Shister, Joseph. (1945). Trade-Union Government: A Formal Analysis. The Quarterly Journal of Economics. 60(1). Accessed: May 9, 2025. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1880644.

Louis P.F. Smith. (1955). The Role of Farmers Organizations. An Irish Quarterly Review. 44(173). Accessed: May 9, 2025. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30098603.

Kochanek, Stanley A. (1971). The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and Indian Politics. Asian Survey. 11(9). Accessed: May 9, 2025. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2642778.

Donald, W.J. (1921). Public Service Through Chambers of Commerce. American Journal of Sociology. 26(5). Accessed: May 9, 2025. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2764424.

Note: **Examination scheme and mode shall be as prescribed by the Examination Branch, University of Delhi, from time to time.**

DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC ELECTIVE COURSE – 15: Power Dilemmas in International Relations

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CREDIT DISTRIBUTION, ELIGIBILITY AND PRE-REQUISITES OF THE COURSE

Course title & Code	Credits	Credit distribution of the course			Eligibility criteria	Pre-requisite of the course (if any)
		Lecture	Tutorial	Practical/ Practice		
Power Dilemmas in International Relations DSE-15	4	3	1	-	NA	NA

Learning Objectives

- Introduce students to some of the key dilemmas that power represents in the discipline of International Relations.

- Understand how these dilemmas originate in the contemporary world at critical junctures that challenge political-social-economic transformations at global and local levels.

- Examine the significant implications of these dilemmas for relationships among people, institutions, and states.

- Explore how bipolar-unipolar-multipolar shifts have opened up the discourse on power.

- Engage with the above debates and undertake further discussions around the conceptualization and measurement of power through interdisciplinary readings.

- Analyse the dilemma of assessing power distribution among three levels of actors—states, institutions, and the people.

- Enable understanding of various processes and actors competing for power at the institutional level that render negotiation in trade, economy, and climate change difficult.

- Engage with the rapid emergence of cosmopolitanism, global citizenship, diaspora, and NGOs through social globalisation, as examples of peoples' power.

- Conclude with debates around the notions of hard, soft, and smart power and the limits of power discourse in International Relations.

Learning outcomes

At the end of this course, the students would have acquired:
- An introductory understanding of the concept of power, with specific reference to different perspectives on power in international relations.
- An understanding of the competing and overlapping categories like Great Powers, Middle Powers, Major Powers, Emerging/Rising Powers and, ability to differentiate these from the concept of hegemony.
- A critical lens to distinguish between overlapping spheres of power in institutional processes such as regionalism and multilateralism.
- Tools to assess the distribution of power in different institutional sites such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).
- Comprehension of people's power through concepts like cosmopolitanism and global citizenship, social globalisation and the role of INGOs as examples of power from below.
- Familiarisation with the debates on hard and soft power as well as the limits of the power discourse in IR.

SYLLABUS OF DSE-15

UNIT – I (12 Hours)

Conceptualising Power in IR
a. Understanding Power
b. Perspectives : 1. Realist ; 2. Liberal ; 3. Postcolonial ; 4. Sociological ; 5. Critical
c. Indian Understandings of Power

UNIT – II (8 Hours)

State Power in IR: Is there a measure?
a. 1. Great Powers, 2. Middle Powers, 3. Major Powers, 4. Emerging/Rising Powers
b. Hegemony

UNIT – III (9 Hours)

Power and Institutions
a. Shifting Power: Between Regionalism and Multilateralism

b. Power conundrums at the WTO
    c. Power Negotiations at the UNFCCC

UNIT – IV (8 Hours)

People's Power and Contemporary Debates
    a. Cosmopolitanism and Global citizenship
    b. Social globalisation and the role of INGOs
    c. Debating Power:
          1. Hard Power
         2. Soft Power
        3. Radical Power
    d. Limits of Power

Essential/recommended readings

Unit 1. Conceptualising Power in IR

a) Understanding Power

Essential Readings

Finnemore, M. & Glodstein, J. (2013). *Back to Basics State Power in a Contemporary World*, Oxford University Press: New York, pp: 3-17.

Forsberg, T. (2011). Power in International Relations: An Interdisciplinary Perspective. In: Aalto, P., Harle, V., Moisio, S. (eds) *International Studies*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. pp: 207-227.

