



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Department of Political Science

POWER IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

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Office: Pick Hall #307, W 10:00-2:00
Seminar: Cobb Hall #115, W 3:00-5:50
Political Science 20302

COURSE DESCRIPTION

'Power' is a central concept in political philosophy, political science and, specifically, in the study of international relations (IR). This course will explore several conceptions of power and debate their use in the analysis of international relations. We will start with broad philosophical perspectives on power, cover IR-specific notions of power, and then highlight how power works in different spheres of international interaction -- power and influence, military power, cultural and economic power, and state power in the context of a globalized world. We will conclude with an analysis of the role of power in the contemporary international system. Within the realm of IR we will look closely at Classical and Structural Realist as well as Social Constructivist conceptions of power. The purpose of the course is to problematize each of these views on power, allow students to form their own view on the concept, and understand how this process of concept-formation shapes their worldview in general and their approach to IR in particular. We will devote special attention to the interactions between different views of power in the world of international politics -- *e.g.*, between power as an instrumental / causal concept and power as a productive / constitutive concept. Readings will include, among others: Thucydides, Carl von Clausewitz, Hans Morgenthau, Robert Dahl, Thomas Schelling, Michel Foucault, Steven Lukes, John Kenneth Galbraith, Susan Strange, John Mearsheimer, Joseph Nye, Stephen Biddle, Rupert Smith, Robert Kagan, and Stephen Walt.

REQUIREMENTS, GRADING, AND DEADLINES

Basic knowledge of IR theory is required.

The course is oriented around the readings and the discussions. Students are expected to do all the reading, attend all seminars, make one in-class presentation, participate in the discussions, and write two short plus one long paper. Sessions will focus on (i) laying out the main arguments of the assigned readings and (ii) critically discussing them. Each session will start with a student presentation, to be followed by a general examination and discussion of the core ideas in the readings. We will take a 15-minute break about halfway through the session.

Final grades will be assigned as follows:

- Classroom participation: 20%;
- In-class presentation: 20%
- Short (5-page) response papers: 10% each;
- Long (15-page) seminar paper: 40%.

Papers due at the beginning of class can be handed directly to me. The final paper should be placed in my mailbox, outside Pick 307. Here's a summary of deadlines for turning in assignments:

- Short paper 1: beginning of session week 4 (3:00pm, October 18th);
- Short paper 2: beginning of session week 7 (3:00pm, November 8th);
- Seminar paper proposal: beginning of session week 8 (3:00pm, November 15th);
- Seminar paper: by 4:00pm on Tuesday of exam week (4:00pm, December 5th).

All deadlines are strict. Papers received late will be dropped one letter grade for each 24 hours past the deadline. To receive an overall passing grade, students must pass each and all components / assignments of the course.

All assignments except the in-class presentation are non-collaborative and should be entirely your own work. Ideas drawn from other sources should be properly cited. Plagiarism is unacceptable and will result in penalties up to and including a failing grade for the assignment (and therefore the course) and referral to the university for disciplinary action.

While these policies will be strictly enforced, I know that emergencies and illnesses might arise during the quarter. If that happens to be the case, please let me know as soon as possible so that we can work out alternative arrangements for you to complete your work within a reasonable period of time. In emergency cases, you will need to present a doctor's note or a note from your college advisor in order to be excused from late work or a series of absences from class sessions.

DESCRIPTION OF ASSIGNMENTS

One in-class presentation (15 minutes): Starting on week 2, groups of two to three students will prepare and deliver a 15-minute presentation at the beginning of each session. This presentation should address a topic in international affairs covered by the media during the previous week, and use the ideas debated in the course to illuminate how (possibly several) power conceptions are at stake in that issue. Each presentation will be followed by a short debate, so the presenters should be prepared to discuss the materials in greater depth. We will determine the order of presentations during the first session of the course.

Two short (5-page) response papers: Think of these as exercises. Their purpose is to help you discipline your thinking and writing skills by asking you to write quickly on a small theme in a short space. The key to doing these well and relatively painlessly is to make your subject very focused. You want to state one claim only and spend your few pages arguing for it. I expect your first short paper to be directly related to some claim or argument that appears in the reading of the first few weeks, and the second paper to be about something that pertains to the readings of the second several weeks. I call these response papers, because in that way your claim will be some kind of reaction to something in the recent readings: you may wish to take issue with an aspect of the readings, but your claim need not be critical of them. You can develop a claim that is in the reading, refine it, add to it, compare two arguments to one another, say that one person's

argument is better than another's, &c. I expect that when in this paper you refer to some of the reading you will quickly summarize the relevant portion of it so I can figure out how you understand it.

