

## **POL 3: International Organization (2024-2025)**

**Convener: Dr. Alena Drieschova**

**Lecturers:** Alena Drieschova, [ad522@cam.ac.uk](mailto:ad522@cam.ac.uk)  
Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, [mer29@cam.ac.uk](mailto:mer29@cam.ac.uk)  
Giovanni Mantilla, [gm633@cam.ac.uk](mailto:gm633@cam.ac.uk)  
Mark Weller, [mw148@cam.ac.uk](mailto:mw148@cam.ac.uk)

**Supervisors:** Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, [mer29@cam.ac.uk](mailto:mer29@cam.ac.uk)  
Alena Drieschova, [ad522@cam.ac.uk](mailto:ad522@cam.ac.uk)  
Giovanni Mantilla, [gm633@cam.ac.uk](mailto:gm633@cam.ac.uk)  
Liana Minkova, [lmg27@cam.ac.uk](mailto:lmg27@cam.ac.uk)  
Cassandra Hayward, [ch921@cam.ac.uk](mailto:ch921@cam.ac.uk)  
Juliana Santos de Carvalho, [js2912@cam.ac.uk](mailto:js2912@cam.ac.uk)  
Zikun Yang, [zy301@cam.ac.uk](mailto:zy301@cam.ac.uk)  
Alex Giannos, [jag252@cam.ac.uk](mailto:jag252@cam.ac.uk)

### **Aims**

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, the actors who are involved in it, 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 Bank, international courts, and various non-state actors, such as non-governmental organizations, private firms, or epistemic communities).
- to provide insights into the processes through which global governance operates
- to explore different issues of global governance, and highlight their key challenges

### **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) encouraging students to consider whether and how current patterns of international cooperation solve global problems, and (b) 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, the environment, the internet, 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 five parts, as well as a prologue and an epilogue.

*International Organization: A Prologue* 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.

I. *IR Theories – A Refresher* quickly surveys major theoretical and conceptual debates in International Relations relating to processes of international organization. It briefly revisits realist, rationalist and constructivist perspectives, which have already been discussed in POL2.

II. *Actors* lectures in this part consider the variety of different actors (states, sub-state agencies, IOs, NGOs, multi-national corporations, epistemic communities, and courts) that both create and resolve global governance problems.

III. *Processes* focuses on practices of cooperation among states and non-state actors in different areas of global politics. The focus is on such processes as development, the regulation of warfare, governmentality, and the dynamics of post-truth politics.

IV. *Topics* addresses a variety of different topics and issue areas in which global governance occurs, such as human rights, peacekeeping, the internet, and the environment.

V. *The International System in Action* provides empirical applications and theoretical discussions of how international law operates in practices in a number of the topic areas discussed throughout the course.

*Epilogue: Looking into the Crystal Ball.* We end with reflecting on 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.

## **Teaching and Assessment**

Students will be offered 24 lectures plus one revision lecture for the course. In addition, they will have five (5) 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 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. Section V The International System in Action is structured differently, only a set number of background readings are available, and case-specific reading material will be distributed during the lectures.

### 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, 2021/22, 2022/23, and 2023/24 exams can be found at the end of this paper guide and online on Moodle.

## **Readings**

Below you will find a list of preparatory readings that you may want to consult during the summer in 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.

### **BACKGROUND TEXTS** (Consult all of these, if possible, during the summer break)

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).

### For part V of the course:

Malcolm N. Shaw. 2021. *International Law*, 9<sup>th</sup> edition, (Cambridge University Press).

Ian Hurd. 2017. *How to Do Things With International Law* (Princeton 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)

### **List of Lectures**

Lectures in Michaelmas Term will take place on the following days through weeks 1-8:

- **Thursday's at 3pm, Room 2 Lecture Block**
- **Tuesday's at 11am, Room 5 Lecture Block**

The first lecture of Michaelmas Term will take place on Thursday the 10<sup>th</sup> of October.

Lecture's in Lent Term will take place on the following days:

- **Thursday at 3pm, week 1-5**
- **Tuesday at 11am, weeks 1-4**

The first lecture of Lent Term will take place on Thursday the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January.

### **INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION: A PROLOGUE**

#### **Lecture 1: International Organization before International Organizations (MES)**

*Thursday 10 October, 3:00 PM, Room 2 Lecture Block*

#### 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): 1-23.5

#### 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).

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 EarlyModern World* (Routledge).

