

POL2: CONFLICT, ORDER AND JUSTICE 2024-25
Department of Politics and International Studies
University of Cambridge

Lecturers:

Duncan Bell (paper convenor), dsab2@cam.ac.uk
Ayşe Zarakol, az319@cam.ac.uk
Carsten-Andreas Schulz, cas245@cam.ac.uk
Brendan Simms, bps11@cam.ac.uk

Lecture Times and Venue:

Mondays and Wednesdays 10am-11am, Lady Mitchell Hall

Paper Guide Contents:

Aside from providing the ‘who, when, where and why’ of Pol2, this paper guide contains an overview of the lecture timetable, a detailed list of lecture topics and the associated readings, a list of sample supervision essay questions, and finally the questions from last year’s Pol2 exam.

Students should also check the Moodle site for Pol2 regularly to access other documents and information.

Paper Rationale:

This paper will introduce students to both the international politics of the modern era and the sub-discipline of International Relations. After completing the paper, students should have a foundation of knowledge about both the substance of historical and current international politics, and the scholarship and theories that have been developed to explain it.

The broad approach in this paper is global and historical. Global because the paper tries to take a somewhat wider view than the traditional exclusive focus on Europe and the West. Historical because although the paper is concerned with contemporary topics in international politics, relative to most introductory International Relations papers, the coverage of this one begins earlier, around 1500. The rationale for this wider geographic and historical scope is that International Relations scholarship should be able to explain past as well as present conflict, order and conceptions of justice within but also beyond the West. The historical orientation of the paper also fits with the general teaching orientation in POLIS, which often takes a historical perspective.

Given this wider scope, however, the paper is inevitably selective rather than exhaustive in its coverage. Being an introduction, the paper is meant to whet students’ appetites and help them decide, as they advance to Part II of the Tripos, what they wish to focus on – such as, for

instance, international organizations, international law, gender, race, development, political theory, international sociology, international political economy, or a specific geographical region.

Paper Format, Supervisions and Exam:

The paper is comprised of 25 50-minute lectures in Michaelmas and Lent Terms and a revision lecture in Easter Term.

Supervisions are spread across Michaelmas and Lent terms – students will receive a minimum of 5 and a maximum of 6 across the two terms. Students can also expect a revision supervision in Easter. The assignment of supervisors is the responsibility of college Directors of Studies. Details on question selection, length of essay, and style should be discussed with each student's supervisor. Sample supervision essay questions are provided below towards the end of this paper guide.

Students will be assessed in a three-hour in person invigilated end of year exam. The exam requires that **two** questions be answered from eight questions on offer. Each answer will provide half of the final mark. The exam will be discussed in the Easter revision lecture(s), but by far the best way to prepare for the exam is to stay current in completing the core readings associated with each lecture. All exam questions can be answered using the core readings.

Much like most of the supervision essay questions, rather than asking about individual lecture topics in isolation, exam questions require drawing links across and between different topics. For example, this might involve comparing and contrasting different theories, regions, historical episodes or current problems. To see specific examples, last year's exam questions are listed at the end of this paper guide.

Readings:

The readings are the heart of the paper. *The core readings are essential for each of the three main elements of the paper: the lectures, the supervisions, and especially the end of year exam.* The readings are organised in conjunction with lectures, with the two complementing each other: the readings provide necessary background for the lectures, and the lectures make it easier to understand and contextualise the readings. The core readings are compulsory, the further readings are optional and at students' discretion. Building on and extending the core readings, further readings may help with writing supervision essays.

The readings for this paper represent a wide range of different views on major topics in international politics. Many of these topics are subject to intense controversy and debate, and it is common to encounter contrasting and contentious arguments. Just because a reading is on the reading list, this is not an endorsement of its content. Students at Cambridge are expected to engage with readings critically, carefully examining and where appropriate challenging evidence and arguments.

Lecture Timetable Overview

Mon 14 October	1. First Encounters and the Origins of Global Relations	Bell
Wed 16 October	2. Europe and the Sovereign State	Bell
Mon 21 October	3. Westphalia	Simms
Wed 23 October	4. Nations and States in the Americas	Bell
Mon 28 October	5. The Great Divergence and European Imperialism	Bell
Wed 30 October	6. Realism	Bell
Mon 4 November	7. Liberalism Internationalism	Bell
Wed 6 November	8. Constructivism	Bell
Mon 11 November	No Lecture	
Wed 13 November	9. The German Challenge to Pax Anglo-America	Simms
Mon 18 November	10. The Soviet Challenge to Pax Anglo-America	Simms
Wed 20 November	11. The Japanese Challenge to Pax Anglo-America	Simms
Mon 25 November	12. Global Britain	Simms
Wed 27 November	13. The Cold War and Nuclear Weapons	Bell
Mon 27 January	14. Historical Origins of Global Governance	Schulz
Wed 29 January	15. De-colonization and the End of Empires	Schulz
Mon 3 February	16. The End of the Cold War	Schulz
Wed 5 February	17. International Human Rights	Schulz
Mon 10 February	18. Regulating the Use of Force	Schulz
Wed 12 February	19. Post-Colonial States and Intervention	Schulz
Mon 17 February	20. Power in the Global Economy	Schulz
Wed 19 February	21. Governing the Global Commons	Schulz
Mon 24 February	22. Gender in the International System	Zarakol
Wed 26 February	23. The Crisis of the Liberal International Order? The West	Zarakol
Mon 10 March	24. The Crisis of the Liberal International Order? Russia and other Discontents	Zarakol

Wed 12 March	25. The Crisis of the Liberal International Order? China and Alternative Orders	Zarakol
Wed 7 May	Revision Session	Bell

Lecture and Reading Guide:

1. (Bell) **First Encounters and the Beginnings of Global Relations**

Monday 14 October

Core Reading:

Adam Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun: The Dutch Encounter with Tokugawa Japan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp.1-10.

Yongjin Zhang, "Curious and Exotic Encounters: Europeans as Supplicants in the Chinese Imperium, 1513-1793." In Shogo Suzuki, Yongjin Zhang and Joel Quirk (Eds) *International Orders in the Early Modern World: Before the Rise of the West* (Routledge: Abingdon, 2014), pp.55-75.

