

## **Michael Ross Fowler**

*Professor of Political Science  
University of Louisville*

### **Academic Background**

**Harvard Law School:** *Juris Doctorate*, 1986. Focus on international and transnational law and negotiation. Written work on U.S. human rights policy published as book.

**University of Virginia:** Masters Degree in Foreign Affairs, 1985. Focus on international relations theory, U.S. and European foreign policies. Masters thesis on Winston Churchill's theories of international politics published as book.

**Dartmouth College:** Bachelor's Degree, 1982. *Magna cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa, high distinction in history. Awarded Class of 1859 Prize for thesis on sixteenth-century European church courts. Cited for outstanding work: government, public speaking.

### **Employment**

**Positions at University of Louisville:** Full Professor of Political Science, July 2009 - present. Associate Professor of Political Science 2002-2009. Director, Muhammad Ali Institute for Peacemaking and Conflict Resolution, August 2000 to January 2005. Associate Professor of Law, Brandeis School of Law, June 2000 - July 2002. Visiting Assistant Professor of Law and Political Science, 1996-99. Teaching specialties: international law and organization, United States foreign policy, diplomacy, conflict resolution and negotiation, world order, constitutional law, and judicial process. Directed Institute engaged in promoting peace among youth, furthering multi-cultural understanding and bringing dispute-resolution skills to strife-torn communities, advancing the boundaries of knowledge regarding the theory and application of conflict management, and serving as an active forum helping to resolve a spectrum of disputes.

**Two-Time Fulbright Scholar to Japan:** Fulbright Scholar (Lecturer) 2005-6; Fulbright Scholar (Lecturer), 1992-93. Taught foreign policy, law and politics, and comparative law at Japan's national university on Okinawa. Lecture series on American law in comparative perspective published as book.

**Visiting Professor—Semester-at-Sea:** Fall 2018 Around-the-World Voyage (Colorado State University), Fall 2013 Circle-Atlantic Voyage (University of Virginia), Fall 2011 Around-the-World Voyage (University of Virginia).

**Visiting Professor—Southeast Asia:** Program for International Studies in Asia (PISA), George Washington University, 1995, 2002-3, 2006, and University of Louisville Center for Asian Democracy, 2007. First American invited to teach international law and organization to officials in Socialist Republic of Vietnam on program funded by Ford Foundation and American Council of Learned Societies. Taught "Public International and Transnational Law" (spring 1995) and "The Theory and Practice of Multilateral Diplomacy" (fall 1995) to diplomats and other mid-career officials at the Institute for International Relations of Vietnam's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Returned to teach International Conflict Management (2002) at the Institute for International Relations. Inaugurated PISA's program at the Institute of Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos (2003), teaching International Negotiation to

diplomats and other mid-career officials. Taught university professors from across China on a PISA/Ford Foundation program at the China Foreign Affairs University in Beijing (2006). Taught International Negotiation at the Institute of Foreign Affairs in Laos and the Diplomatic Academy in Vietnam (spring and fall 2008).

**Visiting Professor:** Visiting Professor, Bond University, Gold Coast, Australia, November-December 2007. Visiting Professor, Universidad de Colima, Colima, Mexico, 2005. Visiting Professor, University of the Ryukyus, Okinawa, Japan, 1999-00.

**Lecturer:** University of Louisville (1994), Georgetown University and George Washington University (1993-94, 1996), University of Virginia (1990-91), Tufts University (1989).

**Research Fellow to Central America:** Institute for the Study of World Politics (1989-90). Conducted research on drug trafficking and corruption. While stationed in Belize, Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, and Panama reviewed a decade of court records and media reports in each country and interviewed more than 100 persons.

**Attorney:** Mintz, Levin P.C. (1986-89). Associate at major Boston and Washington law firm. Specialized in litigation, business and environmental law. Admitted to the bars of Massachusetts (state and federal district court, 1986), Washington, D.C. (1989), and Maryland (1990).

**Scholar-in-Residence:** White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia (1986). Conducted counter-terrorism research, focusing on issue of when and how to negotiate for hostages.

