

Special Topics in International Relations:
Sovereignty and Weak States, Capital Mobility and Transnational Soft Law

Political Science 390/490
Spring 2015
M/W 4:30-5:45 pm, Mather Memorial 225
Professor Elliot Posner
elliott.posner@case.edu
217 Mather House, 368-1015
Office Hours: Weds. 10:30-12:00 or by appt.

This seminar will focus on three topics currently being debated by international relations scholars. The first – sovereignty and weak states – addresses, among other questions, why new weak states, like South Sudan, continue to be created despite decades of evidence suggesting such polities face tremendous economic, social and political challenges. The second topic – capital mobility, state autonomy and cooperation – considers the impact of international finance on the ability of governments to meet internal and external policy goals. One key question concerns the extent to which international cooperation has succeeded in curtailing tax evasion, inequality and other unwanted phenomena associated with high levels of capital mobility. The final topic – transnational soft law – is about the origins, definition, nature and effects of informal rules, standards and guidelines developed in “clubs” comprised of official representatives of countries, international organizations (such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) and private bodies (such as the Forest Stewardship Council). Core questions include whether transnational soft law should be understood as global regulation, international law, a backlash against globalization or a form of international cooperation that sustains the international economy.

Readings:

The following required books are available at the bookstore.

Ronen Palan, Richard Murphy, and Christian Chavagneux, *Tax Havens: How Globalization Really Works* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010)

The other readings are available electronically on the class Blackboard website.

In addition to the assigned readings, you are required, on a regular basis, to read, watch and listen to topical articles from leading news sources. An incomplete list of potentially useful sources includes *The Financial Times*, *Le Monde*, *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, National Public Radio, *The News Hour* and *The Wall Street Journal*.

Course Requirements and Assignments:

Undergraduate students: The tests will cover content from the readings, discussions and other material covered in class. The final paper will require some independent research. The participation grade will be based on the quality of in-class contributions, including presentations and responses to questions posed by the professor on a random basis. Students must be prepared to discuss assigned readings.

- 1) Three In-Class Tests (45%): **February 11, March 18 and April 15**
- 2) Analytical Essay, 4-6 pages (15%)
- 3) Final Paper, 8-12 pages (20%): **April 27 by 5pm**
- 4) Participation (20%)

I reserve the right to lower overall grades for three or more unexcused absences. Excused absences require prior consultation and/or a doctor's note upon the professor's request.

Graduate students: Students must attend sessions, participate in discussions, do assignments and take the three undergraduate tests. While failure to meet these requirements will result in a penalty, graduate student grades will be based primarily on the quality of a research paper. A proposal with a preliminary bibliography is due on March 30, but students must consult with me beforehand. The final paper is due on April 27 by 5pm.

Course Policies:

All graded work must be completed in accordance with the Case Academic Integrity Standards.

Unexcused absences from exams will be penalized.

Please feel free to drop in during my office hours. I encourage all students in this course to do so, especially individuals with disabilities who are registered with the Coordinator of Disability Services (368-5230) and may need individual arrangements. I am happy to make appointments for students with scheduling conflicts. I prefer to interact with students in person and am able to respond only to short email messages about appointments, absences and the like. If you send a message, please put the course number in the subject heading (i.e. "POSC 390").

Topics and Reading Assignments:

Week 1 (1/12 & 1/14): Introduction & Some Essentials of IR Theory

The reading for 1/14 will depend on the backgrounds of enrolled students.

Week 2 (1/21): Sovereignty, Weak States and the Case of South Sudan

*** No Class 1/19: MLK Day ***

Andrew S. Natsios and Michael Abramowitz, "Sudan's Secession Crisis: Can The South Part from the North without War?" *Foreign Affairs* 90, 1 (Jan/Feb 2011): 19-26.

Jon Lee Anderson, "A History of Violence," *The New Yorker*, July 23, 2012.

Princeton N. Lyman, "Sudan: A Fragile "Peace" in John W. Harbeson and Donald Rothchild, eds., *Africa in World Politics: Engaging a Changing Global Order*, 5th ed. (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 2013), 237-254.

Carol Berger, "Old Enmities in the Newest Nation: Behind the Fighting in South Sudan," *The New Yorker*, January 23, 2014.

Using John Prendergast's blog, "Enough," and other sources report on arguments made in the US for South Sudanese independence.

Week 3 (1/26 & 1/28): Puzzles, Problems and Solutions

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

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

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security* 28, 4 (Spring 2004): 5-43.

Michael J. Mazarr, "The Rise and the Fall of the Failed-State Paradigm," *Foreign Affairs* 93, 1 (Jan/Feb 2014): 113-121.

Week 4 (2/2 & 2/4): Recent Research on Limited Statehood

Stephen Krasner and Thomas Risse, "External Actors, State-Building, and Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood: Introduction," *Governance* 27, 4 (October 2014): 545-567.

David A. Lake and Christopher J. Fariss, "Why International Trusteeship Fails: The Politics of External Authority in Areas of Limited Sovereignty," *Governance* 27, 4 (October 2014): 569-587.

