

# HSPS Tripos. Part 2a

## POL3 - International Organisation (2023-2024)

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### Outline of the Course

#### Aims and Objectives

POL 3 (*International Organisation*) aims to expand students' knowledge and understanding of cooperation and conflict in the global system, expanding on themes and concepts introduced in POL 2. It does so by focusing on coordinated attempts to address global problems—both historically and in a contemporary setting—on the many forms such coordination takes, and on the role of norms, ideas, and power in these processes.

The course has the following objectives:

- to develop students' understanding of the main theoretical approaches to the study of cooperation and conflict in international politics.
- to provide students with a basic grasp of the core purposes and functions of global governance institutions and actors (such as the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and various non-state actors, such as non-governmental organizations, global civil society networks and private regulatory organizations).

#### Brief Paper Description

How can international organizations (IOs) help to address the range of global security, economic, human rights, and other problems we face today? How is power exercised over, within and by IOs? The course will analyse the role and functioning of major international institutions and IOs with the aims of (a) developing students' understanding of how the current system of global governance has evolved, (b) encouraging students to consider whether and how current patterns of international cooperation solve global problems, and (c) inviting students to assess the extent to which processes of international cooperation entrench or reduce power inequalities in world politics.

At the theoretical level, the course will introduce students to competing perspectives on IOs, variously conceived as functional instruments of states in general or of great powers in particular, or as (semi)autonomous bureaucratic actors with interests and agency of their own.

At the empirical level, the course will explore how cooperation problems in areas of international security, trade and finance, international law and human rights are addressed by states, IOs and other international actors, including NGOs and private actors.

## **Course Structure**

The paper is divided into four parts.

I. *The Historical Evolution of International Organization* focuses on international organization before international organizations. The lectures in this part examine the demand for institutionalized co-operation in world politics, before analysing how co-operation is possible under anarchy.

II. *Perspectives on International Organization* surveys major theoretical and conceptual debates in International Relations relating to processes of international organization. Next, it introduces major theoretical approaches to the study of international institutions and international cooperation—including realist, rationalist, constructivist, and critical perspectives.

III. *Issues and Actors in Global Governance* focuses on practices of institutionalized cooperation among states and non-state actors in different areas of global politics—from international security to human rights, international law, environmental protection, trade, and financial regulation. In addition to analysing institutional cooperation in different domains of global politics, lectures in this part also consider the variety of different actors (states, sub-state agencies, IOs, NGOs, multi-national corporations, transnational crime syndicates, and courts) that both create and resolve these problems.

IV: *Looking into the Crystal Ball*. We end by considering the crisis of the ‘liberal international order’ and the potential for moving from global governance to global government.

## **Learning Aims**

POL 3 aims to help students develop a theoretical as well as practical understanding of the major institutions that govern contemporary global affairs, the nature of the problems these institutions strive to solve, and the causes and consequences of the strategies adopted to address these problems. After completing the course, students should be able to articulate the leading theoretical explanations within the field of International Relations for why international organizations and other actors involved in global governance exist, how they operate, and how they influence the behaviour of both states and non-state actors. They should also be able to apply a range of theoretical arguments to analyse cases of international co-operation and conflict.

## **Mode of Teaching**

Students will be offered 25 lectures plus one revision lecture. In addition, they will have FIVE supervisions plus one revision supervision over the course of the academic year.

Supervisions are designed to allow in-depth discussion of the major themes and topics introduced in lectures in a small group setting.

Students will submit a circa 1500 to 2200 (max) words essay in advance of each supervision. The list of questions for each of the five mandatory supervisions can be found at the end of this course guide. Supervisors are free to either assign an essay question for you or give you freedom to choose. Please follow your supervisor’s lead. The supervisions will usually take place around weeks 3, 5 and 8 in Michaelmas term and weeks 2 and 4 in Lent term (with precise dates and

timings to be agreed with your supervisor), with the revision supervision in Easter.

### Preparation for Lectures and Supervisions

To get the most out of the paper, students are strongly encouraged to attend all the lectures, having completed the required \*CORE\* readings for each lecture. The lectures and readings are designed to complement each other. A list of supplementary readings is provided for each lecture topic to enable students to broaden and deepen their knowledge of individual topics and to assist in exam preparation.

### **Mode of Assessment**

Assessment will be by written examination in Easter Term. Students will answer TWO questions. Questions will be broad and thematic, designed to encourage students to draw on and combine their knowledge of several lecture topics. A list of exam questions from the 2020/2021 and 2021/2022 and 2022/2023 exams can be found at the end of this paper guide and online on Moodle.

### **Preparatory Readings**

Below you will find a list of preparatory readings that you may want to consult during the summer to preparation for the course. These are grouped into two categories. The first category contains a few classic or important background texts in the field of IO. The second category is general textbooks on International Organization that you may wish to consult to gain a basic understanding of what types of IOs are out there and how they operate.

The assigned weekly readings consist predominantly of journal articles and book chapters, which will generally be available electronically from the University Library's e-journal resources or e-books provisions.

#### *Preparatory reading List*

Robert O. Keohane. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton University Press).

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore. 2004. *Rules for the World. International Organizations in Global Politics* (Cornell University Press).

Acharya, Amitav, and Barry Buzan. 2019. *The Making of Global International Relations: Origins and Evolution of IR at Its Centenary* (Cambridge University Press).

### RECOMMENDED TEXTBOOKS

(choose one or two of these to support you throughout the course).

Ian Hurd. 2020. *International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice*. 4th Edition. (Cambridge University Press).

Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst. 2015. *International Organization: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lynne Rienner).

Susan Park. 2018. *International Organisations and Global Problems: Theories and Explanations* (Cambridge University Press).

Volker Rittberger, Bernard Zangl and Andreas Kruck. 2012. *International Organization*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Palgrave Macmillan).

## Outline of Lectures

### PART I. *The Historical Evolution of International Organization*

1. International Organization before International Organizations (MES)
2. US Hegemony and World Order (AD)
3. Achieving Co-operation under Anarchy: The Role of Institutions (MES)
4. The Emergence of the Liberal International Order (AD)

### PART II. *Perspectives on International Organization*

5. Co-operation under Anarchy: The Role of Power (MES)
6. Constructivist Perspectives (AD)
7. Critical Perspectives I: Marxism and Post-Structuralism (AD)
8. Rationalist Institutionalism (MES)
9. Critical Perspectives II: Feminism and Post-colonialism (AD)

### PART III. *Issues and Actors in Global Governance*

10. Whose Global Economy? (MES)
11. The UN Security Council: Power and Legitimacy (GM)
12. Making Poverty History? (AD)
13. The Laws of War (GM)
14. International Peace Keeping (MES)
15. Corporations and Global Governance (GM)
16. Governing the Internet (AD)
17. Governmentality (AD)
18. Governance by NGOs and Civil Society (MES)
19. Protecting Human Rights (MES)
20. Epistemic Communities (AD)
21. International Environmental Politics & Climate Change (AD)
22. How Do International Courts Impact World Politics? (AD)
23. The Role of International Media (Ian Shields)

### PART IV: THE CRYSTALL BALL

24. The Demise of the Liberal International Order? (AD)
25. From Global Governance to World Government? (MES)
26. Exam Revision Lecture (MES)

## Weekly Lectures and Reading List

### PART I: THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

#### 1. International Organization before International Organizations (MES)

Thursday 5 October, 11:00-12:00

##### Core Readings

North, Douglass C. 1991. "An introduction to Institutions and Institutional Change". In *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge University Press), Chapter 1, pp. 1-9.

