
Rethinking Sovereignty in an Era of Globalization

Syllabus prepared by Maria Guzikova

CASE Visiting Fellow, UC Berkeley

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Are states under siege? Is power and authority shifting to super-empowered individuals, international organizations, transnational networks, or subnational organizations and actors? Or some combination of these? How are these actors impacting or challenging state policy and international norms? Is this the end of the state system as we have known it?

The goal of this course is to provide students with a set of conceptual, theoretical, and empirical tools to better understand sovereignty and the system of sovereign states in the globalizing world. Students should walk away from this course with a better understanding of important concepts such as sovereignty and globalization; a theoretical foundation for analyzing international politics as it pertains to sovereignty, states, and non-state actors, and finally, empirical examples and data with which to evaluate the main questions running through the entire course.

The course is divided into five major units, beginning with a historical approach to the evolution and emergence of the state system and sovereignty as we know it today. The next three units pose the question of whether or not states and this system are challenged by three types of actors: supranational/international organizations and institutions, transnational networks, and/ or subnational actors such as regions within states. The last unit deals with the reconceptualization of sovereignty in current IR research.

The course is geared for upper-level undergraduate students who have had at least one introductory course in international relations theory. Students who have not taken any international relations courses are advised to take this course until after doing so.

Course requirements:

1. Weekly attendance and active participation in seminar. The readings in this syllabus are mandatory.
2. Each class from the third week will include brief (no more than 5 minute) presentations by one or more students. Each presenter will serve as “discussant” for one of the week’s readings. The model is that of discussant on a conference panel. Each presenter should first briefly summarize the

questions and conclusions of the relevant paper, and then evaluate the paper critically. These presentations will count for 20 percent of the course grade.

Reading Guidelines for Students:

In preparing for class, you may find it useful to check your comprehension of the reading against these study questions. What is the author's purpose in writing this piece? What are the author's guiding questions? What concepts does the author emphasize? How are these concepts defined? How are these concepts related to each other? What are the author's conclusions? Do they seem logical given the evidence provided? Would you draw different conclusions? Why or why not? What questions remain unanswered? How might questions/research be framed differently?

Reading publications related to the IR topics you should focus more closely on following questions: what are the actors, what are their interests, what are the resources.

3. There will be no oral exam. As a mid-term exam each student should write a short abstract of an article of his choice. The final exam is going to be an essay which will ask the students to combine the theories under discussion with substantial empirical evidence from a particular case. The essays are to be posted on the website of the IR department where they will be evaluated and graded by other class participants.

Grading:

Class attendance and participation – 15%

Presentation – 20%

Abstract of an article – 25%

Exam essay – 40%

UNIT ONE – Theories of Sovereignty

WEEK 1: The Emergence of the State System

In order to understand the future of the states and sovereignty in the international system, this week's readings take a look at the history and origins of the state system. What forms of authority and power preceded states? How did states emerge? What does this history tell us about the permanence and durability of the state system?

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, A. D. 990-1992*, Blackwell, 1993. Chapter 1 on "Cities and States in World History," and Chapter 3 on "How War Made States and Vice Versa"

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, Princeton University Press, 1996. Chapter 3 on "Modes of Nonterritorial Organization: Feudalism, the Church, and the Holy Roman Empire," and Chapter 8 on "The Victory of the Sovereign State System,"

Advanced Readings:

Territoriality and Beyond: "Problematizing Modernity in International Relations", John Gerard Ruggie, *International Organization*, Vol. 47, No. 1, Winter, 1993, pp. 139-174

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, Princeton University Press, 1996

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, A. D. 990-1992*, Blackwell, 1993.

Martin van Creveld, *The Rise and Decline of the State*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

WEEK 2: Sovereignty & the State System – A Westphalian Framework

This week's readings investigate the traditional Westphalian conceptualization of sovereignty. What is Westphalian sovereignty? What does it mean for a "state" to be "sovereign?"

Daniel Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations*, Princeton University Press, 2001. Chapter 1 on "Introduction: Revolutions in Sovereignty," Chapter 5 on "Westphalia as Origin," Chapter 6 on "Origins of Westphalia," and Chapter 13 on "Conclusion: Two Revolutions and One Movement,"

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*, Princeton University Press, 1999. Chapter 1 on "Sovereignty and Its Discontents" and Chapter 2 on "Theories and Institutions of International Politics"

Clark, Ian. *Globalization and International Relations Theory*, Oxford University Press, 1999. Chapter 4 on the "The Sovereign State"

Advanced Readings:

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*, Princeton University Press, 1999.

Daniel Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations*, Princeton University Press, 2001.

