

HSPS Tripos 2017-18

Pol 3 - International Organization

Course Convener: Dr Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni

"I hold that human collectivities are able to learn, to change their institutions and practices to make things better for themselves. And I hold that this learning occurs by humankind's thinking analytically and searching for causal patterns, modes of thinking associated with the Enlightenment."

(Ernst B. Haas: Science & Progress in Intl. Relations, 2000).

Lecturers: Core:

Dr Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni
Prof Jason Sharman

Streams:

Prof Marc Weller
Dr Bernhard Reinsberg
Mr Ian Shields

Supervisors and Seminar Leaders

Dr Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni
Prof Jason Sharman
Prof Marc Weller
Dr Bernhard Reinsberg
Mr Ian Shields

Course Aims

POL 3 (International Organization) aims to expand students' knowledge and understanding of the central themes of cooperation and conflict in the global system introduced in POL 2. It does so by focusing on institutionalised cooperation among global actors, on the many forms such cooperation takes, and on the conditions under which stable cooperation is most likely to emerge.

The course has the following objectives:

- to develop students' understanding of the main theoretical approaches to the study of institutional cooperation and conflict in the international system.
- to develop students' understanding of the various levels at which international politics can be analysed.
- to provide students with a basic grasp of the core purposes and functions of major global governance institutions (such as the United Nations, WTO and World Bank Group, and various non-state actors, such as NGOs and private regulatory organizations) — from both a theoretical and empirical perspective.

Course Description

Why do international institutions and international organizations (IOs) exist? And what specific role(s) do they play in solving global problems? To examine these questions, the course will study the role of international institutions in both a historical and contemporary context. Whilst cooperation through international governmental organizations is mainly a phenomenon of the 20th and 21st centuries, institutionalised cooperation among states has a much longer historical trajectory. The course will consider the historical development and contemporary functioning of major international institutions and IOs with the purposes of (a) developing students' understanding of how the current system of global governance have evolved, and (b) encouraging students to consider how, and to what extent, current patterns of international cooperation differ from previous historical periods.

At the theoretical level, the course will introduce students to competing perspectives on IOs, both as practical instruments of states, but also as autonomous bureaucratic actors, which—once created by states—acquire interests and agency of their own.

At the empirical level, the course will explore how cooperation problems in areas of international security, human rights, trade and finance are addressed by states, IOs and other international actors, including (I)NGOs and civil society organizations.

Course Structure

The paper is divided into three parts. Lectures and supervisions in Part I survey major theoretical and conceptual debates in the field of international organization. This part begins by examining the demand for institutionalized cooperation in the global system and proceeds to analyze how cooperation is possible under anarchy. Next, it introduces the major theoretical approaches to the study of international institutions.

Part II focuses on historical and contemporary practices of institutionalised cooperation among states and non-state actors in different areas of global politics; from international security and arms control, to human rights, trade, and financial regulation. This part explores in further depth the theoretical and conceptual issues introduced in Part I—drawing on both historical and contemporary cases.

Part III consists of three thematic 'streams' or 'tracks' that allow students to explore specific aspects of contemporary international governance in greater depth. Each stream consists of five to six (5-6) lectures and two (2) small-group seminars. One stream, taught by Prof. Marc Weller will focus on the International Administration of Peace and Security, a second stream, taught by Dr Bernhard Reinsberg, will focus on the international political economy of development, while the third stream, led by Ian Shields, will consider the role of non-state actors in global politics. Students will choose ONE stream. A brief description of each stream along with a list of lecture topics and readings can be found at the end of this course guide.

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, of the nature of the cooperation problems these institutions strive to solve, and the primary mechanisms through which they do so. After completing the course, students should be able to articulate the leading theoretical explanations within the field of international relations for why international institutions and organizations exist, how they operate, and how they influence the behaviour of both states and non-state actors. Come exam time, students should be able to apply a range of theoretical arguments to analyse both historical and contemporary cases of international cooperation, and

to present empirical data (both qualitative and quantitative) that can be used to arbitrate between competing theoretical viewpoints.

Teaching and Assessment

Students will attend a total of 25 or 26 lectures (depending on which track they choose) + one (1) revision lecture for the course as a whole. In addition, they will have two (2) group seminars, and four (4) 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 2000-3000 words essay in advance of each supervision. A list of sample supervision questions can be found (together a list of past exam questions) at the end of this course guide. Specific questions for each supervision will be announced during Michaelmas and Lent terms.

The seminars will support the specialized 'tracks' and are designed to help students grasp and reflect upon the broader themes introduced in the lectures and assigned readings for each track and relate those to the knowledge they have acquired in the core part of the course (lectures 1-20). This will in turn help prepare students for the final exam, which will feature questions that invite students to draw on knowledge gained throughout the course *as a whole* (as opposed to focusing on distinct weekly topics). Seminars will be taught primarily through structured debate and discussion. There is no essay requirement for the seminars, but students may be asked to prepare ahead of seminars to discuss specific themes or questions.

Preparation for Lectures and Seminars

In order to get the most out of the course, students are strongly encouraged to come fully prepared to lectures, having completed the required readings for each lecture. A list of supplementary readings is provided for each lecture topic to enable students to broaden and deepen their knowledge of individual topics.

Assessment

Assessment will be by written examination in Easter Term. Students will be given three (3) hours to answer two (2) questions. Each question will be broad in scope and will be designed to encourage students to draw on and combine their knowledge of several lecture topics. A list of exam questions from the 2016/2017 exam is supplied at the end of this course guide.

Readings

Below you will find a list of preparatory (summer) readings, grouped into two categories. The first category contains a short list of classic texts which can be considered foundational in the field of IO. Many later works build on and reference these classic texts, and it will therefore be a good idea for you to familiarise yourself with these over summer as this will help you build a base of knowledge that will enable you absorb the weekly readings more effectively.

The second category includes a short list of 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. You may want to choose ONE of these textbooks as a general practical guide to the world of international organizations.

The 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 / SUMMER READING

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984): Chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 11.

Alexander Wendt. *Social Theory of International Politics*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999): Chapters 3, 4 and 6.

North, Douglass C. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1991), PART 1.

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

II. RECOMMENDED TEXTBOOKS

Ian Hurd, *International Organizations: Politics, Law and Practice*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst. 2010. *International Organization: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*. 3rd ed. (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2015).

Volker Rittberger, Bernard Zangl and Andreas Kruck. *International Organization*. 2nd ed. (London UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

1. International Organization before International Organizations? (JCS)

Thursday 5 October 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 2

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

Milgrom, Paul R., Douglass C. North and Barry R. 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.

Kang, David C. (2010) "Hierarchy and Legitimacy in International Systems: The Tribute System in Early Modern East Asia." *Security Studies* 19 (4): 591-622.