James Lockhart, *Of Things of the Indies: Essays Old and New in Early Latin American History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp.304-328.

Further Reading:

Neta Crawford, "A Security Regime Among Democracies: Co-operation Among Iroquois Nations." *International Organization* 1994 48 (3): 345-385.

Lauren Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires 1400-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Herman L. Bennett, *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

Howard W. French, *Born in Blackness: Africa, Africans, and the Making of the Modern World, 1471 to the Second World War* (New York: Liveright, 2021).

Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984).

Hedley Bull and Adam Watson (Eds), *The Expansion of International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

Tim Dunne and Christian Reus-Smit (Eds) *The Globalization of International Society*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

J.C. Sharman, *Empires of the Weak: The Real Story of European Expansion and the Creation of the New World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).

Erez Manela, "International Society as a Historical Subject," *Diplomatic History*, 44/2 (2020)

2. (Bell) **Europe and the Sovereign State**

Wednesday 16 October

Core Reading:

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp.1-7, 153-180.

Julia Costa Lopez, Benjamin De Carvalho, Andrew Latham, Ayse Zarakol, Jens Bartelson, Minda Holm, "Forum: In the Beginning There was No Word (for it): Terms, Concepts, and Early Sovereignty," *International Studies Review*, 20/3 (2018), pp. 489-519

Further Reading:

Hendrik Spruyt, "The Origins, Development and Possible Decline of the Modern State," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2002 5 (1): 127-149.

Charles Tilly, "War-Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschmeyer and Theda Skocpol (Eds) *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.169-191

Charles Tilly, *Capital, Coercion and European States 990-1990 AD* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

Quentin Bruneau, "Rethinking International Order in Early Modern Europe: Evidence from Courtly Ceremonial," *International Organization* (2024; Firstview)

Julia Costa Lopez, "Political Authority in International Relations: Revising the Medieval Debate." *International Organization* 2020 74 (2): 222-252.

Jordan Branch, *The Cartographic State: Maps, Territory and the Origins of Sovereignty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Thomas Ertman, *Birth of Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early*

Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Quentin Skinner, "A Genealogy of the Modern State," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 162 (2009): 325–70.

Jens Bartelson, *Sovereignty as Symbolic Form* (London: Routledge, 2014)

Daniel Nexon, *Power in Early Modern Europe: Religious Conflict, Dynastic Empires, and International Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009)

Ayse Zarakol, "Sovereign Equality as Misrecognition," *Review of International Studies*, 44/5 (2018)

3. (Simms) **Westphalia**

Monday 21 October

Core Reading:

Stephane Beaulac, "The Westphalian Legal Orthodoxy—Myth or Reality." *Journal of the History of International Law* 2000 2: 148-177.

Andreas Osiander, "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth." *International Organization* 2001 55 (2): 251-287.

Further Reading:

Derek Croxton, "The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty." *International History Review* 1999 21: 569-591.

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Patrick Milton, Michael Axworthy and Brendan Simms, *Towards a Westphalia for the Middle East* (London: Hurst and Co., 2018).

Benno Teschke, *The Myth of 1648: Class, Geopolitics and the Making of Modern International Relations* (London: Verso, 2003).

Andrew C. Thompson, *Britain, Hanover and the Protestant Interest, 1688-1756* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2006).

Joachim Whaley, "A Tolerant Society? Religious Toleration in the Holy Roman Empire, 1648-1806." In Ole Grell and Roy Porter (Eds), *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.175-195.

Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, Volume I: From Maximilian to the Peace of Westphalia, 1493-1648* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

4. (Bell) Nations and States in the Americas

Wednesday 23 October

Core Reading:

Miguel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press 1994), chaps.3-4.

Jaime E. Rodríguez, "The Emancipation of America." *American Historical Review* 2000 105 (1): 131-152.

Further Reading:

Jeremy Adelman, and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History." *American Historical Review* 1999 104 (3): 814-841.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), pp. 47-65.

David Armitage, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2007).

Robin Blackburn, "Haiti, Slavery, and the Age of the Democratic Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly* 2006 63 (4): 643-674.

Mikulas Fabry, *Recognizing States: International Society and the Establishment of New States Since 1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010), chaps. 1 and 2.

Ada Ferrer, "Rustic Men, Civilized Nation: Race, Culture, and Contention on the Eve of Cuban Independence." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 1998 78 (4): 663-686.

Charles Jones, "International Relations in the Americas During the Long Eighteenth Century, 1663-1820," in Shogo Suzuki, Yongjin Zhang and Joel Quirk (Eds) *International Orders in the Early Modern World: Before the Rise of the West* (London: Routledge 2013), pp. 118-37.

Marixa Lasso, "Race War and Nation in Caribbean Gran Colombia, Cartagena, 1810–1832." *American Historical Review* 2006 111 (2): 336-361.

Mara Loveman, "The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power," *American Journal of Sociology* 2005 110 (6): 1651-1683.

Florencia E. Mallon, "Indigenous Peoples and Nation-States in Spanish America, 1780-2000." In Jose C Moya (Ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 281-308.

Sebastián Mazzuca, *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2021).

Jay Sexton, *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2011).

5. (Bell) **The Great Divergence and European Imperialism**

Monday 28 October

Core Reading:

Peer Vries, “The California School and Beyond: How to Study the Great Divergence?” *History Compass* 8 (7): 730-751.

Joslyn Barnhart, “Status Competition and Territorial Aggression: Evidence from the Scramble for Africa.” *Security Studies* 2016 25 (2): 385-419.

Further Reading:

Kenneth Pomerantz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2000).

Prassanan Parthasarasi, *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence 1600-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

John M. Hobson, *The Multicultural Origins of the Global Economy: Beyond the Western-Centric Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (New York: International Publishers, 1917).

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

Gerrit Gong, *The Standard of “Civilisation” in International Society* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).

John Anthony Pella, “World Society, International Society and the Colonization of Africa.” *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 2015 28 (2): 210-228.

