

Power/Empire

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- What is power?
 - Quantitative vs qualitative
 - Quantitative
 - Qualitative
 - Resource vs behavioural
 - Resource power
 - Gaining materials?
 - Behavioural power
 - Achieving interests
 - Agency vs structure
 - Agency
 - Freedom
 - Structure
 - Systematic control
 - The dominant view
 - Faces
 1. Unidirectional command/influence
 - Directing someone to do something
 - Primitive
 - Blunt
 - Doesn't always work
 2. Setting the agenda
 - Bachrach and Baratz
 - Creating an environment which reflects your interests/norms
 - Pervading
 - E.g. 'Liberal international architecture'
 - ◆ Rewards participants
 - ◆ Set by America since WWI
 - With:
 - ◆ Soft
 - ◆ Hard
 3. Hierarchical structure of power
 - Lukes
 - ◆ Power: A radical view
 - Macro-cosmic
 - Overbearing
 - ◆ Hard to resist
 - ◇ Revolutionary means
 - More top-down than 2
 - Less crude than 1
 - E.g. Patriarchal
 4. Life more individualised
 - Foucault
 - Structural form doesn't meet human reality
 - People resist/push back against the 'system' all the time
 - Uses ideas of social construct for:
 - ◆ Sexuality
 - ◆ Prisons
 - ◇ Use of mind-control/isolation rather than physical beatings
 - ◇ Decided as a mild form of punishment but why?
 - We are compliant in the power

- Normative positions
 - How power should be used?
 - E.g. Shooting someone is exercising power, but not if you kill the wrong person
- Soft vs hard power
 - Soft
 - Nye, p19
 - ◆ Definition
 - ◇ Ability to affect others
 - ◇ Obtain preferred outcomes
 - ◇ Co-optive means of;
 - ◇ Framing the agenda, persuasion, and positive attraction
 - ◆ More cost efficient
 - ◆ More effective
 - E.g. USA sent battleship to Indonesia to pursue East Timorese independence
 - Hard power
 - Forcing someone to do something?
 - Backed up by military force?
- Perceived power
 - (Population + territory + economy + military) x (strategy + will)
- Power is relational
 - Means noting if you don't have more power relative to another country
- Politics
 - Policy oriented
 - "Who gets what, how where and when"
 - ◆ Lasswell and Kaplan, 1950
 - Orthodox view
 - Symbolic
 - How we define and feel about ourselves and nation
 - Therapeutic
 - National self-help talk
 - Emotive
 - Intangible
 - Hope and change
 - Nationalist
- Understanding US power
 - How is it accumulated
 - Its impact
 - The 'good hegemon'
 - Setting rules
 - Undergirding world economy
 - Positivist role of US
 - US dominance guides growth, culture, peace, justice
 - ◆ Values
 - Liberal [architecture]
 - ◆ Ikenberry
 - Ideological/social power
 - ◆ Gramsci
 - Also advocated by Nye
 - Criticised during CW
 - Structuralist/critical views
 - Great power
 - More interested in weaponry, territory, geostrategic
 - Serves US more than other countries
 - One country will always be the dominant/great power
 - ◆ Predicted by Hobbes
 - ◆ Battle for superiority
 - Empire

- Different from hegemon
- Control (direct or indirect)
- Characteristics
 - ◆ Territorial control or influence
 - ◆ Economics
 - ◇ Trade
 - ◇ Investment
 - ◇ Plants
 - ◇ Multinational corps
 - ▶ E.g. Walmart
 - ◇ E.g. Open door
 - ◆ Military empire
 - ◆ Culture
 - ◇ Soft power
 - ◆ Values
 - ◆ Ideas and economic rules
 - ◇ Washington consensus
 - ◆ Imagination
 - ◇ Dominant model
 - ◇ Set parameters of the possible
 - ▶ Colonises our dreams of the future
- Theories
 - ◆ Formal empire
 - ◇ Territory emphasised
 - ◇ Legal
 - ◇ Often justified with racial theory
 - ◆ Economic empire
 - ◇ Command through economic control
 - ◇ 'Open door of the USA'
 - ◇ Frontier
 - ◇ US would expand power by initiating trade
 - ▶ E.g. China
 - But US has been disadvantaged by this process
 - US Chamber of Commerce conceded working gloves manufacturing industry
 - ◆ Hoping China would inject money back into US capitalism
 - ◇ People
 - ▶ William Appleman Williams
 - ▶ Waalter LaFeber
 - ▶ Andreas Stephanson
 - ▶ Hardt and Negri
 - ◇ Doesn't explaining:
 - ▶ Military behaviour of US
 - ▶ Insularity
 - ▶ Self-destructive political activities
 - ◆ Empire of bases
 - ◇ 737 US bases
 - ▶ Johnson
 - ◇ People
 - ▶ Chalmers Johnson
- Worth assessing against US
 - ◆ Influence
- Control
- American dominance is imperialist
 - ◆ A global US/British capitalist enterprise

- ◆ Economic underpinning
 - Refuted/denied by US rhetoric
- Declinist anxiety
 - See WOT/Decline
- See Henry Luce 1941 'American Century'
- Foreign policy traditions
 - 'Populist imperialism'
 - Too reflective of ignorant general population
 - Rather than being an elite pursuit executed by highly educated foreign policy experts