

POL.2: CONFLICT, ORDER AND JUSTICE 2023-24
Department of Politics and International Studies
University of Cambridge

Lecturers:

Jason Sharman (paper convenor), jcs207@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 Pol.2, this paper guide contains an overview of the lecture timetable (pp.3-4), a detailed list of lecture topics and the associated readings (pp.4-28), a list of sample supervision essay questions (pp.29-31), and finally the questions from last year’s Pol.2 exam (p.32).

Students should also check the Moodle site for Pol.2 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 26 50-minute lectures in Michaelmas and Lent Terms and a revision lecture in Easter Term. It is not permitted to record lectures.

There are six supervisions across Michaelmas and Lent terms and one additional 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 9 October	1. First Encounters and the Origins of Global Relations	Sharman
Wed 11 October	2. Europe and the Sovereign State	Sharman
Mon 16 October	3. Westphalia	Simms
Wed 18 October	4. China and the International Politics of East Asia	Sharman
Mon 23 October	5. Realist Theory	Sharman
Wed 25 October	6. African International Politics and Slavery	Sharman
Mon 30 October	7. Nations and States in the Americas	Schulz
Wed 1 November	8. Liberal Institutional Theory	Sharman
Mon 6 November	9. Constructivist Theory	Sharman
Wed 8 November	10. Gender in the International System	Sharman
Mon 13 November	11. Historical Origins of Global Governance	Schulz
Wed 15 November	no lecture	
Mon 20 November	12. The German Challenge to Pax Anglo-America	Simms
Wed 22 November	13. The Soviet Challenge to Pax Anglo-America	Simms
Mon 27 November	14. The Japanese Challenge to Pax Anglo-America	Simms
Wed 24 January	15. The Cold War and Nuclear Weapons	Sharman
Mon 29 January	16. De-colonization and the End of Empires	Schulz
Wed 31 January	17. The End of the Cold War	Schulz
Mon 5 February	18. International Human Rights	Schulz
Wed 7 February	19. Regulating the Use of Force	Schulz
Mon 12 February	20. Post-Colonial States and Intervention	Sharman
Wed 14 February	21. Power in the Global Economy	Sharman
Mon 19 February	22. Governing the Global Commons	Schulz
Wed 21 February	23. The Crisis of the Liberal International Order? The West	Zarakol
Mon 26 February	24. The Crisis of the Liberal International Order? Russia and other Discontents	Zarakol

Wed 28 February	25. The Crisis of the Liberal International Order? China and Alternative Orders	Zarakol
Mon 4 March	26. Progress in International Politics?	Sharman
Wed 1 May	Revision Lecture	Sharman

Lecture and Reading Guide:

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

Monday 9 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).

Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997).

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).

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

Wednesday 11 October

Core Reading:

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.

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

Further Reading:

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

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

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

John Gerard Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis." *World Politics* 1983 35 (2): 261-285.

Hendrik Spruyt, "War and State Formation: Amending the Bellicist Theory of State Making." In Lars Bo Kaspersen and Jeppe Strandsbjerg (Ed.) *Does War Make States? Investigations of Charles Tilly's Historical Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp.73-97.

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).

James Mayall, *Nationalism and International Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1990).

Thomas Ertman, *Birth of Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

3. (Simms) **Westphalia**

Monday 16 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. (Sharman) **China and the International Politics of East Asia**

Monday 23 October

Core Reading:

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

Yuan-kang Wang, *Harmony and War: Confucian Culture and Chinese Power Politics*. (New

York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp.1-6, 145-150, 181-185.

Further Reading:

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

Victoria Tin-bor Hui. "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe." *International Organization* 2004 58 (1): 175-205.

Ji-Young Lee, *China's Hegemony: Four Hundred Years of East Asian Domination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

Shogo Suzuki, "Japan's Socialization into Janus-Faced European International Society." *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (1) 2005: 137-164.

Alastair Iain Johnston, "What (If Anything) Does East Asia Tell us About International Relations Theory?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2012 15 (1): 53-78.

David C. Kang, "Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytic Frameworks," *International Security* 2003 27 (4): 57-85.

David C. Kang, "International Order in Historical East Asia." *International Organization* 2020 74 (1): 65-93.

Alan Shiu Cheung Kwan, "Hierarchy, Status and International Society: China and the Steppe Nomads." *European Journal of International Relations* 2016 22 (2): 362-383.

Masaru Kohno, "East Asia and International Relations Theory." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 2013 14 (1): 180-190.

Colin Chia, "Social Positioning and International Order Contestation in Early Modern Southeast Asia." *International Organization* 2022 76 (2): 305-336.