One long (15-page) seminar paper: For your seminar paper, you should develop a more extended claim and argument regarding some issue of your choice related to the course materials. You can, but do not need to, read additional material for this paper. You should think of a seminar paper as more like a larger version of the reaction paper than a small thesis. Here you will develop a claim or small set of claims, and argue for it / them, on a topic of your choice related to the course. I would encourage you to work out of some of the major readings assigned for the course, but you can also do some extra reading on your specific question. This outside reading should not be very extensive -- just a few books and / or articles. You are welcome to try to extend your work in one of your short papers into your seminar paper, but you may also work on a different topic than either of your short papers.

You must hand in a proposal for this paper at the beginning of the session on week eight. This proposal should not exceed one single-spaced page and should contain all of the following: (i) The major question that your paper aims to address. (ii) A hook, that is, an explanation of why the question is important. (iii) How you think you will proceed in answering the question. (iv) Finally, you should attach a bibliography of those writings that you have identified as being directed related to your work on the question, both in and, if that is the case, beyond this syllabus.

Each paper should be double-spaced, with 1-inch margins all around, using a size 12 standard font such as Arial or Times New Roman.

READINGS

The following books are required and available for purchase at the Seminary Co-op Bookstore. They have also been placed on 24-hour reserve at the Regenstein Library:

- CLAUSEWITZ, Carl von, *On War*, eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976).
- LUKES, Steven, *Power: A Radical View*, second edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
- NYE, Joseph, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).
- SCHELLING, Thomas, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966).
- STRANGE, Susan, *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- (Optional) JOFFE, Josef. *Uberpower: The Imperial Temptation of America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006).
- (Optional) KAGAN, Robert, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2003).
- (Optional) WALT, Stephen, *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005).

Other readings assigned for each session are available through the following methods:

- (Reserve) 2-hour reserve and e-reserve at Regenstein Library;
- (E-Journal) Link from electronic journal database in the library catalog;
- (JSTOR) <http://www.jstor.org>

The readings below for each session are listed in the order you should do them so as to get a sense of how each discussion evolved.

COURSE OUTLINE AND INTRODUCTION

Week 1 (Sep. 27): Organizational Meeting and Introduction [41 pp.]

- THUCYDIDES, *The Landmark Thucydides: A Comprehensive Guide to the Peloponnesian War*, ed. Robert B. Strassler (New York: Touchstone, 1996), III.35-50, pp. 175-184 [The Mytilenean Debate], III.69-85, pp. 194-201 [Civil War in Corcyra], V.84-116, pp. 350-357 [The Melian Dialogue]. (Reserve) [26 pp.]
- BALDWIN, David, "Power and International Relations," in *The Handbook of International Relations*, eds. Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Press, 2002), pp. 177-191. (Reserve) [15 pp.]

PART I: PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPTIONS OF POWER

Week 2 (Oct. 4): Power as an Instrumental / Causal Concept [211 pp.]

- DAHL, Robert, "Power as the Control of Behavior," in *Power*, ed. Steven Lukes (New York, NYU Press, 1986), pp. 37-58. (Reserve) [22 pp.]
- GALBRAITH, John Kenneth, "Power and Organization," in *Power*, ed. Steven Lukes (New York, NYU Press, 1986), pp. 211-228, esp. 211-219. (Reserve) [9 pp.]
- LUKES, Steven, *Power: A Radical View*, second edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), read all. (Seminary) [180 pp.]

Week 3 (Oct. 11): Power as a Productive / Constitutive Concept [165 pp.]

- FOUCAULT, Michel, *Power / Knowledge* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), chapter 5. (Reserve) [32 pp.]
- FOUCAULT, Michel, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* (1982), Vol. 8, No. 4: 777-795; reprinted in *Michel Foucault: Power, the Essential Works, Vol. 3*, ed. J. D. Faubion (London: Allen Lane, 2001), pp. 326-348. (JSTOR) [23 pp.]
- FOUCAULT, Michel, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 87-104; reprinted in *Michel Foucault: Power, the Essential Works, Vol. 3*, ed. J. D. Faubion (London: Allen Lane, 2001), pp. 201-322. (Reserve) [18 pp.]
- FOUCAULT, Michel, "*Society Must Be Defended*": *Lectures at the College de France, 1975-1976* (New York: Picador, 2003), chapters 3 and 11 (Reserve) [50 pp.]
- HINDESS, Barry, *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), chapter 5. (Reserve) [42 pp.]

PART II: IR-SPECIFIC CONCEPTIONS OF POWER

Week 4 (Oct. 18): Realist Conceptions of Power [214 pp.]

(First response paper due at the beginning of class.)

