Forgotten Relations?
Small Sovereign States and Indigenous Nations Overlooked in International Relations

A Narrative in Seven Chapters

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Table of Contents

Introduction 3

Chapter 1: Phosphate Mining in the South Pacific:
Nauru, Banaba (Kiribati), Makatea (French Polynesia) 11

Chapter 2: Carbon Negativity in Context:
Bhutan, Panama, Suriname

Chapter 2: Carbon Negativity in Context: 15
Bhutan, Panama, Suriname

Chapter 3 – Remote yet Central Islands and Immigrant Identities:
The Example of Cabo Verde 22

Chapter 4: The Long Reach of Exports: Textiles and the Status 27
of Women in Lesotho

Chapter 5 – Could Bhutan and the United State possibly
have something in common? Hint: a grand vision? 36

Chapter 6 – The Little-Known West European Microstates:
Andorra, Liechtenstein, Malta, Monaco, San Marino, Vatican City 38

Chapter 7: Nations within a Settler Nation: Centering the Homeland Before It Became America 45

Introduction

This is a manual that de-centers the United States from the preeminent position it often occupies in international relations scholarship and discourse. At the same time, it connects the United States in all but the last chapter with some of the world's smallest sovereign countries. The nature of the connection varies from trade to immigration to socioeconomic likeness to the challenges of grandiose visions. The last chapter departs from the small sovereign country focus to bringing the American land back to center, but this time the center is the vast number of indigenous nations that occupied the United States before it was given that name. This chapter brings the narrative full circle by including among the indigenous references Alaska and Hawaii, with the latter echoing the first chapter's focus on the South Pacific region with a different topic.

The seven chapters that comprise this manual are organized such that instructors can excerpt one or all seven, either as part of a workshop, capstone, or special topics seminar devoted to the overall theme, or as

elements of a basic introductory course in international relations, comparative politics, U.S. government and politics, or in political science more generally.

The narrative starts from what is probably the farthest point from the US geographically--- the South Pacific. Although the US and the South Pacific have had a long and at times tumultuous relationship, including periods of warfare, nuclear testing and the admission of Hawaii as the 50th state in 1959, phosphate has not traditionally been part of that relationship. Yet, phosphate is as familiar to Americans as to other populations, though from a different source. This combination of the familiar and the unfamiliar is an auspicious place to start a journey that aims to de-center the United States without omitting it altogether. This focus on the South Pacific and phosphate epitomizes a leitmotif among many regarding relationships to other countries: often superficial familiarity masks a deeper lack of awareness about the complexity surrounding territory, people, and products and services.

Chapter 2 amplifies this complexity with the presentation of Bhutan, Panama, and Suriname as the world's only three carbon negative countries. The concept of de-centering the United States continues with the introduction of Uruguayan cartographer Joaquin Torres-Garcia's inverted map, to demonstrate how the position of the Northern Hemisphere on conventional maps draws the eye to view that part of the world as central. The prominence of the United States in territory and population within North America underscores this focus. Besides featuring the United States in its relationship with its other neighbors of the Americas, this chapter also includes sources on the Guiana Shield, a geological formation that houses some of the earth's greatest biodiversity but remains neglected in political science scholarship, and on the reciprocal influence of the Panama Canal and the country's ecology, as well as an analysis of those displaced during the Canal's construction.

Chapter 3 adopts a different way of de-centering with a presentation of the West African island of Cabo Verde (officially called Cape Verde until 2013, when the island adopted the Portuguese translation as its official name). This chapter introduces the paradox of many islands, namely their geostrategic centrality juxtaposed with an obscurity among social scientists.

Such is the case with Cabo Verde, pivotal in the slave trade, in providing fuel to the British Empire, and in wars of liberation, yet rarely mentioned in world history, international relations, or even African area studies. The other part of this chapter turns to Cabo Verdeans who migrated to the United States, in particular to New Bedford, Massachusetts and Providence, Rhode Island. The documentary film, *Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?* narrates the history of Fox Point, Rhode Island from its establishment by Cabo Verdean immigrants to their displacement by urban renewal and historic preservation projects. Thus, this chapter serves a dual purpose of affording an opportunity to learn about a little-known island country and to discuss the often complex and not always equitable processes of urban renewal and historic preservation. The material in this chapter provides an excellent point of departure to raise the fundamental questions of who pays the cost and who reaps the benefits of urban policy decisions. The fact that the displaced in this case were immigrant communities exemplifies the direct relationship between cities and the world that is rarely addressed in political science, due to the compartmentalization of the discipline according to such subfields as international relations, comparative politics, urban politics, and public policy.

Chapter 4 moves to southern Africa with the topic of women in Lesotho. It begins by noting Lesotho's growing textile exports to the United States, as well as recent advocacy by Basotho women textile workers to combat sexual abuse in the workplace. Following are a background summary and sources that document the history of Basotho women's empowerment through voluntary pious associations, and the paradox that, despite substantial representation in parliament and the appointment of the kingdom's first female deputy prime minister, Basotho women continue to confront discrimination both at national government and traditional tribal levels. Also included in this chapter are larger questions, prompted by Basotho women's experiences, about the extent to which present feminist theories do or do not adequately address the status and rights of all women.

Chapter 5 returns to Bhutan, but in a different though related way from Chapter 2. This chapter suggests the unlikely possibility that Bhutan and the United States share the characteristic of grandiose national vision. For several decades, Bhutan has presented as its key national goal the concept of Gross National Happiness (GNH), the belief that a nation's well-being depends on more than its Gross National Product (GNP) or other signs of economic wealth. At first lauded for its efforts in this regard, even

to the point that GNH became incorporated into the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), recently, articles have appeared that challenge the reality of GNH in the lives of Bhutanese.

Similarly, the vision and belief that the United States is the "land of opportunity" and that the "American dream" of prosperity can materialize for anyone regardless of beginning socioeconomic status has been sharply reappraised. While much criticism of these visions points to outcomes that show the opposite, *e.g.*, persistent poverty, youth unemployment, and a discontented populace, this chapter suggests that perhaps one can better understand the criticisms by examining the visions themselves.

Chapter 6 moves the narrative a bit closer geographically and socioeconomically to the United States; however, the countries addressed in this chapter are usually as neglected in international relations scholarship as small sovereign countries of the Global South, although they share with the United States what is commonly identified as the Global North. They are the five microstates of Western Europe---Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, and Vatican City---plus the island microstate of Malta which, like Cabo Verde, has occupied a globally geostrategic position, yet has been largely ignored in international relations

scholarship. In addition to suggesting sources that introduce the history, politics, and cultures of each of these countries and their evolutions to statehood and United Nations membership, this chapter includes background information on the microstates' relations with the European Union (EU) through either full membership or associational status. This subject can be a useful point of departure for larger discussions of regional and global integration and multilateralism.

Chapter 7 returns the narrative to the United States, but with indigenous Americans at the center. Ironically absent from international relations texts, the relations of tribal nations within the United States are indeed international relations. This chapter includes key articles examining and critiquing the omission of indigenous Americans from political science scholarship, and also endeavors to reverse the marginalization of indigenous American and Canadian scholars by providing a list (albeit by no means exhaustive) of those scholars and their affiliations, both tribal and academic.

Each chapter begins with one or several topic-specific questions, meaning questions directly related to the subject introduced. In some cases, this is followed by a background summary, which includes excerpts from

suggested sources also listed in the chapter. The purpose of such excerpts is to give instructors an initial idea of the source and its potential usefulness. This is followed by one or more larger significance questions, meaning questions that arise from the topic but extend the discussion beyond the immediate subject matter to a larger emblematic significance. Chapters 1 and 2 include suggested assignments for more advanced students. Only Chapter 5 contains limited source material, because the purpose is to have students conduct their own research on interpretations of the visions of Gross National Happiness and America as a land of opportunity. Finally, rather than listing a range of source materials in Chapter 7, the indigenous scholars themselves are listed, with the purpose of encouraging students and faculty alike to take the initiative of learning more about their work and perhaps asking them to share their knowledge and insights as guest speakers.