**White House Staff:** Carter Administration (1980). Intern to Sarah Weddington, Special Assistant for Women's Issues and Political Affairs. Appointed youngest state regional supervisor in 1980 Carter-Mondale campaign. Despite overall Reagan landslide, oversaw Carter-Mondale victories in three of four South Carolina counties.

### **Written Work**

Michael Fowler's written work has been assigned in courses at various universities, including Stanford, Columbia, and the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts. WorldCat lists his co-authored book, *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State*, as being held at 440 libraries around the world, his co-authored book, *Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation: Drug Trafficking and the Law in Central America* as being held at 1,330 libraries, and his co-edited book, *Envisioning Reform: Enhancing UN Accountability in the Twenty-first Century* as being held at 1,830 libraries.

### **Books**

Currently at work on manuscript entitled "The United States and the Overthrow of Rafael Trujillo: The Nature of Diplomatic Relations in a Time of Tyranny."

**Mastering Negotiation**, Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2017, 457 pp.—textbook on negotiation organized by the chief phases of a negotiation and synthesizing the best current thinking on interest-based, or mutual-gain, negotiation.

**Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation: Drug Trafficking and the Law in Central America**, by Julie M. Bunck and Michael Fowler, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012, reprint 2014, 431 pp.—the first comparative study of drug trafficking in Central America.

**Envisioning Reform: Enhancing UN Accountability in the Twenty-first Century**, edited by Sumihiro Kuyama and Michael Fowler, Tokyo, New York, Paris: United Nations University Press, 2009, 380 pp.—co-edited with former Assistant U.N. Secretary-General, a fourteen-chapter book, contributed by scholars around the world, analyzing the accountability of the United Nations and making recommendations for reform.

**With Justice For All?: The Nature of the American Legal System**: Prentice Hall, 1998, 338 pp.—textbook comparatively and critically analyzing the functioning of the American legal system.

**Law, Power, and the Sovereign State: The Application and Evolution of the Concept of Sovereignty**: with Julie M. Bunck, Foreword by Inis Claude, Jr., University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995, 200 pp.—a study of sovereignty in the post-Cold War world, introducing the *de facto* and *de jure* meanings of sovereignty, the communitarian approach to determining sovereign status, and the chunk and basket theories of rights and duties.

**Thinking About Human Rights: Contending Approaches to Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy**: Lanham, Md. and London: University Press of America, 1987, second printing 1990, 261 pp.—a theoretical analysis of contemporary approaches to the role of human rights in foreign policy, and an evaluation of such leading issues as definitions, cultural imperialism, conflicting policy objectives, and strategies for negotiating with offending states.

**Winston S. Churchill: Philosopher and Statesman**: Lanham, Md. and London: University Press of America, 1985, 84 pp.—a critical analysis of Churchill as a Political Realist thinker.

### **Other Publications**

Michael Fowler has published in the following law publications: *Harvard Negotiation Law Review*, *Harvard Law School Program on Negotiation Working Papers*, *Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution*, *Albany Law Review*, *Tulane Journal of International and Comparative Law*, *Suffolk Transnational Law Review*, and *Northern Kentucky Law Review*

Michael Fowler has published in the following political science publications: *Review of International Studies*, *International Studies Perspectives*, *PS: Political Science*, *Peace and Conflict Studies*, *The Virginia Papers on the Presidency*, and *Dialogue*.

Michael Fowler has published in the following foreign publications: *United Nations University Policy Brief* (Japan); *National University of Advanced Legal Studies Law Journal* (India); *Strategic Digest* (India); *Convegno Internazionale L'Educazione alla Pace* (Italy); and *Revista del Centro de Estudios Estratégicos* (Ecuador).

His most significant journal articles and book chapters are the following.

Michael R. Fowler and Julie M. Bunck, “What Constitutes the Sovereign State?,” *Review of International*

*Studies* 22 (1996): 381-404.

Julie M. Bunck and Michael R. Fowler, "The Kellogg-Briand Pact: A Reappraisal," *Tulane Journal of International and Comparative Law* 27, 2 (Spring 2019): 229-276.