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

Alexander Anievas and Kerem Nisancioglu, *How the West Came to Rule: The Geopolitical Origins of Capitalism* (London: Pluto, 2015).

Philip T. Hoffman, *Why Did Europe Conquer the World?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

6. (Bell) **Realism**

Wednesday 30 October

Core Reading:

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (Lanham: Addison-Wesley, 1979), pp.102-128.

Michael C. Williams, “Classical Realism” in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki & Steve Smith (eds.), *International Relations Theories: Discipline & Diversity*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024)

Further Reading:

Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948).

Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).

Robert O. Keohane (Ed.) *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

Stephen M. Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

Helen Milner, “The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations: A Critique.” *Review of International Studies* 1991 17 (1): 67-85.

Stefano Guzzini, *Realism in International Politics and International Political Economy: The Continuing Story of a Death Foretold* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

Michael C. Williams, *The Realist Tradition and the Limits of International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Alison McQueen, *Political Realism in Apocalyptic Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Jonathan Kirshner, *An Unwritten Future: Realism and Uncertainty in World Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2022), pp. 1-6, 13-42

Brian Schmidt, Michael Williams, “The Bush Doctrine and the Iraq War: Neoconservatives versus Realists,” *Security Studies*, 17/2 (2008)

Richard Ned Lebow, *The Tragic Vision of Politics: Ethics, Interests, and Orders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), ch. 7

7. (Bell) **Liberal Internationalism**

Monday 4 November

Core Reading:

Michael Doyle, "Liberalism and World Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 80/4 (1986)

Robert O. Keohane *After Hegemony? Co-operation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), chapters 5 and 6.

Further Reading:

Robert O. Keohane, "Understanding Multilateral Institutions in Easy and Hard Times." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2020 23 (1): 1-18.

David Baldwin (Ed.) *Neoliberalism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Stephen D. Krasner, *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983).

Michael Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 12/3-4 (1983)

Duncan Bell, *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), chs. 2, 4

Beate Jahn, "Liberal Internationalism: Historical Trajectory and Current Prospects," *International Affairs*, 94/1 (2018)

G. John Ikenberry, *A World Safe for Democracy: Liberal Internationalism and the Crises of Global Order* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020)

Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005)

Deborah Boucoyannis, "The International Wanderings of a Liberal Idea, or Why Liberals Can Learn to Stop Worrying and Love the Balance of Power," *Perspectives on Politics*, 5/4 (2007)

Piki-Ish Shalom, *The Democratic Peace: A Political Biography* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013)

Marc-William Palen, *Pax Economica: Left-Wing Visions of a Free Trade World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2024)

8. (Bell) **Constructivism**

Wednesday 6 November

Core Reading:

J. G. Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization*, 52/4 (1998)

Jennifer Mitzen, "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma," *European Journal of International Relations*, 12/3 (2006)

Further Reading:

Alexander Wendt, *A Social Theory of World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

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

Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations." *International Security* 1998 23 (1): 171-200.

Peter J. Katzenstein (Ed.), *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

Ayse Zarakol, "What Makes the World Hang Together: Socialisation or Stigmatisation?" *International Theory* 2014 6 (2): 311-332.

Jelena Subotic and Ayse Zarakol, "Cultural Intimacy in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 2013 19 (4): 915-938.

Jelena Subotnic, "Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change," *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 12/4 (2016)

Steven Ward, *Status and the Challenge of Rising Powers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

J. Samuel Barkin, *Realist Constructivism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Patrick Thaddeus Jackson, Daniel H. Nexon, Jennifer Sterling-Folker, Janice Bially Mattern, Richard Ned Lebow, J. Samuel Barkin, "Bridging the Gap: Toward a Realist-Constructivist Dialogue," *International Studies Review*, 6/2 (2004)

Christian Reus-Smit, "Reading History Through Constructivist Eyes," *Millennium*, 37/2 (2011), 395-414

Mlada Bukovansky, *Legitimacy and Power Politics: The American and French Revolutions in International Political Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009)

Monday 11 November – NO LECTURE

9-12. (Simms) **Anglo-American Hegemony and its Enemies**

General Readings for lectures 12-14:

Duncan Bell, *Dreamworlds of Race. Empire and the Utopian Destiny of Anglo-America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020).

Kathleen Burk, *The Lion and the Eagle: The Interaction of the British and American Empires, 1783–1972* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019).

Phillips P. O'Brien, *How the War was Won* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Andrew Preston, "Monsters Everywhere. A Genealogy of National Security." *Diplomatic History* 2014 38 (3): 477-500.

Kori Schake, *Safe Passage: The Transition from British to American Hegemony* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2017).

Adam Tooze, *The Deluge. The Great War and the Remaking of Global Order* (London: Penguin, 2014).

Stephen Wertheim, *Tomorrow the World: The Birth of US Global Supremacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2020).

Andrew Williams, *Failed Imagination. The Anglo-American New World order from Wilson to Bush* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

9. (Simms) **The German Challenge to Pax Anglo-America**

Wednesday 13 November

Core Reading:

Brendan Simms, *Hitler. Only the World was Enough* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), 115-139

Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction. The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*

(London: Penguin, 2007), 396-425.

Further Reading:

Christopher Clark, *Sleepwalkers. How Europe went to War in 1914* (London: Penguin, 2012).

John Gooch, *Mussolini's War. Fascist Italy from Triumph to Collapse, 1935-1943* (London: Penguin, 2020).

Romain Hayes, *Subhas Chandra Bose in Nazi Germany. Politics, Intelligence and Propaganda, 1941-1943* (London: Hurst, 2011).

Reto Hofmann, "The Fascist New-Old Order." *Journal of Global History* 2017 12 (2): 166-183.

David Kaiser, *No End Save Victory. How FDR Led the Nation into War* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

David Motadel, "The Global Authoritarian Moment and the Revolt against Empire." *American Historical Review* 2019 124 (3): 843-877.