Thus, through any one or a combination of the chapters in this manual, the United States is recognized and addressed, but in relationship to both the smallest of the world's countries and the descendant nations of those who established communities before the United States became what we recognize it to be today. The hope is for a new awareness of the

complexities of power, sovereignty, interdependence, and history, all of which comprise international relations.

Chapter 1: Phosphate Mining in the South Pacific: Nauru, Banaba (Kiribati), Makatea (French Polynesia)

Topic-specific questions:

1. What is phosphate? Why is it important? In what countries is it found?

Suggested assignment: Ask students to research phosphate and return to class prepared to discuss phosphate, including its uses and how and where it is obtained. Ask them to describe their process of inquiry, including identification of sources.

2. Does the United States mine its own phosphate, and if so, from where? Does it rely on imports? If the latter, from where does it import phosphate?

3. Which are the top five exporters of phosphate, and to which countries do they export?

Suggested readings (preferably after they research the topic independently):

Rosen, Julia. "Farmers Are Facing a Phosphorous Crisis: The Solution Starts with Soil." *National Geographic*, October 14, 2020.

Rosen, Julia. "Humanity Is Flushing Away One of Life's Essential Elements." *The Atlantic*, February 8, 2021.

4. What comes to mind with mention of the South Pacific region?

   One likely response is the topic of climate change. This affords the opportunity to introduce important points relating to topic salience as

well as images of a place or a culture over time. Regarding the former, although literature on climate change and its effects on small islands, including small Pacific islands is proliferate, not all acknowledges the topographical, socioeconomic, and cultural differences among the islands, nor the pivotal role of local knowledge in mitigating and adapting to the effects of climate change. A valuable source in this regard is Jon Barnett and John Campbell's *Climate Change and Small Island States: Power, Knowledge and the South Pacific.* It is not included in the list of sources that follows, because it was published in 2010, and many things, including some of the perspectives about South Pacific islands that Campbell and Barnett criticize, have changed in the fourteen years since publication. Two more recent entries, an interview with Jon Barnett and a posting on a data portal, are included in the source list. Despite the fact that it is not recent, *Climate Change and Small Island States* provides valuable insights regarding the risk of oversimplification of salient global topics and the failure to recognize regional diversity and the value of local knowledge.

Suggested sources on small island states, including the South Pacific, and on small islands and climate change:

Corbett, Jack and Connell, John. "Small Islands in the Pacific," in Baldacchino, Godfrey and Wivel, Anders, eds. *Handbook on the Politics of Small States*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020.

Baldacchino, Godfrey and Antat, Sylvanna. "Degrees of Success: The Alliance of Small Island States at the 2015 Paris Climate Change Conference" in Baldacchino, *et al. The Success of Small Island States in International Relations: Mice That Roar?* New York: Routledge, 2023.

Barnett, Jon and Campbell, John. *Climate Change and Small Island States: Power, Knowledge and the South Pacific.* New York: Routledge, 2010.

Barnett, Jon. "Food Security and Climate Change in the South Pacific." Pacific Environment Data Portal, August 19, 2021.

Barnett, Jon. "Key Climate Risks and Adaptation in the South Pacific." Interview with Dr. Jon Barnett. Planetary Security Conference, The Hague, Netherlands, November 2-3, 2015.

Parsons, Chris. "The Pacific Islands: The Front Line in the Battle against Climate Change." *Science Matters*, US National Science Foundation, May 23, 2022.

5. Ask the students why they think climate change is more readily associated with the South Pacific region than phosphate mining. Drawing upon one or more of the suggested readings below, ask them to be prepared to identify at least two points in the readings that informed them of something they did not know before.

Suggested Sources: Phosphate Mining in the South Pacific:

Hoare, N. *Re-mining Makatea: People, Politics, and Phosphate Rock*. Dissertation: The Australian National University, 2021.

Howard, Michael C. *Mining, Politics, and Development in the South Pacific*. New York: Routledge 2018.

Kingsley, Jennifer. "Making Amends with Makatea." *Hakai Magazine*, Coastal Science and Societies, May 4, 2021.

Teaiwa, Katerina Martina. *Consuming Ocean Island: Stories of People and Phosphate from Banaba*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015.

Larger significance questions:

6. How do we choose what to study in the field of international relations (IR)? How do those choices inform us? What are the risks in the process by which we choose? What can we do to prevent or lessen those risks?

Suggested reading:

Howard, Michael, "Social Scientists in Paradise." *Journal of Pacific Studies* (1983); 1-8.

Wright, Nancy E. "Small Islands in International Relations Scholarship: A Dialectic Centrality," *OASIS Journal*, 37, (January – June 2023).

Suggested related topic and assignment for more advanced students:

7. How does Nauru's experience inform us about the nature of sovereignty? For example, Stephen Krasner's seminal book, *Sovereignty as Hypocrisy* asserts that states have always compromised sovereignty for different purposes. However, states are not always the ones in charge of the compromise.

Suggested topic for class discussion: Drawing upon one or more of the suggested sources below, ask students what comes to mind when the word "sovereignty" is mentioned. From that point of departure, proceed to the meaning of sovereignty for members of the United Nations, *e.g.*, equal voting in the General Assembly with each sovereign member state entitled to one vote, regardless of territorial or demographic size. Then focus on what Krasner means by "sovereignty as hypocrisy." How important is sovereignty? Does it guarantee a state's power? If so, are other conditions necessary for that guarantee to occur?

Suggested assignment: Ask students to write an essay describing and explaining the differences in Krasner's and Storr's interpretations of sovereignty. Students may find Bauder and Mueller's article helpful as well.

Suggested Sources:

Bauder, Harald and Rebecca Mueller. "Westphalian versus Indigenous Sovereignty: Challenging Colonial Territorial Governance." *Geopolitics*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2023); 156-173.

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

Storr, Cait. *International Status in the Shadow of Empire: Nauru and the Histories of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Chapter 2: Carbon Negativity in Context: Bhutan, Panama, Suriname

Topic-specific questions:

1. How does carbon negativity distinguish these three countries from the rest of the world? What are the economic and ecological relations between these three countries and the rest of the world?

2. In this era of acute concern over climate change, what would happen if these three countries were assigned greater prominence on maps, globes, and in discussions of world affairs? (See suggested exercise to address this, following the background summary on Bhutan, Panama, and Suriname.)

The World`s Carbon Negative Countries: Bhutan, Panama, Suriname: Background Summary

Bhutan:

Bhutan was the first country to establish carbon negativity. The Himalayan kingdom of an estimated 750,000 people generates only 1.1 million tons of carbon dioxide (CO2), and its more than seventy percent old growth forest makes it a net carbon sink for millions of tons of CO2 annually. In addition, Bhutan exports large quantities of renewable hydroelectric power to India, with exports sufficient to offset 17 million tons of CO2 per year. Bhutan`s commitment to preserving at least sixty percent of old growth forest is commensurate with its leadership`s overall measurement of national well-being in terms not limited to Gross National Product (GNP), but also in terms of what its leadership has identified as Gross National Happiness (GNH), the principle of balancing economic stability and growth with the overall well-being of a country`s populace, environmental health and sustainability, and good governance (Theys and Rietig 2020).

Panama:

With more than sixty percent forest cover, Panama not only is carbon negative, but also acts as an ecological bridge between North and South America. As of 2015, the underwater mountain range identified as Cordillera de Coiba encompasses approximately 6, 650 square miles that constitute home to a diversity of marine life. Since its nationalization in

1999, the Panama Canal not only provides economic growth but also more environmentally sound transport practices, including a reduction of 13 million tons of CO2 in 2020 through more efficient marine transit. (Eighteen water-saving basins reuse sixty percent of the water utilized for each canal lock.) Panama has also implemented International Maritime Organization (IMO) speed and traffic regulations to protect marine life during seasonal migration. Furthermore, in recognition of its contribution to preserving biodiversity, in 2023 Panama hosted a global conference on ocean conservation and its relationship to stopping further climate change damage. (Burillo 2021; Conniff and Bigler 2019).