Further Reading

Keene, Edward (2002) *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Thomson, Janice E. (1994) *Mercenaries, Pirates and Sovereigns* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Benton, Lauren (2010) *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires 1400-1900* (Cambridge: 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: Abingdon), pp.138-158.

North, Douglass C. (1991) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1980) *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (New York: Academic Press).

Tracy, James D. (Ed.) (1990) *The Political Economy of Merchant Empires: State Power and World Trade 1350-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Chaudhuri, K.N. (1985) *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Suzuki, Shogo, Yongjin Zhang and Joel Quirk (Eds) (2014) *International Orders and the Early Modern World*. (Abingdon: Routledge).

Kang, David C. (2010) *East Asia Before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* (New York: Columbia University Press).

2. From Great Depression to the Post-War Settlement (JCS)

Tuesday 10 October 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 6

Kindleberger, Charles P. (1973) *The World in Depression, 1929-1939*. (Berkeley: University of California Press), "An Explanation of the 1929 Depression," pp.288-307.

Strange, Strange (1987) "The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony." *International Organization* 41 (4): 551-574.

Lake, David A. (1993) "Leadership, Hegemony and the International Economy: Naked Emperor or Tattered Monarch with Potential?" *International Studies Quarterly* 37 (4): 459-489.

Further Reading

- Kenyes, John Maynard (1936) *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- 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).
- Ruggie, John Gerard (1982) "International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Post-War Economic Order." *International Organization* 36 (2): 379-415.
- 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).
- Kindleberger, Charles P. (1988) *The International Economic Order: Essays on Financial Crisis and International Public Goods* (Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press).

3. Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: The Role of Institutions (MES)

Thursday 12 October 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 2

- Ikenberry, John. (2002) *After Victory*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press): Ch. 1 "The Problem of Order" and Ch. 2 "Varieties of Order: Balance of Power, Hegemonic and Constitutional", pp. 3-49.
- Keohane, Robert and Lisa Martin (1995) "The Promise of Institutional Theory," *International Security* 20 (1): 39-51.
- Mearsheimer, John (1994/1995) "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19 (3): 5-49 (*you should have read this in POL 2, so you may want to skim your notes).
- Wendt, Alexander E. (1992) Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization*. 46(2): 391-425. OR Wendt, Alexander (1995) "Constructing International Politics," *International Security* 20 (1): 71-81.

Further Reading

- Martin, Lisa L. and Beth Simmons (2012), "International Organizations and Institutions." *Handbook of International Relations* (iSite).
- Axelrod, Robert and Robert O. Keohane (1985). "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38 (1): 226-54.
- Lake, David A. (2007). "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics." *International Security* 32 (1): 47-79.
- 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* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), Ch. 1.

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

4. Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: The Role of Power (or 'Power and Order in International Organization) (MES)

Tuesday 17 October 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 6

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

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.

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

Further Reading

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

Gruber, Lloyd (2000) "Broadening the Debate: The "Power Politics" of Institutional Design", In *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*, Chapter 5, pp. 81-92.

Gowa, Joanna (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.

Foot, Rosemary, S. Neil MacFarlane, and Michael Mastanduno (2000) *US Hegemony and International Organizations: The United States and Multilateral Institutions* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press). Introduction and Chapter 1.

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.

5. Rational Institutionalism (MES)

Thursday 19 October 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 2

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

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

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

Further Reading

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*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

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.

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.

6. Whose Global Economy? (JCS)

Thursday 26 October 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 2

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.

Drezner, Daniel W. (2007) *All Politics is Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp.3-25 and 71-88.

Further Reading

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

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).

Barnett, Michael and Raymond Duvall (2005) (Eds) *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Strange, Susan (1996) *The Retreat of the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Katzenstein, Peter J. (1985) *Small States in World Markets* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2001) "The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action and the Eastwards Expansion of the European Union," *International Organization* 55 (1): 47-80.

7. Cognitive and Bureaucratic Perspectives on International Institutions (MES)

Friday 27 October 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 2

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

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

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

McCalla, Robert (1996) "NATO's Persistence After the Cold War," *International Organization* 50 (3): 445-476.

Further Reading

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Stephan Haggard, David A. Lake, and David G. Victor (2017) "The Behavioral 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.

8. Making Poverty History? Development and Foreign Aid (JCS)

Tuesday 31 October 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 6

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.

Further Reading

Weaver, Catherine (2008) *The Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

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).

Ferguson, James (1994) *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

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

Sachs, Jeffery D. (2006) *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time* (New York: Penguin).

9. From Crisis to Crisis: Regulating Global Finance (JCS)

Thursday 2 November 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 2

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.

Helleiner, Eric (2011) "Understanding the 2007-2008 Financial Crisis: Lessons for Scholars of International Political Economy," *Annual Review of Political Science* 14 (1): 67-87.

Kahler, Miles (2013) "Rising Powers and Global Governance: Negotiating Changes in a Resilient Status Quo," *International Affairs* 89 (3): 711-729.

Further Reading:

Lo, Andrew W. (2012) "Reading about the Financial Crisis: A 21-Book Review." Available at: <https://www.stat.berkeley.edu/~aldous/157/Papers/lo.pdf>.

Reinhart, Carmen M and Kenneth S. Rogoff (2011) *This Time is Different: Eight Centuries of Financial Folly* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Narlika, Amrita (2013) "Negotiating the Rise of New Powers," *International Affairs* 89 (3) Special Issue.

Sigurgeirsdottir, Silla and Robert H. Wade (2015) "From Control by Capital to Control of Capital: Iceland's Boom and Bust, and the IMF's Unorthodox Rescue Package," *Review of International Political Economy* 22 (1): 103-133.

Widmaier, Wesley W. (2016) *Economic Ideas in Political Time: The Rise and Fall of Economic Orders from the Progressive Era to the Global Financial Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Frieden, Jeffry (2016) "The Governance of International Finance," *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (1): 33-48.

Katzenstein, Peter J. and Stephen Nelson (2014) "Uncertainty and Risk and the Crisis of 2008," *International Organization* 48 (2): 361-392.

Chwieroth, Jeffery M. (2010) *Capital Ideas: The IMF and the Rise of Financial Liberalization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

Blyth, Mark (2013) *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Eichengreen, Barry (2011) *Exorbitant Privilege: The Rise and Fall of the Dollar and the Future of the International Monetary System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

10. The United Nations Security Council: Power and Legitimacy (MES)

Tuesday 7 November 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 6

Claude, Inis (1966) "Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the UN," *International*

Organization 20 (3): 367-379.

Thompson, Alexander (2006) "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission," *International Organization* 60 (1): 1-34.

Ian Hurd (2005) "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003," *International Organization* 59 (3): 495-526.

Further Reading

Voeten, Eric (2005) "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force," *International Organization* 59 (3): 527-557.

