



## [*Sovereignty: Contemporary Dilemmas*]

JAMES A. CAPORASO

### 15 **Changes in the Westphalian Order: Territory, Public Authority, and Sovereignty**

The reasons for the lack of order in the study of international system change include the highly abstract nature of the concepts, the dichotomous conception of many key variables and the overly aggregated nature of many concepts. The author attempts to clarify the key concepts relative to the Westphalian order – authority, sovereignty, territoriality, and citizenship. He shows how they function together as a coherent whole and as part of the overall concept of the Westphalian order. The author concludes that the changes in the Westphalian order are not so much changes in the component concepts as changes in the relationships between them.

STEPHEN D. KRASNER

### 61 **Compromising Westphalia**

The Peace of Westphalia is taken to mark the beginning of the modern international system as a universe composed of sovereign states. This article demonstrates, however, that the Westphalian model, based on the principles of autonomy and territory, has never been an accurate description of many of the entities that have been called states. Moreover, breaches of the Westphalian model have been an enduring characteristic of the international environment. The author explains the mechanisms through which the principles of territoriality and autonomy have been violated – conventions, contracting, coercion, and imposition. This is followed by a discussion of why the Westphalian model still persisted. Finally, it is argued that it would be constructive to recognize how fragile the Westphalian model has been, not only because the violations of its principles will continue, but also because it is sometimes the best way to achieve peace and stability.

JOHN GERARD RUGGIE

## 116 Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations

This article presents the latest ideas relating to the question of whether the modern system of states may be yielding to postmodern forms of configuring political space. It briefly summarizes the major aspects of the lively debate on postmodernism. Yet, it is unable to provide a definitive answer because the modern state and system of states are hardly brought up in the debate. Since there exists no shared vocabulary in the literature to describe change and continuity, the bulk of this article is devoted to a pretheoretical task, i.e. to the search for the vocabulary and for the dimensions of analysis that would allow one to ask systematic questions about possible postmodern tendencies in the world polity.

JACEK CZAPUTOWICZ

## 176 The Concept of Sovereignty

Scholars who study sovereignty claim that it is indefinable and that it is one of the most contested and controversial concepts in their fields. Sovereignty is a concept possessing multiple meanings and there does not exist one single definition of sovereignty accepted by all. It refers to a certain state, inquires about the nature of the state and its justification in terms of values. A prominent characteristic of sovereignty is that it lacks irrefutable minimal criteria which define it. States have always sought to endow sovereignty with such meaning as to be able to act at will in ever changing historical circumstances.

PIOTR SZLAGOWSKI

## 197 The Kosovo Casus and the Legitimacy of Sovereignty as a Paradigm for International Relations

Since the intervention of NATO troops in Kosovo, international relations and international law commentators have deemed the circumstances and events relating to the region remarkably significant. For the newest history of Kosovo is interlaced with numerous problems bearing on issues that are constitutive for modern international relations and international law, such as those concerning the meaning of state sovereignty and its limits, the ability to use force in the course of a humanitarian intervention, or while asserting the right to self-determination. This article examines one of these issues, i.e. the significance of the Kosovo casus to sovereignty as a paradigm for international relations today.





## [*Obama Foreign Policy: a Recap*]

JAN TOKARSKI

### 225 "Change" after a year, a year after "change"

It has been almost two years since Barack Obama was sworn in as President. This makes for an opportune moment to try and conduct a synthetic and systematic assessment of his first twelve months in office and provide an answer to some important questions. The question which shall be central herein is: did the change announced by Mr. Obama, the first black to become president in US history, really take place, especially in the realm of foreign policy? Is it readily apparent that the policy as conducted by President Obama constitutes a significant change compared to that pursued by Mr. Bush? What constitutes this change and what are its theoretical foundations? In order to determine this and define the basic differences between the two policy approaches one needs to confront Mr. Obama's policy with Mr. Bush's doctrine.

# [*History of European Thought*]

PIOTR KOSMALA

## 247 **The Apprentice and the Master: Encounter between Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Wladyslaw Studnicki in Occupied Warsaw**

The late Prof. Krzysztof Skubiszewski participated in a March 1996 Centrum Stosunkow Miedzynarodowych seminar on Polish-German relations. As the opening speaker, he chose to pay homage to Wladyslaw Studnicki, an individual now somewhat forgotten or perhaps deliberately passed over, and yet someone who was one of the true founding fathers of Poland reborn after over a century of partition. As such, in his speech Prof. Skubiszewski recalled the time of the Nazi occupation, a certain apartment in the Ochota neighborhood of Warsaw and the encounters which molded his attitudes and steered him on a path which would eventually lead him to the post of the first foreign affairs minister in a Poland reborn once again after the fall of communism.





## [Reviews]

OLAF OSICA

### 257 **The Guns of August AD 2008**

RON ASMUS, *A Little War that Shook the World. Georgia, Russia, and the Future of the West*, Palgrave Macmillan 2010.

JERZY UKLAŃSKI

### 260 **Power is the Essence of Politics**

HANS J. MORGENTHAU, *Polityka między narodami. Walka o potęgę i pokój*, Warszawa: Difin 2010.

MARCIN WIECZOREK

### 264 **The Future of European Security in Three Acts**

ÁLVARO DE VASCONCELOS, ed., *What Ambitions for European Defence in 2020?* (second edition), Paryż: Institute for Security Studies, 2009.

### 268 [Contributors]