Suriname:

With a ninety-three percent old growth forest cover, Suriname is the world's most forested sovereign country, and plays a pivotal role in protecting the Guiana Shield that surrounds it. Among its pledges in accordance with the 2015 Paris Agreement are increased public transit and more ecologically sound farming practices, in view of the fact that agriculture, a mainstay of Suriname's economy, currently accounts for forty percent of the country's carbon emissions.

Suggested Class Exercise: World Maps and Possible Human (Mis)perceptions

An initial exercise to inspire thinking about responses to the above questions is to present different types of maps for students to examine, and to focus on how and to what each map draws the viewer`s attention. For example, most world maps label large countries, and especially large countries that are also prominent, such as Brazil, China, India, Russia, South Africa, and the United States, such that one`s eye is immediately drawn to them. A country large in land area but relatively small in population, such as Mongolia, may also occupy a sizeable portion of the map, but the label may not be as prominent, since Mongolia is not considered a major global or regional power. Population maps use circles or other shapes to indicate various demographic ranges, such as zero to 500,000, one million, five million, etc. Again, the larger and denser a given country`s population, the more readily one`s eye is likely to be drawn to that country`s image on a population map. What if the world`s carbon negative countries were featured on a map in such a way that they drew immediate attention from the viewer?

In 1943, Uruguayan artist Joaquin Torres-Garcia created a map that challenged the established positioning of the north at the top and the south at the bottom, when the universe does not have such an up or down orientation. He asserted that orienting countries and regions in such a way suggests that those at the top are more important, thus implying a hierarchy that exists only in the minds of those who assign priorities accordingly. Torres-Garcia drew a map in which South America was positioned at the top, with his home country of Uruguay at the center of the image. With this latter change, Torres-Garcia demonstrated how cartographers can control the interpretations of viewers (World History Commons 2023). While Torres-Garcia`s innovation is not necessarily conducive to a comprehensive understanding of world geography, it does prompt one to regard maps, as one reads or views anything, with a critical mind that considers the source and the purpose. With this in mind, students might be encouraged to create a regional or world map that draws attention to carbon-negative as well as carbon-neutral countries. Since five of the world`s most prominent countries--China, the United States, Russia, India, and Japan—are also the five top carbon dioxide-emitting countries, featuring carbon-negative and carbon-neutral countries is likely to cause such a map to appear quite different than that to which most are accustomed!

Larger significance questions:

3. How do we define power in the world, and why? Under what conditions can norm-setting countries, such as Bhutan, Panama, and Suriname, assume leadership, and what tradeoffs may be involved? Could greater prominence ultimately prove to be a detriment to these countries' own ecological well-being, and if so, how is that likely to occur, and can it be prevented?
4. In the wake of concerns about climate change, environmental protection, particularly that associated with reducing carbon emissions, has become a showcase feature for countries, especially among political leaders, the media, and corporations seeking to market sustainability. Ironically, the measures which they advocate sometimes actually harm indigenous peoples and others who do not have access to mainstream communication and policy channels (See Jordan, Menke, and Hampi under Suggested Sources.) How can we distinguish between those environmental measures that are truly and

equitably sustainable and those that promote their sustainability at the expense of innocent populations?

5. How do the images found in the maps and globes to which we are accustomed influence our perception of which sovereign states and which of the world's regions are the most worthy of our attention?

Suggested assignments for more advanced students – recognition of the Guiana Shield and the possibilities for an Environmental International Relations (EIR):

The political boundaries that define the Westphalian state based on the right to non-interference within a sovereign state`s borders, are rarely relevant to ecological regions. Yet, once international agreements are concluded, these boundaries determine how major polices are created and implemented. They also define signatories to any legal document protecting the global environment.

The Guiana Shield provides one of the best examples of this contradiction. The Guiana Shield is a Precambrian geological formation in northern South America that encompasses Guyana, French Guiana, Suriname, Venezuela, and small portions of Colombia and Brazil. It thus represents the political delineations of sovereignty, overseas territory, and region, and reflects the influences of British, French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese colonialism, as well as multiple indigenous Amerindian cultures. Rich in ecosystem biodiversity and housing eighteen percent of the earth's tropical forest carbon and one-fifth of the world's fresh water supply, the region has received considerable attention among biologists and geologists, particularly with respect to Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+), a voluntary climate change mitigation approach developed by parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). This attention has increased with corresponding concern over escalating extractive industrial activity, and the introduction of non-native plant species and bacteria introduced by outsiders. Still, to underscore the prevalence of military and economic strength as key determinants of recognized power in the world, relatively few people recognize the Guiana Shield`s importance to the earth`s vitality.

McPherson and Boyer note that, in the past 50 years, international legal instruments have sought to recognize the transboundary nature of much environmental degradation. They present their own discussion as "not meant as a social scientific analysis of transboundary conservation

practices, but rather as an exploration of potential ways policymakers from local to regional to global levels, might proceed in policy development" (McPherson and Boyer 2016: 18).

Basing their proposal on Eleanor Ostrum's theory of public goods, McPherson and Boyer present a framework for a Guiana Shield Ecosystem Reserve (GSER). They use an ecosystem scale as the primary unit of analysis, thus bringing into clearer focus the distinction between public and private goods.

Suggested assignments:

1. **Create a conceptual framework for the potential development of an Environmental International Relations (EIR) that prioritizes countries that contribute to the earth's ecological well-being.** In addition to featuring such countries, this framework should recognize the interdependence of those countries with others that are not carbon-negative or even carbon-neutral. Students may be able to draw key arguments from standard international relations theories such as realism, liberalism, and constructivism to build a new EIR.

2. **Using McPherson and Boyer's article as a point of departure, create an integrated policy framework for Guiana Shield conservation.** (This may be more appropriate for students interested in environmental policy and public administration.) The challenge could be to develop a regional design, then present the design in a simulation that involves opposition as well as support. How do the designers of the framework address the opposition? How do they enlist the support?

3. **Ask the students to write a critical review of two or more of the books on the Panama Canal; the authors are Carse, Bigler and Coniff (whose book is a more general history of Panama) Lasso, and Maurer and Yu.** Each of these authors comes from a different background, with different perspectives on the construction and operation of the Panama Canal, as well as its reciprocal impact in the Americas and the world. Ask the students to

note these differences and why they are important. (Note: each of these books can be purchased at a reasonable price; however, it may be unreasonable to expect students to purchase all of them, unless the course is solely about Panama. One approach to overcome this obstacle could be to excerpt prefaces and initial chapters, which explain not only the purpose and outline of each book, but also what prompted the author to write about the subject in the first place. Having the students concentrate on these excerpts in a comparative way offers insight into how and why social scientists choose their research subjects, and what perspectives they assume in carrying out their research.)

Suggested Sources:

"America Invertida (Inverted America)," in *World History Commons*, https://worldhistorycommons.org/america-invertida-inverted-america [accessed August 12, 2023]

Burillo, Yasiel. "Panama Leading by Example on Climate Change." *Diplomatist*, 2021.

Carse, Ashley. *Beyond the Big Ditch: Politics, Ecology and Infrastructure at the Panama Canal*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2014.

Conniff, Michael and Gene E. Bigler. *Modern Panama: From Occupation to Crossroads of the Americas*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Dommer-Schaechtele, Alexandre. "The Indigenous World: French Guiana." *Indigenous World* 2021. french-guiana.html.

Rahm, M., Smartt, T., et al. *Monitoring the impact of gold mining on the forest cover and freshwater in the Guiana Shield from 2001 to 2018*. Ecosystem Services Observatory of the Guiana Shield. Washington, DC: World Wildlife Fund, 2021.