Johnstone, Ian. (2003) "The Role of the UN Secretary-General: The Power of Persuasion Based on Law." *Global Governance* 9 (4): 441-458.

Hurd, Ian (2011) "The United Nations II: International Peace and Security". In 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): 238-250.

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.

11. Cooperation and Competition Under the Security Dilemma: Arms Racing and Arms Control (MES)

Thursday 9 November 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 2

Van Evera, Stephen (1984) "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," *International Security* 9 (1): 58-107.

Waltz, Kenneth N. (2012) "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb: Nuclear Balancing Would Mean Stability," *Foreign Affairs* 91 (4): 2-5.

Miller, Nicholas L. (2014). The Secret Success of Non-proliferation Sanctions. *International Organization* 68 (4): 913-944.

Tannenwald, Nina (1999) "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative basis of Nuclear Non-Use," *International Organization* 53 (3): 433-468 OR: Tannenwald (2005) "Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo," *International Security* 29 (4): 5-49.

Further Reading

"Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons"

<http://www.un.org/events/npt2005/npptreaty.html>

"The Chemical Weapons Convention" http://www.armscontrol.org/act/1997_04/cwctext

- *Is Arms Racing Always Bad?*

- Glaser, Charles (2004) "When Are Arms Races Dangerous Rational: Versus Suboptimal Arming," *International Security* 28 (4): 44–84.
- Sobek, David, Dennis M. Foster and Samuel B. Robison (2012). "Conventional Wisdom? The Effect of Nuclear Proliferation on Armed Conflict, 1945–2001," *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (1): 149–162.
- Downs, George W. (1991) "Arms Races and War." In *Behavior, Society and Nuclear War*, ed. Philip Tetlock et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Kennedy, Paul. "Arms Races and the Causes of War: 1850-1945," In Paul Kennedy (Ed.) *Strategy and Diplomacy* (London, UK: Fontana Press, 1984), pp. 165-177.
- *Sources of Proliferation/Restraint*
- Solingen, Ethel (1994). "The Political Economy of Nuclear Restraint," *International Security* 19 (2): 126-169.
- Hymans, Jacques. *The Psychology of Nuclear Proliferation: Identity, Emotions, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp.1-46
- *More on Weapons Taboos*
- Press, Daryl, Scott D. Sagan and Benjamin A. Valentino (2013). "Atomic Aversion: Experimental Evidence on Taboos, Traditions, and the non-Use of Nuclear Weapons," *American Political Science Review* 107 (1): 188-206.
- Price, Richard (2013). "How Chemical Weapons Became Taboo. And Why Syria Won't Overturn the Aversion," *Foreign Affairs*, 22 January 2013.
- Nolan, Janne (2008) "The Ambivalence of the Nuclear Taboo," *The Nonproliferation Review* 15 (3): 135-310.
- Dolan, Thomas M. (2013) "Unthinkable and Tragic: The Psychology of Weapons Taboos in War," *International Organization* 67 (1): 37-63.
- *Insider Views*
- Nunn, Sam (2006) "The Race between Cooperation and Catastrophe: Reducing the Global Nuclear Threat," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 607: 43-50.
- William J. Perry, "My Personal Journey at the Nuclear Brink," *European Leadership Network*, 17 June 2-13, http://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/my-personal-journey-at-the-nuclear-brink-by-bill-perry_633.html
- For a basic introductory overview of the global non-proliferation regime, see*
- Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, M. (2014) "Weapons Proliferation Regimes and Networks in International Governance". In *International Relations: Continuity and Change in Global Politics* (Open University), Chapter 12.

12. The Politics of International Peace Keeping (MES)

Tuesday 14 November 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 6

- Page Fortna, Virginia (2003) "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace," *International Organization* 57 (2): 337–372 OR Virginia Page Fortna (2004) "Does Peacekeeping Keep the Peace?" *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2): 269-292.
- Toft, Monica D. (2010) "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security* 34 (4): 7–36.

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.

Further Reading

Paris, Roland (2003). "Peacekeeping and the Constraints of Global Culture," *European Journal of International Relations* 9 (3): 441-473.

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): 129-141.

13. Outside In: International Sources of Domestic Law (JCS)

Thursday 16 November 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 2

Meyer, John W., John Boli, George M. Thomas and Francisco O. Ramirez (1997) "World Society and the Nation-State," *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (1): 144-181.

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.

Lake, Milli (2014) "Organizing Hypocrisy: Providing Legal Accountability for Human Rights Violations in Areas of Limited Statehood," *International Studies Quarterly* 58 (3): 515-526.

Further Reading

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 54 (4): 887-913.

True, Jacqui and Michael Mintrom (2001) "Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming," *International Studies Quarterly* 45 (1): 27-57.

Krucken, Georg and Gili S. Drori (Eds) (2009) *World Society: The Writings of John W. Meyer* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Towns, Ann E. (2012) "Norms and Social Hierarchies: Understanding International Policy Diffusion 'From Below,'" *International Organization* 66 (1): 179-209.

Simmons, Beth A., Frank Dobbin and Geoffrey Garrett (2006) "Introduction: The International Diffusion of Liberalism," *International Organization* 60 (4): 781-810.

Kelley, Judith and Beth A. Simmons (2015) "Politics by Number: Indicator as Social Pressure in International Relations," *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (1): 55-70.

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).

McNamara, Kathleen (2002) "Rational Fictions: Central Bank Independence and the Social Logic of Delegation," *West European Politics* 25 (1): 47-76.

14. Private Ordering of the Global Economy (JCS)

Tuesday 21 November 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 6

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

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.

Further Readings

Crasnic, Lori, Nikhil Kalyanpur and Abraham Newman (2017) "Networked Liabilities: Transnational Authority in a World of Transnational Business," *European Journal of International Relations* (forthcoming): 1-24.

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

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): 143-175.

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): 261-282.

Brake, Benjamin and Peter J. Katzenstein (2013) "Lost in Translation? Non-State Actors and the Transnational Movement of Procedural Law," *International Organization* 67 (4): 725-757.

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

15. Hard and Soft International Law (JCS)

Thursday 23 November 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 2

Bull, Hedley (1977) *The Anarchical Society* (London: Macmillan), Ch.6 "International Law and International Order," pp.127-161.

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal (2000) "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance," *International Organization* 54 (3): 421-456.

Further Reading

Simmons, Beth A. (2013) "International Law," in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (Eds) *Handbook of International Relations* (Los Angeles: Sage), pp.352-378.

Eckersley, Robyn (2004) "Soft Law, Hard Politics, and the Climate Change Treaty." In Christian Reus-Smit (Ed.) *The Politics of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 80-105.

Simmons, Beth A. (2010) "Treaty Compliance and Violation," *Annual Review of Political Science* 13 (1): 273-296.