Aila M. Matanock, "Governance Delegation Agreements: Shared Sovereignty as a Substitute for Limited Statehood," *Governance* 27, 4 (October 2014): 589-612.

Tanja A. Börzel and Vera Hüllen, "State-Building and the European Union's Fight against Corruption in the Southern Caucasus: Why Legitimacy Matters," *Governance* 27, 4 (October 2014): 613-634.

Melissa M. Lee, Gregor Walter-Drop, John Wiesel, "Taking the State (Back) Out? Statehood and the Delivery of Collective Goods," *Governance* 27, 4 (October 2014): 635-654.

Marianne Beisheim, Andrea Liese, Hannah Janetschek and Johanna Sarre, "Transnational Partnerships: Conditions for Successful Service Provision in Areas of Limited Statehood," *Governance* 27, 4 (October 2014): 655-673.

Marco Schäferhoff, "External Actors and the Provision of Public Health Services in Somalia," *Governance* 27, 4 (October 2014): 675-695.

Jana Hönke and Christian R. Thauer, "Multinational Corporations and Service Provision in Sub-Saharan Africa: Legitimacy and Institutionalization Matter," *Governance* 27, 4 (October 2014): 697-716.

Week 5 (2/9 & 2/11): Sovereignty and Weak States

***** First Test, 2/11 *****

Week 6 (2/16 & 2/18): Capital Mobility and the International Political Economy

Elliot Posner, *The Origins of Europe's New Stock Markets* (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press, 2009), selected pages.

Abraham L. Newman and Elliot Posner, "International Interdependence and Regulatory Power: Authority, Mobility and Markets," *European Journal of International Relations* 17, 4 (November 2011): 589-610.

Maurice Obstfeld and Alan M. Taylor, "Globalization and Capital Markets" in Michael D. Bordo, Alan M. Taylor and Jeffrey G. Williamson, eds., *Globalization in Historical Perspective* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 121-183. Please Skim.

Eric Helleiner, *States and the Reemergence of Global Finance: From Bretton Woods to the 1990s* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 1-22.

What do statistics tell us about current capital mobility trends?

Week 7 (2/23 & 2/25): Academic Debates

Colin Hay, "Globalization's Impact on States" in John Ravenhill, ed., *Global Political Economy, 4th Ed.* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 255-282.

David M. Andrews, "Capital Mobility and State Autonomy: Toward A Structural Theory of International Monetary Relations," *International Studies Quarterly* 8, 2 (June 1994): 193-218.

Kenichi Ohmae, *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 1-20 & 79-115.

Henry Laurence, *Money Rules: The New Politics of Finance in Britain and Japan* (Cornell University Press, 2001), 41-64.

Dani Rodrik, "Has Globalization Gone Too Far?" in David Held and Anthony McGrew, eds., *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2003), 379-383.

Louis W. Pauly, "The Political Economy of Global Financial Crises," in John Ravenhill, ed., *Global Political Economy, 4th Ed.* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 198-222.

Week 8 (3/2): Tax Havens

***** No Class 3/4 *****

Ronen Palan, Richard Murphy and Christian Chavagneux, *Tax Havens: How Globalization Really Works* (Cornell University Press, 2010)

Spring Break: 3/9 & 3/11

Week 9 (3/16 & 3/18): Capital Mobility

*** Second Test, 3/18 ***

Week 10 (3/23 & 3/25): The Emergence of Transnational Soft Law

Jessica T. Matthews, "Power Shift," *Foreign Affairs* 76, 1 (Jan/Feb 1997): 50-66.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "The Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* 76, 5 (Sep/Oct 1997): 183-97.

Kaldor, Mary, "The Idea of Global Civil Society," *International Affairs* 79, 3 (2003): 583-593.

Robin Broad, ed., *Global Backlash: Citizens Initiatives for a Just World Economy* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 173-184.

Tim Büthe and Walter Mattli, *The New Global Rulers: The Privatization of Regulation in the World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 18-41.

Gregory Shaffer and Mark A. Pollack, "Hard and Soft Law" in Jeffrey L. Dunoff & Mark A. Pollack, eds., *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on International Law and International Relations: The State of the Art* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 197-122.

Reports on international soft law developed by national officials, civil society groups and firms.

Week 11 (3/30 & 4/1): What does soft law do?

Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance," *International Organization* 54, 3 (Summer 2000): 421-456.

Joshua Cohen and Charles F. Sabel, "Global Democracy?" *International Law and Politics* 37 (2005): 763-797.

Daniel W. Drezner, *All Politics Is Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 1-6 & 71-88.

Abraham L. Newman and Elliot Posner, sample from current book project.

Week 12 (4/6 & 4/8): The Case of Global Financial Regulation

David Zaring, "Finding Legal Principle in Global Financial Regulation" *Virginia Journal of International Law* 53, 3 (2012): 683-722.

Other readings to be announced.

Week 13 (4/13 & 4/15): Transnational Soft Law

*** Third Test, 4/15 ***

Week 14 (4/20 & 4/22): Final Paper Presentations

Week 15 (4/27): A final discussion

*** Final Paper due, 5pm ***