Fennel, Lee Ann. "Ostrom's Law: Property Rights in the Commons." International Journal of the Commons, Vol. 5, 9-27, 2011.

Hampi, Nora. “Consume Less or Grow More Sustainably? Matching Energy Systems with Indigenous Worldviews in Panama. *Regional Studies, Regional Science* 9 (1), 2022: 412-424.

Jordan, Osvaldo. “The Privatization of Environmental Discourse: Clean Development and Indigenous Territoriality in Western Panama.” ABYA-YALA. *Revista sobre acesso a justica e direitos nas Americas*. 2 (1) 2018: 10-168.

Lasso, Marixa. *Erased: The Untold Story of the Panama Canal.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019.

Maurer, Noel and Carlos Yu. *The Big Ditch: How America Took, Built, Ran, and Ultimately Gave Away the Panama Canal.* Princeton: Princeton University Press 2023.

McPherson, Tsitsi Y. and Boyer, Mark A. “Designing Transboundary Conservation: Navigating Sovereignty and Ecosystem Scale in the Guiana Shield.” *International Studies Perspectives* 17, 2016: 17-33.

Menke, Jack, ed. *Sustainability at a Crossroads: Challenges and Development Opportunities of the Guiana Shield.* Paramaribo: The Institute for Graduate Studies and Research (IGSK), The Anton de Kom University of Suriname, 2021.

Ostrum, Elinor. (1990*). Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

“Suriname’s Climate Promise, for a Sustainable Future.” *UN News*, January 31, 2020.

Theys, Sarina and Katharina Rietig . “The Influence of Small States: How Bhutan Succeeds in Influencing Global Sustainability Governance*,” International Affairs* vol. 96, (6), 2020, 1603-1622.

Chapter 3 – Remote yet Central Islands and Immigrant Identities: The Example of Cabo Verde

Topic-Specific Questions:

1. Before introducing students to Cabo Verde, ask what comes to mind when the country is mentioned. Are the students at all familiar with the island? Do they know it as Cape Verde? Then ask them to conduct some preliminary online research and bring their findings to the next class.

2. In the students' opinions, why has Cabo Verde received so little scholarly attention in the social sciences?

3. Drawing upon the film, *Some Funny Kind of Porto Rican?* (see link below) and other sources regarding Cabo Verdean culture and identity, *e.g*. Amado, Pardue, how has the relationship between the two countries in terms of migration influenced how Cabo Verdeans view themselves and each other, both in their homeland and in their adopted country as Americans?

Background Summary:

The republic of Cabo Verde, like many of Africa's islands, has been marginalized in international relations scholarship but has been pivotal in world history. Extending 570 km /350 miles west of the Cabo Verde Peninsula off Africa's northwest coast, the archipelago of Cabo Verde encompasses just over 4,000 square kilometers. From the sixteenth into the mid-nineteenth centuries, the islands prospered during the slave trade under Portuguese colonial control. With the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade, Cabo Verde declined economically and witnessed what would be a major and continuing diaspora that slightly outnumbers its population of just under 550,000. In 1951, Portugal incorporated the islands as an overseas department, and later Cabo Verde gained independence 24 years later, in 1975.

Historian Richard Lobban highlights the global importance of Cabo Verde, despite its relative unfamiliarity to many:

"The Cape Verde islands have been both isolated from yet remarkably connected to the major events of world history. Their remote location, hundreds of miles from the nearest continent, has naturally made them vulnerable to neglect, oversight, and abuse. But the islands were also integrally linked to wider events such as the golden age of Portuguese discovery, the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, the pirate attacks by Francis Drake, and the provision of coal and fuel for the British empire. Cape Verde was critical in the slave trade and was visited by such famed US ships as Old Ironsides. The islands also hosted the American Africa Squadron used by the US Navy for anti-slave trade patrols, and they figured in Charles Darwin's theory of biological evolution. In the liberation war fought against Portuguese colonial rule in Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde played a much more significant role than one might expect. Clearly this was due to the strategic location of the archipelago. Sailors, slaves, colonialists, scientists, flyers and others enjoyed the security of the islands and also found their location convenient for long-range travel to the farthest corners of the globe" (Lobban 2018: 12).

Like Lobban, Falola, Parrott, and Porter Sanchez emphasize Cabo Verde's vital role in the revolution; although the degree of Portuguese control precluded the launching of a large-scale guerrilla movement in the archipelago itself, the revolution begun in Guinea-Bissau was led disproportionately by Cabo Verdeans (Falola, Parrott, and Porter Sanchez 2019: 3-4).

The aforementioned mass emigration of Cabo Verde is historically linked to its role as a commercial hub, even as early as the seventeenth century. English-American merchants sailing from New England smuggled slaves and rum by way of Cabo Verde in their effort to circumvent English rule as the colonies moved closer to what became the American Revolution. Rhode Island in particular served as a hub for slave traders, with more than 100,000 slaves transported in 934 known Rhode Island slave voyages between 1709 and 1807 (Lobban 2018: 28).

Cabo Verde's commercial importance both regionally and to the United States continued into the early nineteenth century, when the archipelago served as a friendly port of call to a young American republic emerging as a

maritime power. U.S. captains also recruited crew members from Cabo Verde when embarking from Providence, Rhode Island or New Bedford, Massachusetts (Lobban 2018: 35). The use of steam power by major shipping companies in the mid-nineteenth century, led to an increase in coal and oil development, further expanding Cabo Verde's deep-water ports (Lobban 2018: 36).

While Portugal's domination of Cabo Verde wrought the same injustices and hardships that colonization did throughout the world, the commercial importance of the islands as well as the distinctively Creole culture—indeed, agency-- that evolved, served it well in the early years of independence and continues to benefit Cabo Verdeans today, including the many Cabo Verdeans who live outside the archipelago.

Historian Gerhardt Seibert has contrasted Cabo Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe on the eve of independence for each as follows:

"The difference in education was a legacy of modern Portuguese colonialism that invested more in schooling in Cabo Verde, whose predominantly mixed-race Creole society was considered culturally more akin to the metropoles than the black Creoles of the Gulf of Guinea islands. The case in point is the introduction of secondary education in the two archipelagos. In Cabo Verde this occurred as early as 1866 when a Catholic seminary was founded in Sao Nicolau, while in Sao Tome, the first secondary school was only established in 1952" (Seibert 2016: 992).

As other sources and the documentary referenced below will illustrate, this type of racialized preference did not continue for Cabo Verdeans who immigrated to the United States, despite the fact that they were among the first Africans to come voluntarily to American shores.

Larger significance questions:

4. Can one find similarities between Cabo Verde and other small islands, both those of Africa and those elsewhere in the world? Are these islands similarly overlooked in social science scholarship, and if so, why?

5. This question is both topic-specific and has a larger significance; moreover, it points to the linkage among global, national, and local identities as presented in the film *Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?*:

6. Urban renewal and historic preservation both are typically presented as phenomena designed for the overall betterment of society. Yet, as the film on Cabo Verdean immigrants to Fox Point, Rhode Island shows, this ostensible betterment often comes at a cost to some communities while benefiting others. Although this may surprise students of international relations, one assignment could be for students to research an example of urban renewal or historic preservation—it could even be in their own communities---that involved displacement. Ask them to research the history of the renewal or preservation decisions. Who participated in the decision-making? Who bore the costs? Who reaped the benefits? Were immigrants involved? If so, how? How does a given urban renewal or historic preservation initiative link people across one or more countries?

7. Also, if possible and permissible, a class project could be to visit an immigrant community, perhaps at first by attending a festival or other gathering where public are welcome. Students could then potentially become familiar with members of the community and become better informed about the relationships between the United States and their home country, both from the perspective of immigrants and the perspective of political leaders. How do these relationships differ or resemble each other?

Suggested Sources:

Cabo Verde:

Lobban, Richard A. *Cape Verde: Criouolo Colony to Independent Nation.* New York: Routledge, 2018.