Klaus Schmider, *Hitler's Fatal Miscalculation. Why Germany Declared War on the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

David Stahel, *Operation Barbarossa and Germany's Defeat in the East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Brendan Simms and Charlie Laderman, *Hitler's American Gamble: Pearl Harbor and the German March to Global War* (London: Allen Lane, 2021).

10. (Simms) **The Soviet Challenge to Pax Anglo-America**

Monday 18 November

Core Reading:

Alexander Hill, "Stalin and the West." In Gordon Martel (Ed.), *Companion to International History* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2007), pp.257-268.

Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Volume I: Paradoxes of Power, 1878–1928* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), pp. 553-563.

Stephen Kotkin, *Stalin: Volume II: Waiting for Hitler, 1928–1941* (London: Allen Lane, 2017), 762-821.

Further Reading:

Alvin D. Coox, *Nomonhan. Japan against Russia, 1939* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).

John R. Ferris, “‘The Greatest Power on Earth’: Great Britain in the 1920s.” *International History Review* 1991 13 (4): 726-750.

Gabriel Gorodetsky, *Grand Delusion: Stalin and the German Invasion of Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Jonathan Haslam, *The Soviet Union and the Threat from the East, 1933-1941. Moscow, Tokyo and the Prelude to the Pacific War* (London: Palgrave, 1992).

Milan Hauner, “Stalin’s Big-Fleet Program.” *Naval War College Review* 2004 57: 87-120.

Oleg Khlevniuk, *Stalin: New Biography of a Dictator* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

Sean McMeekin, *Stalin’s War* (London: Penguin, 2021).

Roger Moorhouse, *The Devils’ Alliance. Hitler’s Pact with Stalin, 1939-1941* (London: Basic Books, 2014).

David Reynolds, *From World War to Cold War. Churchill, Roosevelt, and the International History of the 1940s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

11. (Simms) **The Japanese Challenge to Pax Anglo-America**

Wednesday 20 November

Core Reading:

Eri Hotta, *Japan 1941: Countdown to Infamy* (New York: Random House, 2013), 164-177.

Naoko Shimazu, *Japan, Race and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (London: Routledge, 1998), 89-116.

Further Reading:

John Dower, *War without Mercy. Race and Power in the Pacific War* (London: Pantheon Books, 1987).

Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line. White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Jonathan Marshall, *To Have and to Have not. Southeast Asian Raw Materials and the Origins of the Pacific War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

Rana Mitter, *Forgotten Ally. China’s World War II, 1937-1945* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2013).

Christopher Thorne, "Racial Aspects of the Far Eastern War of 1941-1945." *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1981, p. 339.

John Moser, *Twisting the Lion's Tail: American Anglophobia Between the Wars* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

Steven Ward, "Race, Status, and Japanese Revisionism in the early 1930s." *Security Studies*, 22 (2013), 607-639.

Jeremy Yellen, *The Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. When Total Empire met Total War* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2019).

12 (Simms) **Global Britain**

Monday 25 November

Core Reading:

Justin Morris, "How Great is Britain? Power Responsibility and Britain's Future Global Role." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2011 13 (3): 326-347.

Further Reading:

Kenneth A. Armstrong, *Brexit Time: Leaving the EU- Why, How and When?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Correlli Barnett, *Audit to War. The Illusion and Reality of Britain as a Great Nation* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1983).

Christopher Bickerton, *European Integration. From Nation States to Member States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Peter Foster, *Facing Facts. Is British Power Diminishing?* Project for the Study of the 21st Century, 2015.

Mark Leonard, *Why Europe will Run the Twenty-First Century* (London: Public Affairs, 2005).

Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe: The 'Quiet Superpower'." *French Politics* 2009 7 (3/4): 403–422.

Penny Mordaunt and Chris Lewis, *Greater. Britain after the Storm* (London: Biteback, 2021).

G. C. Peden, "Suez and Britain's Decline as a World Power." *Historical Journal* 2012 55 (4): 1073–1096.

David Sanders, *Losing an Empire, Finding a Role: British Foreign Policy since 1945* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990).

Brendan Simms, *Britain's Europe. A Thousand Years of Conflict and Cooperation* (London: Allen Lane, 2016).

13. (Bell) **The Cold War and Nuclear Weapons**

Wednesday 27 November

Core Reading:

Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp.68-87

Robert Jervis, "Was the Cold War a Security Dilemma?" *Journal of Cold War Studies* 2001 3 (1): 36-60.

Further Reading:

Kenneth Waltz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May be Better." London, Adelphi Paper 177, 1981.

Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs* 12 (4): 678-718.

Rachel Elizabeth Whitlark, *All Options on the Table: Leaders, Preventive War, and Nuclear Proliferation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021).

Nina Tannenwald, "Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo," *International Security* 2005 30 (1): 5-49.

Todd S. Sechser and Matthew Furehman, *Nuclear Weapons and Coercive Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Richard Ned Lebow and Janice Gross Stein, "Deterrence and the Cold War," *Political Science Quarterly*, 110/2 (1995)

John Mueller, "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World." *International Security* 1988 13 (2): 55-79.

Robert Jervis, "The Political Effects of Nuclear Weapons: A Comment." *International Security* 13 (2): 80-90.

Emmanuel Adler, "The Emergence of Co-operation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Idea of Nuclear Arms Control." *International Organization* 1992 46 (1): 101-145.

Lawrence Freedman & Jeffrey Michaels, *The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy*, new ed. (Berlin: Springer, 2019)

Odd Arne Westad (ed.), *Reviewing the Cold War: Approaches, Interpretation, Theory* (London: Frank Cass, 2000)

Odd Arne Westad, *The Cold War: A World History* (New York: Basic Books, 2017)

Casper Sylvest and Rens Van Munster, *Nuclear Realism: Global Political Thought During the Nuclear Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Lent Term

14. (Schulz) The Historical Origins of Global Governance

Monday 27 January

Core Reading:

G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), chaps. 1, 4-5.

Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (London: Allen Lane, 2012), Part I.

Further Reading:

Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005), chap. 3.

Barry Buzan and George Lawson, "The Global Transformation: The Nineteenth Century and the Making of Modern International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 2013 57 (3): 620-634.