Lane, Frederick. 1958. "The Economic Consequences of Organized Violence." *Journal of Economic History* 18 (4): 410-417.

Milgrom, Paul, Douglass North, and Barry Weingast. 1990. "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs." *Economics and Politics* 2 (1): 1-23.

### Recommended Readings

- Yao, Joanne. 2019. "Conquest from Barbarism': The Danube Commission, International Order and the Control of Nature as a Standard of Civilization." *European Journal of International Relations* 25 (2): 335-359.
- Keene, Edward. 2002. *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics* (Cambridge University Press).
- Thomson, Janice E. 1994. *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns* (Princeton University Press).
- Benton, Lauren. 2010. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires 1400-1900* (Cambridge University Press).
- Zarakol, Ayse. 2010. *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge University Press).
- Quirk, Joel and David Richardson. 2014. "Europeans, Africans and the Atlantic World, 1450-1850." In Shogo Suzuki, Yongjin Zhang and Joel Quirk, Eds. *International Orders in the Early Modern World: Before the Rise of the West* (Routledge), pp.138-158.
- Tracy, James D. (Ed). 1990. *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade 1350-1750* (Cambridge University Press).
- Suzuki, Shogo, Yongjin Zhang and Joel Quirk (Eds). 2014. *International Orders and the Early Modern World* (Routledge).

## **2. US Hegemony and World Order (AD)**

*Tuesday 10 October, 11:00-12:00*

### Core Readings

- Ruggie, John Gerard. 1982. "International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Post-War Economic Order." *International Organization* 36 (2): 379-415.
- Strange, Strange. 1987. "The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony." *International Organization* 41 (4): 551-574.

### Recommended Readings

- Lake, David. 2007. "Escape from the state of nature: Authority and hierarchy in world politics." *International Security* 32 (1): 47-79.
- Lake, David A. (1993) "Leadership, Hegemony and the International Economy: Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential?" *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (4): 459-489.
- Ikenberry, G. John and Charles A. Kupchan (1990) "Socialisation and Hegemonic Power." *International Organization* 44 (3): 283-315.
- Best, Jacqueline (2005) *The Limits of Transparency: Ambiguity and the History of International Finance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Blyth, Mark (2002) *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Eichengreen, Barry (1996) *Golden Fetters: The Gold Standard and the Great Depression* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Helleiner, Eric (1994) *States and the Re-emergence of Global Finance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).
- Ahamed, Liaquat (2009) *Lords of Finance: The Bankers Who Broke the World* (London: Penguin).

Bially Mattern, Janice and Ayse Zarakol (2016) "Hierarchies in World Politics." *International Organization* 70 (3): 623-654.

### **3. Achieving Co-operation under Anarchy: The Role of Institutions (MES)**

Thursday 12 October, 11:00-12:00

#### Core Readings

Keohane, Robert and Lisa Martin. 1995. "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20 (1): 39-51.

Mearsheimer, John. 1994/95. "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19 (3): 5-49.

Wendt, Alexander. 1992. 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics'. *International Organization*. 46(2): 391-425.

#### Revisit:

Ikenberry, John. 2002. *After Victory* (Princeton University Press). Chapter 1: "The Problem of Order" and Chapter 2: "Varieties of Order: Balance of Power, Hegemonic and Constitutional", pp. 3-49 (also assigned in POL2)

#### Recommended Readings

Axelrod, Robert, and Robert O. Keohane. 1985. "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38 (1): 226-54.

Krasner, Stephen D. 1982. "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables," *International Organization* 36 (2): 185-205.

Axelrod, Robert. 1981. "The Emergence of Cooperation among Egoists." *American Political Science Review* 75(2): 306-318.

Olson, Mancur. 1971. *The Logic of Collective Action* (Harvard University Press), Chapter 1.

### **4. The Emergence of the Liberal International Order (AD)**

Tuesday 17 October, 11:00-12:00

#### Core Readings

Tourinho, Marcos. 2021. "The Co-constitution of Order." *International Organization* 75(S2): 258-281.

Jahn, Beate. 2018. "Liberal internationalism: historical trajectory and current prospects." *International Affairs* 94 (1): 43-61.

#### Recommended Readings

Reus-Smit, Christian. 2011. "Struggles for Individual Rights and the Expansion of the International System." *International Organization* 65 (2): 207-242.

Ikenberry, John. 2001. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton University Press. [1] [SEP]

Helleiner, Eric. 2014. *Forgotten Foundations of Bretton Woods: International Development and the Making of the Postwar Order*. Cornell University Press. [1] [SEP]

Sikkink, Kathryn. 2017. "Timing and Sequencing in International Politics: Latin America's Contributions to Human Rights." In *International Politics and Institutions in Time*, edited by Orfeo Fioretos, 231–50. Oxford University Press.

Reus-Smit, Christian. 2013. *Individual Rights and the Making of the International System*. Cambridge University Press.

## PART II. PERSPECTIVES ON IO

### **5. Co-operation under Anarchy: The Role of Power (MES)**

Thursday 19 October, 11:00-12:00

#### Core Readings

Krasner, Stephen. 1991. "Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier." *World Politics* 43 (3): 336-356.

Barnett, Michael and Raymond Duvall. 2005. "Power in Global Governance." In Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (Eds). *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 1-23.

Gruber, Lloyd. 2000. "Winners and Losers: The Case for Theoretical Reorientation. In *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*, Chapter 3, pp. 33- 57.

#### Recommended

Mattli, Walter, and Ngaire Woods. 2009. "In Whose Benefit? Explaining Regulatory Change in Global Politics." In *The Politics of Global Regulation*. Edited by Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods. (Princeton University Press).

Martin, Lisa. 1992. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." *International Organization* 46 (4): 765-92.

Wivel, Anders, and T.V. Paul, eds. 2019. *International Institutions and Power Politics: Bridging the Divide*. Georgetown University Press.

McKibben, Heather Elko. 2013. "The Effects of Structures and Power on State Bargaining Strategies." *American Journal of Political Science* 57, (2): 411–27.

Friedheim, Robert L. 1965. "The 'Satisfied' and 'Dissatisfied' States Negotiate International Law: A Case Study." *World Politics* 18 (1): 20–41.