Michael R. Fowler and Julie M. Bunck, "The Nation Neglected: The Organization of International Life in the Classical State Sovereignty Period," in *International Law and the Rise of Nations: The State System and the Challenge of Ethnic Groups*, Robert J. Beck and Thomas Ambrosio, eds., (New York and London: Chatham House, 2001), pp. 38-60.

Michael R. Fowler and Julie M. Bunck, "The Chunk and Basket Theories of Sovereignty," in *Community, Diversity and a New World Order*, Kenneth W. Thompson ed., (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1994), pp. 137-144.

### **Selected Papers, Lectures, and Conferences**

Michael Fowler has lectured in Argentina, Australia, China, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Italy, India, Laos, Japan, Mexico, Northern Ireland, Panama, Venezuela, and Vietnam. He has delivered papers at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, the International Studies Association, the Latin American Studies Association, and the Southeastern Conference of the Association of American Law Schools as well as at Bond University in Australia, Fordham Law School, the Ho Chi Minh National Political Academy in Vietnam, the National Social Science Institute in Vietnam, the Patterson School of Diplomacy at the University of Kentucky, the University of Pennsylvania, the United Nations University in Tokyo, and the White Burkett Miller Center at the University of Virginia.

### **Additional Service and Achievements**

Favorite Faculty Member, Delphi Center for Teaching and Learning, University of Louisville, 2015-18, 2010-12, 2008-9.

President's Exemplary Multicultural Teaching Award, University of Louisville, 2009.

Faculty Mentor, Red and Black Honors Banquet, 2011, 2008-9.

Member, Southeast Asia Review Committee for Selecting Boren Scholars, Institute of International Education, 2019-20.

Member, Southeast Asia Review Committee for Selecting Recent Graduate Fulbright Scholars, Institute of International Education, 2008-9.

Fulbright Scholarships: Senior Lecturer to Japan, 2006; Senior Lecturer to Venezuela, 1996-97 (declined); Senior Lecturer to Japan, 1992-93.

Visiting Faculty Fellow, Bond University, Brisbane, Australia, 2007.

Distinguished International Service Award, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Louisville, 2004.

Senior Member, Graduate Faculty, University of Louisville, 2003.

Who's Who in America, 2003, 2010, and subsequently. Who's Who In Legal Education, 2005, Who's Who in American Law, 1993-94, and subsequently.

Member, Southeast Asia Review Committee for Selecting Senior and Distinguished Fulbright Scholars, Council for the International Exchange of Scholars, 1998-99, 2000-1.

Member, Faculty Review Committee for Selecting Japanese Fulbright Scholars to the United

States in international relations, Japan-United States Educational Commission, 1999.  
Member, Special Vietnam Review Committee for Selecting First Senior Fulbright Scholars to Vietnam, Council for the International Exchange of Scholars, 1998.  
Member, Board of Advisors, Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce, University of Kentucky, 1998.  
Research Fellowship, 1989-90: Institute for the Study of World Politics (Washington D.C.)  
Scholar-in-Residence, fall 1986, and Junior Scholar Research Fellow, 1983, White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia.  
Book Reviewer: Routledge, Pennsylvania State University Press, Prentice Hall Publishers, the University Press of Kentucky, the Grawemeyer Award in World Order.  
Articles Reviewer: *Publius*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *International Studies Perspectives*, *Politics*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Studies Review*, *International Journal of Business Management*, *International Journal of Management Education*, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, and *Human Rights and International Legal Discourse*.

### Peer Reviews of Books

Review of *Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation*, by Joe B. Johnson, *American Diplomacy: Foreign Service Despatches and Periodic Reports on U.S. Foreign Policy*, September 2014, at [http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2014/0612/bk/book09\\_Johnson\\_bribes.html](http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2014/0612/bk/book09_Johnson_bribes.html).

Review of *Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation*, by Professor Thomas Bruneau, Distinguished Professor of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, *Americas Quarterly*, at <http://www.americasquarterly.org/drug-trafficking-and-the-law-in-central-america>.

Review of *Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation*, by Sonja Wolf, *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 95 (October 2013): 131-33.

Review of *Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation*, by Professor John S. Robey, *Choice*, 50, 5 (January 2013): 319.