Jennifer Mitzen, *Power in Concert: The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Global Governance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013)

Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, "Death of International Organizations. The Organizational Ecology of Intergovernmental Organizations, 1815–2015." *Review of International Organizations* 2020 15 (2): 339-370.

Martha Finnemore, and Michelle Jurkovich, "Getting a Seat at the Table: The Origins of Universal Participation and Modern Multilateral Conferences." *Global Governance* 2014 20 (3): 361-373.

Edward Keene, "A Case Study of the Construction of International Hierarchy: British Treaty-

Making against the Slave Trade in the Early Nineteenth Century.” *International Organization* 2007 61 (2): 311-339.

Craig Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994).

Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), chap.1.

Ellen J. Ravndal, “Colonies, Semi-Sovereigns, and Great Powers: IGO Membership Debates and the Transition of the International System,” *Review of International Studies* 2020 46 (2): 278-298.

Bob Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Gerry J. Simpson, *Great Powers and Outlaw States: Unequal Sovereigns in the International Legal Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Glenda Sluga, “Women, Feminisms and Twentieth-Century Internationalism.” In Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (Eds), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 61-84.

Joanne Yao, “The Power of Geographical Imaginaries in the European International Order: Colonialism, the 1884–85 Berlin Conference, and Model International Organizations.” *International Organization* 2022, pp.1-28.

15. (Schulz) **De-colonisation and the End of Empires**

Wednesday 29 January

Core Reading:

Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking after Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), intro. and chap 3.

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

Further Reading:

Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, “The Imperial Peace: Democracy, Force and Globalization.” *European Journal of International Relations* 1999 5 (4): 403-434.

David L. Blaney, “Reconceptualizing Autonomy: The Difference Dependency Theory Makes.” *Review of International Political Economy* 1996 3 (3): 459-497.

Mark Bradley, “Decolonization, the Global South, and the Cold War, 1919-1962.” In Melvyn

P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Eds) *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 1 Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 464-485.

Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Legacies of Bandung: Decolonization and the Politics of Culture." *Economic and Political Weekly* 2005 40 (46): 4812-4818.

Neta Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization, and Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), chap. 1 and 8.

John Darwin, "Diplomacy and Decolonization," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 2000 28 (3): 5-24.

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), chap 3 ['The Pitfalls of National Consciousness'].

Siba N. Grovogui, "Sovereignty in Africa: Quasi-Statehood and Other Myths in International Theory," In Kevin C. Dunn and Timothy M. Shaw (Eds) *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2001), pp. 29-45.

Robert P. Hager and David A Lake, "Balancing Empires: Competitive Decolonization in International Politics," *Security Studies* 2000 9 (3): 108-148.

John M. Hobson and J.C. Sharman, "The Enduring Place of Hierarchy in World Politics: Tracing the Social Logics of Hierarchy and Political Change," *European Journal of International Relations* 2005 11 (1): 63-98.

Robert H Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), intro. and chap. 1.

Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Sanjay Seth, "Postcolonial Theory and the Critique of International Relations." *Millennium* 2011 40 (1): 167-183.

Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

Maja Spanu, "The Hierarchical Society: The Politics of Self-Determination and the Constitution of New States after 1919." *European Journal of International Relations* 2020 26 (2): 372-396.

Stuart Ward, "The European Provenance of Decolonization." *Past & Present* 2016 230 (1): 227-260.

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), intro. and chap. 4.

Ayse Zarakol, "Sovereign Equality as Misrecognition." *Review of International Studies* 2018 44 (5): 848-862.

16. (Schulz) **The End of the Cold War**

Monday 3 February

Core Reading:

Stephen G Brooks and William C Wohlforth, "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Re-evaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas." *International Security* 2000-2001 25 (3): 5-53.

Matthew Evangelista, "Explaining the Cold War's End: Process Tracing All the Way Down?" In Andrew Bennett and Jeffrey T. Checkel (Eds) *Process Tracing: From Metaphor to Analytic Tool* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 153-85.

Further Reading:

Michael Brenes, and Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, "Legacies of Cold War Liberalism." *Dissent* 2021 68 (1): 116-124.

Cynthia H. Enloe, *The Morning After: Sexual Politics at the End of the Cold War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), chap. 9.

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* 1989 (16): 3-18.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

Janice Gross Stein, and Richard Ned Lebow, *We All Lost the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

Andrew Hurrell, "Hegemony, Liberalism and Global Order: What Spaces for Would-Be Great Powers?" *International Affairs* 2006 82 (1): 1-19.

G. John Ikenberry, "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 2018 94 (1): 7-23.

Beate Jahn, "Liberal Internationalism: Historical Trajectory and Current Prospects." *International Affairs* 2018 94 (1): 43-61.

Walter LaFeber, "An End to Which Cold War?" *Diplomatic History* 2007 16 (1): 61-65.

John J Mearsheimer, "Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War." *International Security* 1990 15 (1): 5-56.

Yascha Mounk, "The End of History Revisited." *Journal of Democracy* 2020 31 (1): 22-35.

John Mueller, "What Was the Cold War About? Evidence from Its Ending." *Political Science Quarterly* 2004 119 (4): 609-631.

Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrin, "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion." *International Security* 2016 40 (4): 7-44.

Anne-Marie Slaughter, "The Real New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* 1997 76 (5): 183-197.

Nina Tannenwald, "Ideas and Explanation: Advancing the Theoretical Agenda." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 2005 7 (2): 13-42.

Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chap. 9-10.

17. (Schulz) **International Human Rights**

Wednesday 5 February

Core Reading:

Kathryn Sikkink, *Evidence for Hope: Making Human Rights Work in the 21st Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), chap. 1-3.

Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), prologue and chap. 5.

Further Reading:

Benjamin J. Appel, "In the Shadow of the International Criminal Court: Does the ICC Deter Human Rights Violations?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2016 62 (1): 3-28.

Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1958), chap. 9 [‘The Decline of the Nation-State and the End of the Rights of Man’].

Adam Branch, "Uganda's Civil War and the Politics of ICC Intervention." *Ethics & International Affairs* 2007 21 (2): 179-198.