Krasner, Stephen D. (1985) *Structural Conflict: The Third World Against Global Liberalism*. University of California Press.

Gowa, Joanne. 1989. "Exploring the 'Myth' of Hegemonic Stability." *American Political Science Review* 83 (4): 1245-1256.

Grieco, Joseph, Robert Powell, and Duncan Snidal. 1993. "The Relative Gains Problem for International Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 727-43.

Urpelainen, Johannes. 2011. "The Enforcement–Exploitation Trade-off in International Cooperation between Weak and Powerful states", *European Journal of International Relations* 17 (4): 631-653.

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, and Vincent Pouliot. 2014. "Power in Practice: Negotiating the International Intervention in Libya." *European Journal of International Relations* 20 (4): 889–911.

Zarakol, Ayse. 2011. *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge University Press).

### **6. Constructivist Perspectives (AD)**

Tuesday 24 October, 11:00-12:00

### Core Readings

Johnston, Alastair Iain (2001). "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments." *International Studies Quarterly*, 45 (4): 487-515.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore (2003) "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 57 (2): 241-276.

### Recommended Readings

Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52 (4): 887-917.

Emilie Hafner-Burton, Stephan Haggard, David Lake, and David Victor (2017) "The Behavioural Revolution and International Relations" *International Organization* 71, Supplement, pp. S1-S31

Wallander, Celeste (2000), "Institutional Assets and Adaptability: NATO after the Cold War," *International Organization* 54 (4): 705-735.

Mercer, Jonathan (2010). "Emotional Beliefs," *International Organization* 64 (1): 1-31.

Panke, Diana and Ulrich Petersohn (2011) "Why International Norms Disappear Sometimes," *European Journal of International Relation* 18 (4): 719-742.

Wendt, Alexander (1995) "Constructing International Politics," *International Security* 20 (1): 71-81.

Pouliot, Vincent and Jean Philippe Thérien (2018) "Global Governance: A Struggle over Universal Values." *International Studies Review* 20 (1): 55-73.

Epstein, Charlotte, ed. (2017) *Against International Relations Norms: Postcolonial Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

## **7. Critical Perspectives I: Marxism and Post-Structuralism (AD)**

*Thursday 26 October, 11:00-12:00*

### Core Readings

Robert Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 10:2 (1981), 126-155.

Roxanne Doty, "Foreign policy as social construction: a post-positivist analysis of US counter-insurgency policy in the Philippines," *International Studies Quarterly* 37:3 (1993), 297-320.

### Recommended Readings

Immanuel Wallerstein, "Rise and Future of the World Capitalist System," in Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World Economy* (Cambridge University Press), 1-36.

Christopher Chase Dunn, "Comparative Research on World System Characteristics," *International Studies Quarterly* 23:4 (1979), 601-623.

Stephen Gill and David Law, "Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital," *International Studies Quarterly* 34:4 (1989), 475-99.

Caporaso, James. "Dependency theory: continuities and discontinuities in development studies." *International Organization* 34:4: 605-628.

Tim Di Muzio, *Carbon Capitalism: Energy, social reproduction and world order*, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

R. B. J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*, (Cambridge University Press, 1993).



David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States, Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, (University of Minnesota Press, 1998)

Richard Ashley, "The Poverty of Neorealism," *International Organization* 38:2 (1984), 225-286.

Jennifer Milliken, "The Study of Discourse in International Relations: A Critique of Research and Methods," *European Journal of International Relations* 5:2 (1999), 225– 254.

## **8. Rationalist Institutionalism (MES)**

*Tuesday 31 October, 11:00-12:00*

Abbott, Kenneth and Duncan Snidal. 1998. "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (1): 3-32.

Lipson, Charles. 1991. Why are Some International Agreements Informal? [\*International Organization\*](#), 45 (4); 495-538.

Rosendorff, Peter, and Helen Milner (2001) "The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape." *International Organization* 55 (4): 829-857.

Abbott, Kenneth and Duncan Snidal (2000) "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54 (3): 421-56.

### Recommended

Chayes, Abram and Antonia Chayes. 1993. "On Compliance." *International Organization* 47 (2): 175-206.

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette (2009) "Varieties of Cooperation: Government Networks in International Security," in Miles Kahler, ed. *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance* (Cornell University Press), pp. 194-226.

Mitchell, Ronald (1994) "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance" *International Organization*, 48 (3): 425-58.

Lipson, Charles (1991) "Why are Some International Agreements Informal?" *International Organization* 45 (4): 495-538.

Morrow, James D. (2014) *Order within Anarchy: The Laws of War as an International Institution*. (Cambridge University Press).

Nielson, Daniel and Michael Tierney (2003) "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform." *International Organization* 57 (2): 241-276.

Brown, Joseph M. and Johannes Urpelainen (2015) "Picking Treaties, Picking Winners: International Treaty Negotiations and the Strategic Mobilization of Domestic Interests," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (6): 1043-1073.

Benvenisti, Eyal. 2020. *The WHO – Destined to Fail?: Political Cooperation and the COVID-19 Pandemic*. *University of Cambridge Faculty of Law Research Paper No. 24/2020*. Available from <[https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3638948](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3638948)>.

## **9. Critical Perspectives II: Feminism and Post-colonialism (AD)**

*Thursday 2 November, 11:00-12:00*

### Core Readings

Laura Sjoberg, "Gendered Realities and the Immunity Principle: Why Gender Analysis Needs Feminism," *International Studies Quarterly* 50:4 (2006), 889-910.

Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, "The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies," *Review of International Studies* 32:2 (2006), 329-352.

### Recommended Readings

Ann Towns, "Norms and Social Hierarchies: Understanding Policy Diffusion from Below," *International Organization* 66: 2 (2012), 179-209.

Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Sense of International Politics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, (University of California Press, 2014).

Katherine H. S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*, (Columbia University Press, 1997).

Birgit Locher and Elisabeth Prugl, "Feminism and Constructivism: Worlds Apart or Sharing the Middle Ground?" *International Studies Quarterly* 45:1 (2001), 111- 130.

J. Ann Tickner, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists," *International Studies Quarterly* 41:4 (1997), 611-632.

V. Spike Peterson, "Feminist Theories Within, Invisible To, and Beyond IR," *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 10:2 (2004), 35-46.

Robbie Shilliam, *International relations and non-Western thought: Imperialism, colonialism and investigations of global modernity*, (London: Routledge, 2010).

Meera Sabaratnam, "IR in dialogue...but can we change the subjects? A typology of decolonising strategies for the study of world politics," *Millennium* 39:3 (2011), 781-803.

Ayşe Zarakol, *After defeat: How the East learned to live with the West*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Branwen Gruffydd Jones, Ed. *Decolonizing International Relations*, (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, (Princeton University Press, 2008).

