

# **Course: Leviathan's Shadow: Statehood in International Relations**

***Instructor: Dr. des. Ben Kamis***

***Winter term 2016/2017***

***Wednesday 12:00 – 14:00***

## **Outline**

This course engages with one of the most central and yet most challenged and elusive concepts of International Relations (IR): the state. In conventional IR perspectives, the state system is taken for granted as an institutional landscape in which international political interaction plays out. Yet if states are the building blocks of the international, how did they emerge in the first place and how are they challenged or reconstituted by various developments in contemporary world politics, from state failure to global constitutionalization? This course familiarizes students with debates on the historical emergence of the state and state system, from Neo-Weberian and Marxist accounts to legal approaches, thus revisiting key understandings of how today's international order was constituted and what makes it hold together. It then turns to discussing contemporary issues of statehood in international politics, including state-building, (non-)intervention, and the role of international law in the creation, recognition, and regulation of new states. The course thereby introduces students to a central category of IR and world politics and at the same time offers critical perspectives on the stakes involved in performing, challenging, and reconstituting the state and state system.

## **Requirements:**

Module exam (Modulabschlussprüfung): Regular attendance (3 strikes), 1000-word standpoint on literature in one session (30%), authors' advocate in another session (20%), and one 3000-words take-home essay (50%).

Participation requirement (Teilnahmenachweis): Regular attendance (3 strikes), regular and active participation, a passing 1000-word standpoint on literature in one session, a passing authors' advocate in another session.

## 1. Introduction

No readings

## The Co-Constitution of the State and the International

### 2. The State in IR

- Walker, Rob BJ. 2006. "Lines of insecurity: International, imperial, exceptional." *Security Dialogue* 37 (1): 65-82.
- Wendt, Alexander, and Raymond Duvall. 2008. "Sovereignty and the UFO." *Political Theory* 36 (4): 607-633.
- Der Derian, James, Michael Doyle, Jack Snyder, and David Kennedy. 2007. "How Should Sovereignty Be Defended?" In *Politics Without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations*, edited by Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alexander Gourevitch, 187-204. Abingdon: Routledge.

### 3. The State Dissolving Internationally?

- Held, David. 2009. "Restructuring Global Governance: Cosmopolitanism, Democracy and the Global Order." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 37 (3):535-547.
- Costello, Róisín. 2012. "Atlantis, Narnia and Statelessness: How Political and Environmental Factors Can Cause Statelessness." *Social & Political Review* 22: 72-85.

### 4. The State Collapsing Internally?

- Jackson, Robert, and Carl Rosberg. 1982. "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood." *World Politics* 35 (01): 1-24.
- Sørensen, Georg. 2001. "War and State-Making: Why Doesn't It Work in the Third World?" *Security Dialogue* 32 (3): 341-354.

## Into History: the Emergence of the State (System)

### 5. The Prehistory of the State System

- Osiander, Andreas. 2001. "Before Sovereignty: Society and Politics in Ancien Régime Europe." *Review of International Studies* 27: 119-145.
- Ruggie, John. 1993. "Territoriality and beyond: problematizing modernity in international relations." *International Organization* 47 (1): 139-174.

## **6. Violence and Rationalization: Neo-Weberian Approaches**

- Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer and Theda Skocpol, 169-187. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weber, Max. 2004. The Vocation Lectures, 'Politics as a Vocation', 32-52.
- Hobbes, Thomas. 1968 [1651]. *Leviathan or The Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiasticall and Civil*. Harmondsworth: Penguin: Ch. 17.

## **7. Modernisation and Nationalism**

- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. 1991 Revised ed. London: Verso: 5-46.
- Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell: 1-7, 39-52.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-45.

## **8. Forms of Oppression and Deception: Marxist Approaches**

- Jessop, Bob. 2012. "Obstacles to a World State in the Shadow of the World Market " *Cooperation and Conflict* 47 (2): 200-219.
- Teschke, Benno. 2002. "Theorizing the Westphalian System of States: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism." *European Journal of International Relations* 8 (1): 5-48.

## **9. Contingent and Constructed: Ideational Approaches**

- Onuf, Nicholas Greenwood. "Sovereignty: Outline of a conceptual history." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 16.4 (1991): 425-446.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1998. "The European Nation-State: On the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship." *Public Culture* 10 (2): 397-416.

## **10. A System of Equality and Stratification: Legal Approaches**

- Anghie, Antony. 2006. "The Evolution of International Law: Colonial and Postcolonial Realities." *Third World Quarterly* 27 (5): 739-753.
- Koskenniemi, Martti. 2001. *The Gentle Civilizer of Nations. The Rise and Fall of International Law*, chapter 1 ('The legal consciousness of the civilized world'), 11-97. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Contemporary Performativities of the State (System)

### 11. State Building and State Indexing

- Bhuta, N. 2012. Governmentalizing Sovereignty: Indexes of state fragility and the calculability of political order. In Kingsbury, B, Sally Merry, S. & Davis, K. (eds.) *Governance by Indicators: Global Power through Quantification and Rankings*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 132-162.
- Chandler, David. "State-building in Bosnia: The limits of 'informal trusteeship'." *International Journal of Peace Studies* (2006): 17-38.

### 12. Sovereignty and (Non-)Intervention

- Weber, Cynthia. 1995. *Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention, the State and Symbolic Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1-29.
- Orford, Anne. 2009. "Jurisdiction without Territory: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Responsibility to Protect." *Michigan Journal of International Law* 30: 981-1015.

### 13. State Creation and the Politics of International Law

- Cerone, John. 2011. "The UN and the Status of Palestine - Disentangling the Legal Issues." *ASIL Insights* 15 (26).
- Quigley, John. 2009. "The Palestine Declaration to the International Criminal Court: The Statehood Issue." *Rutgers Law Records* 35: 1-10.
- Ash, Robert Weston. 2009. "Is Palestine a "State"? A Response to Professor John Quigley's Article, "The Palestine Declaration to the International Criminal Court: The Statehood Issue"." *Rutgers Law Records* 36: 186-200.

### 14. Wrap-up

Take-home essay