Newman, Abraham and Elliott Posner (2016) "Transnational Feedback, Soft Law, and Preferences in Global Financial Regulation," *Review of International Political Economy* 23 (1): 123-152.

Newman, Abraham and David Bach (2014) "The European Union as Hardening Agent: Soft Law and the Diffusion of Global Financial Regulation," *Journal of European Public Policy* 21 (3): 430-452.

Abbott, Kenneth W., Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter and Duncan Snidal (2000) "The Concept of Legalization," *International Organization* 54 (3): 401-419.

Abbott, Kenneth W., Jessica F. Green and Robert O. Keohane (2016) "Organizational Change and Institutional Ecology in Global Governance," *International Organization* 70 (2): 247-277.

16. Policing the Globe (JCS)

Tuesday 28 November 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 6

Andreas, Peter (2011) "Illicit Globalization: Myths, Misconceptions and Historical Lessons," *Political Science Quarterly* 126 (3): 403-425.

Feingold, David A. (2010) "Trafficking in Numbers: The Social Construction of Human Trafficking Data." In Peter Andreas and Kelly M. Greenhill (Eds) *Sex, Drugs, and Bodycounts: The Politics of Numbers in Global Crime and Conflict*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), pp.46-74.

Findley, Michael, Daniel Nielson and Jason Sharman (2012) "Global Shell Games: Testing Money Launderers' and Terrorist Financiers' Access to Anonymous Shell Companies," Available at: https://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0008/454625/Oct2012-Global-Shell-Games.Media-Summary.10Oct12.pdf

Further Reading

Andreas, Peter and Ethan Nadelmann (2006) *Policing the Globe: Criminalization and Crime Control in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Barnett, Michael and Liv Coleman (2005) "Designing Police: Interpol and the Study of Change in International Organizations," *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (4): 593-619.

Jakobi, Anja P. (2013) *Common Goods and Evils? The Formation of Global Crime Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Jojarth, Christine (2009) *Crime, War and Global Trafficking: Designing International Co-operation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Andreas, Peter (2004) "Illicit International Political Economy: The Clandestine Side of Globalization," *Review of International Political Economy* 11 (3): 641-652.

Efrat, Asif (2012) *Governing Guns, Preventing Plunder: International Co-operation Against Illicit Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Struett, Michael J., Jon D. Carlson and Mark T. Nance (Eds.) (2012) *Maritime Piracy and the Construction of Global Governance* (New York: Routledge).

Friman, H. Richard and Peter Andreas (Eds) (1999) *The Illicit Global Economy and State Power* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield)

Liss, Carolin and J.C. Sharman (2015) "Global Corporate Crime-Fighters: Private Transnational Responses to Piracy and Money Laundering," *Review of International Political Economy* 22 (4): 693-718.

17. Expanding International Governance: The Roles of NGOs and Civil Society Actors (MES)

Thursday 30 November 2017, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Room 3

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): 348-361.

Further Reading

Betsill and Bulkeley (2004) "Transnational Networks and Global Environmental Governance," *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2): 471-493.

Scholte, Jan (2004) "Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance," *Government and Opposition* 39 (2): 211-233.

Kate MacDonald, "The Fair Trade System" and Philipp Pattberg, "Forest Stewardship Council". Both in *Handbook of Transnational Governance* eds. Thomas Hale and David Held (Polity Press, 2011), pp. 252-259, and pp. 265-271.

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): 348-372.

Lent Term

18. Why Do States Sign Human Rights Treaties? (MES)

Thursday 18 January 2018, Mill Lane Lectures Theatre, Lecture Room 4

Hathaway, Oona A. (2007) "Why Do Countries Commit to Human Rights Treaties?" *Journal of*

Conflict Resolution 51 (4): 588–621.

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.

Further Reading

Hawkins, Darren (2004) "Explaining Costly International Institutions: Persuasion and Enforceable Human Rights Norms," *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (4): 779-804.

Kim, Dongwook (2013) "International Nongovernmental Organizations and the Global Diffusion of National Human Rights Institutions," *International Organization* 67 (3): 505–539.

19. Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference to Human Rights? (MES)

Tuesday 23 January 2018, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block, Lecture Room 3

Hathaway, Oona (2002) "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *Yale Law Journal* 111 (8): 1935-2041.

Emilie M. Hafner-Burton (2012) "International Regimes for Human Rights," *Annual Review of Political Science* 15 (1): 265-286.

Eric Neumayer (2005) "Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (6): 1-29.

Further Reading

- *Some key readings on Compliance*

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

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

- *Human Rights Compliance*

Cole, Wade M. (2015) "Mind the Gap: State Capacity and the Implementation of Human Rights Treaties," *International Organization*, 69 (2): 405-441

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.

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.

Murdie, Amanda, and Dursun Peksen (2014) "The Impact of Human Rights INGO Shaming on Humanitarian Interventions," *Journal of Politics* 76 (1): 215-228.

- Wallace, Geoffrey (2013) "International Law and Public Attitudes Toward Torture: An Experimental Study," *International Organization* 67 (1): 105-140.
- 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): 532–544.
- 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.
- Simmons, Beth (2009) *Mobilizing for Human Rights. International Law in Domestic Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Lupu, Yonatan (2013) "Best Evidence: The Role of Information in Domestic Judicial Enforcement of International Human Rights Agreements," *International Organization* 67 (3): 469–503.
- Hill, Daniel W. (2010) "Estimating the Effects of Human Rights Treaties on State Behaviour," *Journal of Politics* 72 (4): 1161-1174.

20. Looking Ahead: The Case for World Government? (JCS)

Thursday 25 January 2018, Mill Lane Lectures Theatre, Lecture Room 1

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

Further Reading

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): 581-587.

Wendt, Alexander (2005) "Agency, Teleology and the World State: A Reply to Shannon," *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (4): 589-598.

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: Princeton University Press).

Nussbaum, Martha (2006) *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Cambridge Mass.: 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 York: New Press), pp.209-214.

**** There follows a separate lecture/reading list for each of the three specialized tracks, which will comprise lectures 21-26. Each track will also feature two seminars. Students can ONLY follow seminars for ONE track, but are welcome to attend lectures for several tracks provided these do not overlap time-wise ****

Track 1
The International Administration of Peace and Security
Taught by: Prof. Marc Weller

Brief Description

This module investigates the rules and mechanisms that seek to constrain the use of force in international relations. The module considers the development of international organization in relation to peace and security, including the League of Nations system and the United Nations Organization. It then considers the present system of collective security mainly administered through the UN Security Council. In addition, the module addresses claim to the unilateral use of force, including self-defence, forcible humanitarian action and intervention to preserve or advance democracy.

The module consists of five lectures and two accompanying seminar sessions. Candidates will be encouraged to read one introductory textbook covering this area (Gray) and will receive additional materials electronically.