Sources on Cabo Verdeans Living in the United States:

Film: *Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?* (extended version)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SuG7T9DXFRM

Film: PBS *Some Kind of Funny Porto Rican?* (short version)

https://www.pbs.org/video/the-history-of-cape-verdean-americans-tohqgx/

Other Sources on Cabo Verdean Language, Culture, and Identity:

Amado, Abel Djassi. *Creole Language, Democracy, and the Illegible State in Cabo Verde*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2023.

Pardue, Derek. "Island Knowledge: Isolation and Identity in Cabo Verde." *Words without Borders: The Home for International Literature,* 2020.

African Islands, Small Sovereign States, and Democratization:

Corbett, Jack and Veneendaal, Wouter. *Democracy in Small States: Persisting against All Odds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Falola, Toyin R. et al., eds. *African Islands: Leading Edges of Empire and Globalization*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019.

Wright, Nancy E. "Small Islands in International Relations Scholarship: A Dialectic Centrality," *OASIS Journal*, 37, (January – June 2023).

Chapter 4: The Long Reach of Exports: Textiles and the Status of Women in Lesotho

Topic-specific questions:

1. Before providing any sources, ask the students if they are at all familiar with Lesotho. If not, ask them to research the country independently and bring their findings to class.
2. Once they have completed this assignment, ask them if they know or have just learned of Lesotho's relationship with the United States, and what that relationship is.

At that point, refer them to the background summary below:

Background Summary:

The following two excerpts reveal different sides of the economic relationship of Lesotho, and more specifically the women of Lesotho, and the United States:

Excerpt 1:

"Lesotho has taken advantage of AGOA to become one of the largest exporters of garments to the United States from Sub-Saharan Africa. Exports reached $305.4 million in 2020. The number of workers employed by the sector has fluctuated from 43,542 in February 2020 to 30,741 in April 2020 following Covid-19 outbreak and has registered 45,261 in March 2021. Apparel exports to the South African market are growing because of Lesotho's strategy to diversify the manufacturing sector. The majority of the companies are producing for the South African and U.S. market. Textile exports into South Africa account for 30 percent of total apparel exports in volume terms. With one exception, the factories import all the raw materials they use to make garments, which means opportunities exist for other upstream industries. Beyond the U.S. market, Lesotho's products enjoy duty free access to SACU and SADC countries, with a total population of 277 million. U.S. companies can set up manufacturing operations in Lesotho to produce for these regional markets."

Source: International Trade Administration, "Lesotho – Country Commercial Guide - Textiles" October 16, 2021.
https://www.trade.gov/country-commercial-guides/lesotho-manufacturing

Excerpt 2:

"Thousands of mostly women garment workers in Lesotho who produce jeans and knitwear for the global market are standing up to gender-based violence and harassment (GBVH) at their factories, homes and communities after participating in education and awareness training, part of a pathbreaking, worker-centered program negotiated in part by the Solidarity Center. And, as a result of the trainings, they now are taking on new leadership roles in their unions.

"What we've seen is workers not just talking about what's happening in the workplace but taking those conversations to the community and being involved in conversations around changing laws governing marriage and property," says Solidarity Center Africa Regional Director Chris Johnson. "Since the workshops and investigations of misconduct, workers see that this is real, and also have demanded more from their own unions."

The program stems from an unprecedented 2019 agreement in which Lesotho-based unions and women's rights groups, major fashion brands and international worker rights organizations, including the Solidarity Center, negotiated an agreement with the factory owner, Nien Hsing Textiles, to end rampant GBVH at multiple factories in Lesotho. "

Lesotho unions and women's rights organizations joined with the Solidarity Center, NGOs and the employer and brands in Lesotho to achieve a dignified workplace for women garment workers. Credit: Solidarity Center / Shawna Bader-Blau

Source: Connell, Tula. "Lesotho Garment Workers Stand Up to Gender Violence at Work, Communities." *Solidarity Center*, AFL-CIO, December 5, 2022. (Link on next page.)

https://www.solidaritycenter.org/lesotho-garment-workers-stand-up-to-gender-violence-at-work-transform-unions communities/#:~:text=Women%20Now%20Leading%20Their%20Unions&text=Although%2085%20percent%20of%20garment,own%20unions%2C%E2%80%9D%20says%20Johnson.

3. Does a relationship exist between the advocacy of women in Lesotho's textile industry and the status and history of women's lives in Lesotho more broadly? What type of connection would one anticipate, if any?

Larger significance questions:

4. Within international relations, feminist theories comprise a huge scholarship which can be unwieldy to analyze and understand. Focusing on a small country like Lesotho, which embodies drastic contradictions regarding women's legal rights, autonomy, and well-being can serve as a point of departure to examine various categories of feminist theory, responding to, among others, the following questions:

The background summary that follows quotes extensively from Marc Epprecht's book, which offers a comprehensive historical narrative about how the women of Lesotho optimized their roles in voluntary pious associations to gain autonomy and agency. How does this approach compare and contrast to modern Western theories of feminism?

5. Do our present feminist theories serve well advocacy for women's stronger agency in different parts of the world? Are these theories universal? If not, is universal feminism possible?

6. With Prime Minister of Barbados Mia Amor Mottley a likely contender for the position of United Nations Secretary-General in 2026, attention to women's advancement in the United Nations is once again increasing. Do you believe that women's advancement in

organizations, such as the United Nations or a national legislative body, signals advancement toward true equity for women?

Background Summary:

Traditionally Basotho women have assumed substantial responsibility and authority as heads of household while their husbands work in South African mines. As of 2014, and for much of its recent history, Lesotho has reported a literacy rate of well over eighty percent for women; its prevalence in the garment industry has sometimes resulted in greater employment for women than for men. Yet Lesotho has an extremely high rate of HIV, and violence against women is significant. Lesotho's small size and landlocked enclave geopolitical status—it is surrounded entirely by South Africa—have rendered it a type of laboratory for development assistance since achieving independence from Great Britain in 1966. The role and status of women in Lesotho both reflect and continue to shape these realities and thus warrant analysis both as an anomaly and a representative of the complexity of women's agency worldwide.

Basotho women also have one of the highest incidences of HIV/AIDS in the world; of the 25 percent of the population infected with HIV, more than 50 percent of those 300,000 adults are women. (On a somewhat encouraging note, as of March 2018 the country had reached one part of the Joint UN Program on AIDS' 90-90-90 goal and was nearing achievement of another (Healio 2018). (The UN AIDS 90-90-90 goal challenges each country to meet three objectives by 2020: to have 90 percent of the HIV populace to know their infection status; to have 90 percent of those who know their status be registered on ART ; and to have 90 percent of those on ART achieving viral suppression. In 2016 Lesotho became the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to start the program.)

Basotho women occupy high positions in government, academia and the private sector; yet daughters are still prohibited from inheriting the position of chief unless there is no male heir in the family. In May 2013 Lesotho's highest court ruled rejected the appeal of Senate Masupha, the daughter and first-born offspring of a chief. Augmenting the paradox is that Masupha's mother had served as chief upon the death of her father (CNN World 2018).

In recent years, the Lesotho Government has enacted reforms that permit women to access credit and other resources. For example, the Legal Capacity of Married Person Act of 2006 accords equal legal status to men and women; prior to the Act's passage married women were considered the legal equivalent of minors. The Amendment Act No. 7 of 2008 overturns the legal provision that denied women the right to be directors of companies without their husband's consent. The land Act of 2010 provides for widows to inherit immovable property and joint titling of immovable property of couples wed in community of property, including the means, for which written consent of the spouse is required, by which the immovable property is to be disposed or burdened. The Decentralization Policy of 2014 provides a framework to extend the benefits of democracy to all citizens.

The Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organizations has summarized its recent report findings as follows:

Despite increased women's participation in decision making, there are major barriers to overcome. These are deeply rooted in custom, culture, religion, and tradition. Structural barriers explain why there is little relationship between women's high representation and their political leadership. Personal empowerment does not seem to translate into political empowerment for women because society is not ready to accept women in these leadership roles. Such change can only come about through concerted effort beginning with strong political will and leadership, accompanied by deliberate strategies (Ntho, et al. 2015).