## PART I: IR THEORIES – A REFRESHER

### **Lecture 2: Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy (MES)**

*Tuesday 15 October 11 AM, Room 5 Lecture Block*

#### Core Readings

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

Mearsheimer, John. 1995. "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.

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

#### Recommended Readings

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

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

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

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)

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.

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

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.

### **Lecture 3: Rationalist Institutionalism (MES)**

*Thursday 17 October, 3:00 PM, Room 2 Lecture Block*

#### Core Readings

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.

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 Readings

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

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.

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

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

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.

## PART II: ACTORS

### **Lecture 4: International Organizations from a Constructivist Lens (AD)**

*Tuesday 22 October, 11:00 AM, Room 5 Lecture Block*

#### 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.

### **Lecture 5: How Do International Courts Impact World Politics? (AD)**

*Thursday 24 October, 3:00 PM, Room 2 Lecture Block*

#### 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.

### **Lecture 6: The UN Security Council: Power and Legitimacy (GM)**

*Tuesday 29 October 11:00 AM, Room 5 Lecture Block*

#### 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.

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.

### **Lecture 7: Governance by NGOs and Civil Society (MES)**

*Thursday 31 October, 3:00 PM, Room 2 Lecture Block*

### Core Readings

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 (2021), Enforcers Beyond Borders. NGOs as Enforcers of International Law. *Perspective on Politics* 19(1): 131-147.

### Recommended Readings

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.

## **Lecture 8: Corporations and Global Governance (GM)**

*Tuesday 5 November, 11:00 AM, Room 5 Lecture Block*

### 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.

## **Lecture 9: Epistemic Communities (AD)**

*Thursday 7 November, 3:00 PM, Room 2 Lecture Block*

### 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.

## PART III: PROCESSES

### **Lecture 10: Post-Truth Politics (AD)**

*Tuesday 12 November, 11:00 AM, Room 5 Lecture Block*

### Core Readings

Adler, Emanuel and Alena Drieschova. 2021. "The epistemological challenge of truth-subversion to the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 75(2): 359-386.

Gunitsky, Seva. 2015. "Corrupting the Cyber-Commons: Social Media as a Tool of Autocratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 13(1): 42-54.

### Recommended Readings

Kurowska, Xymena, and Anatoly Reshetnikov. 2018. "Neutrollization: Industrialized trolling as a pro-Kremlin strategy of desecuritization." *Security Dialogue*, 49(5), 345-363.

Vosoughi, Soroush, Deb Roy, and Sinan Aral. 2018. "The spread of true and false news online." *Science* 359(1146-1151):1-6.

Gerbaudo, Paolo. 2018. Social media and populism: an elective affinity? *Media, Culture & Society* 40(5): 745-753.

Deibert, Ronald, Ronald Rohozinski and Masashi Crete-Nishihata. 2012. "Cyclones in cyberspace: Information shaping and denial in the 2008 Russia-Georgia war." *Security Dialogue* 43(1):3-24.

Duncombe, Constance. 2019. "The Politics of Twitter: Emotions and the Power of Social Media." *International Political Sociology* 13(4): 409-429.

Lazer, David M.J., Matthew Baum, Yochai Benkler, Adam Berinsky, Kelly Greenhill, Filippo Menczer, Miriam Metzger, Brendan Nyhan, Gordon Pennycook, David Rothschild, Michael Schudson, Steven Sloman, Cass Sunstein, Emily Thorson, Duncan Watts, and Jonathan Zittrain. 2018. "The Science of Fake News: Addressing Fake News Requires a Multidisciplinary Effort." *Science* 359 (6380):1094–96.

Marshall, Hannah, and Alena Drieschova. 2018. "Post-Truth Politics in the UK's Brexit Referendum." *New Perspectives* 26 (3):89–105.

Lance Bennett and Steven Livingston, 'The Disinformation Order: Disruptive Communication and the Decline of Democratic Institutions', *European Journal of Communication*, 33 (2018), 122–39.

### **Lecture 11: Governmentality (AD)**

*Thursday 14 November, 3:00 PM, Room 2 Lecture Block*

### 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.

## **Lecture 12: Making Poverty History? (AD)**

*Tuesday 19 November, 11:00 AM, Room 5 Lecture Block*

### 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.

### **Lecture 13: The Laws of War (GM)**

*Thursday 21 November, 3:00 PM, Room 2 Lecture Block*

#### 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).

### PART IV: TOPICS



## **Lecture 14: International Environmental Politics & Climate Change (AD)**

*Tuesday 26 November, 11:00 AM, Room 5 Lecture Block*

### 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.

## **Lecture 15: International Peace Keeping (MES)**

*Thursday 28 November, 3:00 PM, Room 2 Lecture Block*

### 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.

### **Lecture 16: Governing the Internet (AD)**

*Tuesday 3 December, 11:00 AM, Room 5 Lecture Block*

### 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.

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.