General Background Reading

Christine Grey, *International Law and the Use of Force* (Foundations in Public International Law), 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Marc Weller, ed. *Oxford Handbook on the Use of Force in International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Lecture I: International Law and Peace (MW)

Thursday, 01st February, 10:00 – 11:00, Finlay Library, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, 5 Cranmer Road

Marc Weller, International Law and the Problem of War, in Weller, ed., *The Oxford Handbook on the Use of Force in International Law* (2015), pp. 2-34.

Nicholas Rostow, *International Law and the Use of Force: A Plea for Realism*, 34 *Yale J. Int'l L.* (2009). Available at: <http://digitalcommons.law.yale.edu/yjil/vol34/iss2/13>.

Oscar Schachter, 'The Prohibition of Force' (Chapter VII), in *International Law in Theory and Practice* (1991, Kluwer), pp. 106-134.

Seminar 1: The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, and the invasion of Iraq by the US/UK

GR1: Friday, 02nd February, 12:00 – 13:30, ARB Room 138

GR5: Monday, 05th February, 16:00 – 17:30, Old Library, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, 5 Cranmer Road

Lecture 2: Collective Security (MW)

Tuesday, 06th February, 11:00 – 12:00, Finlay Library, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, 5 Cranmer Road

Christine Gray, 'The UN and the Use of Force' (Chapter VII) in *International Law and the Use of Force* (Third Edition, 2008, Oxford University Press), pp. 254-326.

Ramesh Thakur, 'Reconfiguring the UN System of Collective Security, in Weller, ed., Oxford Handbook on the Use of Force in International Law (2015), pp. 179-201.

Marc Weller, 'Iraq and Kuwait' (Chapter II) in *Iraq and the Use of Force in International Law* (2010, Oxford University Press), pp. 12-58.

Lecture 3: Self-defence (MW)

Thursday, 08th February, 10:00 – 11:00, Finlay Library, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, 5 Cranmer Road

Oscar Schachter, 'The Use of Force in Self-Defence' (Chapter VIII), in *International Law in Theory and Practice* (1991, Kluwer), pp. 135-182.

Position of the UK Attorney General on Self-defence:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/attorney-generals-speech-at-the-international-institute-for-strategic-studies>.

Lecture 4: Forcible Humanitarian Action (MW)

Tuesday, 13th February, 11:00 – 12:00, Finlay Library, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, 5 Cranmer Road

Richard B. Lillich, 'Humanitarian Intervention through the United Nations: towards the Development of Criteria' (The Procedural Aspects of International Law Institute, 1993).

Christopher Greenwood, 'Is There a Right of Humanitarian Intervention?' 49(2) *The World Today* (1993) 34-40.

Sir Nigel Rodley, 'Humanitarian Intervention' in Weller, ed., Oxford Handbook on the Use of Force in International Law (2015), pp. 775-797.

Marc Weller, Forcible Humanitarian Action in International Law, <https://www.ejiltalk.org/author/mweller/>.

Lecture 5: Pro-democratic Action (MW)

Thursday, 15th February, 10:00 – 11:00, Finlay Library, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, 5 Cranmer Road

James Crawford, *Democracy in International Law* (1995), pp. 1-43.

David Whippman, 'Pro-democratic Intervention, in Weller, ed., Oxford Handbook on the Use of Force in International Law (2015), pp. 797- 815.

African Union/United Nations, *Counter-constitutional coups*. Report of the Commission of National Inquiry, Maldives, 30 August 2011.

Seminar 2: Kosovo (MW)

GR1: Monday, 26th February, 16:00 – 17:30, Old Library, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, 5 Cranmer Road

GR5: Wednesday, 28th February, 16:00 – 17:30, Old Library, Lauterpacht Centre for International Law, 5 Cranmer Road

Seminars

A short bundle of primary materials will be made available for both seminars. The readings remain as for lectures 2 and 4, plus Weller, 'Iraq 2003' in Corten et al, eds, *The Use of Force in International Law—A case-based approach* (forthcoming) for seminar one, and Weller, 'Forcible Humanitarian Intervention in International Law: The Case of Kosovo', in O'Connell, Bothe, and Ronzitti, eds, *Redefining Sovereignty*, Transnational Publishers, 2005, pp 277-334.

Track 2

Development Cooperation through multilateral organizations An (international) political economy perspective

Taught by: Dr Bernhard Reinsberg

Brief description

This track introduces students to the global governance of development. It addresses the following core questions: Why do states delegate development assistance to international organizations? How do donors choose among different multilateral development organizations (MDOs)? What are the determinants of multilateral development policies? How effective are they? And is there a link between MDO effectiveness and the nature of the MDO policy-making process?

The various sessions of this track are tied together by the common assumption that development is a series of collective action problems along the delegation chain from donor countries, international organizations, and recipient countries. Activities of all these actors will be scrutinized. While the readings have a primarily empirical focus, we will relate their findings to broader theoretical arguments from international cooperation theory as discussed throughout the POL3 course. The timetable features five lectures, with two intermittent seminar sessions. The seminars allow for in-depth discussions of some (mostly recent) methodologically advanced articles of the field and to reflect on their broader theoretical implications for international cooperation.

Learning objectives

- Mention rationales for delegation to MDOs and explain the potential problems involved
- Compare the empirical evidence on delegation to MDOs with the predictions from theories of international cooperation
- Systematize the determinants of MDO policies and compare their relative importance
- Explain how the effectiveness of MDOs can be evaluated and the key challenges involved
- Mention key trends in the international development architecture and compare to related trends in trade and finance

General Background Reading

This track assumes students are familiar with the basics of foreign aid. Hence, it is highly recommended that students complete at least one of the following introductory readings before the first session:

- Sagasti, F. (2005). *Official Development Assistance: Background, context, issues and prospects*.

- Radelet, S. (2006). A primer on foreign aid. Center for Global Development.
- Lancaster, C. (2007). *Foreign aid*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Lecture 1. Why Delegate to Multilateral Development Organizations (MDOs)? (BR)

Thursday 1 February 2018, 10:00 – 11:00, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Room 7

Martens, B., Mummert, U., Murrell, P., & Seabright, P. (2002). *The institutional economics of foreign aid*. Cambridge University Press, 1-33.

Hawkins, D. G., Lake, D. A., Nielson, D. L., & Tierney, M. J. (Eds.). (2006). *Delegation and agency in international organizations*. Cambridge University Press, 3-39.

Further Reading

Nielson, D. L., & Tierney, M. J. (2003). Delegation to international organizations: Agency theory and World Bank environmental reform. *International Organization*, 57(2), 241-276.

Xu, J. (2016). *Beyond US Hegemony in International Development: The Contest for Influence at the World Bank*. Cambridge University Press.