Review of *Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation*, *America's Quarterly*, Fall 2012, at <http://www.americasquarterly.org/drug-trafficking-and-the-law-in-Central-America>.

Review of *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State*, by Professor Daniel Philpott, University of California, Santa Barbara, *World Politics*, 53 (Jan. 2001): 297-324.

Review of *With Justice For All?*, by Professor James Govert, Jurisprudence and Social Policy Program, University of California, at Berkeley, *The Law and Politics Book Review* (9, 2, Feb. 1999): 70-72.

Review of *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State*, by Professor Cynthia Weber, Purdue University, *Journal of Politics* (Feb. 1997): 310-12.

Review of *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State*, by Professor Anindyo J. Majumdar, Department of International Relations, Jadavpur University, Calcutta, India, *International Studies* (34, 4, 1997).

Review of *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State*, by Professor Vince DeRose, McMaster University,

*International Journal* (Summer 1996): 587-88.

Review of *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State*, by Professor Roy E. Thurman, *George Washington Journal of International Law & Economics* (1996): 583-591.

Review of *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State*, by Professor Gregory Fox, New York University School of Law, *Criminal Law Forum* (7, 2, 1996): 459-70.

Review of *Thinking About Human Rights*, by Thomas Conley Merriman, *Harvard Human Rights Yearbook* (Spring 1988).

### Selected Commentary on Written Work

**Julie M. Bunck and Michael R. Fowler, *Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation: Drug Trafficking and the Law in Central America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, July 2011).**

“There is nothing like *Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation* in the drug-control literature. It covers a region, Central America, that other studies deal with peripherally, if at all. It encompasses a span of time, from c. 1980 to the present, that will command much attention. The authors make their subject a compelling story, one that is essential to an understanding of recent and contemporary Central America. Bunck and Fowler’s exceptional study will appeal to both students and scholars in various disciplines, including history, political science, sociology, and criminal justice.

— William O. Walker III, University of Toronto

“This book fills a glaring gap in the voluminous drug literature. It will instantly become the reference book for understanding the role of Central America in the international drug trade and the profound impact of the trade on the countries of the region. Anyone interested in drug trafficking in Central America will find this book to be essential reading. And anyone who fails to cite this book when writing about drug trafficking in Central America will provoke raised eyebrows.”

— Peter Andreas, Brown University

“In *Drug Trafficking and the Law in Central America: Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation*, Julie Marie Bunck and Michael Ross Fowler -- professors of political science at the University of Louisville -- provide those interested in Central America, the drug trade and U.S. foreign assistance in the region with an invaluable tool for understanding the causes and implications of drug trafficking through an analysis of what they term the ‘bridge countries’ of Belize, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama ...

Understanding the drug trade phenomenon through these ‘bridge’ states required the authors to develop an innovative research approach that was both wide-ranging and deep. They used every imaginable source of data, ranging from primary and secondary articles and books to court records from the United States and the ‘bridge’ nations and scores of personal interviews over many years to produce an impressive book on a subject that by its nature is opaque: transnational organized crime....

The subtitle, *Bribes, Bullets, and Intimidation*, captures the ingenious means that drug traffickers have adopted to move their product from Central America to its principal markets in North America and Europe. In fact, one of the many useful features of the book is its inclusion of Europe as a major destination for drug trafficking. ...

The book in many ways takes an encyclopedic approach to drug trafficking. There is substantive information on topics ranging from the drugs transported (including marijuana, heroin and cocaine) to the means of transportation (air, sea and ground) and capsule summaries of the main groups involved in the region -- and their relationships with drug cartels elsewhere in the Americas....

But the most helpful element of the book for future researchers and policymakers is the detailed country-by-country approach. The authors developed an identical set of categories -- factors that lead to countries being 'bridge' states, the evolution of drug trafficking and drug trafficking routes and organizations -- for all five 'bridge' countries, even though each chapter can stand on its own for its description and analysis of the particular dynamics of drug transit.