Frantz Fanon, *The wretched of the earth*, (Grove Press, 2014).

## **PART III. ISSUES & ACTORS**

### **10. Whose Global Economy? (MES)**

*Tuesday 7 November, 11:00-12:00*

Steinberg, Richard H. (2002) "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO." *International Organization* 56 (2): 339-374.

Farrell, Henry and Abraham L. Newman (2019) "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." *International Security* 44 (1): 42-79

Hopewell, Kristen (2016). *Breaking the WTO: How Emerging Powers Disrupted the Neoliberal Project*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, Chapter 1 and 2.

### Recommended

Drezner, Daniel W. (2007) *All Politics is Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Cardoso, Fernando Enrique and Enzo Faletto (1979) *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

Goldstein, Judith (2017) "Trading in the Twenty-First Century: Is There a Role for the World Trade Organization?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (1): 545-564.

- Cox, Robert W. (1987) *Power, Production and World Order* (New York: Columbia University Press).
- Piketty, Thomas (2014) *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge Mass.: Belknap Press).
- Brune, Nancy and Geoffrey Garrett (2005) "The Globalization Rorschach Test: International Economic Integration, Inequality and the Role of Government," *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (1): 399-423.
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie (2004) *A New World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Slobodian, Quinn. 2019. *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Strange, Susan (1996) *The Retreat of the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kalayanpur, Nikhil and Abraham L. Newman (2019) "Mobilizing Market Power: Jurisdictional Expansion as State Power." *International Organization* 73 (1): 1-34.

## **11. The UN Security Council: Power and Legitimacy (GM)**

*Thursday 9 November, 11:00-12:00*

### Core Readings

- Claude, Inis (1966) "Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the UN." *International Organization* 20 (3): 367-379.
- Voeten, Eric (2005) "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force." *International Organization* 59 (3): 527-57.
- Ian Hurd (2005) "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003." *International Organization* 59 (3): 495-526.

### Recommended Readings

- Thompson, Alexander (2006) "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization* 60 (1): 1-34.
- Morjé Howard, Lise, and Anjali Dayal (2018) "The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping." *International Organization* 72 (1): 71-103.
- Pouliot Vincent and Thérien Jean-Philippe (2018) *Global Governance: A Struggle over Universal Values*. *International Studies Review* 20(1): 55-73.
- Pouliot, Vincent (2021). "The Gray Area of Institutional Change: How the Security Council Transforms Its Practices on the Fly." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 6, 3.
- Pouliot, Vincent. "Historical Institutionalism Meets Practice Theory: Renewing the Selection Process of the United Nations Secretary-General." *International Organization* 74, no. 4 (2020): 742-72.
- Johnstone, Ian. (2003) "The Role of the UN Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law." *Global Governance* 9 (4): 441-58.
- Hurd, Ian (2011) "The United Nations II: International Peace and Security." In Ian Hurd, ed. *International Organizations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), Chapter 6, pp. 133-160.
- Binder, Martin, and Monika Heupel (2014) "The Legitimacy of the UN Security Council: Evidence from Recent General Assembly Debates." *International Studies Quarterly* 59 (2): 238-50.

- Carter, David B. and Randall W. Stone (2015) "Democracy and Multilateralism: The Case of Vote Buying in the UN General Assembly." *International Organization*, 69 (1): 1-33.
- Kuziemko, Ilyana, and Eric Werker (2006) "How Much is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations." *Journal of Political Economy* 114 (5): 905-930.
- Morris, Justin and Nicholas J. Wheeler (2007) "The Security Council's Crisis of Legitimacy and the Use of Force." *International Politics* 44 (2): 214-231
- Hurd, Ian (2002) "Legitimacy, Power, and the Symbolic Life of the UN Security Council." *Global Governance* 8 (1): 35-51.

## 12. Making Poverty History? (AD)

Tuesday 14 November, 11:00-12:00

### Core Readings

- Finnemore, Martha (1996) *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press) Chapter 3 "Norms and Development: The World Bank and Poverty," pp.89-127.
- Weaver, Catherine (2007) "The World's Bank and the Bank's World," *Global Governance* 13 (4): 493-512.
- Cooley, Alexander and James Ron (2002) "The NGO Scramble." *International Security* 27 (1): 5-39.

### Recommended Readings

- Barnett, Michael (2009) "Evolution Without Progress? Humanitarianism in a World of Hurt." *International Organization* 63 (4): 621-644.
- Weaver, Catherine (2008) *The Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore (2004) *Rules for the World: International Organization in Global Politics* Ithaca: Cornell University Press), Chapter 3 "Expertise and Power at the International Monetary Fund," pp.45-72.
- Dan Honig and Catherine Weaver (2019) "A Race to the Top? The Aid Transparency Initiative and the Social Power of Global Performance Indicators." *International Organization* 73 (3): 579-610.
- Delehanty, Sean. 2020. "From Modernization to Villagization: The World Bank and Ujamaa." *Diplomatic History* 44 (2): 289-314.
- Babb, Sarah (2009) *Behind the Development Banks: Washington Politics, World Poverty and the Wealth of Nations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Park, Susan and Antije Vetterlein (Eds) (2010) *Owning Development: Creating Policy Norms in the IMF and World Bank* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Klitgaard, Robert (1990) *Tropical Gangsters: One Man's Experience with Development and Decadence in Deepest Africa* (New York: Basic Books).
- Mosse, David (Ed.) (2011) *Adventures in Aidland: The Anthropology of Professionals in International Development* (New York: Berghahn).
- Moyo, Dambisa (2010) *Dead Aid: Why Aid Isn't Working and How there is a Better Way for Africa*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Ruggie, John Gerard (1982) "International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Post-War Economic Order." *International Organization* 36 (2): 379-415

Best, Jacqueline (2010 "The limits of Financial Risk Management: Or What we didn't learn from the Asian Crisis?" *New Political Economy*, 2010, Vol 15, issue 1, pp.29-49.

### **13. The Laws of War (GM)**

Thursday 16 November, 11:00-12:00

#### Core Readings

Tannenwald, Nina (2017) "Assessing the Effects and Effectiveness of the Geneva Conventions." In *Do the Geneva Conventions Matter?*, edited by Matthew Evangelista and Nina Tannenwald, 1–34. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Morrow, James D. (2007) "When Do States Follow the Laws of War." *American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 559–72.

Kinsella, Helen M. (2005) "Discourses of Difference: Civilians, Combatants, and Compliance with the Laws of War." *Review of International Studies* 31 (1): 163–85.

#### Recommend Readings

Fazal, Tanisha M., and Brooke C. Greene (2015) "A Particular Difference: European Identity and Civilian Targeting." *British Journal of Political Science* 45 (4): 829–51.

Jo, Hyeran, and Catarina P. Thomson (2014) "Legitimacy and Compliance with International Law: Access to Detainees in Civil Conflicts, 1991-2006." *British Journal of Political Science* 44 (2): 323–55.