Additional Readings

Guzzini, S. (2021). Power in World Politics, *DIIS Working Paper* 2021 (17): pp. 3-22.

Lukes, S. (2005). Power and the Battle for the Hearts and Minds. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 33(3): pp. 477-494.

b) Perspectives

1. Realist Perspective

Essential Reading

Mearsheimer, J. J. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, Norton Press: New York, pp. 29-54.

Paul, T. V. (2004). Introduction: The Enduring Axioms of Balance of Power Theory and Their Contemporary Relevance. In T. V. Paul, J. J. Wirtz, and M. Fortmann (eds.), *Balance of Power Theory and Practice in the 21st Century*, Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA, pp.1-28.

Additional Reading

Schmidt, B. C. (2005). Competing Realist Conceptions of Power. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies,* 33(3): pp. 523–549.

2. Liberal Perspective

Essential Reading

Keohane, R. O. & Nye, J. (2012). *Power and Interdependence*, 4th ed., Longman: USA, pp.1-19.

Philpott, D. (2001). Liberalism, Power, and Authority in International Relations: On the Origins of Colonial Independence and Internationally Sanctioned Intervention, *Security Studies*, 11(2): pp. 117-163.

Additional Reading

Lebow, R. N. (2007). The power of persuasion. In Felix Berenskoetter and M. J. Williams P. (eds.), *Power in World Politics.* Routledge: UK, pp. 120-140.

3. Postcolonial Perspective

Essential Readings

Chowdhry, G. & Nair, S. (2004). Introduction: Power in a postcolonial world: race, gender and class in international relations. In Geeta Chowdhry and Sheela Nair (eds.) *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading race, gender and class*, Routledge: London, pp: 1-32.

Additional Readings

Epstein, C. (2014). The Postcolonial Perspective: An Introduction. *International Theory*, 6(2): 294-311.

4. Sociological Perspective

Essential Readings

Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 96–97.

Guzzini, S. (2005). The Concept of Power: A Constructivist Analysis. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 33(3): pp. 495-522.

Additional Reading

MacDonald, D. (2011). The power of ideas in international relations. In Nadine Godehardt, Dirk Nabers (eds.) Regional Powers and Regional Orders, London: Routledge. Pp: 33-48.

5. Critical Perspective

Essential Readings

Jessop, B. (2006). Developments in Marxist Theory. In E. Amenta, K. Nash, A. Scott, eds, *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology,* Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 7-16.

Lukes, S. (2005). *Power A Radical View* (2nd Ed.). Palgrave Macmillan: New York, pp. 14-59 & 108-151.

Additional Readings

Linklater, A. (1990). Power, Order and Emancipation in International Theory. In *Beyond Realism and Marxism*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. pp: 8-33.

c. Indian Understandings of Power

Essential Readings

Bisht, M. (2020). *Kautilya's Arthashastra: Philosophy of Strategy,* Routledge: Oxon, pp. 65-78.

Long, W.J. (2021). "Buddha on Politics, Economics, and Statecraft" in *A Buddhist Approach to International Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan: Switzerland, pp. 35-50.

Additional Readings

Adityakiran, G. (2015). Kautilya's Pioneering Exposition of Comprehensive National Power in the Arthashastra. In P.K. Gautam, S. Mishra, A. Gupta (Eds.) *Indigenous Historical Knowledge Kautilya and His Vocabulary,* Volume I, Pentagon Press: India, pp. 24-38.

Unit 2. State Power in IR: Is there a measure?

a) Great Powers, Middle Powers, Major Powers, Emerging/Rising Powers

1. Great Powers

Essential Readings

Erickson, E. (2018). What Do We Mean by Great Power or Superpower? An Introduction to Concepts and Terms, *MCU Journal* 9(2): 9-21.

Additional Readings

Cesa, M. (2011). Great Powers. In R. Devetak, A. Burke, & J. George (Eds.), *An Introduction to International Relations*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 268-280.

2. Middle Powers

Essential Reading

Chapnick, A. (1999). *The Middle Power. Canadian Foreign Policy Journal,* 7(2): 73–82.

Additional Reading

Aydin, U. (2021). Emerging middle powers and the liberal international order, *International Affairs*, 97 (5): 1377–1394.

3. Major Powers

Essential Readings

Black, J. (2008) Into the Future: The Rivalry of Major Powers? *The RUSI Journal*, 153(4): 12-17.