Mascarenhas, R., & Sandler, T. (2006). Do donors cooperatively fund foreign aid?. *Review of International Organizations*, 1(4), 337-357.

Annen, K., & Knack, S. (2015). On the delegation of aid implementation to multilateral agencies. University of Guelph (mimeo).

SEMINAR 1. Re-visiting Theories of Intergovernmental Cooperation: the case of multilateral development cooperation (BR)

Group 2: Friday 2 February 2018, 12.00-13.30pm, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block Room 7

Group 4: Tuesday 6 February 2018, 16.00-17:30, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block Room 7

Milner, H. V., & Tingley, D. (2013). The choice for multilateralism: Foreign aid and American foreign policy. *Review of International Organizations*, 8(3), 313-341.

Milner, H. V. (2006). Why multilateralism? Foreign aid and domestic principal-agent problems. In: Hawkins, D. et al. (Eds.). *Delegation and agency in international organizations*, 107-139.

Dreher, A., Sturm, J. E., & Vreeland, J. R. (2009). Development aid and international politics: Does membership on the UN Security Council influence World Bank decisions?. *Journal of Development Economics*, 88(1), 1-18.

Further Reading

Abbott, K. W., & Snidal, D. (1998). Why states act through formal international organizations. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(1), 3-32.

Brown, R. L. (2010). Measuring delegation. *Review of International Organizations* 5 (2), 141-175.

Lecture 2. How do Donors Choose Among Different IOs? (BR)

Tuesday 6 February 2018, 11:00 – 12:00, Mill Lane Lectures Theatre, Lecture Room 6

McLean, E. V. (2012). Donors' preferences and agent choice: Delegation of European development aid. *International Studies Quarterly*, 56(2), 381-395.

Schneider, C. J., & Tobin, J. L. (2016). Portfolio similarity and international development aid. *International Studies Quarterly*, 60(4), 647-664.

Further Reading

Jupille, J. H., Mattli, W., & Snidal, D. (2013). *Institutional choice and global commerce*. Cambridge University Press.

Morse, J. C., & Keohane, R. O. (2014). Contested multilateralism. *Review of International Organizations*, 9(4), 385.

Reinsberg, B., Michaelowa, K., & Knack, S. (2017). Which Donors, Which Funds? The Choice of Multilateral Funds by Bilateral Donors at the World Bank. *International Organization* (forthcoming).

Lecture 3. The Determinants of Multilateral Development Policies: the intergovernmental perspective (BR)

Thursday 8 February 2018, 10:00 – 11:00, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Room 2

Dreher, A., & Lang, V. F. (2017). The Political Economy of International Organizations. In: Congleton, R., Grofman, B., & Voigt, S. (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Public Choice*. Oxford University Press (forthcoming).

Kaja, A., & Werker, E. (2010). Corporate governance at the World Bank and the dilemma of global governance. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 24(2), 171-198.

Further Reading

Kilby, C. (2013). An empirical assessment of informal influence in the World Bank. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 61(2), 431-464.

Copelovitch, M. S. (2010). Master or servant? Common agency and the political economy of IMF lending. *International Studies Quarterly*, 54(1), 49-77.

Broz, J. L., & Hawes, M. B. (2006). Congressional politics of financing the International Monetary Fund. *International Organization*, 60(2), 367-399.

Breen, M. (2013). *The politics of IMF lending*. Springer.

Frey, B. S., & Schneider, F. (1986). Competing models of international lending activity. *Journal of Development Economics*, 20(2), 225-245.

Lecture 4. The Determinants of Multilateral Development Policies: the bureaucratic politics perspective (BR)

Tuesday 13 February 2018, 11:00 – 12:00, Mill Lane Lectures Theatre, Lecture Room 6

Dreher, A., & Lang, V. F. (2017). The Political Economy of International Organizations. In: Congleton, R., Grofman, B., & Voigt, S. (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Public Choice*. Oxford University Press (forthcoming).

Vaubel, R. (1986). A public choice approach to international organization. *Public Choice*, 51(1), 39-57.

Weaver, C. (2007). The World's Bank and the bank's world. *Global Governance*, 13(4), 493-512.

Further Reading

Cox, R. W., & Jacobson, H. K. (1973). *The anatomy of influence*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Morrison, K. M. (2013). Membership no longer has its privileges: The declining informal influence of Board members on IDA lending. *Review of International Organizations*, 8(2), 291.

Humphrey, C., & Michaelowa, K. (2013). Shopping for development: Multilateral lending, shareholder composition and borrower preferences. *World Development*, 44, 142-155.

Park, S., & Vetterlein, A. (Eds.). (2010). *Owning development: creating policy norms in the IMF and the World Bank*. Cambridge University Press.

Reinsberg, B. (2017). Organizational reform and the rise of trust funds: lessons from the World Bank. *Review of International Organizations*, 12(2), 199-226,

Lecture 5. The Global Governance of International Development in a Comparative Perspective (BR)

Thursday 15 February 2018, 10:00 – 11:00, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Room 7

Acharya, A. (Ed.). (2016). *Why Govern?: Rethinking Demand and Progress in Global Governance*. Cambridge University Press.

Sell, S. K. (2016). Trade. In: Acharya, A. (Ed.). *Why Govern?: Rethinking Demand and Progress in Global Governance*. Cambridge University Press, 157-173.

Helleiner, E. (2016). Finance. In: Acharya, A. (Ed.). *Why Govern?: Rethinking Demand and Progress in Global Governance*. Cambridge University Press, 174-191

Morse, J. C., & Keohane, R. O. (2014). Contested multilateralism. *Review of International Organizations*, 9 (4): 385.

Further Reading

Reinsberg, B. (2017). The design of formal intergovernmental institutions: toward an ever more fragmented multilateral development system?. University of Cambridge (mimeo).

Barnett, M., Pevehouse, J., & Raustiala, K. (2016). Global governance: welcome to small ball. Working paper.

SEMINAR 2: Assessing the Effectiveness of Multilateral Development Activities (BR)

Group 2: Monday 26th February 2018, 16:00-17:30, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block Room 10

Groups 4: Tuesday 27 February 2018, 16:00-17:30, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Block Room 12

Bourguignon, F., & Sundberg, M. (2007). Aid effectiveness: opening the black box. *The American Economic Review*, 97(2), 316-321.

Abouharb, M. R., & Cingranelli, D. L. (2009). IMF programs and human rights, 1981–2003. *Review of International Organizations*, 4(1), 47-72.

Dreher, A., Eichenauer, V. Z., & Gehring, K. (2016). Geopolitics, aid, and growth: The impact of UN Security Council membership on the effectiveness of aid. *The World Bank Economic Review*, lhw037.

Further Reading

Gutner, T., & Thompson, A. (2010). The politics of IO performance: A framework. *Review of International Organizations*, 5(3), 227-248.