Mantilla, Giovanni (2017) "The Origins and Evolution of the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the 1977 Additional Protocols." In *Do the Geneva Conventions Matter?*, edited by Matthew Evangelista and Nina Tannenwald, 35–68. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Mantilla, Giovanni. 2018. Forum Isolation: Social Opprobrium and the Origins of the International Law of Internal Conflict. *International Organization* 72 (2): 317–349.

Mantilla, Giovanni. 2020. *Lawmaking under Pressure: International Humanitarian Law and Internal Armed Conflict*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Mantilla, Giovanni. 2020. Social pressure and the making of wartime civilian protection rules. *European Journal of International Relations* 26 (2): 443– 468.

Jo, Hyeran (2015) *Compliant Rebels: Rebel Groups and International Law in World Politics*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Dill, Janina (2014) *Legitimate Targets?: Social Construction, International Law and US Bombing*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Morrow, James D. (2014) *Order within Anarchy: The Laws of War as an International Institution*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Kinsella, Helen M, and Giovanni Mantilla. 2020. Contestation before Compliance: History, Politics, and Power in International Humanitarian Law. *International Studies Quarterly*.

Legro, Jeffrey W. (1995) *Cooperation Under Fire: Anglo-German Restraint During World War II*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

### **14. International Peace Keeping (MES)**

Tuesday 21 November, 11:00-12:00

Core Readings

- Fortna, Virginia Page (2004) “Does Peacekeeping Keep the Peace?” *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2): 269-92.
- Beardsley, Kyle and Holger Schmidt (2012) “Following the Flag or Following the Charter? Examining the Determinants of UN Involvement in International Crises, 1945–2002.” *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (1): 33-49.
- Toft, Monica D. (2010) “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” *International Security* 34 (4): 7–36.
- Howard, Lise-Morjé. 2019. *Power in Peacekeeping*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1: 1-31.

Recommended Readings

- Sandler, Todd. 2017. International Peacekeeping Operations: Burden Sharing and Effectiveness. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (9):1875-1897.
- Guéhenno. Jean-Marie. *The Fog of Peace: A Memoir of International Peacekeeping in the 21st Century*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Lovat, Henry. 2020. *Negotiating Civil War. The Politics of International Regime Design*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fortna, Virginia Page (2003) “Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace,” *International Organization* 57 (2): 337–72.
- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon (2014) “Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting.” *American Political Science Review* 108 (4): 737–53.
- Fortna, Virginia Page (2008) *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents’ Choice After Civil War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2019. *Peacekeeping in the Midst of War*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Paris, Roland (2003) “Peacekeeping and the Constraints of Global Culture.” *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (3): 441-473.
- Howard, Lise-Morjé (2019) *Power in Peacekeeping*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adelman, Howard (2008) “Blaming the United Nations.” *Journal of International Political Theory* 4 (1): 9-33.
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis (2000) “International Peacebuilding: A theoretical and Quantitative Analysis.” *American Political Science Review* 94 (4): 779-801.
- Chapman, Terrence and Dan Reiter (2004). “United Nations Security Council and the ‘Rally Around the Flag’ Effect.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6): 886-909.
- Escribà-Folch, Abel (2010) “Economic Sanctions and the Duration of Civil Conflicts.” *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (2): 129-41.

**15. Corporations and Global Governance (GM)**

Thursday 23 November, 11:00-12:00

Core Readings

Büthe, Tim (2010) “Private Regulation in the Global Economy: A (P)Review.” *Business and Politics* 12 (3): 1-23.

Mantilla, Giovanni (2009). “Emerging International Human Rights Norms for Transnational Corporations.” *Global Governance* 15 (2): 279–98.

Thrall, Calvin (2021). “Public-Private Governance Initiatives and Corporate Responses to Stakeholder Complaints.” *International Organization*, 75(3), 803-836.

#### Recommended Readings

Ruggie, John Gerard. “Multinationals as Global Institution: Power, Authority and Relative Autonomy.” *Regulation and Governance* 12, no. 3 (2018): 317–33.

Crasnic, Lori, Nikhil Kalyanpur and Abraham Newman (2017) “Networked Liabilities: Transnational Authority in a World of Transnational Business,” *European Journal of International Relations* 23 (4): 906-929.

Cutler, A. Claire (2003) *Private Power and Global Authority: Transnational Merchant Law in the Global Political Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Ruggie, John Gerard. *Just Business: Multinational Corporations and Human Rights*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2013.

Tomz, Michael (2007) *Reputation and International Co-operation: Sovereign Debt Across Three Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), Chapter 2, pp.14-38.

Abdelal, Rawi and Mark Blyth (2015) “Just Who Put You in Charge? We Did: CRAs and the Politics of Ratings.” In Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder (Eds) *Ranking the World: Grading States as a Tool of Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp.39-59.

Sell, Susan K. (2003) *Private Power, Public Law: The Globalization of Intellectual Property Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Sell, Susan K. and Aseem Prakash (2004) “Using Ideas Strategically: The Contest between Business and NGO Networks in Intellectual Property Rights.” *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (1): 143-75.

Poulsen, Lauge Skovgaard N. and Emma Aisbet (2013) “When the Claim Hits: Bilateral Investment Treaties and Bounded Rational Learning.” *World Politics* 65 (2): 273-313.

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

Blackman, Jonathan I. and Rahul Mukhi (2010) “The Evolution of Modern Sovereign Debt Litigation: Vultures, Alter Egos and Other Legal Fauna.” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 73 (4): 47-61.

Vogel, David (2008) “Private Global Business Regulation.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (1): 261-82.

Brake, Benjamin and Peter J. Katzenstein (2013) “Lost in Translation? Non-State Actors and the Transnational Movement of Procedural Law.” *International Organization* 67 (4): 725-57.

Mattli, Walter (2001) “Private Justice in a Global Economy: From Litigation to Arbitration.” *International Organization* 55 (4): 919-947.