Additional Readings

Danilovic, V. (2002). *When Stakes are High: Deterrence and Conflict among Major Powers*. Michigan University Press, pp. 26-46, pp. 225-230.

4. Emerging/Rising Powers

Essential Readings

Hurrell, A. (2019). Rising powers and the emerging global order. In J. Baylis, S. Smith, and P. Owens (eds.) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* (8th edn), Oxford University Press: UK, pp: 84-98.

Chaulia, S. (2011). India's 'power' attributes. In David Scott (ed.) *Handbook of India's International Relations*, Routledge: New York. pp. 23-34.

Additional Readings

Turner, O. & Nymalm, N. (2019). Morality and progress: IR narratives on international revisionism and the status quo, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 32 (4): 407-428.

Mahbubani, K. (2008). *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*. New York: Public Affairs, pp. 51-100.

b) Hegemony

Essential Reading

Antoniades, A. (2018). Hegemony and international relations. *International Politics*, 55 (5): 595-611.

Additional Reading

Clark, Ian. (2011). *Hegemony in International Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-33.

Ikenberry, G. J., & Kupchan, C. A. (1990). Socialization and Hegemonic Power. *International Organization*, 44(3): 283–315.

Unit 3. Power and Institutions

a. Shifting Power: Between Regionalism and Multilateralism

Essential Readings

Buzan, B. & Wæver, O. (2003). "Levels: Distinguishing the Regional from the Global" in *Regions & Powers: The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp: 27-39.

Bhagwati, J. (1993). Regionalism and multilateralism: An overview. In J. De Melo & A. Panagariya (Eds.), *New Dimensions in Regional Integration*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp. 22-51.

Additional Readings

Patriota, A. A. (2019). Is the World Ready for a Cooperative Multipolarity? In T. Meyer, J.L. de Sales Marques and M. Telò (eds.), *Regionalism and Multilateralism: Politics, Economics, Culture*, Routledge: London, pp.202-214.

Katzenstein, P.J. (2019). Polyvalent Globalism and Constrained Diversity: Multiple Modernities and Regionalisms in World Politics. In T. Meyer, J. L. de Sales Marques and M. Telò (eds), *Regionalism and Multilateralism: Politics, Economics, Culture*, London: Routledge. pp. 17-35.

b. Power conundrums at the WTO

Essential Readings

Shaffer, G. (2005). Power, Governance, and the WTO: A Comparative Institutional Approach. In Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (eds.) *Power in Global Governance*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, pp: 130-160.

Peet, R. (2009). *The Unholy Trinity: the IMF, World Bank and WTO*. Zed Books: London, New York, pp. 178-243.

Additional Readings

Bonzon, Y. (2008). Institutionalising Public Participation in WTO Decision Making: Some Conceptual Hurdles and Avenues. *Journal of International Economic Law*, 11(4): pp. 751–777.

Hopewell, K. (2016). Power, Multilateralism, and Neoliberalism at the WTO. & Powershift. In *Breaking the WTO: How Emerging Powers Disrupted the Neoliberal Project*. Stanford University Press: California, pp.42-76 & 77-104.

c. Power Negotiations at the UNFCCC

Essential Readings

Iskander, N. N. & Lowe, N. (2020). Climate Change and Work: Politics and Power. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 23(1): pp. 111-131.

Vogler, J. (2016). "The UNFCCC Regime" in *Climate change in world politics*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp: 35-59.

Additional Readings

Hurrell, A. (2005). "Power, Institutions, and the Production of Inequality" in M. Barnett and R. Duvall (eds.) *Power in Global Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp: 33-58.

Prashad, V. (ed). (2020). *Will the Flower slip through the Asphalt? Writers Respond to Capitalist Climate Change*. India: Left Word Books, pp.12-28.

Unit 4. Power from People's perspective

a. Cosmopolitanism and Global citizenship

Essential Readings

Parekh, B. (2003). Cosmopolitanism and global citizenship. *Review of International Studies,* 29(1): pp. 3-17.

Kunz, R. (2012). The Diffusion of Power and the International 'Discovery' of 'Diasporas'. In: Guzzini, S., Neumann, I.B. (eds) *The Diffusion of Power in Global Governance*. Palgrave Studies in International Relations. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Additional Readings

Avant, D.D., Finnemore, M. and Sell, S.K. eds., 2010. *Who governs the globe?* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. pp:1-34.