Specifically, the Council determined that : (1) no capacity building exists on the ground to ensure that laws are implemented; (2) information dissemination is inadequate; (3) discrimination persists on the basis of culture and tradition; (4) women's participation in governance at local and national levels has declined; (5) women have been able to successfully use some laws to challenge such violations as abduction and physical violence; (6) female councilers of political parties see themselves as party not community representatives; and (7) decentralization measures have had a positive impact on rural areas where women are already engaged in self-reliance and community projects (Ntho, et al. 2015).

The following excerpts are from Marc Epprecht's article and book on the historic and rather paradoxical relationship of Basotho women and European missionaries:

"'In denouncing Sesotho for 'enslaving' Basotho women, however, the early missionaries and their more zealous converts overlooked elements of custom which served to protect Basotho women from gross abuse or neglect, allowed for women's expression of grievances, ad provided for significance areas of relative autonomy from male control On the one hand, a man was obliged to provide his wife with two out of his three fields and any other productive resources necessary for her and her 'house's ' upkeep. Women also had usufructuary rights to a garden plot attached to their huts, could raise their own poultry, and, after their introduction by missionaries keep their own pigs for 'women's' cattle' as they came to be known). Women were entitled to exchange their labor, as well as specialized crafts such as pots and baskets, for grain or services. These gardens, livestock and income from trade were intended for the support of the woman and her children---the woman's responsibility. As such, they were outside the sphere of a husband's legitimate concern, and he consequently had no right to interfere. Moreover, while decisions about planting, harvesting, investments, and later the sale of produce were ultimately his to make, he had a strong moral obligation to consult with his wife on all these questions. Failure to consult was grounds for his wife to make a complaint to her relatives and, through them to the chief in extreme cases. Indeed, so strong were women's rights to claim a share of surplus production that Protestant missionaries later frowned upon them as a disincentive to men's hard work and thrift '" (Eldredge 1993, 122 as cited in Epprecht 1997: 192-193).

"Women's standpoints, therefore, provide a powerful critique of the dominant (masculinist) paradigms of development, nationalism, and progress. These, it seems safe to say, have had a dismal record of success in Lesotho as, indeed, throughout the continent, A sensitive appreciation of women's standpoints could suggest alternative, more effective, and just development strategies for the future" (Epprecht 1996:204).

"The emphasis which the *kopanos* [women's pious associations] placed on public demonstrations of piety led some observers to conclude that they blocked real development efforts by causing women to devote so much

energy to other-worldly concerns. As such, they were increasingly the butt of criticism by men eager to harness women to their economic projects. The priest at Auray, for example, while praising his *kopano* members as 'the most active, most universal, most numerous' of his congregation, complained that 'the only thing they know how to do is to hold meetings'. The President of the Bo 'Ma-bama in the 1950s also publicly criticized her own association for 'sermonizing and hymn-singing to the neglect of practical issues'. Women's loyalty to their uniforms was also notoriously 'irrational' from the point of view of many church modernizers, even to the point of allegedly denying their children school fees or clothes in order to buy their own uniforms. In other ways as well, the formalistic, almost legalistic piety among *kopanos* could be taken to lengths which sometimes dismayed European observers. One visiting Canadian nun remarked that: 'What strikes me most, is that these women tolerate absolutely nothing unseemly. They act exactly the same way in their own villages.'" (Epprecht 2000: 144).

In fact, however, what may have appeared to outsiders as a straitjacket of rules and regulations actually served as a liberating force for women to retreat from domestic drudgery, but with a noble purpose, including speaking and reading publicly in church, occupying the front pews, even ahead of senior men, carrying coffins and preparing for feast days:

[The women's magazine] *Leeba* states explicitly that one of the main tasks of the Bo-'Ma-bama is 'to fight loneliness', a practical consideration given the potentially disastrous consequences of the few other options available. In the words of a former member, "'Women tend to need something reliable in their lives which the church provides. Men tend to be very unreliable, and the church therefore offers consolation to women for the inability of men to provide the love they need. That is why there are many women's' organization in all of the churches. "' (Epprecht 2000: 145)

Regarding the uniforms, again, contrary to external perception, they signified not irrational obsession but rather equity and dignity for all:

" . . .they helped to erase some of the class lines which were being drawn in the early part of the century. While the uniforms frequently indicated subtle but 'complicated gradations of status', the hierarchy so denoted depended upon the women's contributions to the church and meritorious behavior in the community. Even the poorest women could

thus rise to positions of status and respect which were otherwise unattainable. As an astute Catholic priest explained: 'These women can, without shame, hide their poverty in their official dress." (Epprecht 2000: 146)

Suggested Sources:

Epprecht, Marc 1996. "Gender and History in Southern Africa: A Lesotho 'Metanarrative'" Canadian Journal of African Studies/ Revue Canadienne des Etudes Africaines. Vol 30, No. 2, 1996, pp. 183-213

Epprecht, Marc. 2000. '*This Matter of Women Is Getting Very Bad;' Gender, Development, and Politics in Colonial Lesotho*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Together these works provide an authoritative, comprehensive history of the way in which women of Lesotho optimized voluntary pious societies to gain agency and autonomy.

Hall, Leila. 2018. "Only Men Can Inherit the Title of Chief in Lesotho: One Woman Is Trying to Change That. CNN World https: www.cnn.com/2018/09/12/africa/lesotho-female-chieftainship-asequals-intl/index.html.

Summary of judgment below:

https://www.southernafricalitigationcentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Masupha-Judgment-Summary.pdf

Kendall, K. Limakatso. 1995. *Basali! Stories by and about Women in Lesotho*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

(Note: despite the fact that the above publication is nearly 30 years old, the stories provide valuable insight regarding the creativity and fortitude of women in Lesotho.)

Ntho, Mamoeketsi Nkiseng, et al 2015. *The Status of Women in Lesotho*. Lesotho Council of Non-Government Organizations.

Nthomeng Majara, first woman to become a chief justice in Lesotho; she held the position of Chief Justice of Appeals from 2014-2019.

https://www.africanwomeninlaw.com/women-chief-justices/nthomeng-majara

Biographical web page for Honorable Justice Nthoment Majara, Deputy Prime Ministerk and Minister of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs.

https://www.gov.ls/tm_members/honourable-justice-nthomeng-majara/

Chapter 5 – Could Bhutan and the United State possibly have something in common? Hint: a grand vision?

This chapter differs from the others, in that it invites students to research interpretations of visions that have shaped images of the United States and of Bhutan, a tiny Himalayan kingdom located between India and China. The drastic differences in the two countries highlight the irony that the two may share increasing skepticism and calls for reappraisal of their respective national visions of "land of opportunity" and Gross National Happiness.

Topic-specific question:

1. Why have the visions of Bhutan's Gross National Happiness (GNH) and the United States as a "land of opportunity" become targets of such criticism?

Suggested class exercise: Ask students to Google key words "Bhutan Gross National Happiness" and "United States land of opportunity." Their search should yield a substantial list of entries on each topic. Ask them to choose one article that affirms these concepts within each country and one that criticizes these concepts for being misleading within each country. What are the reasons stated in each article for affirmation or criticism? Which perspective does each student find more convincing, and why?

2. Ask the students to discuss what Gross National Happiness (GNH) means. Does it differ from the interpretations of happiness prevalent in the United States? If so, how?

Larger significance question:

3, What constitutes a grand vision for a country? Do all countries embrace a grand vision? (This may require some research, and a complete answer may not be possible. One suggestion is to ask students to research the

national motto or anthem lyrics of a country of their choice and determine if they view the words as a grand vision. One helpful tool might be to provide a short description of early visions of America as a "shining city on a hill" or to examine the opening words of the Declaration of Independence (however the text did not---and still does not--- match reality).

