there is something unclear from the readings, ask that; if there is something you'd like to discuss in further detail, ask that. I'd like to use this assignment to structure class discussion, so feel free to be creative.

I (c-d). Writing assignments. These writing assignments are listed below on the dates they are due. Please bring a hard copy with you to class. In the event of a printer malfunction, email the assignment to me *before* class begins or it will be considered late. Consider the min/max length to be $\pm 10\%$ of the listed word count. In other words, don't cut valuable information to get to 750/1000 words. Please include your word count at the top of your assignment.

I (e). Research paper. This paper should address an empirical question about empire or hierarchy in international politics. In other words, your paper should (i) ask a question about empire/hierarchy, (ii) provide an answer, (iii) explain what sort of evidence would count for and against your answer, and (iv) present evidence testing your expectations.

The evidence you provide can be historical (relying on one case), structured qualitative analysis (comparing multiple cases), or quantitative (using statistical inference). You should check in with me about this project early in the semester, and each of you is required to set up a meeting with me to discuss your paper sometime before the class meeting following spring break (week 9). At the beginning of class in week 9, you will have an annotated bibliography due in class. In this bibliography, you should list 10 sources you expect to use for your research paper and briefly outline the argument of each source.

The paper should be 14-16 pages (or $\leq 5,000$ words) in twelve point font. I will not restrict you to Times New Roman but may be compelled to deduct points if the font you choose is sufficiently bizarre. You may include an appendix of any length with figures, diagrams, regression tables, etc. You should submit this paper two ways: first, bring a hard copy with you to class; second, email me a copy. The emailed copy should arrive in my inbox before class begins.

II. Books. The following books should be purchased for this course:

- Darwin, John. *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400-2000*. New York:

Bloomsbury Press, 2008.

- Lake, David A. *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Parsons, Timothy H. *The Rule of Empires*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

III. Readings. You should complete the readings before you come to the class period under which the reading is marked. That means that yes, there is reading you should have finished on the first day of class. On average, I've tried to schedule around 100 pages per week – in other words, three book chapter or article equivalents. Some weeks have relatively technical readings and the reading load on those weeks is correspondingly scaled back.

The suggested readings are in no way required for this course. They are simply recommendations for further reading on a topic should one strike your interest. You should definitely assume that if I assigned a chapter or chapters from a book, the rest is definitely suggested! The literature on empire is vast and overwhelming, but these should provide a reasonable point of entry.

IV. Disability Accommodations. If you require accommodation, it is your responsibility to bring your note to me EARLY in the term – preferably within the first two weeks – so we can work out arrangements.

V. Academic Integrity. Please review the [University's Code of Integrity](#).

VI. Grade Complaints. If you feel a quiz, writing assignment, or test has been graded incorrectly or unfairly you may request that I regrade the portion you feel was scored in error. This request must be made IN WRITING (email is fine) no later than one week after the assignment has been returned. Your request should include (1) the question or questions you believe was graded unfairly and (2) the specific reason you believe you should have received a different score.

VII. Religious Holidays. The University recognizes that there are holidays, both religious and secular (in addition to those listed [here](#)), which are of importance to some individuals and groups on campus. Such occasions include, but are not limited to, Sukkot, the last two days of Passover, Shavuot, Shemini Atzerat and Simchat Torah, as well as Chinese New Year, the Muslim New Year, Diwali, and the Islamic holidays Eid Al-Fitr and Eid Al-Adha. Students who wish to observe such holidays must inform their instructors within the first two weeks of each semester of their intent to observe the holiday even when the exact date of the holiday will not be known until later so that alternative arrangements convenient to both students and faculty can be made at the earliest opportunity. Exceptions to the requirement of a make-up examination must be approved in advance by the undergraduate dean of the school in which the course is offered.

VIII. Email. I am generally available to answer questions about class via email, at the address listed above. However, I request at a minimum 24 hours on time-sensitive issues. Emails sent after 9 pm are unlikely to receive a response until the next day. **Please include in your subject line the class number followed by your concern**, e.g., "Subject: [class number]: Absence on 3/10." If you do not title your emails this way there is a decent chance they will become lost in

my inbox.

IX. Make-ups and late turn-ins. In order to get full credit for a make-up exam/quiz/assignment, you MUST inform me of your absence BEFORE the test/quiz. I reserve the right to change the format of make-up assignments. Turning in a writing assignment late is subject to a half-letter grade penalty per day (including weekends).

Unit 1: Definitions

Week 1, January 14: Introduction

- Waltz, Kenneth. *Theory of International Politics*. 1979. Chapter 6. [online]
- Krasner, Stephen. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. Chapter 1. [online]
- McCormack, Daniel. *Beneath the Surface: Great Powers and International Hierarchy*, book manuscript. Chapter 1. [online]
- In class: Divide up Parsons book.

Week 1 (suggested)

- Carr, E.H. *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*. London: Macmillan, 1939.

Week 2, January 21: Models of Conflict and Politics

- Morrow, James D. [Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances](#). *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 904-933.
- Fearon, James D. [Rationalist Explanations for War](#). *International Organization* Vol. 49, No. 3, pp. 379-414.
- Werner, Suzanne. [Deterring Intervention](#). *American Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 720-732.

Week 3, January 28: Anarchy and Hierarchy

- Lake, David A. *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009. Introduction + Chapters 1-2.
- Heads up: you have a paper due next week that uses a reading assignment from that week. You may want a head start on the reading.

Week 3 (suggested)

- Deudney, Daniel H. *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

- Wagner, R. Harrison. *War and the State: The Theory of International Politics*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007.