5. (Sharman) **Realist Theory in International Relations**

Wednesday 25 October

Core Reading:

John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001), pp.1-54.

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

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).

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

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

Joanne Gowa, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity and Free Trade." *American Political Science Review* 1989 83 (4): 1245-1256.

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

Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik, "Is Anybody Still a Realist?" *International Security* 24 (2): 5-55.

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).

6. (Sharman) **African International Politics and Slavery**

Wednesday 25 October

Core Reading:

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp.11-31.

Joel Quirk and David Richardson, "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, 2014), pp.138-158.

Further Reading:

David Northrup, *Africa's Discovery of Europe 1450-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

John K Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

John Anthony Pella, "International Relations in Africa before the Europeans." *International History Review* 2015 37 (1): 99-118.

Toby Green, *A Fistful of Shells: West Africa from the Rise of the Slave Trade to the Age of Revolution* (London: Penguin, 2020).

Verena Krebs, *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft and Diplomacy with Latin Europe*. (Palgrave: New York, 2021).

James A Robinson, "States and Power in Africa by Jeffrey I. Herbst: A Review Essay." *Journal of Economic Literature* 2002 40 (June): 510-519.

Emmanuel Akyeampong, Robert H. Bates, Nathan Nunn and James E. Robinson. 2014. Africa-The Historical Roots of its Under-development. In Emmanuel Akyeampong, Robert H. Bates, Nathan Nunn and James E. Robinson (Eds) *Africa's Development in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp.1-29.

Michael Gomez, *African Dominion: A New History of Empire in Early and Medieval West Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

Gareth Austin "Slavery in Africa 1804-1936." In David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman, Seymour Drescher and David Richardson (Eds) *Cambridge World History of Slavery* (Cambridge University Press 2017), pp.174-196.

Richard J. Reid, *Warfare in African History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

7. (Schulz) **Nations and States in the Americas**

Monday 30 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).

8. (Sharman) **Liberal Institutional Theory**

Wednesday 1 November

Core Reading:

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.

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

G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis and Transformation of American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

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

Kenneth Oye, "Explaining Co-operation Under Anarchy: Hypotheses and Strategies." *World Politics* 1985 38 (1): 1-24.

Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Co-operation* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

Andrew Moravcsik, "The Liberal Paradigm in International Relations Theory: A Scientific Assessment." In Colin Elman and Miram Fendius Elman (Eds) *Progress in International Relations Theory: Metrics and Measures of Scientific Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003).

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

Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. "The Rational Design of International Institutions." *International Organization* 2001 55 (4): 761-799.

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

9. (Sharman) **Constructivist Theory**

Monday 6 November

Core Reading:

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.

Further Reading:

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

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

Martha Finnemore, "Norms, Culture and World Politics: Insight from Sociology's Institutionalism." *International Organization* 1996 50 (2): 325-347.

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

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2001 4 (1): 391-416.

John Gerard Ruggie, *Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalism*. (London: Routledge, 1998).

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

James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders." *International Organization* 1998 52 (4): 943-969.

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

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

10. (Sharman) **Gender in the International System**

Wednesday 8 November

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).

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

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

Kathryn Sikkink and Averell Schmidt, "Breaking the Ban? The Heterogeneous Impact of US Contestation of the Torture Norm." *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 2019 4 (1): 105-122.

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

Richard Price, "A Genealogy of the Chemical Weapons Taboo." *International Organization* 1995 49 (1): 73-103.

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

11. (Schulz) **The Historical Origins of Global Governance**

Monday 13 November

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.

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.

(No Lecture Wednesday 15 November)

12-14. (Simms) **Anglo-American Hegemony and its Enemies, 1914-1945.**

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).

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

Monday 20 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).

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

Wednesday 22 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).

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

Monday 27 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).

Lent Term

15. (Sharman) The Cold War and Nuclear Weapons

Wednesday 24 January

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.

Steven Kull, *Minds at War: Nuclear Reality and the Inner Conflicts of Defense Policy Makers* (New York: Basic Books, 1988).

David Alan Rosenberg, "'A Smoking Radiating Ruin at the End of Two Hours': Documents on American Plans for Nuclear War with the Soviet Union 1954-55." *International Security* 1982 6 (2): 3-38.

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

Richard K. Betts. *Nuclear Blackmail and Nuclear Balance*. Washington DC: Brookings Institute, 1987.

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.

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

Monday 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.

17. (Schulz) **The End of the Cold War** Wednesday 31 January

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.

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

Monday 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.

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

Wednesday 7 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.

20. (Sharman) **Post-Colonial States and Intervention**

Monday 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).

21. (Sharman) **Power in the Global Economy**

Wednesday 14 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).