Jack Donnelly, "Human Rights: A New Standard of Civilization?" *International Affairs* 1998 74 (1): 1-23.

Emilie M Hafner-Burton and Kiyoteru Tsutsui, "Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises." *American Journal of Sociology* 2005 110 (5): 1373-1411.

Judith Kelley, "Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Non-Surrender Agreements." *American Political Science Review* 2007 101 (3): 573-89.

Nico Krisch, "The Decay of Consent: International Law in an Age of Global Public Goods." *American Journal of International Law* 2014 108 (1): 1-40.

Catharine A. Mackinnon, *Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogues* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2006).

Katherine Marino, *Feminism for the Americas: The Making of a Human Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

Ryder McKeown, "Norm Regress: US Revisionism and the Slow Death of the Torture Norm." *International Relations* 2009 23 (1): 5-25.

Andrew Moravcsik, "The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe." *International Organization* 2000 54 (2): 217-252.

Makau Mutua, "Savages, Victims, and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights." *Harvard International Law Journal* 2001 42: 201-245.

Beth A Simmons, *Mobilizing Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chap. 2.

Emma Stone Mackinnon, "Declaration as Disavowal: The Politics of Race and Empire in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." *Political Theory* 2019 47 (1): 57-81.

Jana Von Stein, "Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance." *American Political Science Review* 2005 99 (4): 611-622.

James Raymond Vreeland, "Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention against Torture." *International Organization* 2008 62 (1): 65-101.

18. (Schulz) **Regulating the Use of Force**

Monday 10 February

Core Reading:

Tanisha M. Fazal, "Why States No Longer Declare War." *Security Studies* 2012 21 (4): 557-593.

Mark W. Zacher, "The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force." *International Organization* 2001 55 (2): 215-250.

Further Reading:

Dan Altman, "The Evolution of Territorial Conquest after 1945 and the Limits of the Territorial Integrity Norm." *International Organization* 2020 74 (3): 490-522.

Bear F. Braumoeller, *Only the Dead: The Persistence of War in the Modern Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Alexander B Downes, “Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War.” *International Security* 2006 30 (4): 152-195.

Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Gary Goertz, Paul F. Diehl, and Alexandru Balas, *The Puzzle of Peace: The Evolution of Peace in the International System* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), intro., chap. 3 and 5.

Oona Anne Hathaway, and Scott Shapiro, *The Internationalists: How a Radical Plan to Outlaw War Remade the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017).

Ian Hurd, “The Permissive Power of the Ban on War,” *European Journal of International Security* 2017 2 (1): 1-18.

Helen Kinsella, “Settler Empire and the United States: Francis Lieber on the Laws of War.” *American Political Science Review* 2022, p.1-14.

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

Frédéric Mégret, “From ‘Savages’ to ‘Unlawful Combatants’: A Postcolonial Look at International Humanitarian Law’s ‘Other’.” In Anne Orford (Ed.) *International Law and Its Others* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 265-317.

Boyd van Dijk, “Gendering the Geneva Conventions.” *Human Rights Quarterly* 2022 44 (2): 286-312.

19. (Schulz) **Post-Colonial States and Intervention** Wednesday 12 February

Core Reading:

Martha Finnemore, *The Purposes of Intervention: Changing Ideas about the Use of Force*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp.1-23.

Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.13-49

Further Reading:

Melissa M. Lee, "International State-Building and the Domestic Politics of State Development." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2022 25 (1): 261-281.

Milli Lake, "Policing Insecurity." *American Political Science Review* 2022 116 (3): 858-874.

Meera Sabaratnam, *Decolonising Intervention: International Statebuilding in Mozambique*. Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Robert H. Jackson, "Quasi-States, Dual Regimes, and Neo-classical Theory: International Jurisprudence and the Third World." *International Organization* 1987 41 (4): 519-549.

Noel Maurer, *The Empire Trap: The Rise and Fall of U.S. Intervention to Protect American Property Overseas*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013)

Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Alex J. Bellamy, "The Changing Face of Humanitarian Intervention." *St Antony's International Review* 2015 11 (1): 15-43.

Boaz Atzili, *Good Fences, Bad Neighbors: Border Fixity and International Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

Sebastian Mazzuca *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021).

David Chandler, *Peacebuilding: Twenty Years' Crisis, 1997-2017* (Houndsmill: Palgrave, 2017).

Thomas H. Henrikson, *America's Wars: Interventions, Regime Change and Insurgencies after the Cold War* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

20. (Schulz) **Power in the Global Economy**

Monday 17 February

Core Reading:

Helen Milner, "Is Global Capitalism Compatible with Democracy? Inequality, Insecurity and Interdependence." *International Studies Quarterly* 2021 65 (4): 1097-1011.

Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman, "The New Interdependence Approach: Theoretical Development and Empirical Demonstration." *Review of International Political Economy* 2016 23 (5): 713-736.

Further Reading:

Pepper D. Culpepper, "Structural Power and Political Science in the Post-Crisis Era." *Business and Politics* 2015 17 (3): 391-409.

John Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Post-War Economic Order." *International Organization* 1982 26 (2): 379-415.

Pepper D. Culpepper, *Quiet Politics and Business Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Daniel Drezner, *All Politics is Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

Cornelia Woll, "Politics in the Interest of Capital: A Not-So-Organized Combat." *Politics and Society* 2016 44 (3): 373-391.

Jacqueline Best, *Governing Failure: Provisional Expertise and the Transformation of Global Development Finance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

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

Judith Kelley and Beth Simmons (Eds), *The Power of Global Performance Indicators*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Susan Strange, *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Linda Weiss, *The Myth of the Powerless State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

21. (Schulz) **Governing the Global Commons**

Wednesday 19 February

Core Reading:

Scott Barrett, "On the Theory and Diplomacy of Environmental Treaty-Making." *Environmental and Resource Economics* 1998 11 (3-4): 317-333.

Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action, The Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1990), chaps 1 and 2.

Further Reading:

Michaël Aklin and Matto Mildenberger, "Prisoners of the Wrong Dilemma: Why Distributive Conflict, Not Collective Action, Characterizes the Politics of Climate Change." *Global Environmental Politics* 2020 20 (4): 4–27.