## **16. Governing the Internet (AD)**

*Tuesday 28 November, 11:00-12:00*

#### Core Readings

- Farrell, Henry and Abraham Newman. 2021. "The Janus Face of the Liberal International Information Order: When Global Institutions are Self-Undermining." *International Organization* 75(2): 333-358.
- Carr, Madeline. 2015. Power plays in global internet governance. *Millennium* 43(2): 640-659.
- Deibert, Ronald, and Rafal Rohozinski. 2010. Liberation vs. Control: The Future of Cyberspace. *Journal of Democracy* 21 (4):43–57.
- Recommended Readings
- Drieschova, Alena. 2021. "In consideration of evolving matters: A new materialist addition to Emanuel Adler's cognitive evolution." In: Piki Ish-Shalom, Markus Kornprobst, and Vincent Pouliot. Eds. *Theorizing World Orders*. Cambridge University Press.
- Benkler, Yochai, Robert Faris, and Hal Roberts. 2018. *Network Propaganda: Manipulation, Disinformation, and Radicalization in American Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Castells, Manuel. 2015. *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. John Wiley.
- Deibert, R., J. Palfrey, R. Rohozinski, J. Zittrain. 2008. *Access denied: The practice and policy of global internet filtering*. The MIT Press.
- Deibert, R., J. Palfrey, R. Rohozinski, J. Zittrain. 2010. *Access controlled: The shaping of power, right, and rule in cyberspace*. MIT Press.
- DeNardis, Laura. 2014. *The Global War for Internet Governance*. Yale University Press.
- Farrell, Henry. 2012. The Consequences of the Internet for Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 35–52.
- Gunitsky, Seva. 2015. Corrupting the Cyber-Commons: Social Media As a Tool of Autocratic Stability. *Perspectives on Politics* 13 (1):42–54.
- Howard, Philip N. 2010. *The Digital Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Information Technology and Political Islam*. Oxford University Press.
- Mueller, Milton. 2010. *Networks and States: The Global Politics of Internet Governance*. MIT Press.
- Nocetti, Julien. 2015. Contest and Conquest: Russia and Global Internet Governance. *International Affairs* 91(1): 111–30.

## LENT TERM

### **17. Governmentality (AD)**

*Thursday 18 January, 11:00-12:00*

#### Core Readings

- Kelley, Judith G., and Beth A. Simmons. 2015. "Politics by Number: Indicators as Social Pressure in International Relations." *American Journal of Political Science* 59: 55-70.
- Methmann, Chris. 2013. "The sky is the limit: Global warming as global governmentality." *European Journal of International Relations* 19(1): 69-91.

#### Recommended Readings

- Abdelal, Rawi and Mark Blyth. 2015. "Just who put you in charge? We did: CRAs and the politics of ratings." In: Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder. Eds. *Ranking the World*. Cambridge University Press.



- Joseph, Jonathan. "Governmentality of What? Populations, States and International Organizations." *Global Society* 23(4): 413-427.
- Walters, William. 2012. *Governmentality: Critical Encounters*. Routledge.
- Neumann, Iver and Ole Jacob Sending. 2010. *Governing the Global Polity. Practice, Mentality, Rationality*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Schueth, Sam (2015) "Winning the Rankings Game: The Republic of Georgia, USAID, and the Doing Business Project." In Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder (Eds) *Ranking the World: Grading States as a Tool of Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp.151-177.
- True, Jacqui and Michael Mintrom (2001) "Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming." *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (1): 27-57.
- Merry, Sally Engle, Kevin E. Davis and Benedict Kingsbury (Eds) (2015) *Quiet Power of Indicators: Measuring Governance, Corruption and Rule of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Kelley, Judith and Beth Simmons. Eds. 2020. *The Power of Global Performance Indicators*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cooley, Alexander and Jack Snyder. Eds. 2015. *Ranking the World*. Cambridge University Press.

## **18. Governance by NGOs and Civil Society (MES)**

*Tuesday 23 January, 11:00-12:00*

- Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell University Press), Chapters 1 and 3.
- Price, Richard (1998) "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines." *International Organization* 52 (3): 613-644.
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette and Teale Phelps-Bondaroff (2014) "From Advocacy to Confrontation. Direct Enforcement by Environmental NGO." *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (2): 348-61.
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette and J.C. Sharman, *Vigilantes Across Borders* (Princeton University Press), preface and Introduction.

### Recommended

- Betsill, Michele M. and Harriet Bulkeley (2004) "Transnational Networks and Global Environmental Governance." *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2): 471-93.
- Scholte, Jan (2004) "Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance." *Government and Opposition* 39 (2): 211-233.
- Philipp Pattberg, "Forest Stewardship Council," (2011) both in *Handbook of Transnational Governance* eds. Thomas Hale and David Held (Polity Press), pp. 252-59, and pp. 265-71.
- Price, Richard (2003) "Transnational Civil Society and Advocacy in World Politics." *World Politics* 55 (4): 579-606.
- Charnovitz, Steve (2006) "Nongovernmental Organizations and International Law." *American Journal of International Law* 100 (2): 348-72.

## **19. Protecting Human Rights (MES)**

*Thursday 25 January, 11-12.*

### Core Readings

- Hathaway, Oona A. (2007) "Why Do Countries Commit to Human Rights Treaties?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (4): 588–621 (OR Hathaway, Oona (2002) "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *Yale Law Journal* 111 (8): 1935-2041.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (2000). "The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe," *International Organization* 54 (2): 217-252.
- Vreeland, James R. (2008) "Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter Into the United Nations Convention Against Torture," *International Organization*. 62 (1): 65–101.
- Nielsen, Richard and Beth A. Simmons (2015) "Rewards for Ratification: Payoffs for Participating in the International Human Rights Regime?" *International Studies Quarterly* 59 (2): 197-208.

### Recommended Readings

- Chayes, Abram and Antonia Chayes. 1993. "On Compliance," *International Organization* 47 (2): 175-206.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie. 2008. "Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem," *International Organization* 62 (4): 689-716.
- Milewicz K.M., & Goodin R.E., *Deliberative Capacity Building through International Organizations: The Case of the Universal Periodic Review of Human Rights*. British Journal of Political Science, April 2016, 3-38.
- Yuan Zhou, Ghashia Kiyani & Charles Crabtree (2022) New evidence that naming and shaming influences state human rights practices, *Journal of Human Rights*  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14754835.2022.2122785?src=>
- Cole, Wade M. (2015) "Mind the Gap: State Capacity and the Implementation of Human Rights Treaties." *International Organization* 69 (2): 405-41
- Eric Neumayer (2005) "Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (6): 1-29.
- Wallace, Geoffrey (2013) "International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study." *International Organization* 67 (1): 105-40.
- Emilie M. Hafner-Burton (2012) "International Regimes for Human Rights," *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (1): 265-286.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Laurence Helfer, and Christopher J. Fariss (2011) "Emergency and Escape: Explaining Derogations from Human Rights Treaties," *International Organization* 65 (4): 673–707.
- Lebovic, James H. and Erik Voeten (2009) "The Cost of Shame: International Organizations and Foreign Aid in the Punishing of Human Rights Violators," *Journal of Peace Research* 46 (1): 79–97.

## **20. Epistemic Communities (AD)**

*Tuesday 30 January, 11:00-12:00*

### Core Readings

- Haas, Peter. 1992. "Introduction: epistemic communities and international policy coordination." *International Organization* 46(1): 1-35.
- Cross, Mai'a K. Davis (January 2013). "Rethinking epistemic communities twenty years later". *Review of International Studies*. 39(1): 137–160.