What might prompt a country to create a grand vision? Under what circumstances might such a vision be considered more desirable or necessary than others?

Although this chapter is more introspective in nature, the following article on Bhutan is included as a source that outlines a number of characteristics which distinguish it from much research on the country. As is the case with many small sovereign states, especially those of the Global South, research, at least works written in English or another lingua franca, tend to be from outside the small country, and fail to account for its autonomy and proactivity, viewing it instead as a vulnerable and dependent entity caught between larger powers. Kaul eschews this pattern, and presents a more informative and comprehensive perspective:

Kaul, Nitasha. "Beyond India and China: Bhutan as a Small State in International Relations." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*. 22, 2022: 297-337.

file:///C:/Users/PBMCYBC01/Downloads/BeyondIndiaandChinaBhutanasaSmallStateinInternationalRelationsNitashaKaul%20(1).pdf

Chapter 6 – The Little-Known West European Microstates: Andorra, Liechtenstein, Malta, Monaco, San Marino, Vatican City

This chapter addresses what are traditionally identified as the five West European microstates---Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, and Vatican City—as well as the island microstate of Malta, which, like Cabo Verde (see Chapter 3) has at once occupied a globally geostrategic position yet has been largely marginalized in international relations scholarship.

Western Europe's smallest sovereign countries are rarely referenced in American social science scholarship. They are often deemed too insignificant for international relations or comparative politics, too post-industrial for anthropologists, and too obsolete even for many historians. When they are noted, it is usually in the context of a tourist day trip from their larger counterparts.

Topic-Specific Questions:

1. Ask the students if they are familiar with the West European microstates. This could be done by first asking them to name them, and depending on the responses, naming each and asking students what they know about them. This could lead to a discussion of why these states are so overlooked in international relations.

Larger Significance Questions:

2. What are the criteria for statehood? (Here Duursma's book or Grant's review will be very helpful.)
3. What are some reasons small sovereign states may be created? (Vatican City is one of the most interesting examples of a sovereign state being created for a specific purpose.)

Topic-Specific Question with Larger Significance:

4. What motivates a sovereign state to want to join the European Union? Conversely, what motivates an action like Brexit?
5. What are the tradeoffs, especially for a small sovereign state, in European Union membership?

Suggested Class Exercise:

Ask students—either divided into small groups or as a whole, depending on class size---to form a territory that will seek statehood, just as the microstates did. With a sufficient number of students, some students could assume roles within the United Nations, the European Union, or the European Commission who review the criteria presented by the potential state.

Three further exercises for purpose of comparison:

Review the processes by which the territories that comprised the former Soviet Union, the former Yugoslavia, and the former Czechoslovakia and Romania became sovereign states, or the processes by which Timor-Leste and South Sudan became sovereign states.

This exercise has the added benefit of linking these historic processes with current events.

For a historic comparison with the United States, ask students to review the process by which one or more American states (preferably not one of the thirteen colonies, since they gained independence by virtue of the American Revolution) gained US statehood. How does that process compare with the process by which a territory becomes a sovereign state? (This exercise could give students insight regarding the process by which territories outside the United States became part of the United States. For example, the state of Texas was an independent republic for ten years.)

Suggested Sources:

State Formation and Criteria for Statehood:

Duursma, Jorri. *Fragmentation and the International Relations of Micro-States: Self-Determination and Statehood*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Note: Although Duursma's study is 28 years old as of the time of this writing, it remains relevant, because it documents in meticulous detail the evolution of each of the five microstates—Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, and Vatican City—to recognition under international law as sovereign states, as well as their struggles to be admitted as members of the

Council of Europe and the United Nations. The study also provides comprehensive accounts of each microstate's relations with its neighbors. Unfortunately, the book is exorbitant. (The last check on Amazon listed a price of over $200.) The following review by Thomas Grant provides an excellent summary of Duursma's treatment of each microstate, and therefore can be used in lieu of Duursma's book. (The price of the book fluctuates; if one really wishes to own a copy, it is worth checking booksellers periodically. Also, a partial preview is available free of chargeo Google Books.)

Grant, Thomas D. "Between Diversity and Disorder: A Review of Jorri C. Duursma, *Fragmentation and the International Relations of Micro-States: Self-Determination and Statehood*. American University International Law Review, 12 (4), Article 2, 1997: 630-686.

file:///C:/Users/PBMCYBC01/Downloads/Between%20Diversity%20and%20Disorder_%20A%20Review%20of%20Jorri%20C.%20Duursma%20Fra%20(1)%20(1).pdf

Sources Providing Basic Histories and Analytical Descriptions of the West European Microstates:

Eccardt, Thomas. *Secrets of the Seven Smallest States of Europe: Andorra, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco San Marin, and Vatican City*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 2005.

Eccardt's book is aimed at a general reading audience and in some ways reads more like a travel volume. (For example, he includes not only national holidays but recipes for each country at the end of each chapter.) Still, the book is copiously researched and provides a great deal of information in a very readable format. For this reason, it is useful as an introduction, which students should be able to read rather quickly.

(Note: Although Luxembourg is not included in this chapter, it offers an interesting and informative example of how state territory can increase or diminish as the outcome of other events, as Eccardt illustrates. Luxembourg is also an example of how a small prosperous state can be an example of both successful autonomy and proactive multilateralism. For an analysis of Luxembourg in this regard, see Jeanne A.K. Hey, "Luxembourg:

Where Small Works (and Wealthy Doesn't Hurt," Chapter 5 in Hey, ed. Small States in World Politics: Explaining Foreign Policy Behavior. New York: Lynne Rienner, 2003. Although dated, Hey's chapter provides a richly informative history of Luxembourg's foreign policy initiatives and relations with the European Union throughout the twentieth century.)

Klieger, P. Christiaan. *The Microstates of Europe: Designer Nations in a Post-Modern World*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Klieger's book is also very readable, but adopts a more definite perspective than does Eccardt; as the title suggests, he views the microstates as post-modern creations, a concepts that could be an interesting point of departure for discussion about the prospective role of the West European microstates in future world scenarios of increasing reliance on service industries and, especially in the case of Monaco, the need to socially engineer a dense population in a small territory.

(Note: Klieger devotes a chapter to the Sovereign Order of Malta, which, while not a sovereign state like the others, may be included for purpose of comparison of sovereignty versus autonomy, and the evolution of each in a given territory.)

Articles on Microstate Relations with the European Union:

"The Commission Welcomes the End of the Negotiations for an Association Agreement with Andorra and San Marino." Press Release, European Commission, Brussels, Belgium, December 12, 2023.

file:///C:/Users/PBMCYBC01/Downloads/The_Commission_welcomes_the_end_of_the_negotiations_for_an_Association_Agreement_with_Andorra_and_San_Marino_.pdf

Lukaszewski, Marcin. "The European Microstates: The Prospect of EU Membership in the Context of Association Agreement Negotiations." *The Warsaw Institute Review*, May 5, 2021.

Background Summary on Microstate Relations with the European Union (based on above articles):

Andorra: Adopting the co-principality's first constitution in 1993 and the Treaty of Good Neighborhood, Friendship and Cooperation (1993), afforded Andorra parliamentary democracy status. Adopted euro in 2011 (after having awaited approval from Brussels since 2003)

Liechtenstein: the greatest integration with the EU, although not a member state. Belongs to the European Economic Area (EEA), following the lead of Switzerland, which became a close partner with Liechtenstein following World War I. Uses Swiss franc.

Monaco: relations with EU followed from relations with France. When France adopted the euro, trade regulation with the EU had to be resolved—result was a Monetary Agreement in 2001, which was amended several times and ultimately replaced in 2011.

San Marino: San Marino is not part of the Schengen Area, but there is no border control. Regulation of currency—the Sammarinese lira was abandoned, and the government signed a Monetary Convention in 2000, which replaced one concluded in 1991; it required Sammarinese authorities to work against counterfeiting of the euro; this agreement renewed in 2012.