After analyzing the five country case studies, the authors identify what they call 'cardinal factors' driving drug trafficking: arms, poverty, over-matched militaries, weak legal regimes, dismal law enforcement, and ineffective cooperative efforts. These factors, combined with the area's geographic and economic position as a 'bridge' between the major drug producers of Colombia and Peru and the major consuming nation of the U.S., result in a situation where they conclude the most the 'bridge' states can do is to minimize the 'cardinal factors' favoring drug trafficking to encourage the traffickers to move their business to a neighboring state.

That may sound pessimistic, but it's hard to disagree with. As the authors point out, the immense profits from drug sales, the geographic and political factors of Central America, the minimal assistance provided by other states and the continued demand for drugs in the U.S. and Europe have produced a combined challenge that policymakers in these 'bridge' countries find hard to address.... 'The cardinal fact remains that, although with outside assistance the Central American bridge states have been able to disrupt the numerous drug transactions and arrest key members of particular drug trafficking groups, their actions and resources have not nearly sufficed to reverse the flow of drugs through the region,' the authors conclude.

'These bridge states lack the capacities, their deficiencies are too many, and the scope of the problem is too vast for all the countries in the region simply to "push the traffickers out," as U.S. officials have sometimes urged.'

— Thomas Bruneau, Distinguished Professor of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School

"This groundbreaking effort is the first comprehensive analysis of drug trafficking in Central America. The volume covers five countries -- Belize, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, and Panama -- over some 40 years (1980-present). Bunck and Fowler ... are thus able to make comparisons over time of the variations that exist in each country. Bunck and Fowler present statistical information on amounts and types of drugs seized in each country ... The book contains one chapter for each of the five countries and an introductory chapter that looks at the importance of the geographical region as a whole to the effort to contain illicit drugs. The volume also has a summary in which the authors make several reasoned policy recommendations.... The book is well written and research. It should reach a wide audience."

— Professor John S. Robey, University of Texas at Brownsville

**Michael R. Fowler, *With Justice For All?: The Nature of the American Legal System*, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1998).**

"The textbook version of the proverbial 'better mousetrap' ... Just when I thought the definitive text on American law had already been written, along comes *With Justice For All?* -- an engaging, informative,

and compelling analysis of the U.S. legal system.”

— Barbara A. Perry, Sweet Briar College

“A welcome, objective, no-nonsense account of the American legal system – where it is and where it ought to be ... [written by] an experienced lawyer-political scientist.”

— Henry J. Abraham, James Hart Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia

“In time-honored Socratic fashion, Professor Fowler never directly answers the title question of his introductory text on the American legal system, *With Justice For All?* Instead, in his preface and at the beginning of each chapter, he provides a series of questions that invite the reader to conduct his or her own inquiry with respect to a particular aspect of the American legal system.... In each chapter, the scholarly bent of the organizing questions and additional research sources is offset nicely by a wealth of practical description and factual material. *With Justice For All?* successfully blends the Socratic method of the classroom with ‘nuts and bolts’ focus of the law office. The result is a clear and useful introduction to American law and courts that achieves an admirable balance between the concerns of the legal scholar and those of the practicing attorney.... *With Justice For All?* should find a secure place among the better introductory textbooks on the American legal system because of its clear writing, conversational tone and effective balance between the scholarly and the practical.”

— James W. Govert, Jurisprudence and Social Policy Program, University of California, Berkeley in *The Law and Politics Book Review* 9, 2 (Feb. 1999): 70-72.

**Michael R. Fowler and Julie M. Bunck, *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State: The Evolution and Application of the Concept of Sovereignty* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).**

“This invaluable study of sovereignty explores anew one of the most enduring ideas in political theory and illuminates with lucidity the changing nature of the sovereign state.”

— Richard Falk, Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law and Practice, Princeton University

“In recent years the emergence of collective humanitarian intervention, a renewed interest in functionalism, and the development of theories of supranationalism have led a number of international relations scholars to conclude that the sovereign nation-state is rapidly becoming obsolete. Enter Michael Ross Fowler and Julie Marie Bunck's defence of sovereignty. This study, which maintains that 'the concept is on the whole a useful and largely positive feature of modern international life' (p. 152), is a welcome addition to the literature on international relations theory....