WEEK 3: Postwestphalian Notion of Sovereignty: Approaches & Conceptualizations

In this week, we look at recent conceptualizations of sovereignty and authority in the international system. How are these similar and different from previous conceptualizations?

Rodney Bruce Hall and Thomas Bierstecker (eds), *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Chapter by Hall and Bierstecker on “Private Authority as Global Governance”

Josselin and Wallace, “Non-State Actors in World Politics: A Framework,” from Josselin and Wallace, *Non-State Actors in World Politics*, Palgrave, 2001.

JE Thomson, “State Sovereignty in International Relations: Bridging the Gap between Theory and Empirical Research,” *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 39, 1995, pp. 213-233

Lake, David A. (2003). "The New Sovereignty in International Relations." *International Studies Review* 5(3): 303-324.

Chris Ansell and Steve Weber, “Organizing International Politics: Sovereignty and Open Systems,” *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1999 73-93

WEEK 4: The State in the Globalizing World

Here we introduce the concept of globalization. What is globalization and how does globalization impact state power, capacity and authority?

Readings:

Mark R. Brawley, *The Politics of Globalization: Gaining Perspective, Assessing Consequences*, Broadview Press, 2002. Chapter 1 on “Defining Globalization,” Chapter 2 on “Theoretical Lenses for Viewing Globalization”

Clark, Ian, *Globalization and International Relations Theory*. Oxford University Press, 1999. Chapter 2 on “Globalization” and Chapter 3 on “Globalization and the State”

Strange, Susan, *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*, Cambridge University Press, 1996. Chapter 1 on “The declining authority of the state,” Chapter 2 on “Patterns of power,” and Chapter 5 on the “state of the state”

Additional Reading:

Sassen, Saskia, *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*, Columbia University Press, 1996. Chapter 1 on “The State and the New Geography of Power”

Held, David, and McGrew, Anthony (eds), *The Global Transformations Reader: an Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003.

UNIT TWO – Challenges to State Sovereignty from
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WEEK 5: International Organizations

This week we read a set of articles that frame the debate for the role of international institutions and organizations. Why do they exist? Are institutions the key to promoting world peace? What are their pathologies? What is the relationship between states and IOs?

John Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Winter 1994-95, pp. 5-49

Finnemore and Barnett, "Politics, Power and Pathologies of International Organizations," *International Organizations*, Vol. 53, No. 4, Autumn 1999, pp. 699-732.

Stiglitz, Joseph. *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2002, Chapter 1 on "Promise of Global Institutions," Chapter 2 on "Broken Promises"

Advanced Reading:

Read the responses to Mearsheimer's article in *International Security* in the summer 1995 issue by Wendt "Constructing World Politics", and by Ruggie "The False Promise of Realism"

WEEK 6: International Interventions

This week investigates international intervention in cases of human rights and post-conflict reconstruction, focusing on the case of the UN. What do these cases tell us about state sovereignty and state-building?

Gene Lyons and Michael Mastanduno, editors, *Beyond Westphalia?: National Sovereignty and International Intervention*, 1995. "Introduction" by Lyons and Mastanduno, "Sovereignty as Dominion: IS there a right to humanitarian intervention?" by Kratochwil (Chapter 2), "State Sovereignty and International Intervention: The Case of Human Rights," by Donnelly, (Chapter 6), and "Sovereignty and Intervention," by Krasner, (Chapter 10)

Stephen Krasner, "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States," *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2004, pp. 85-120.

Barna, Naazneen H. "Brokered Democracy-Building: Developing Democracy through Transitional Governance in Cambodia, East Timor and Afghanistan," *IJMS: International Journal on Multicultural Societies*. 2006, vol.8, no.2, pp. 127-161. Available online only at www.unesco.org/shs/ijms/vol8/issue2/art1

WEEK 7: Supranational Organizations – the case of the EU

This week looks at the role of supranational organizations (such as the EU) – why would states give up sovereignty? Are they giving up sovereignty? How do supranational organizations get created? What are the differences in these authors' arguments about the creation of the EU?

John Zysman and Wayne Sandholtz, "1992: Recasting the European Bargain," *World Politics*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 95-128. Oct., 1989.

Andrew Moravscik, "Negotiating the Single European Act: National Interests and Conventional Statecraft in the European Community," *International Organization*, Vol. 45, 1991, pp. 19-56.

Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration, A Historical Institutional Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies*, 1996, Vol. 29, No. 2, 123-163.

Advanced Reading:

Steven Weber and Eliot Posner, "Creating a pan-European equity market: the origins of EASDAQ," *Review of International Political Economy*, Volume 7, November-December 2000.