Adamson, F. B. (2016). The Growing Importance of Diaspora Politics. *Current History*, *115* (784): 291–297.

b. Social Globalisation and the Role of INGOs

Essential Readings

Stroup, S. S. (2019). NGOs' interactions with states. In *Routledge Handbook of NGOs and International Relations* ed. Thomas Davies. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 32-45.

Krut, R., Howard, K., Howard, E., Gleckman, H. & Pattison, D. (1997). Globalization and Civil Society: NGO Influence in International Decision Making, The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development Discussion Paper 83, April: pp. 6-48.

Additional Readings

Grant, R. W., & Keohane, R. O. (2005). Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics. *American Political Science Review*, 99(01): pp 29-43.

Ruhlman, M. (2019). NGOs in Global Governance. In Thomas Davis (Ed.), Routledge *Handbook of NGOs and International Relations*. New York: Routledge, pp. 46-62.

<u>Unit 5: Debating Power</u>

a.1. Hard power

Essential Reading

Nye, J. S. (2020). *The Future of Power*, Public Affairs: New York, pp.25-52.

Bilgin, P., & Elis, B. (2008). Hard Power, Soft Power: Toward a More Realistic Power Analysis. *Insight Turkey*, *10*(2): pp.5–20.

Additional Reading

Wagner, C. (2005). From Hard Power to Soft Power? *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics*, 26: pp. 1-17.

a.2. Soft power

Essential Reading

Nye, J. S. (2009). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York Public Affairs: New York, pp: 1-32.

Ohnesorge, H. W. (2020). *Soft Power: The Forces of Attraction in International Relations*, Springer: Switzerland, pp. 23-67.

Additional Readings

Thussu, D. K. (2013). *Communicating India's Soft Power: Buddha to Bollywood*, Palgrave, Macmillan: USA, pp. 45–63.

a.3. Smart Power

Essential Reading

Nye, J. S. (2020). *The Future of Power*, Public Affairs: New York, pp.207-234.

Additional Reading

Wilson, E. J. (2008). Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power. *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Issue 616: pp. 110-124.

Lackey, D.P. (2015). Soft Power, Hard Power, and Smart Power. *The Philosophical Forum*, 46(1): pp.121-126.

b. Limits of Power

Essential Reading

Katzenstein, P., & Seybert, L. (2018). Uncertainty, Risk, Power and the Limits of International Relations Theory. In P. Katzenstein & L. Seybert (eds.), *Protean Power: Exploring the Uncertain and Unexpected in World Politics*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 27-56.

Additional Readings

Naim, M. (2013). *The End of Power: From Boardrooms to Battlefields and Churches to States, Why Being in Charge Isn't What It Used to Be*, Basic Books: USA, pp.114-136.

Bacevich, A. J. (2008). *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism*, Holt Paperbacks: New York, pp. 215-23.

Reference Literature

Chowdhry, G. & Nair, S. (2004). *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading race, gender and class*, Routledge: London.

Biswas, S. (2014). *Nuclear Desire: Power and the Postcolonial Nuclear Order*, University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis

Vasquez, J.A. (2004). *The Power of Power Politics From Classical Realism to Neo-traditionalism*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Berenskoetter, F. & Williams, M.J. (2007). *Power in World Politics*, Routledge: Oxon.

Mearsheimer, J.J. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W.W. Norton & Company: London, New York.

Kennedy, P. (2017). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, William Collins: United Kingdom.

Bacevich, A.J. (2008) *The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism*, Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt & Co.: New York.

Baldwin, D. A. (2016). *Power in International Relations: A Conceptual Approach*, Princeton University Press: New Jersey.

Prys, M. (2012). *Redefining Regional Powers in International Relations: Indian and South African Perspectives*, Routledge: London & New York.

Isakovic, Z. (2019). *Introduction to a Theory of Political Power in International Relations*, Routledge: Oxon.

Gallarotti, G. M. (2010). *Cosmopolitan Power in International Relations: A synthesis of Realism, Neoliberalism and Constructivism*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge

Note: **Examination scheme and mode shall be as prescribed by the**

DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC ELECTIVE COURSE- 16: Environment

Examination Branch, University of Delhi, from time to time.

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