- MORGENTHAU, Hans J., *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), chapters 3 and 9. (Reserve) [65 pp.]
- MEARSHEIMER, John J., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), chapters 2 and 3. (Reserve) [53 pp.]
- GUZZINI, Stefano, "Structural Power: The Limits of Neorealist Power Analysis," *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (1993), pp. 443–478. (JSTOR) [36 pp]
- SCHMIDT, Brian, "Competing Realist Conceptions of Power," *Millennium*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2005), pp. 523-550. (E-Journal) [28 pp.]
- WILLIAMS, Michael, "Why Ideas Matter in International Relations: Hans Morgenthau, Classical Realism, and the Moral Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (2004), pp. 633-665. (E-Journal) [32 pp.]

Week 5 (Oct. 25): Critical and Social Constructivist Conceptions of Power [207 pp.]

- WENDT, Alexander, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapter 3. (Reserve) [48 pp.]
- BARNETT, Michael and Raymond Duvall, "Power in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2005), pp. 39-75. (E-Journal) [37 pp.]
- GUZZINI, Stefano, "The Concept of Power: A Constructivist Analysis," *Millennium*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2005), pp. 495-521. (E-Journal) [27 pp.]
- GUZZINI, Stefano, "The Use and Misuse of Power Analysis in International Theory," in *Global Political Economy: Contemporary Theories*, ed. Ronen Palan (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 53-66. (Reserve) [15 pp.]
- HALL, Rodney Bruce, "Moral Authority as a Power Resource," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (1997), pp. 591-622. (JSTOR) [32 pp.]
- MATTERN, Janice Bially, "The Power Politics of Identity," *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (2001), pp. 349-397. (E-Journal) [48 pp.]

PART III: ASPECTS OF POWER IN IR

Week 6 (Nov. 1): Power and Influence [254 pp.]

- SCHELLING, Thomas, *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), chapters 1-5. (Seminary) [220 pp.]
- PRESS, Daryl G. "The Credibility of Power: Assessing Threats During the 'Appeasement' Crisis of the 1930s." *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (2004/05), pp. 136-169. (E-Journal) [34 pp.]

Week 7 (Nov. 8): Military Power [304 pp.]

(Second response paper due at the beginning of class.)

- CLAUSEWITZ, Carl von, *On War*, eds. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), Book I: chaps. 1, 2, 4, 7; Book II: chaps. 1-4; Book III: chaps. 1-5, 11, 14, 17; Book VI: chaps. 1-8, 26; Book VII: chaps. 1-5, 15, 16, 22; and Book VIII: chaps. 4-8. (Do not

substitute other translations. Under NO circumstances read the widely available Penguin edition of the Graham translation, abridged by Anatol Rapoport.) (Seminary) [142 pp.]

- REID, Julian, "Foucault on Clausewitz: Conceptualizing the Relationship between War and Power," *Alternatives*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2003), pp. 1-28. (E-Journal) [28 pp.]
- BIDDLE, Stephen, *Military Power: Explaining Victory and Defeat in Modern Battle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), chapters 3-4. (Reserve) [51 pp.]
- SMITH, Rupert, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (London: Allen Lane, 2005), chapters 5 and 7. (Reserve) [83 pp.]

Week 8 (Nov. 15): Soft-Power [226 pp.]

(Proposal for seminar paper due at the beginning of class.)

- VINER, Jacob, "Power Versus Plenty as Objectives of Foreign Policy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *World Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1948), pp. 1-29. (JSTOR) [29 pp.]
- NYE, Joseph, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), read all. (Seminary) [149 pp.]
- LUKES, Stephen, "Power and the Battle for Hearts and Minds," *Millennium*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2005), pp. 447-494. (E-Journal) [18 pp.]
- MATTERN, Janice Bially, "Why 'Soft Power' Isn't So Soft: Representational Force and the Sociolinguistic Construction of Attraction in World Politics," *Millennium*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2005), pp. 583-612. (E-Journal) [30 pp.]

Week 9 (Nov. 22): State Power and Globalization [235 pp.]

- STRANGE, Susan, *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), chapters 1-6, 12-13. (Seminary) [139 pp.]
- GRUBER, Lloyd, *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), chapters 3 and 5. (Reserve) [40 pp.]
- KEELEY, James F., "Toward a Foucauldian Analysis of International Regimes," *International Organization*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (1990), pp. 83-105. (JSTOR) [23 pp.]
- MATTHEWS, Jessica T., "Power Shift," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (1997), pp. 50-66. (E-Journal) [16 pp.]
- MORAVCSIK, Andrew, "A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation," *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (1999), pp. 267-306. (JSTOR) [40 pp.]

PART IV: CONCLUSION

Week 10 (Nov. 29): Power in Today's International Politics

(Each student should read ONE of the following books.)

- JOFFE, Josef, *Uberpower: The Imperial Temptation of America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006). (Seminary) [220pp.]
- KAGAN, Robert, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2003). (Seminary) [150pp.]
- WALT, Stephen, *Taming American Power: The Global Response to U.S. Primacy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005). (Seminary) [250pp.]