Michael N. Barnett, Jon C. W. Pevehouse, and Kal Raustiala, "Introduction: The Modes of Global Governance." In Jon C. W. Pevehouse, Kal Raustiala and Michael N. Barnett (Eds) *Global Governance in a World of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 1-47.

Susan Jane Buck Cox, "No Tragedy of the Commons." *Environmental Ethics* 1985 7 (1): 49-61

Thomas Bernauer, "Climate Change Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2013 16 (1): 421-48.

Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni and Stephanie C. Hofmann, "Of the Contemporary Global Order, Crisis, and Change." *Journal of European Public Policy* 2020 27 (7): 1077-89.

Joyeeta Gupta, *A History of Global Climate Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014).

Thomas Hale, "Transnational Actors and Transnational Governance in Global Environmental Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2020 23 (1): 203-220.

Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 1968 162 (3859): 1243-1248.

Mike Hulme, *Why We Disagree About Climate Change: Understanding Controversy, Inaction and Opportunity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chap. 3-4.

Robert O. Keohane, and David G. Victor, "The Regime Complex for Climate Change." *Perspectives on Politics* 2011 9 (1): 7-23.

Stephen D Krasner, "Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier." *World Politics* 1991 43 (3): 336-366.

Ronald B. Mitchell and Charli Carpenter, "Norms for the Earth: Changing the Climate on 'Climate Change.'" *Journal of Global Security Studies* 2019 4 (4): 413-429.

Nico Schrijver, "Managing the Global Commons: Common Good or Common Sink?" *Third World Quarterly* 2016 37 (7): 1252-1267.

22. (Zarakol) **Gender in the International System**

Monday 24 February

Core Reading:

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

Ann Towns, "The Status of Women as a Standard of 'Civilization.'" *European Journal of International Relations* 2009 15 (4): 681-706.

Further Reading:

Laura Sjoberg, *Women as Wartime Rapists: Beyond Sensationalism and Stereotyping* (New York: New York University Press, 2016).

Charli Carpenter, "Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Zones." *Security Dialogue* 2006 27 (1): 83-103.

Charli Carpenter. "'Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups': Gender, Strategic Frames, and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue." *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (2): 295-344.

Ann E. Towns. *Women and States: Norms and Hierarchies in International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Helen Kinsella and Laura Shepherd "The 'Brutal Fecundity of Violence': Feminist Methodologies of International Relations." *Review of International Studies* 2020 46 (3), 299-303.

J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001)

Lauren Wilcox, *Bodies of Violence: Theorizing Embodied Subjects in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Dan Reiter, "The Positivist Study of Gender and International Relations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59/7 (2014)

J. Ann Tickner & Jacqui True, "A Century of International Relations Feminism: From World War I Women's Peace Pragmatism to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda," *International Studies Quarterly*, 62/2 (2018), 221-233

Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014)

23. (Zarakol) **The Crisis of the Liberal Institutional Order? The West**
Wednesday 26 February

Core Reading:

Jeff D. Colgan and Robert O. Keohane, "The Liberal Order Is Rigged: Fix It Now or Watch It Wither." *Foreign Affairs* 2017 96 (3): 36-44.

G. John Ikenberry, "The Plot Against American Foreign Policy: Can the Liberal Order Survive?" *Foreign Affairs* 2017 96 (3): 2-9.

G. John Ikenberry, "The End of Liberal International Order?" *International Affairs* 2018 94 (1): 7-23.

Further Reading:

Orfeo Fioretos, "The Syncopated History of the Liberal International Order." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2018 21 (1): 20-28.

John J. Mearsheimer, "Bound to Fail: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal International Order." *International Security* 2019 43 (4): 7-50.

Sergei Guriev and Elias Papaioannou, "The Political Economy of Populism." SSRN working paper, 2020

https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/centers/mrcbg/programs/senior.fellows/20-21/populism_oct2020.pdf

Patrick Porter, *The False Promise of Liberal Order: Nostalgia, Delusion and the Rise of Trump*. Oxford: Polity Press, 2020.

David A. Lake, Lisa L. Martin, and Thomas Risse, "Challenges to the Liberal Order: Reflections on International Organization." *International Organization* 2021 75 (2): 225-57.

Emanuel Adler and Alena Drieschova, "The Epistemological Challenge of Truth Subversion to the Liberal International Order." *International Organization* 2021 75 (2): 359-86.

Sara Wallace Goodman and Thomas B. Pepinsky. 2021. "The Exclusionary Foundations of Embedded Liberalism." *International Organization* 2021 75 (2): 411-39.

Broz, J. Lawrence, Jeffrey Frieden, and Stephen Weymouth, "Populism in Place: The Economic Geography of the Globalization Backlash." *International Organization* 2021 75 (2): 464-94.

24. (Zarakol) The Crisis of the Liberal Institutional Order? Russia and Other Discontents

Monday 3 March

Core Reading:

Rebecca Adler-Nissen and Ayşe Zarakol, "Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of its Discontents." *International Organization* 2021 75

(2): 611-34.

Xymena Kurowska and Anatoly Reshetnikov, "Trickstery: Pluralising Stigma in International Society." *European Journal of International Relations*, 2021 27 (1): 232-257.

Further Reading:

Andrei P. Tsygankov, *Russia and the West from Alexander to Putin: Honor In International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Xymena Kurowska and Anatoly Reshetnikov, "Neutrollization: Industrialized Trolling as a Pro-Kremlin Strategy of Desecuritization." *Security Dialogue* 2018 49 (5): 345-363.

Pankaj Mishra, *Age of Anger: A History of the Present*. London: Penguin, 2018.

George Lawson and Ayşe Zarakol, "Recognizing Injustice: The 'Hypocrisy Charge' and the Future of the Liberal International Order," *International Affairs* 2023 99 (1): 201-217.

Kilian Spandler and Fredrik Söderbaum, "Populist (De)Legitimation of International Organizations." *International Affairs* 2023 99 (3): 1023–1041.

