

POLITICAL AUTHORITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Political Science 248/IRGN 290, 490

Fall Quarter 2005

Professors David Lake and Miles Kahler

Tuesdays, 1:30 PM to 4:20 PM

Social Sciences Building 104

The seminar presents and explains the variety of forms that political authority takes in the international system. Sovereign territorial states co-existing in a state of anarchy are not taken as the international norm; rather, that configuration is presented as one form of political authority among many.

Course requirements are extensive readings (see below) in preparation for each week's session; active participation in those seminar discussions; responsibility for opening class discussion in at least one of those sessions, and the completion of either three short (5-7 pages) papers (summaries and critiques of the reading for a particular week, due at the beginning of class) or a research paper. The instructors strongly encourage you to undertake a research paper.

All assigned readings are available on electronic reserves, except for the following which is available for purchase at the bookstore:

Miles Kahler and David A. Lake, eds., *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Week 1, September 27: Explaining configurations of political authority

Alberto Alesina and Enrico Spolaore, "On the Number and Size of Nations," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (1997), pp.1027-56.

David A. Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations*, Chapters 2-4 (manuscript). Available at <http://dss.ucsd.edu/~dlake/HIR%20page.htm>

Miles Kahler, "The State of the State in World Politics," in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, eds., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, pp.56-83.

Kahler and Lake, *Governance in a Global Economy*, pp. 1-30.

Alexander Wendt and Daniel Friedheim, "Hierarchy under Anarchy: Informal Empire and the East German State," *International Organization*, 49, 4 (Autumn 1995): pp. 689-721

PART II: HIERARCHIES AND THEIR TRANSFORMATION

Week 2, October 4: Ancient polities and systems

Barry Buzan and Richard Little, *International Systems in World History: Remaking the Study of International Relations*, pp.163-240.

Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, Volume I, pp.130-178.

Leonard Dudley, *The Word and The Sword*, pp.47-99.

Yale Ferguson and Richard Mansbach, *Polities: Authority, Identities, and Change*, pp. 133-222.

Victoria Tin-bor Hui, "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe," *International Organization*, 58, 1 (January 2004), pp. 175-205.

Week 3, October 11: Modern imperialism and its demise

- Michael Doyle, *Empires*, pp.19-47, 123-138, and 339-349.
 Edward Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society*, pp. 60-96
 Caglar Keyder, "The Ottoman Empire" and Mark von Hagen, "The Russian Empire," in Karen Barkey and Mark Von Hagen, eds., *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building*, pp. 30-44, 58-72.
 Jeffrey A. Frieden, "International Investment and Colonial Control: A New Interpretation." *International Organization* 48 (1994): 559-93.
 David Strang, "Anomaly and Commonplace in European Political Expansion: Realist and Institutional Accounts," *International Organization* 45 (1991): 145-62.
 Edward W. Walker, "The Long Road from Empire: Legacies of Nation-building in the Soviet Successor States," in Joseph W. Esherick, Hasan Kayali, and Eric Van Young, editors, *Empire to Nation* (manuscript)
 David A. Lake, "The Rise, Fall, and Future of the Russian Empire" and Miles Kahler, "Empires, Neo-Empires, and Political Change: The British and French Experience" in *The End of Empire? The Transformation of the USSR in Comparative Perspective*, ed. by Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, 30-62, 286-312.

PART III: ANARCHIES

Week 4, October 18: From sovereign territorial state to nation-state

- Benno Teschke, "Geopolitical Relations in the European Middle Ages: History and Theory," *International Organization* 52 (1998): 325-58.
 Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, pp. 22-57, 153-180.
 Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*, pp. 67-95.
 Andreas Osiander, "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth," *International Organization*, 55, 2 (Spring 2001), pp.251-288.
 Ellen Comisso, "Empires as Prisons of Nations vs. Empires as Political Opportunity Structures: An Exploration of the Role of Nationalism in Imperial Dissolutions in Europe," in Esherick, Kayali, and Van Young, editors, *Empire to Nation* (manuscript)
 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, pp.14-45, 80-100.
 Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, pp.1-34.

Week 5, October 25:

Territorial disintegration: localism, secession, internal conflict, and international trusteeship

- Patrick Bolton and Gerard Roland, "The Breakup of Nations: A Political Economy Analysis," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (1997), pp.1057-90.
 Kahler and Lake, *Governance in a Global Economy*, pp. 60-135 (chapters by Hiscox, Garrett and Rodden, and van Houten).
 James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97, 1 (February 2003), pp.75-90.

Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood," *World Politics*, 35, 1(October 1982), pp. 1-24.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, pp.97-136 and 251-272.

Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *When States Fail*, pp. 1-27 (Rotberg); 53-76 (Kasfir)

Stephen D. Krasner, Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States, *International Security* 29, 2 (Fall 2004), pp.85-120.

PART IV: DELEGATED AND POOLED AUTHORITY

Week 6, November 1: Confederations and federations

William H. Riker, *The Development of American Federalism*, pp.3-41.

Katja Weber, *Hierarchy Amidst Anarchy: Transaction Costs and Institutional Choice*, pp.49-72.

Daniel H. Deudney, "The Philadelphia System: Sovereignty, Arms Control, and Balance of Power in the American States-Union, circa 1787-1861," *International Organization* 49 (1995): 191-228.

Chad Rector, "Federation, International Organization, and Self-Sufficiency." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2005.

Mikhail Filippov, Peter C. Ordeshook, Olga Shvetsova, *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self-Sustainable Federal Institutions*, pp. 177-225.

Keith L. Dougherty and Michael J. G. Cain, "Marginal Cost Sharing and the Articles of Confederation," *Public Choice* 90 (1997): 201-213.

Week 7, November 8: Pooled sovereignty: The European Union and regional integration

Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union*, Second edition. pp. 21-98.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration*, pp.1-32.

Karen J. Alter, *Establishing the Supremacy of European Law*, chapters 2, 5.

Tommaso Padoa-Schioppa, *The Euro and Its Central Bank*, pp. 21-39; 165-181

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*, pp.472-501.

George Tsebelis and Geoffrey Garrett, "Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in the European Union," *International Organization*, 55, 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 357-390.

Kahler and Lake, eds., *Governance in a Global Economy*, pp.332-385 (chapters by McNamara and Caporaso).

PART V: CONTEMPORARY ALTERNATIVES FOR GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Week 8, November 15: Globalization and governance

Kahler and Lake, *Governance in a Global Economy*, pp.33-59, 136-331, and 386-438 (chapters by Martin, Cohen, Eichengreen, Mattli, Haufler, Rogowski, Simmons and Elkins, Gourevitch, Keohane and Nye, Kahler and Lake).

Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooghe, "Optimality and Authority: A Critique of Neoclassical Theory," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 38, 5 (December 2000), 795-816.

Week 9, November 22: Authority without territory? Networks and international governance

- Walter W. Powell, "Neither Market Nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization," *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 12 (1990), pp. 295-336.
- Joel M. Podolny and Karen L. Page, "Network Forms of Organization," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998), pp. 57-76.
- Duncan Watts, "The 'New' Science of Networks," *Annual Review of Sociology* 30 (2004), pp. 243-270
- Mette Eilstrup Sangiovanni, "Changing Patterns of Security Provision: From Interstate Cooperation to Transgovernmental Networks"; Miles Kahler, "Political Networks as Strategic Actors,"; David Lake and Wendy Wong, "The Politics of Networks: Interests, Power, and Human Rights Norms," (manuscript)
- Emilie M. Hafner-Burton and Alexander H. Montgomery, "Power Positions: International Organizations, Social Networks, and Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50, 1 (February 2006), forthcoming.
- Nicole F. Watts, "Institutionalizing Virtual Kurdistan West: Transnational Networks and Ethnic Contention in International Affairs," in Joel S. Migdal, *Boundaries and Belonging*, pp. 121-147.
- Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Disaggregated Sovereignty: Towards the Public Accountability of Global Government Networks," *Government and Opposition*, 39, 2 (April 2004), pp. 336-391

Week 10; November 29: American empire?

- Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*, Introduction, pp.169-199 and 258-285.
- Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy*, pp. 7-31 and 117-140, and 167-197.
- Robert Jervis, "The Compulsive Empire," *Foreign Policy*, 137 (July/August 2003), pp.83-87.
- Michael Mann, *Incoherent Empire*, pp.1-17, 80-122.
- William E. Odom and Robert Dujarric, *America's Inadvertent Empire*, pp.36-63.
- Dimitri K. Simes, "America's Imperial Dilemma," *Foreign Affairs* 82, 6 (Nov./Dec. 2003), pp. 91-102.
- Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, "The Sources of American Legitimacy," *Foreign Affairs*, 83, 6 (Nov./Dec. 2004), pp.18-32.
- Stephen M. Walt, "Taming American Power," *Foreign Affairs* 84, 5 (September/October 2005), pp. 105-120.