Week 4, February 4: Empires in History

- **Writing assignment [750 words, due in class]: Using the chapter assigned to you in the Parsons book, explain why your “case” is or is not an empire.**
- Parsons, Timothy H. *The Rule of Empires*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Chapter 1 + assigned (from day 1).
- Lake, David A. *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009. Chapter 3.
- Reuter, Cristoph. [The Terror Strategist: Secret Files Reveal the Structure of Islamic State](#). Spiegel Online.

Week 4 (suggested)

- Doyle, Michael W. *Empires*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Burbank, Jane and Frederick Cooper. *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Unit 2: In the International Sphere

Week 5, February 11: The Territorial Logic of Hierarchy

- Benton, Lauren. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Chapter 1. [online]
- Belmessous, Saliha, ed. *Native Claims: Indigenous Law Against Empire, 1500-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Chapter 1.
- McCormack, Daniel. *Beneath the Surface: Great Powers and International Hierarchy*, book manuscript. Chapter 2. [online]

Week 5 (suggested)

- Keene, Edward. *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotious, Colonialism, and Order in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Simpson, Gerry. *Great Powers and Outlaw States: Unequal Sovereigns in the International Legal Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Blanken, Leo J. *Rational Empires: Institutional Incentives and Imperial Expansion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Week 6, February 18: Empires at War

- Gerwarth, Robert and Erez Manela. [The Great War as a Global War: Imperial Conflict and the Reconfiguration of World Order, 1911-1923](#). *Diplomatic History* Vol 38, Issue 4, pp. 786-800.
- Darwin, John. *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400-2000*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008. Chapters 7-8.

Week 6 (suggested)

- Thompson, Thomas S. *Empires on the Pacific: World War II and the Struggle for the Mastery of Asia*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.
- Paice, Edward. *World War I: The African Front*. Cambridge: Pegasus Publishing, 2010.
- Paine, Sarah. *The Wars for Asia, 1911-1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Tooze, Adam. *The Deluge: The Great War, America, and the Remaking of the Global Order, 1916-1931*. New York: Viking, 2014.
- Gerwarth, Robert and Erez Manela, eds. *Empires at War, 1911-1923*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Rogan, Eugene. *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East*. New York: Basic Books, 2015.

Week 7, February 25: Economics and Influence

- Lenin, Vladimir. [Imperialism](#). Chapters 7-10.
- Gallagher, John and Ronald Robinson. [The Imperialism of Free Trade](#). *The Economic History Review* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1953), pp. 1-15.
- Wagner, Harrison. [Economic Interdependence, Bargaining Power, and Political Influence](#). *International Organization* Vol. 42, No. 3 (Summer, 1988), pp. 461-483.

Week 7 (suggested)

- Maurer, Noel. *The Empire Trap: The Rise and Fall of U.S. Intervention to Protect American Property Overseas, 1893-2013*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Week 8, March 3: Hierarchy Construction

- Westad, Odd Arne. [Rethinking Revolutions: The Cold War in the Third World](#). *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 455-464.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and George Downs. [Intervention and Democracy](#). *International Organization* Vol. 60, No. 3, pp. 627-649.
- Lake, David A. [Legitimizing Power: The Domestic Politics of U.S. International Hierarchy](#). *International Security*, Volume 38, Number 2, pp. 74-111.

Week 8 (suggested)

- Dower, John W. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York: Norton, 1999.
- Spector, Ronald H. *In the Ruins of Empire: The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Post-war Asia*. New York: Random House, 2007.
- Owen, John M. *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change, 1510-2000*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010.

No class March 10 (Spring Break) or March 17 (Dr. McCormack out of town)

Unit 3: Policy, Governance, and Representation

Week 9, March 24: The Policy Implications of Hierarchy

- **Annotated bibliography due today.**
- Lake, David A. *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009. Chapters 4 and 5.
- McDonald, Patrick J. [Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace](#). *International Organization*, Volume 69, Number 3, pp. 557-588.

Week 10, March 31: Citizenship, Rights, and Political Participation

- Burbank, Jane. [An Imperial Rights Regime: Law and Citizenship in the Russian Empire](#). *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 397-431.
- Manela, Erez. *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Pages 3-62.
- Jamal, Amaney A. *Of Empires and Citizens*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012. Chapter 1. [online]

Week 11, April 7: Hierarchy and International Organizations

- Keohane, Robert. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984. Chapter 8.
- Thompson, Alexander. [Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission](#). *International Organization* Vol. 60, No. 1, pp. 1-34.
- Stone, Randall. [The Scope of IMF Conditionality](#). *International Organization*, Vol. 62, Number 4, pp. 589-620.

Unit 4: The Curious (?) Case of the United States

Week 12, April 14: Varieties of American Empire

- **Writing assignment [1000 words, due in class]: Is conflict within a hierarchy primarily driven by developments in the “center” or in the “periphery?” Why?**
- Williams, Walter L. [United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism](#). *The Journal of American History*. Vol. 66, No. 4 (Mar., 1980), pp. 810-831.
- Suri, Jeremi. *Liberty's Surest Guardian: American Nation-Building from the Founders to Obama*. New York: Free Press, 2011. Chapters 2 + 5. [online].
- Goldsmith, Arthur A. [Making the World Safe for Partial Democracy? Questioning the Premises of Democracy Promotion](#). *International Security* Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 120-147.

Week 13, April 21: Mechanisms of Influence

- Ikenberry, G. John. [Rethinking the Origins of American Hegemony](#). *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 104, No. 3, pp. 375-400.
- Cha, Victor D. [Powerplay: Origins of the U.S. Alliance System in Asia](#). *International Security* Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 158-196.
- Brownlee, Jason. [Peace Before Freedom: Diplomacy and Repression in Sadat's Egypt](#). *Political Science Quarterly* Volume 126, Issue 4, pp. 641-688.

Week 13 (suggested)

- Ikenberry, G. John. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Monteiro, Nuno. *Theory of Unipolar Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.