Dreher, A., Klasen, S., Vreeland, J. R., & Werker, E. (2013). The costs of favoritism: is politically driven aid less effective?. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 62(1), 157-191.

Kilby, C. (2015). Assessing the impact of World Bank preparation on project outcomes. *Journal of Development Economics*, 115, 111-123.

Bulman, D. J., Kolkma, W., & Kraay, A. (2016). Good countries or good projects? Comparing macro and micro correlates of World Bank and Asian Development Bank project performance. *Review of International Organizations*.

Kilby, C., & Dreher, A. (2010). The impact of aid on growth revisited: Do donor motives matter?. *Economics Letters*, 107(3), 338-340.

Reinsberg, B., Kentikelenis, A., Stubbs, T., & King, L. (2017). IMF programs and state capacity: a disaggregated approach. University of Cambridge (mimeo).

Further readings (focusing on recipient country behavior)

Wright, J. (2008). To invest or insure? How authoritarian time horizons impact foreign aid effectiveness. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(7), 971-1000.

Girod, D. M., & Tobin, J. L. (2016). Take the money and run: The determinants of compliance with aid agreements. *International Organization*, 70(1), 209-239.

Track 3

The NGO Sector Within Global Governance

Taught by: Mr Ian Shields

Brief Description

Within the international order, non-state actors—including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other private charity organizations—are playing an increasingly important role. These organizations are subject to far less regulation than state actors, but in many ways act in a state-like manner: they form alliances but are in competition with each other; they represent interest groups (as, arguably, do states) but seek to remain largely separate from state control; they can act alongside the United Nations, but are not permanently represented in either the General Assembly or the Security Council.

This series of 6 lectures and 2 seminars will explore the NGO sector and examine how it fits into the state-centric international order. After an introductory lecture exploring how NGOs have become such major players on the international stage, the lectures will then consider whether NGOs are more effective than states (by examining the issue of Human Rights), or less effective (Development). Whether NGOs can build effective peace will be considered next, followed by a case study of NGOs in Africa before concluding with a broad review of whether NGOs are undermining or reinforcing issues of global governance. The two allied seminars will ask

whether NGOs are intrinsically Western and whether NGOs bring more benefit or harm to the international order.

Learning objectives

- Identify the role that NGOs play within the International Order
- Explain the effectiveness of NGOs in certain areas and their limitations in others
- Compare the role of NGOs in rebuilding individual States with the efforts of bodies more officially representative of International Organizations, and identify the advantages and disadvantages of both approaches
- Identify the extent to which the NGO sector represents a new direction for the International Order itself.
- Explain why tensions exist within the broader NGO sector, and how this might limit their broader effectiveness.

This track assumes students are familiar with the basic of the NGO sector. Recommended introductory readings on the NGO sector are:

- Avant, Deborah D., Martha Finnemore, and Susan K. Sell, eds., *Who Governs the Globe?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) – e-book: http://idiscover.lib.cam.ac.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=44CAM_ERDB401503&context=L&vid=44CAM_PROD&search_scope=HIS&tab=default_tab&lang=en_US
- Moyo, Dambisa, *Dead Aid* (London, Penguin, 2010)
- Polman, Linda, *War Games* (London, Viking, 2011)
- Chang, Ha-Joon, *Bad Samaritans: The Guilty Secrets of Rich Nations and The Threat to Global Prosperity* (London: Random House, 2007)

Lecture 1. Setting the Scene: The Rise (and Rise) of the NGO (IS)

Thursday 1 February 2018, 10:00 – 11:00, Sidgwick Site Lecture Block, Room 8

Global accountability communities: NGO self-regulation in the humanitarian sector. Review of International Studies, Volume 42, Issue 4 (October 2016) pp. 724-747.

J. Daubanes & Rochet, J. C. *The Rise of NGO Activism* Center of Economic Research Working Paper 16/244 (April 2016)
<http://econpapers.repec.org/paper/ethwpswif/16-244.htm>

Further Reading

Hall-Jones, P. *The Rise and Rise of NGOs* Global Policy Forum, 2006
<https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/176/31937.html>

Lecture 2. A More Effective System: NGOs and Human Rights? (IS)

Tuesday 6 February 2018, 11:00 – 12:00, Mill Lane Lectures Theatre, Lecture Room 7

Ron, J., Pandya, A., & Crow, D., Can Human Rights Organizations in the Global South Attract More Domestic Funding? *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, December 2016

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

Further Reading

Ron, J., Ramos, H., & Rodgers, K., *Transnational Information Politics: NGO Human Rights Reporting, 1986–2000* International Studies Quarterly (2005) 49, 557–587

Welch, C. E. Jr. (Ed) *NGOs and Human Rights: Promise and Performance* University of Pennsylvania Press (2017): Chapters 1 – 3.

The United Nations Human Rights Council On-Line Guide
(<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/NgoParticipation.aspx>)

The website for Amnesty International (<https://www.amnesty.org.uk>) is also well-worth reading for up to date issues surrounding Human Rights from an NGOP perspective.

SEMINAR 1. Are NGOs Intrinsically Western? (IS)

Group 6: Monday 5 February 2018, 16:00-17:30, Sidgwick Site, Lecture Room 8

Group 3: Tuesday 6 February 2018, 16:00-17:30, Alison Richard Building, Room 119

da Silva Themudo N., *Managing the Paradox: NGOs, Resource Dependence and Organizational Independence* (PhD, LSE, 2004)

<http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/2679/>

Further Reading

Henderson, S., *Importing Civil Society: Foreign Aid and the Women 's Movement in Russia* (Working paper, University of Colorado)

https://www2.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/demokratizatsiya%20archive/08-1_Henderson.PDF

Lecture 3. A Less Effective System: NGOs and Development? (IS)

Thursday 8 February 2018, 10:00 – 11:00, Sidgwick Site Lecture Block, Room 8

Shah, A., *Non-governmental Organizations on Development Issues*

<http://www.globalissues.org/article/25/non-governmental-organizations-on-development-issues>)

Further Reading

UNESCO: *The Role And Impact Of NGOs In Capacity Development*

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001869/186980e.pdf>

Gemmill, B., & Bamidele-Izu, A., *The Role of NGOs and Civil Society in Global Environmental Governance*

<http://environment.yale.edu/publication-series/782.html>

Literacy Watch: *The Role of NGO's in Education Development*

<http://www.aiaer.net/ejournal/vol24212/P2.pdf>

Lecture 4. Can NGOs Build Peace Better? (IS)

Tuesday 13 February 2018, 11:00 – 12:00, Mill Lane Lectures Theatre, Lecture Room 7

Peinado, M. P., *The Role of NGOs and the Civil Society in Peace and Reconciliation Processes*