WEEK 8: International Organizations – the case of the IMF

This week highlights the role of international financial organizations by taking the case of the IMF. What are these authors saying about the role of the IMF in international politics? What authority and influence does the IMF have over states?

Graham Bird, "The IMF and Developing Countries: A Review of the Evidence and Policy Outcomes," *International Organization*, Vol. 50, No. 3, pp. 477-511.

Finnemore and Barnett, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*, Cornell University Press, 2004, Chapter 3 on "Expertise and Power in the IMF"

Stiglitz, Joseph. *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton, 2002, Chapter 3 on "East Asian Crisis" and Chapter 4 on "Who Lost Russia?"

Additional Reading:

Ngairé Woods, *The Globalizers: The IMF, World Bank, and their Borrowers*, Cornell University Press, 2006.

WEEK 9: International Organizations – the case of the WTO

This week focuses on the role of the World Trade Organization (WTO). What role does the WTO play in international politics? What is the relationship between states and the WTO? What types of capacities does the WTO have? What is the future of the WTO?

Anne Krueger, *The WTO as an International Organization*, University of Chicago Press, 1998. Chapter 1 by Anne Krueger on "The Capacity of the WTO to Fulfill its Mandate," Chapter 2 by David Vines on the "WTO in Relation to the Fund and the Bank," Chapter 4 by Judith Goldstein on "International Institutions and Domestic Politics: GATT, WTO, and the Liberalization of the International Trade Regime,"

Daniel Esty, "World Trade Organization's Legitimacy Crisis," *World Trade Review*, 2002. Available at http://www.yale.edu/envirocenter/esty_wtolegitimacycrisis.pdf

UNIT THREE – Challenges to State Sovereignty from Networks and Flows?

Economic Globalization: MNCs, Global Finance & Capital Flows

WEEK 10:

This week's readings address a key debate: are the nature and extent of increased financial and capital flows challenging state sovereignty, or are states able to adapt to these changing circumstances? Are states able to regulate capital and financial flows, and if so, how?

Clark, Ian. *Globalization and International Relations Theory*. Oxford University Press, 1999. Chapter on the "Competition state"

Cerny, P., "Globalization and the Changing Logic of Collective Action," *International Organization*, Vol. 49, 1995, pp 595-625.

Linda Weiss, *The Myth of the Powerless State*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, Chapter 1 on "State is Dead: Long Live the State," and Chapter 7, "Myth of the Powerless State"

Advanced Reading:

Castells, M., *Rise of a Network Society*, Blackwell Publishing, 2000 (entire book)

Linda Weiss, *The Myth of the Powerless State*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998 (entire book)

WEEK 11: Globalization of Norms: Transnational Advocacy Networks

This week focuses on networks of human rights and environmental NGOs and activists. How are these networks able to shape and influence the codification/ adoption of international norms? What is their impact on state policy and sovereignty?

Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge University Press, 1995. Read Part I on "Structure, Processes and Actors"

Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, Cornell University Press, 1998. Chapter 1 on "Transnational Advocacy Networks: Introduction," Chapter 3 on "Human Rights Advocacy Networks in Latin America," and Chapter 4 on "Environmental Advocacy Networks"

Advanced

Reading:

Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge University Press, 1995

Risse, Ropp and Sikkink, editors, *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

WEEK 12: Flows of People – Migration and Refugees

This week investigates two increasing flows of people in today: labor migrants and refugees. What are the causes of these flows and how are states responding to these flows? What are the implications for states and sovereignty?

Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (September, 1993): 431-466.

Jacobsen, Karen with Steven Wilkinson. "Refugee movements as Security Threats in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *International Migration and Security*. Edited by Myron Weiner. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993, pp. 201-228

Brubaker, Rogers. "Political Dimensions of Migration From and Among Soviet Successor States." In *International Migration and Security*. Edited by Myron Weiner. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993, pp. 39-64

Durch, William J. "Keepers of the Gates: National Militaries in an Age of International Population Movement." In *Demography and National Security*. Edited by Myron Weiner and Sharon Stanton Russell. New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2001, pp. 109-153.

WEEK 13: Globalization of Violence and Crime– Criminal & Terrorist Networks

This week investigates networks of criminal and terrorist organizations. How do these networks thrive in an era of globalization? What does this mean for states and their ability regulate and provide basic security?

Readings:

Fiona Adamson, "Globalisation, Transnational Political Mobilisation, and Networks of Violence," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 18, Number 1, April, 2005, pp. 31-49

Phil Williams, "Transnational Organized Crime and the State," in Hall and Biersteker, *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Galeotti, Mark, "Underworld and Upperworld: Transnational Organized Crime and Global Society," in Joesslin and Wallace, *Nonstate Actors in World Politics*, pp. 189-202.