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

Monday 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 Mildenerger, "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.

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

Wednesday 21 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, Jeffry 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 26 February

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 28 February

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.

26. (Sharman) **Progress in International Politics?**

Monday 4 March

Core Reading:

Johan Norberg, *Progress: Ten Reasons to Look Forward to the Future* (New York: OneWorld, 2017), Chapter 4: Poverty, Chapter 5: Violence and Epilogue

Further Reading:

Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence has Declined*. London: Penguin, 2011.

Tanisha M. Fazal, "Dead Wrong: Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War's Demise." *International Security* 2014 39 (1): 95-125.

Robert Jervis, "Review Essay: Pinker the Prophet." *The National Interest* 2011 119 (November-December): 54-64.

Rebecca Adler-Nissen and Ayse Zarakol, "Struggles for Recognition: The Liberal International Order and the Merger of Its Discontents." *International Organization* 2021 75 (2): 611-634.

Michael Barnett, "International Progress, International Order and the Liberal International Order." *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2021 14 (1): 1-22.

John Horgan, *The End of War* (San Francisco: McSweeney's, 2012).

Bruce Russett and John Oneal. 1999. "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992." *World Politics* 1999 52 (1): 1-37.

Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace." *International*

Security 1994 19 (2): 5-49.

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

Angus Deaton, *The Great Escape: Health, Wealth and the Origins of Inequality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

Helen Thompson. *Disorder: Hard Times in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

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, 6 and 7)
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. Does the state have a different history in Europe and the non-European world? Pick two regions from East Asia, Africa, the Americas to compare with Europe (Lectures 2-4, 6-7)
4. Is it more convincing to argue that international politics has historically been the same in different regions of the world (e.g. Europe, East Asia, Africa, the Americas), or that international politics has been fundamentally different in different regions? (Lectures 1-4, 6, 7)
5. Without violence there would be no nations in the Americas. Discuss. (Lectures 1, 7)
6. Which era has seen the greatest change in international politics and why? (Lectures 1, 10, 11, 16, 17, 26)
7. Can empires and imperialism ever be legitimate? (Lectures 4, 7, 16)

8. Were the international rivalries of the 1930s and 1940s a clash between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'? (Lectures 12-14)
9. Was the twentieth century a long international race war? (Lectures 12, 13, 14, 16)
10. What caused de-colonization? (Lecture 16)
11. To what extent did the end of the Cold War change the fundamentals of global politics? (Lecture 17, 20)
12. Which was more consequential for international politics: the Cold War or de-colonization? (Lectures 15, 16, 17, 20)
13. Are post-colonial states really sovereign? (Lectures 16, 20, 21)
14. Russia is never as strong or as weak as it seems. Discuss (Lectures 13, 24)
15. What are the most important differences between the main International Relations theories (Realism, Liberal Institutionalism and Constructivism)? Compare two (Lectures 5, 8, 9)
16. Which of the three main theories of International Relations (Realism, Liberal Institutionalism and Constructivism) best explains those states challenging the dominant international order of the twentieth OR twenty-first century? (Lectures 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 24, 25)
17. Are international institutions imperialism by another name? (Lectures 8, 11, 16, 20, 22)
18. Does international law enable or constrain powerful states? (Lectures 11, 18, 19, 23)
19. What is the point of human rights if the international community cannot enforce them? (Lectures 10, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25)
20. Will violence always dominate justice in international politics? (Lectures 4, 5, 18, 19, 20, 23, 26)
21. 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 10, 16, 17, 18, 19)
22. Does International Relations theory suggest that international attempts to govern climate change are doomed to fail? (Lectures 5, 8, 9, 22)
23. 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 13, 24)
24. 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 14, 25)

25. 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 12, 13, 14, 23)

26. 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 5, 8, 9, 25)

27. It is the decline not the rise of China that most threatens world peace. Discuss. (Lecture 25)

28. The Russian invasion of Ukraine marked the end of the territorial integrity norm. Discuss (Lectures 19, 24)

Pol.2 Exam Questions 2022-23

1. Should International Relations theories be able to explain international politics at all times and all places?
2. Who or what drives fundamental change in international politics?
3. Do the Chinese and Russian challenges of the 21st century mean the end of the international human rights regime?
4. Have the international institutions of the 20th or 21st centuries undermined or upheld the principles of Westphalia?
5. How might realism and constructivism explain the international political turmoil of the interwar period differently?
6. Is the sovereign state a European export to the rest of the world?
7. How might the histories of international politics in Africa, Asia and the Americas make us see international politics in Europe in a new light?
8. Are norms or rational self-interest more important for fostering international rules and co-operation?