This book is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it is not intended only for the intelligentsia of international relations. The accessibility of the ideas makes it ideal for students of international relations. Yet, those familiar with the literature on sovereignty will still appreciate a number of subtle insights into the relationship between the theoretical and practical aspects of sovereignty. Second, the authors do not attempt to limit and constrain the meanings of sovereignty by providing a reductionist definition. Instead, they offer a coherent account of the meanings ascribed to sovereignty by both political theorists and



international policy-makers. By not providing definitive answers, they illustrate the ever-changing character of the sovereign nation-state.

The book's major contribution is not the answers it provides but rather the questions it raises. Fowler and Bunck's framework, which highlights the multiple interpretations and usages of the concept of sovereignty in theory and practice, provides a foundation from which to question further the meanings of sovereign statehood. Given the enduring use of the concept of sovereignty within international relations, the book is a substantial addition to this field of study.

— Vince DeRose, McMaster University, *International Journal* (Summer 1996): 587-88

"I warmly recommend this thoughtful book as particularly timely for British readers. The contentious issue of sovereignty and federation in Europe has come to dominate British politics. Here is an objective and penetrating analysis of what constitutes sovereignty, how its meaning is changing in Europe and in the newly independent states, including the Commonwealth; and why it will continue to play an important role in international life. Those who wish to see through the fog of political rhetoric and form an independent conclusion should not fail to read Fowler and Bunck."

— Adam Watson, University of Virginia, author of *The Evolution of International Society*, and *Diplomacy: The Dialogue Between States*.

"Fowler and Bunck have produced a very nice and fair review of a scholarly debate that has gone on for several centuries. They have indicated how the term sovereignty has been used in different contexts and by proponents of different ideologies and have suggested how it can be used beneficially. The views that they themselves put forward seem quite balanced and they are certainly scrupulously fair in setting out the views of others.... I think the manuscript ... brings the sovereignty debate up-to-date and examines a wide range of views that have been expressed in it in a very fair and balanced fashion. It is written clearly and without pretension and I would imagine that it might be quite attractive as a teaching book at the college level."

— W. Michael Reisman, Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld Professor of Jurisprudence, Yale Law School

*The following review compares and contrasts Law, Power, and the Sovereign State with another book on sovereignty: The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements, by Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, of Harvard Law School.*

"Fowler and Bunck ... [pursue] thoughtful discussions of the theory as well as excellent and plentiful empirical examples... Fowler and Bunck appreciate that it is the theoretical ambiguity of sovereignty which makes it imperative to investigate how the various meanings of sovereignty are temporarily fixed in practice.... Fowler and Bunck, two political science professors and students of foreign policy, are more critical of the theoretical literature on sovereignty because they are more familiar with it.... [T]hese texts are important reading. In their different emphases on practice and theory, the two volumes complement each other nicely. Most importantly, in strikingly different ways they contribute to the sovereignty debates by refusing to know too much about what sovereignty presumably is and by continuing to investigate what sovereignty does – both empirically and theoretically."

— Cynthia Weber, Purdue University, *Journal of Politics* (February 1997): 310-12

*The review compares and contrasts Law, Power, and the Sovereign State with two other books on sovereignty: Stephen D. Krasner (Stuart Professor of International Relations, Stanford University) (Princeton University Press, 1999) and Rodney Bruce Hall, National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems (Columbia University Press, 1999).*

“... Stephen Krasner has set out to ‘undeck’ the concept of sovereignty as a foundational assumption in international relations scholarship – to dethrone it, denude it, strip it of its aura of continuity with an immemorial past, deprive it of its, well, sovereignty. And Michael Fowler and Julie Marie Bunck, drawing on international legal scholarship as well as on political science, argue similarly, though less audaciously.... Both Krasner and Fowler and Bunck question the notion of international relations as a ‘Westphalian order’ that originated in the seventeenth century and then continued to the present, beginning only now to cleave. Instead, their common thesis runs, state sovereignty has been revisable and revised, violable and violated – constantly and continuously, for diverse causes and purposes.... [B]oth works pose a vigorous challenge, rich in implications about sovereignty – its history, its role in international politics, its place in international relations scholarship, and its changing status today....