### **Lecture 17: Human Rights (GM)**

*Thursday 5 December, 3:00 PM, Room 2 Lecture Block*

### Core Readings

Simmons, Beth A. (2009) *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press) Chapters 1 and 4 (skim chapter 3).

Risse, Thomas, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds (2013). *The Persistent Power of Human Rights: From Commitment to Compliance*. Cambridge University Press, 2013. Chapters 1 (Introduction and Overview) and 15 (Conclusions).

### Recommended Readings

Hathaway, Oona A. (2007) "Why Do Countries Commit to Human Rights Treaties?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (4): 588–621

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.

Terman, Rochelle, and Joshua Byun. "Punishment and Politicization in the International Human Rights Regime." *American Political Science Review* 116, no. 2 (2022): 385–402.

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.

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.

Sikkink, Kathryn (2017). *Evidence for Hope: Making Human Rights Work in the 21st Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

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=>

Comstock, Audrey L. *Committed to Rights: UN Human Rights Treaties and Legal Paths for Commitment and Compliance*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Hopgood, Stephen, Beth A. Simmons, and Leslie Vinjamuri, eds. (2017) *Human Rights Futures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Simmons, Beth A., and Anton Strezhnev (2017) "Human Rights and Human Welfare: Looking for a 'Dark Side' to International Human Rights Law." In *Human Rights Futures*, edited by Stephen Hopgood, Jack Snyder, and Leslie Vinjamuri, 60–87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fassbender, Bardo, and Knut Traisbach, eds. 2019. *The Limits of Human Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie. *Making Human Rights a Reality*. Princeton University Press, 2013.

Moyn, Samuel (2018) *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World*. Harvard University Press.

Burke, Roland (2010) *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

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

Downs, George, David Roake and Peter Barsoom (1996) "Is Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50 (3): 379-406.

Cole, Wade M. (2015) "Mind the Gap: State Capacity and the Implementation of Human Rights Treaties." *International Organization* 69 (2): 405-41.

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.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie (2008) "Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem." *International Organization* 62 (4): 689-716.

Murdie, Amanda, and Dursun Peksen (2014) "The Impact of Human Rights INGO Shaming on Humanitarian Interventions." *Journal of Politics* 76 (1): 215-28.

Wallace, Geoffrey (2013) "International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study." *International Organization* 67 (1): 105-40.

Barry, Colin., K. Chad Clay and Michael W. Flynn (2013) "Avoiding the Spotlight: Human Rights Shaming and Foreign Direct Investment." *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (3): 532–44.

Murdie, Amanda and Dursun Peksen (2014) "Women's Rights INGO Shaming and the Government Respect for Women's Rights." *Review of International Organizations* 10 (1): 1-22.

Lupu, Yonatan (2013) "Best Evidence: The Role of Information in Domestic Judicial

Enforcement of International Human Rights Agreements.” *International Organization* 67 (3): 469–503.

## PART V: THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM IN ACTION

You may find it useful to do some general reading on how international law works. The principal undergraduate textbook is Shaw, *International Law* (9<sup>th</sup> ed.). All colleges have numerous copies. You may also want to take a look at a shorter introductory text you can read in one go. Traditionally, this has been Higgins, *Problems and Process: International Law and How we Use it*, OUP 1995. This is still widely available and remains very good. A more recent short introduction with a policy twist is Ian Hurd, *How to do Things with International Law*, Princeton UP 2017.

On the use of force and collective security, you may wish to read in particular Shaw, Chapters 19 and 21. The most condensed introduction to the law on the use of force is Gray, *International Law and the Use of Force*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., OUP 2018. You will find more specific contributions on some of the issues we will touch upon in Weller, ed., *Oxford Handbook on the Use of Force in International Law*, OUP, 2015, and a good selection of the analysis of key instances of the use of force in Ruys and Corten, eds., *The Use of Force in International Law: A Case-based Approach*, OUP 2018.

Beyond that, you will be provided with a bundle of case-study materials for each week.