Vatican City: the only microstate that is not expected to become a member of the EU (reasons, including commitment to neutrality and papal autonomy). Theocracy, which makes it difficult for VC to incorporate the Copenhagen criteria; VC does not operate under most market economy conditions). Indication of cooperation: VC uses the euro. (monetary agreements in 2000; replaced in 2010). Not part of the Schengen Area.

In 2012, the European Commission presented five options for microstates to integrate more closely with the EU:

1. Maintenance of the status quo
2. Sectoral approach

3. Framework Association Agreement
4. Participation in the European Economic Agreement (EEA)
5. Full membership in the EU

The microstates overall opposed the first option, because it did not afford them access to the EU's internal market. The EU opposed the second option, because the EU would have to negotiate separately with each of the three countries and modify the stages of integration to accommodate the needs of each microstate, according to its economic potential and its readiness to become a member. The fifth option would require consideration of each microstate's population, something reminiscent of the microstates' (with the exception of Malta) first efforts to become recognized as sovereign states and as members of the United Nations.

"If one of these countries became a member of the European Union, the number of MEPs representing the microstates would have to be considered. Malta, which has the smallest population (440,000) and the smallest area (316 square km) has six MEPs. If the seats were to be distributed proportionally also among the member states, it would be quite problematic since Andorra has a similar size to Malta (468 square km) but a much smaller population (77,000). In the case of San Marino (61 square km, 33,000 pop) and above all Monaco (2 square km and 37,000 pop) it would be even more complicated, especially since the EU law stipulates that the minimum number of MEPs per country is six. Even if this rule is waived, Andorra, which has the largest population, would have to be represented one MEP, posing a problem to the other two microstates. Additionally, the obligation to adopt the *acquis communautaire* would be an enormous administrative burden to each of the microstates."

Lukoszewski, Marcin. "The European Microstates: The Prospect of EU Membership in the Context of Association Agreement Negotiations." *The Warsaw Institute Review*, May 5, 2021.

Current status:

Vatican City not likely ever to apply for or be considered for full EU membership.

Liechtenstein would not likely be a candidate or apply for full membership; current EEA membership appears sufficient and agreeable to the majority of Liechtenstein's citizens.

Remaining three: Andorra, Monaco, San Marino

The Association Agreement appears to be a good viable framework as a point of departure to build other forms of cooperation.

“Unlike the EEA membership, in which Monaco did not want to participate, all three governments expressed their openness for further negotiations in the case of the Association Agreement. The Monegasque government indicated that it would prefer a bilateral agreement with the EU, allowing it to take into account its distinct relationship with France. However, the EU would favor a single multilateral Association Agreement.

In early 2019, the European Parliament’s Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET) published a report for the Council, the European Commission, and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, as well as a corresponding draft recommendation of the European Parliament.

“The report draws attention to one of the fundamental problems (challenges) that microstate government will have to face. Due to limited administrative resources, which are a consequence of a small population, their budgets may be strained in the process of implementing the *acquis communautaire*. This, in turn, might have negative implications on public opinion, whose attitude can turn from friendly to hostile if the budget is overstretched. Hence, the authors of the document suggested an appropriate (i.e., slow) pace of implementing the *acquis* so that the administrative bodies of each microstate could cope with it without burdening their budgets. Furthermore, it was noted that appropriate clauses need to be used during the implementation of freedom of establishment, ensuring a gradual change of the socio-economic system of each microstate. Additionally, the report indicated that the negotiations should be completed within the next two years (by early 2021). “

Full membership of San Marino and Andorra not out of the question.

Chapter 7: Nations within a Settler Nation: Centering the Homeland Before It Became America

This last chapter in the narrative brings the focus back to the United States that this project has endeavored to de-center. It is, however, the land and nations that predate European settlement. Like very small sovereign states, these indigenous American nations have been deeply marginalized in political science, not only in international relations, but also in the study of American government and politics. Each of these omissions is glaring, in that the relations between the U.S. national government and tribal governments constitute international relations, and these nations constitute the original peoples of what we today identify as the United States of America.

Topic-Specific Question:

1. How can the dearth of published scholarship by and about indigenous Americans be corrected?

2. Should relations between the US national government and sovereign or autonomous tribal governments be included in international relations sholarship? If so, how?

Suggested Assignments:

1. In his article (link below), "Why Does Political Science Hate American Indians?," Ferguson lists a number of proposals to correct the ongoing marginalization of indigenous scholars in political science. Ask students either to choose one or two of Ferguson's, or identify one or two of their own, and write a short essay describing how they might accomplish this.

2. From the list that follows the suggested sources, ask students to identify one scholar and research some of that scholar's work. How does that scholar inform us about international relations in ways that

we did not know before? Ask the students to do the same using the Library of Congress website. An extension of this individual activity could be to have the students combine their efforts into a brief manual on international relations from indigenous American perspectives.

3. Following the suggested sources below is a list of indigenous American and Canadian scholars and non-native advocates of indigenous peoples noted in Ferguson's article "Why Does Political Science Hate American Indians?" Although the advocacy applies to all indigenous peoples, no indigenous Alaskans or Hawaiians are listed. Ask students to research this subject and bring their findings to class, including if possible one or two citations of articles or books.

Suggested Sources:

Ferguson, Keenan. "Why Does Political Science Hate American Indians?" *Perspectives on Politics*, 14 (4), December 2016: 1029-1038.

When addressing the topic of indigenous Americans, naming is a fundamental problem. Although the term "indigenous Americans" is used herein, the following endnote from Keenan Ferguson's article, listed under Suggested Sources for this chapter, contains a valuable summary of this dilemma:

"A word on terminology: I use here a number of problematic terms, though not interchangeably, to refer to the people and nations who inhabited the lands now claimed by the United States, as well as their descendants. I use each of the most common terms, recognizing their insufficiency: "Indigene," though it implies a static and unchanging genetic identity; "Indian," though it is [a] historical misnomer and often used in racist discourse; and "Native" (my preference), though it flattens forms of difference and hints at rhetoric of exclusion and nativism. In general, I attempt to use the terminology used by the specific author or interlocutor I am discussing, though at other times (as in the title) I use terms that make specific political claims" (Ferguson 2016: 1036, 1n).

Library of Congress website for resources on, by, and about Native Americans:

https://guides.loc.gov/native-americans-rare-materials/search-strategies

Wadsworth, Nancy. "Unsettling Lessons: Teaching Indigenous Politics and Settler Colonialism in Political Science." *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 47 (3), 2014: 692-697.

file:///C:/Users/PBMCYBC01/Downloads/unsettling-lessons-teaching-indigenous-politics-and-settler-colonialism-in-political-science.pdf

The following individuals, listed in Ferguson's article, are either citizens of Native American nations or non-indigenous scholars and advocates for Native Americans. Where known, the indigenous nation of their citizenship is listed, as well as their current academic affiliation for ready reference. (Note: this list is by no means exhaustive, and as noted above, does not include representatives from Alaska or Hawaii.)

Joanne Barker - Lenape, Delaware Tribe; American Indian Studies Department, San Francisco State University

Kevin Bruyneel - characterizes himself as a "non-native settler scholar," Department of Politics, Babson College

Jodi Byrd – Chickasaw Nation, Department of English and American Studies, Cornell University

Glen Coulthard – Yellowknives Dene First Nation (Canada), Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia

Philip J. Deloria – Standing Rock Sioux Tribe of North and South Dakota, Department of History, Harvard University (son of noted scholar Vine Deloria, Jr.)

Alyosha Goldstein – non-native, Department of American Studies, University of New Mexico

Audra Simpson, Kahnawa:ke Mohawk Nation; Department of Anthropology, Columbia University

Gerald Vezenor – White Earth Band of Anishinaabe, Professor Emeritus, University of California-Berkeley and American Studies, University of New Mexico

David Wilkins – Lumbee Nation; Jepson School of Leadership Studies, University of Richmond