Barak Mendelson, "Sovereignty Under Attack: The International Society meets the Al Qaeda Network," *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 31, 2005.

UNIT FOUR – Challenges to State Sovereignty from

WEEK 14: Federalism, Paradiplomacy, and Regional Authority

This week's readings look at the role of sub-national regions in forging foreign policies and relations with other international actors. What does this mean for the traditional role that states have played in conducting foreign policies? Does this challenge their authority?

Hans J. Michelmann and Panayotis Soldatos, *Federalism and International Relations: The Role of Subnational Units*, Oxford University Press, 1990. Chapter 1 on "Perforated Sovereignities: Towards a Typology of New Actors in International Relations," and Chapter 2 on "An Explanatory Framework for the Study of Federated States as Foreign Policy Actors"

Francisco Aldecoa and Michael Keating, editors, *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments*, Routledge, 1999. Chapter 2 by Brian Hocking on "Patrolling the "frontier," Globalization, Localization, and Actorness of Non-Central Governments"

Gulnaz Sharafutdinova, "Paradiplomacy in the Russian Regions: Tatarstan's Search for Statehood," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 4, June 2003, pp. 613-629

Additional Reading:

For more additional cases from around the world, see the remaining chapters of the books by Michelmann/Soldatos and Aldecoa and Keating.

Duchacek, Latouche, and Stevenson, *Perforated Sovereignties and International Relations: Trans-Sovereign Contacts of Subnational Governments*, Greenwood, 1988.

Also see Makarychev, "Russian Regions as International Actors," 1999, available at [demokratizatsiya.org](http://www.demokratizatsiya.org)
<http://www.demokratizatsiya.org/Dem%20Archives/DEM%2007-04%20makarychev.pdf>

WEEK 15: Self-determination, Autonomy, and Secessionism

This week looks at the challenges to state sovereignty from ethnic and other separatist movements. Under what conditions are do these challenges end up in the creation of new states? How does the international community respond do secessionist threats?

Hurst Hannum, *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination: The Accommodation of Conflicting Rights*, University of Pennsylvania Press. Read Part I on the "International Legal Context"

Spencer, Metta. "When States Divide," in *Separatism: Democracy and Disintegration*, Metta Spencer, ed., Rowan and Littlefield, 1998, pp. 5-41.

Schaeffer, Robert K. "Separatism: Rationality and Irony," in *Separatism: Democracy and Disintegration*, Metta Spencer, ed., Rowan and Littlefield, 1998, pp. 43-68.

Edward Walker, *Dissolution: Sovereignty and the Breakup of the Soviet Union*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003. (Selected Chapters)

UNIT FIVE – New Theories of Sovereignty

WEEK 16: Theoretical Innovations & Empirical Directions for the Study of Sovereignty

What new ideas and ways to conceptualize sovereignty are raised here? What do previous weeks' readings tell us about these innovations and directions? What types of studies on sovereignty, globalization, and non-state actors would you like to see in the future?

Ole Jacob Sending and Iver B. Neumann, "Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power," *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 50 Issue 3, September 2006, pp 651 -.

Karen T. Litfin, Editor, *The Greening of Sovereignty in World Politics*, MIT Press, 1998. Chapter 5 on "The Nature of Sovereignty and the Sovereignty of Nature," Chapter 11 on "Reorienting State Sovereignty: Rights and Responsibilities in the Environmental Age"

Alexander Cooley, "Imperial Wreckage: Property Rights, Sovereignty, and Security in the Post-Soviet Space," *International Security*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Winter, 2000),

Robert Kaplan, 1994. "The Coming Anarchy", *Athlantic Monthly*, 273:2, Feb. (44-76).

Zartman, I. William 1995. "Introduction: Posing the Problem of State Collapse" in Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority. Boulder, Lynne Rienner, 1-11.

Additional Reading:

Hedley Bull. 1977. The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics, New York, Columbia University Press.

WEEK 17: Bringing the State back In: The concepts of sovereignty in modern Russia

How does modern Russia respond to sovereignty shifts? What are the views on the concept of sovereignty among Russian policymakers and researchers?

Кокошин А.А., "Реальный суверенитет в современной мирополитической системе," М.: Издательство «Европа», 2006.

Сурков В.Ю., "Суверенитет – это политический синоним конкурентоспособности", 22.02.2006 – <http://www.edinoros.ru/news.html?id=111198>.

Третьяков В., «Суверенная демократия», *Независимая Газета*, 28 апреля 2005 г.