### **Lecture 18: Prohibition of the Use of Force (MW)**

*Thursday 23 January, 3:00 PM*

We will consider the development of the prohibition of the use of force from the League of Nations to the Briand Kellogg Pact and the UN Charter, focusing in particular on the interplay between the prohibition and the right to self-defence. We will also approach the international administration of these rules by international institutions, in particular the UN Security Council. We will test the limits of self-defence in relation to the recent military operations in Gaza.

### **Lecture 19: Collective Security (MW)**

*Tuesday 28 January, 11:00 AM*

We will note the operation of collective security during the Cold War and then consider the case of Iraq-Kuwait of 1990/1, which led to the proclamation of the ‘New World Order.’

### **Lecture 20: The Breakdown of the System of Collective Security: Iraq 2003 (MW)**

*Thursday 30 January, 3:00 PM*

We will continue our discussion of the relationship between self-defence and collective security, considering the US/UK-led unlawful war against Iraq of 2003.

**Lecture 21: Stretching Self-Defence and Counter-terrorism (MW)**

*Tuesday 4 February, 11:00 AM*

We will consider the UK's proposed doctrine of self-defence against terrorist threats and the doctrine of 'unwilling and unable' in the context of claims to the use of force in relation to allegations of terrorism emanating from foreign territory.

**Lecture 22: Forcible Humanitarian Action (MW)**

*Thursday 6 February, 3:00 PM*

We will consider the differing theories in support and against the doctrine of forcible humanitarian action, culminating in the elegance of the Weller theory on the subject. We will use the case of the NATO armed action concerning Kosovo as our principal example.

**Lecture 23: Forcible Humanitarian Action and Pro-democratic Action (MW)**

*Tuesday 11 February, 11:00 AM*

We will continue discussing forcible humanitarian action and also consider the doctrine of democracy in international law and claims to the use of force in defence of democracy.

EPILOGUE

**Lecture 24: From Global Goernance to World Government? (MES)**

*Thursday 13 February, 3:00 PM*

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).



## 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. Are IOs a constraint on state power or a creature of it?
3. How can governmental and non-governmental international organizations become autonomous from states? Is such autonomy good or bad?

### Supervision 2:

1. What explains UN Security Council decision-making on military intervention? Why do states resort to it?
2. To what extent can firms and NGOs substitute for states in addressing global problems?
3. Which role(s) do knowledge and science play in international cooperation?
4. 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?

### Supervision 3:

1. How can rankings shape state behaviour? Is this a positive feature of global governance?
2. Can international organizations defend and advance the interests of the poorer and weaker countries? As a general rule, do they?
3. 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?
4. Does human rights law make a difference to respect for human rights globally? How can we best conceptualize and observe the impact of human rights law?

### Supervision 4:

1. Are (I)NGOs or states better placed to advance Human Rights norms?

2. Why is cooperation over climate change proving so difficult?
3. Has the Internet led to a more democratic or a more authoritarian international order?

Supervision 5:

1. Is a World State possible? Is it desirable?
2. Has the law on the use of force lost its purpose after Iraq (2003), Ukraine and Gaza?
3. What is the difference between self-defence and collective security?
4. Was the NATO intervention in relation to Kosovo lawful?

## **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?

## POL3 Exam Paper 2024

Candidates should answer two questions

1. How does governance without government work? Pick two empirical cases to develop your arguments, such as, for example, the Internet and the issue of climate change.
2. What is the objective of critical theory in relation to problem-solving theories?
3. Can the laws of war restrain combatants? In what conditions can we expect to see greater respect for them and why?
4. Do international courts operate according to the same logic as other international organizations?
5. Is the international order likely to look the same in the future as it does in the present? Why/why not?
6. What explains the alleged 'crisis' of the Liberal International Order?
7. Do fears of cheating or rather distributional conflicts pose the greatest obstacle to international cooperation?
8. How do rational institutionalists and constructivists think differently about international organization before international organizations?
9. Why do authoritarian regimes sign and ratify international human rights agreements? Do these agreements make a difference?
10. Why do states outsource governance functions to private regulators, and with what consequences?
11. How does collective security work? When in history has it been effective (if at all)?
12. What are some of the most effective tools available to NGOs to affect global politics?
13. How do feminist perspectives explain the occurrence of wars? Do you find such explanations convincing, or do you prefer alternative perspectives?
14. Are epistemic communities or firms more powerful actors in international relations?