### Recommended Readings

- Adler, Emanuel. 1992. "The emergence of cooperation: national epistemic communities and the international evolution of the idea of arms control." *International Organization* 46(1): 101-145.
- Haas, P. M. 1989. "Do regimes matter? Epistemic communities and Mediterranean pollution control." *International Organization*, Vol. 43(3): 377-403.
- Adler, Emanuel and Peter Haas. 1992. "Conclusion: epistemic communities, world order, and the creation of a reflective research program." *International Organization* 46(1): 367-390.
- Marie-Laure Djelic and Sigrid Quack. 2010. *Transnational Communities and Governance: Shaping Global Economic Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ian Johnstone. 2005. 'The Power of Interpretive Communities', in Michael Barnett and Raymond D (eds), *Power in Global Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Emanuel Adler and Steven Bernstein. 2005. 'Knowledge in Power: The Epistemic Construction of Global Governance', in Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (eds), *Power in Global Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anthony Zito. 2001. 'Epistemic communities, collective entrepreneurship and European integration', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8(4): 585-603.
- Adler, Emanuel. 2019. *World Ordering: A social theory of cognitive evolution*. Cambridge University Press.

## **21. International Environmental Politics & Climate Change (AD)**

Thursday 1 February, 11:00-12:00

### Core Readings

- Allan, Bentley. 2017. "Producing the climate: States, scientists, and the constitution of global governance objects." *International Organization* 71(1): 131-162
- Haas, Peter. 1992. "Banning chlorofluorocarbons: epistemic community efforts to protect stratospheric ozone." *International Organization* 46(1): 187-224.

### Recommended Readings

- Hughes, Hannah. 2015. "Bourdieu and the IPCC's Symbolic Power." *Global Environmental Politics* 15(4): 85-104.
- Mitchell, Audra. 2020. "Revitalizing laws, (re)-making treaties, dismantling violence: Indigenous resurgence against the 'sixth mass extinction'." *Social & Cultural Geography* 21(7): 909-924.
- Bernstein, Steven. 2001. *The Compromise of Liberal Environmentalism*. Columbia University Press.
- Hoffmann, Matthew. 2011. *Climate governance at the crossroads: experimenting with climate change after Kyoto*. Oxford University Press.
- Lipschutz, Ronnie D. 1997. "From place to planet: local knowledge and global environmental governance." *Global Governance* 3(1): 83-102
- Young, Oran R. 1989. "The politics of international regime formation: managing natural resources and the environment." *International Organization* 43(3): 349-375.

## **22. How Do International Courts Impact World Politics? (AD)**

Tuesday 6 February, 11:00-12:00

### Core Readings

Alter, Karen J. (2014) *The New Terrain of International Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press). Chapter 2.

Jo, Hyeran, Mitchell Radtke, and Beth A. Simmons (2018) “Assessing the International Criminal Court.” In *The Performance of International Courts and Tribunals*, edited by Theresa Squatrito, Oran R. Young, Andreas Follesdal, and Geir Ulfstein, 193–233. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Clark, Phil. 2018. *Distant Justice: The Impact of the International Criminal Court on African Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2, pp. 22-50.

### Recommended Readings

Alter, Karen J. (2011) “The Evolving International Judiciary.” *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 7 (1): 387–415

Clark, Phil. 2018. *Distant Justice: The Impact of the International Criminal Court on African Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sikkink, Kathryn, and Hun Joon Kim (2013) “The Justice Cascade: The Origins and Effectiveness of Prosecutions of Human Rights Violations.” *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 9 (1): 269–85.

Deitelhoff, Nicole (2009) “The Discursive Process of Legalization: Charting Islands of Persuasion in the ICC Case.” *International Organization* 63 (1): 33–65.

Dancy, Geoff, and Florencia Montal (2017) “Unintended Positive Complementarity : Why International Criminal Court Investigations Increase Domestic Human Rights Prosecutions.” *American Journal of International Law* 111 (3): 689–723.

## **23. The Role of International Media (Ian)**

*Thursday 8 February, 11:00-12:00*

### Core Readings:

W. Lance Bennett (2004) “Global Media and Politics: Transnational Communication Regimes and Civic Cultures” *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 7, pp. 125-148.

Esteban Ortiz-Ospina (2019). The Rise of Social Media (<https://ourworldindata.org/rise-of-social-media?ref=tms>)

### Recommended Readings

Noam Chomsky: *Media Control* (2nd Edition): New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002.

## PART III. THE CRYSTALL BALL

## **24. The Demise of the Liberal International Order? (AD)**

*Tuesday 13 February, 11:00-12:00*

### Core Readings

Adler, Emanuel and Alena Drieschova. 2021. “The Epistemological Challenge of Truth Subversion to the Liberal International Order.” *International Organization* 75(S2): 359-386.

Cooley, Alexander and Daniel Nexon. 2020. “(No) Exit from liberalism?” *New Perspectives* 28 (3): 280-291.

Acharya, Amitav. 2017. "After Liberal Hegemony: The Advent of a Multiplex World Order." *Ethics and International Affairs* 31 (3):271–85.

#### Recommended Readings

Norrlof, Carla, Paul Poast, Benjamin Cohen, Sabreena Croteau, Aashna Khanna, Daniel McDowell, Hongying Wang, W Kindred Winecoff. 2021. "Global Monetary Order and the Liberal Order Debate." *International Studies Perspectives* 21(2): 109-153.

Drezner, Daniel W. (2019) "Counter-Hegemonic Strategies in the Global Economy." *Security Studies* 28 (3): 505-531.

Nye, Joseph. 2017. "Will the Liberal International Order Survive? The history of an Idea", *Foreign Affairs* 96(1): 10-16.

Ikenberry, John. 2020. *A world safe for democracy: Liberal Internationalism and the Crises of Global Order*, Yale University Press.

Cooley, Alexander and Daniel Nexon. 2020. *Exit from Hegemony. The Unravelling of the American Global Order*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Porter, Patrick. 2020. *The False Promise of Liberal Order*, Polity Press.

Acharya, Amitav. 2014. *The End of American World Order*. Polity Press.

Colgan, Jeff, and Keohane, Robert. 2017. "The Liberal Order Is Rigged: Fix It Now or Watch It Wither." *Foreign Affairs* 96:36–44.

Stokes, Doug. 2018. "Trump, American hegemony and the future of the liberal international order", *International Affairs* 94(1): 133-150.

Mazarr, Michael. 2017. "The Once and Future Order: What Comes After Hegemony?" *Foreign Affairs* 96(1): 25-32.

Feigenbaum, Evan. 2017. "China and the World: Dealing with a Reluctant Power," *Foreign Affairs* 96(1): 33-40.

## **25. From Global Governance to World Government? (MES)**

*Thursday 15 February, 11:00-12:00*

#### Core Readings

Wendt, Alexander (2003) "Why a World State is Inevitable." *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (4): 491-542.

Yunker, James. 2011. "Recent Considerations of World Government in the IR Literature: A Critical Appraisal," *World Futures* 67 (6).