<http://www.ceipaz.org/images/contenido/Role%20of%20NGOs%20and%20civil%20society%20in%20peacebuilding.pdf>

Committee for Conflict Transformation Support, *The Role of NGOs, Local and International, in Post-war Peacebuilding*

<http://www.c-r.org/downloads/newsletter15.pdf>

Lecture 5. Case Study: NGOs and Africa (IS)

Thursday 15 February 2018, 10:00 – 11:00, Sidgwick Site Lecture Block, Room 8

Abdulrahman, I., & Tar, U.A., *Conflict Management and Peacebuilding in Africa: The Role of State and Non-State Agencies*

http://archive.londonmet.ac.uk/dass-research/metranet.londonmet.ac.uk/library/z17794_3.pdf

Uzuegbunam, A.O., *NGOs, Conflict and Peacebuilding in Nigeria*

<http://www.scirp.org/journal/PaperInformation.aspx?PaperID=28094>

Further Reading

Chabal, P., *Africa: The Politics of Suffering and Smiling* (Zed Books Ltd, London, 2009) – Chapters 1, 2 and 4

Easterly, W., *The White Man's Burden* (Oxford: OUP, 2006) – Chapters 2, 3 and 5

The Conversation: *The Role Of NGOs In Africa: Are They A Force For Good?*

<http://theconversation.com/the-role-of-ngos-in-africa-are-they-a-force-for-good-76227>

Lecture 6. The NGO Sector: Undermining or Reinforcing Global Governance? (IS)

Tuesday 20 February 2018, 11:00 – 12:00, Mill Lane Lectures Theatre, Lecture Room 5

Weiss, T.G., Seyle, D.C., & Coolidge, K., *The Rise of Non-State Actors in Global Governance: Opportunities and Limitations*

<http://acuns.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/gg-weiss.pdf>

Abbott, K.W., & Snidal, D., *The Governance Triangle: Regulatory Standards Institutions and The Shadow of the State*

<https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/content/governance-triangle-regulatory-standards-institutions-and-shadow-state>

Further Reading

Rahman, S., *Development, Democracy and the NGO Sector Theory and Evidence from Bangladesh* Journal of Developing Societies 2006, 451-73

The UN Non-Governmental Liaison Service: *The United Nations, NGOs and Global Governance* (<https://www.un-ngls.org/index.php/23-publications/policy-booklets/194-the-united-nations,-ngos-and-global-governance>)

Global Policy Forum: *Civil Society and Global Governance* (<https://www.globalpolicy.org/un-reform/31820.html>)

SEMINAR 2. Do NGOs Bring More Benefit or Harm to the International Order? (IS)

Group 3: Tuesday 27 February 2018, 16:00-17:30, Alison Richard Building, Room 119

Group 6: Wednesday 28 February 2018, 16:00-17:30, Sidgwick Site Lecture Room 6

McArthur, S. *Global Governance and The Rise of NGOs* Asian Journal of Public Affairs Vol 2 No 1

Polman, Linda, *War Games* (London, Viking, 2011) (the entire book, plus: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zKicCNFoGGc> – 23'57")

Supervision Essay Questions,

1. To what extent are international organizations the answer in preventing or responding to crises like the Great Depression of the 1930s or the financial crisis from 2007?
2. How does the assumption of anarchy affect the prospect of international cooperation? Compare and contrast how Realists, Liberals and Social Constructivists theorise anarchy and its consequences.
3. Select and compare two of the main theoretical approaches discussed in the lectures and readings for this course. According to these approaches, what are the main obstacles to international cooperation?
4. 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.

5. How important is US leadership for global governance? Is the US still capable of playing the role of hegemon?
6. Would the international trading system be more or less fair if the current system of global trade governance were abolished?
7. Can international organizations defend and advance the interests of the poor, weak and marginalized? As a general rule, do they?
8. How can governmental and non-governmental international organizations become autonomous from states? Is such autonomy good or bad?
9. Why do states seek UN Security Council approval for military intervention? What is the source(s) of the Council's ability to bestow legitimacy upon interventions?
10. Has the United Nations since 1945 instituted a successful system of Collective Security?
11. Has the nuclear non-proliferation regime instituted by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) been a success in terms of preventing proliferation?
12. What are the main challenges facing the global non-proliferation regime today? How can these best be addressed?
13. Does the rise of cross-border crime represent an example of the declining power of states?
14. To what extent can firms and NGOs substitute for states in addressing global problems?
15. What best explains the decision of autocratic states with poor human rights records to accede to human rights treaties?
16. Do human rights treaties make a difference to respect for human rights globally? How can we best observe/measure the impact of human rights treaties?
17. Do international rules and international organization undermine democracy within states?
18. Is popular legitimacy important for international organizations? If so, why? If not, why not?
19. Is international law a restraint on power politics or a creature of it?

POL 3: International Organization

Exam Questions – Spring 2017

PLEASE ANSWER ANY TWO (2!) OF THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

1. A fundamental premise of International Relations theory is that anarchy means that international politics is lawless whereas domestic politics is lawful. To what degree has global governance by state and non-state actors rendered this distinction obsolete?
2. How might international organisations escape the control of the states that create and fund them? Illustrate your discussion with reference to AT LEAST ONE particular international organization or area of international cooperation.
3. 'Differing rates of compliance with international agreements are best understood as a function of variation in states' capacity to comply.' Discuss!
4. How can we best observe and measure the impact of international human rights treaties? Are international human rights instruments generally effective in changing state behavior?
5. Mainstream rationalist theories of cooperation generally assume that because participation in international agreements is voluntary, these agreements must therefore enhance the welfare of all participating states. Does this assumption stand up to scrutiny? Illustrate your answer with reference to AT LEAST ONE particular international agreement or area of international cooperation.
6. 'It is inherently more difficult to demonstrate the influence of normative and ideational structures on international policy outcomes than it is to demonstrate the impact of material factors'. Discuss with reference to AT LEAST ONE particular area of international cooperation.
7. 'Obstacles to effective international cooperation are generally greater in areas of security and defense than in areas of social and economic cooperation.' Discuss!
8. Scholars disagree widely about the importance of reputation in shaping international cooperation. Discuss some areas in which reputation may (or may not) play a decisive role for cooperation.
9. To what extent are international organisations antithetical to or a continuation of imperialism? Illustrate your discussion with reference to AT LEAST ONE particular international organization or area of international cooperation (past or present).
10. Comparing the response to the financial crisis of 2008 and the Great Depression, how much progress has been made in solving global economic collective action problems?

11. If international tribunals to punish human rights crimes need to be seen as impartial to have authority, but are inevitably shaped by political concerns, does this mean that they are always doomed to failure?
12. Using one of the main theoretical traditions introduced in the course, forecast whether rising non-Western powers will either conform to or transform the existing system of global governance.