Michael Ross Fowler and Julie Marie Bunck find similar flaws in the model – it is far too simple; it is far too incognizant of manifold state practices; scholars are far too ready to accept and assume it ; it is incongruent with international politics not simply after the cold war but as states have long practiced it. Their book, *Law, Power, and the Sovereign State*, reads as a compendium of compromises, current and historical.

But their tone differs.... Fowler and Bunck ... interrogate the Westphalian model, posing it against a challenger model, drawing out the commitments, the implications, and the advantages of each, and finally deciding in favor of the challenger. They resemble not so much a usurper as a judge who carefully delimits a president’s authority.

Legal proceedings prove more than a metaphor for Fowler and Bunck’s relative circumspection but also embody a second contrast – their relative emphasis on international law. Krasner finds compromises of sovereignty in state practices such as intervention, in treaties, in the rules of international organizations that states have joined, as well as in international law. Fowler and Bunck draw upon all these sources, to be sure, but place far more emphasis on international law as a criterion for locating compromises. Decisions of international courts and the United Nations, recognition practices, and legal arguments appear far more frequently, receive far more extensive discussion, and thus give a far more legal mien to the set of compromises that they discover.

All of these lines of inquiry address the roiling issues raised by sovereignty... Krasner, Fowler and Bunck, and Hall have admirably begun to face these questions. But they have only begun.”

— Daniel Philpott, Notre Dame University, *World Politics*, 53 (January 2001): 297-324

“... Michael R. Fowler and Julie M. Bunck ... have made a significant contribution by producing an outstanding work on sovereignty, a key concept serving as the foundation for all international relations and international law.”

— Roy E. Thurman, Professor of Political Science, West Texas A&M University, *George Washington Journal of International Law & Economics*, 30 G.W. J. Int’l L. & Econ.

**Michael R. Fowler, *Thinking About Human Rights: Contending Approaches to Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy*, University Press of America, 1987, second printing 1990.**

“The present study is a seminal inquiry into competing views of human rights. No comparable volume exists for, as Fowler argues, no one has examined the premises and underlying assumptions of four major schools of thought on human rights. The book will fill an important need for years to come.... The merit of Fowler’s book is that he makes possible fruitful discourse between leading thinkers on human rights who may not fully grasp the reasons for their differences. He also helps scholars, journalists, and students understand the different contexts in which human rights are being discussed. Finally, he provides a full and illuminating account of recent American thought on human rights and a penetrating analysis of the major issues.”

— Kenneth W. Thompson, J. Wilson Newman Professor of Government, and Director, White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia

*The review compares and contrasts Thinking About Human Rights with Joshua Muravchik’s The Uncertain Crusade: Jimmy Carter and the Dilemmas of Human Rights (Hamilton Press, 1986).*

“Fowler ... attempts to unpack and disarm ideological argument in order to enable dialogue to focus on the development of practical negotiation strategies for promoting greater respect for human rights. In a world where human rights abuses tend to transcend ideology, Michael Fowler’s method of analysis should make a more significant contribution to the further development of United States human rights policy....

Although both Michael Fowler and Joshua Muravchik make important contributions to the study of human rights, Fowler’s *Thinking About Human Rights* has greater potential for transforming the nature of human rights discourse.... [T]hose who aspire to a dialogue capable of producing concrete and effective policy proposals for dealing with the problem of human rights abuses, should look to Michael Fowler’s *Thinking About Human Rights* as a vehicle which could open up a new frontier for United States human rights policy.”

— Thomas Conley Merriman, *Harvard Human Rights Yearbook* (Spring 1988): 325-33

“Mr. Fowler ... provides us with the first, lucid, comprehensive analysis of the varied approaches to human rights and achieves the highest goal of a profound writer: he makes us make up our own minds. Concern for human rights has become a dominant issue of our time, but, as he instructs us, it is an issue with different meanings for different people – and diverse regimes. Most important, he examines the *politics* of human rights. *Thinking About Human Rights*, carefully reasoned and splendidly written, is a triumph for the author and a gift to the statesmen of our time. I pray that they grasp it in all its subtlety and force.”

— William Manchester, Wesleyan University