#### Recommended Readings

Shannon, Vaughan P. (2005) "Wendt's Violation of the Constructivist Project: Agency and Why a World State is Not Inevitable." *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (4): 581-87.

Wendt, Alexander (2005) "Agency, Teleology and the World State: A Reply to Shannon." *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (4): 589-98.

Weiss, T.G. (2009) "What Happened to the Idea of World Government." *International Studies Quarterly*.

Cabrera, Luis (2010) "World Government: Renewed Debate, Persistent Challenges." *European Journal of International Relations* 16 (3): 511-530.

Deudney, Daniel H. (2008) *Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village* (Princeton University Press).

Nussbaum, Martha (2006) *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Harvard University Press).

Einstein, Albert (1946) "The Way Out." In Dexter Masters and Katharine Way (Eds) *One World or None: A Report to the Public on the Full Meaning of the Atomic Bomb* (New Press), pp.209-214.

## **26: Exam Revision Lecture (MES)**

Date TBA

### **Supervision Essay Questions**

#### Supervision 1:

1. How does the assumption of anarchy affect the prospect of international cooperation? Compare and contrast how Realists, Liberals and Constructivists theorise anarchy and its consequences.
2. Select and compare two of the main theoretical approaches discussed in the lectures and readings for this course. According to these approaches, why and how do states cooperate?
3. Are IOs a constraint on state power or a creature of it?
4. How important is US leadership for global governance? Is the US still capable of playing the role of hegemon?
5. Barnett and Duvall argue that, "Since E.H. Carr, Realists have tended to treat power as the ability of one state to use material resources to get another state to do what it otherwise would not do. The tendency of the discipline to gravitate toward realism's view of power leads, ironically, to the underestimation of the importance of power in international politics." Evaluate this argument by discussing how other forms of power influence international politics.

#### Supervision 2:

6. Can international organizations defend and advance the interests of the poorer and weaker countries? As a general rule, do they?
7. Would the international trading system be more or less fair if the current system of global trade governance were abolished?
8. What explains UN Security Council decision-making on military intervention? Why do states resort to it?
9. Has the United Nations since 1945 helped to reduce the incidence of violence in world politics? In what areas has it proven more (or less) effective, and why?

#### Supervision 3:

10. Has the Internet led to a more democratic or a more authoritarian international order?
11. How can rankings shape state behaviour? Is this a positive feature of global governance?
12. To what extent can firms and NGOs substitute for states in addressing global problems?
13. How can governmental and non-governmental international organizations become autonomous from states? Is such autonomy good or bad?
14. How do the laws of war work?

Supervision 4:

15. Does human rights law make a difference to respect for human rights globally? How can be best conceptualize and observe the impact of human rights law?
16. Are (I)NGOs or states better placed to advance Human Rights norms?
17. Which role(s) do knowledge and science play in international cooperation?
18. Why is cooperation over climate change proving so difficult?

Supervision 5:

19. How do international courts and tribunals shape the conduct of states and non-state actors? What factors explain their relative success or failure in doing so?
20. Will there be more or less international cooperation in the future? Deploy different theoretical perspectives to substantiate your answer.
21. Is a World State possible? Is it desirable?

### **POL3 Exam Paper 2021**

Candidates should answer two questions.

1. Has the proliferation of international organisations over the last 100 years made anarchy-centred theories like realism obsolete?
2. Is the United Nations Security Council an effective and legitimate guardian of international peace and security?
3. Are rationalism and constructivism compatible when it comes to explaining aspects of international organisation? In your answer, refer to concrete examples of organisations or laws.
4. To what extent do you agree that international law is what states make of it?
5. Can sovereign equality overcome power hierarchies in international organisations?
6. How can we explain that human rights law is both widely adopted yet unevenly applied by states?
7. Some have suggested the United States should lead a “League of Democracies” to defend contemporary global governance. Analyse the potential virtues and drawbacks of this idea.
8. Does international organisation keep up with changing times, or does it tend to stay the same? Explain why.
9. Does the increasing involvement of NGOs in global governance make solving pressing global problems harder or easier? Address with examples from at least two distinct issue-areas (e.g. international security; human rights; international political economy, etc.)
10. International organisations consistently favour peace and the rule of law, while states’ commitments to these goals is patchy. Does this mean that transferring more power from states to IOs would more effectively fulfill these goals?
11. Is the leadership of a hegemon more or less important in providing global public goods in 2021 than immediately after 1945?
12. Would the world’s poor be better off, worse off, or about the same, in a world without IOs?
13. How can the global governance of climate change be improved?

### **POL3 Exam Paper 2022**

Candidates should answer two questions.

1. Can states be both social and rational actors at the same time? Discuss with reference to relevant theoretical debates and empirical cases in international organisation.



2. With US hegemony in decline, will global politics be less cooperative?
3. Can we assume that international organisations benefit states from the fact that states create and accept them?
4. To what extent does multilateralism secure equalized gains from cooperation?
5. Is international law unenforceable?
6. Why do international trade rules tend to enjoy greater compliance than international rules that deal with protection from atrocity?
7. Is the UN Security Council an obsolete institution?
8. Is the power and influence of NGOs and global civil society actors declining or increasing? Why?
9. Has the economic development of countries outside of Europe and North America led to more equal representation in global governance?
10. Are international organisations more effective than hegemonic states in the prevention and management of global financial crises?
11. Is a world state inevitable?
12. Does the existence of global economic and financial regulation provide evidence of the retreat of the nation-state?
13. Is the Liberal International Order good or bad for countries from the Global South?

### **POL3 Exam Paper 2023**

Candidates should answer two questions.

1. 'Anarchy' is widely said to be the central organizing principle of the world order. Is this accurate, or is the present world order better described as 'hierarchical', 'networked' or 'market-based'? (You may focus your answer on just one or all alternatives).
2. To what extent is the operation of international organizations determined by domestic politics?
3. Does a lack of credible enforcement mechanisms prevent most international organizations from being effective?
4. Are transnational non-state actors more likely to influence state policy on issues related to human, social, or political rights, than on economic and security issues?
5. Robert Keohane (1984) argues that hegemony and international institutions are functional substitutes. Do you agree, and what empirical support do you find for or against this proposition?

6. What are the chief barriers to effective UN peacekeeping, and what might be done to overcome these?
7. Why do states delegate authority to institutions? What are some of the problems that can arise in relationships between institutional 'Agents' and state 'Principals'?
8. How do knowledge and power interrelate with one another in international governance dynamics? Direct attention to two theoretical perspectives and illustrate with relevant examples.
9. How do you explain the characteristic features of the contemporary climate change regime?
10. What role(s) can actors from the Global South play in the spread of international norms?
11. How can developing states defend their interests in global governance mechanisms?
12. To what extent do multinational companies and other for-profit private actors enable or constrain states' ability to govern?
13. What explains the rise of the liberal international order?