25. (Zarakol) The Crisis of the Liberal Institutional Order? China and Alternative Orders

Wednesday 5 March

Core Reading:

Kanti Bajpai and Evan A Laksmana, "Asian Conceptions of International Order: What Asia Wants." *International Affairs* 2023 99 (4): 1371-1381.

Atul Mishra, "The World Delhi Wants: Official Indian Conceptions of International Order, c. 1998–2023." *International Affairs* 2023 99 (4): 1401-1419.

Ruonan Liu and Songpo Yang, "China and the Liberal International Order: A Pragmatic and Dynamic Approach," *International Affairs* 2023 99 (4): 1383-1400.

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

Further Reading:

David C. Kang, *China Rising: Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.

Barry Buzan, "China in International Society: Is 'Peaceful Rise' Possible?" *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2010 3 (1): 5-36.

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

Shiping Tang, "China and the Future of International Order(s)." *Ethics & International Affairs* 2018 31 (1): 31-43.

John M. Owen, "Ikenberry, International Relations Theory, and the Rise of China." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 2019 21 (1): 55-62.

Amitav Acharya, "The Myth of the 'Civilization State': Rising Powers and the Cultural Challenge to World Order." *Ethics & International Affairs* 2020 34 (2): 139-56.

Supervision Essays

The conduct and arrangement of supervisions are the responsibility of the colleges, specifically the Director of Studies and college-appointed supervisor.

In consultation with their supervisor, students may select questions from the list below in completing the six supervision essays or equivalent supervision assignments.

The lectures (in brackets after each question) but especially the readings for those lectures, may be helpful in completing the essays. However, these are only suggestions, and students may choose to range more widely in their readings for supervision essays. There is no need to wait for all of the relevant lectures before writing the essays. Some essay questions are related to a larger or smaller number of lectures, but all supervision essays should be about the same amount of work. Those essay questions relating to a smaller number of lectures (possibly just one) may require deeper engagement with the further reading, while those topics linked with many lectures may require a more selective approach to reading.

The essays questions are roughly ordered in line with when these topics are covered in the paper. Although it is for supervisors and students to decide, it may be most sensible to address the earlier questions for the Michaelmas supervisions, while tackling the later ones for supervisions in Lent. Though it is again up to supervisors, in order to manage the workload, it may be advisable to complete essays around weeks 3, 5 and 7 of Michaelmas and Lent terms.

Sample Supervision Essay Questions

1. To what extent can European relations with the rest of the world before 1800 be accurately described as 'colonial'? (Lectures 1, 4, 5)
2. What explains the rise of the state, and does this have anything to do with the Treaty of Westphalia? (Lectures 2 and 3)
3. Without violence there would be no nations in the Americas. Discuss. (Lectures 1, 4)
4. Which era has seen the greatest change in international politics and why? (Lectures 1, 15, 16)
5. Can empires and imperialism ever be legitimate? (Lectures 5, 7, 14, 19)
6. Were the international rivalries of the 1930s and 1940s a clash between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'? (Lectures 9, 10, 11)
7. Was the twentieth century a long international race war? (Lectures 9, 10, 11, 15, 19)
8. What caused de-colonization? (Lecture 15)
9. To what extent did the end of the Cold War change the fundamentals of global politics? (Lecture 16, 18)
10. Which was more consequential for international politics: the Cold War or de-colonization? (Lectures 15, 16)
11. Are post-colonial states really sovereign? (Lectures 15, 19)
12. Russia is never as strong or as weak as it seems. Discuss (Lectures 10, 24)
13. What are the most important differences between the main International Relations theories (Realism, Liberal Internationalism and Constructivism)? Compare two (Lectures 6, 7, 8)
14. Which of the three main theories of International Relations (Realism, Liberal Internationalism and Constructivism) best explains those states challenging the dominant international order of the twentieth OR twenty-first century? (Lectures 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 24, 25)
15. Are international institutions imperialism by another name? (Lectures 6, 7, 14, 20, 21)
16. Does international law enable or constrain powerful states? (Lectures 17, 18, 19)

17. What is the point of human rights if the international community cannot enforce them? (Lectures 7, 8, 17, 21)
18. Will violence always dominate justice in international politics? (Lectures 6, 7, 8, 18, 21)
19. Do developments like the rise of gender equality and human rights prove that progress towards a more just order is possible in international politics? (Lectures 7, 8, 17, 22)
20. Does International Relations theory suggest that international attempts to govern climate change are doomed to fail? (Lectures 6, 7, 8, 20, 21)
21. To what degree does the Soviet challenge to Anglo-American international order in the mid-twentieth century resemble that of the current Russian challenge to the international order, if at all? (Lectures 10, 24)
22. To what degree does the Japanese challenge to Anglo-American international order in the mid-twentieth century resemble that of the current Chinese challenge to the international order, if at all? (Lectures 11, 25)
23. To what degree is the US position in international politics in the early twenty-first century similar to that of Britain's international position in the inter-War period? (Lectures 9, 10, 11, 23)
24. Will China replace the United States in the twenty-first century as the world's dominant power? Discuss with reference to one of the three main International Relations theories (Lectures 6, 7, 8, 25)
25. It is the decline not the rise of China that most threatens world peace. Discuss. (Lecture 25)
26. The Russian invasion of Ukraine marked the end of the territorial integrity norm. Discuss (Lectures 18, 24)

Pol.2 Exam Questions 2023-24

1. Do the great power ideological confrontations of the 20th century mean that international politics in this era was fundamentally different from international politics before and after?
2. Do current challenges to the Liberal International Order suggest that constructivism is wrong and realism is right?
3. Does Westphalia have any relevance for contemporary international politics?
4. Are problems of governing the global commons more likely to be solved by self-interested co-operation between states, or by changing norms?
5. Which International Relations theory best explains non-European historical international systems and why?
6. Does the global rise of international human rights and gender equality in the 20th century provide a model for change in 21st century international politics?
7. What is more important for understanding the creation of new states: ideas, or the geopolitical context?
8. How much of international politics over the last 500 years can be explained by Western dominance?