

Sixth Edition

# International Organizations

Perspectives on Global Governance

Kelly-Kate S. Pease



# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

---

Drawing on mainstream and critical theoretical approaches, *International Organizations* offers a comprehensive examination of the role of international organizations in world politics. This text details the types and activities of international organizations and provides students with the conceptual tools needed to evaluate their effectiveness. Surveying key issue areas including security, trade, development, the environment and human rights, *International Organizations* looks at global governance from a broad range of perspectives.

## New to the Sixth Edition

- Focused on the seismic shifts caused by the rise of national populism and the effects on the more liberal institutions of global governance.
- Fully revised throughout with a feature on the EU in the face of Brexit, the Greek financial crisis, and global migration.
- Adds a new section on the Arab League, expanded coverage of NGOs, and updates on the Paris Climate Accords.
- Overhauls the chapter on International Security including expanded coverage of the UN's present and historical role.
- Includes a new chapter on Regional Security covering NATO and ECOWAS.
- Provides new case studies on Syria, Ukraine, SDGs, and the global migration crisis, among several others.

**Kelly-Kate S. Pease** is Professor in the Department of History, Politics, and International Relations at Webster University and Director of the International Relations Online Program. She is also the Founding Director of the Institute for Human Rights and Humanitarian Studies, the Global MA program in International Relations, and the MA program in International Nongovernmental Organizations. She is author of *Human Rights and Humanitarian Diplomacy* and co-author of *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

# International Organizations

---

## Perspectives on Global Governance

Sixth Edition

KELLY-KATE S. **PEASE**  
*Webster University*

Published 2019  
by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2019 Taylor & Francis

The right of Kelly-Kate S. Pease to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

First edition published by Pearson Education, Inc. 2000  
Second edition published by Pearson Education, Inc. 2003  
Third edition published by Pearson Education, Inc. 2007  
Fourth edition published by Pearson Education, Inc. 2010  
Fifth edition published by Pearson Education, Inc. 2012 and Routledge 2016

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Pease, Kelly-Kate S., 1965-

Title: International organizations : perspectives on global governance / Kelly-Kate S. Pease, Webster University.

Description: Sixth edition. | New York, NY : Routledge, 2019.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018008366 | ISBN 9780815380450 (hardback) |

ISBN 9780815380467 (pbk.) | ISBN 9781351213110 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: International agencies. | International organization. | Regionalism (International organization)

Classification: LCC JZ4839 .P43 2019 | DDC 341.2—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018008366>

ISBN: 978-0-8153-8045-0 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-8153-8046-7 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-3512-1311-0 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon  
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

# BRIEF CONTENTS

---

Preface x

Acknowledgments xii

<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	Introduction 1
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	International Organizations: Nuts and Bolts 16
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>	Mainstream Theories 47
<b>CHAPTER 4</b>	Critical Theories and Approaches 76
<b>CHAPTER 5</b>	International Security 107
<b>CHAPTER 6</b>	Regional Security 156
<b>CHAPTER 7</b>	Trade 185
<b>CHAPTER 8</b>	Development 215
<b>CHAPTER 9</b>	The Environment 252
<b>CHAPTER 10</b>	Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs 289
<b>CHAPTER 11</b>	Global Governance in 2050 325

Index 338

# DETAILED CONTENTS

---

Preface x

Acknowledgments xii

## CHAPTER 1 Introduction 1

What Is an International Organization? 2

Organization of the Text 5

*Realism 6 • Liberalism 7 • Marxism 8 • Feminism 10*  
*• Constructivism 11 • The Issues 12*

Key Terms 14

References 14

## CHAPTER 2 International Organizations: Nuts and Bolts 16

Global Intergovernmental Organizations 16

*Historical Antecedents 16 • League of Nations 17 • The United Nations 18 • Understanding UN Principles and Challenges 23*

Regional Intergovernmental Organizations 25

*The European Union 25 • EU Challenges 28 • The Organization of Islamic Cooperation 30 • OIC Challenges 31 • The African Union 33 • AU Challenges 33 • The Arab League 34 • Arab League Challenges 35 • The Association of Southeast Asian States 35 • ASEAN Challenges 36*

Nongovernmental Organizations 37

Multinational Corporations 40

Key Terms 43

References 44

## CHAPTER 3 Mainstream Theories 47

Realism 47

*Philosophic Roots of Realism 49 • Contemporary Realism 52*  
*• Realism and the Nature and Creation of International Organizations 55 • On Game Theory 56 • Realism and the Role of International Organizations 59 • Realism and International Law 60 • Realism Summary 60*

Liberalism 61

*Philosophic Roots of Liberalism 63 • Contemporary Liberalism 65 • Liberalism and the Nature of International Organizations 67 •*

*Liberalism and the Roles of International Organizations* 69 •  
*Liberalism and International Law* 71 • *Liberalism Summary* 72

Key Terms 73

References 73

## **CHAPTER 4      Critical Theories and Approaches    76**

Marxism 76

*Philosophic Roots of Marxism* 77 • *Contemporary Marxism* 81 •  
*Marxism and the Nature of International Organizations* 84 •  
*Marxism and the Role of International Organizations* 85 • *Marxism and International Law* 87 • *Marxism Summary* 88

Feminism 89

*Feminist Influences* 90 • *Contemporary Feminism* 93 • *Feminism and Theories of International Organizations* 94 • *Gendering International Organizations* 97 • *Feminism and International Law* 99 • *Feminism Summary* 99

Constructivism 100

*Constructivist Influences* 100 • *The Constructivist Approach* 101 • *The Constructivist Approach to International Organizations* 101 • *Constructivism and International Law* 102 • *Constructivist Summary* 102

Key Terms 103

References 103

## **CHAPTER 5      International Security    107**

The United Nations 108

*The Security Council* 109 • *The General Assembly* 111 • *The Secretary-General* 112 • *The Record: Challenges and Innovations in UN Security Operations* 113  
*Case Study 1: Syria* 125

Nuclear Proliferation 135

*Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)* 136  
*Case Study 2: Iran* 139

Key Terms 150

References 150

## **CHAPTER 6      Regional Security    156**

NATO: Structure 157

NATO: History and Membership 158



*Case Study 3: Ukraine* 165

ECOWAS: Mission and Structure 172

*Case Study 4: The Gambia* 175

Key Terms 180

References 181

## **CHAPTER 7      Trade    185**

The History of International Trade 186

The World Trade Organization (WTO) 191

Multinational Corporations (MNCs) 196

*Case Study 5: The Boeing–Airbus Dispute* 197

Challenges of Trade 203

*Case Study 6: Genetically Modified Foods and Organisms (GMOs)* 204

Key Terms 211

References 212

## **CHAPTER 8      Development    215**

What Is Development? 215

Debt 218

The World Bank 219

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) 221

Financial Crises 223

*Case Study 7: The Greek Financial Crisis* 225

The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 233

The UN Development Program (UNDP) 236

The New Development Bank (NDB) and the Asian Infrastructure

Investment Bank (AIIB) 237

*Case Study 8: Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals* 238

Key Terms 248

References 248

## **CHAPTER 9      The Environment    252**

The Tragedy of the Commons 252

Environmental Problems 254

The Stockholm Conference (1972) 256

The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) 257

Efforts to Protect Biodiversity 258

The Vienna Convention of the Protection of the Ozone  
and the Montreal Protocol 259

The Rio Conference 260

*Case Study 9: Climate Change* 262

*Case Study 10: Whaling* 276

Key Terms 284

References 285

## **CHAPTER 10 Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs 289**

Human Rights v. Humanitarian Affairs: A Distinction? 289

Human Rights 290

Major International Human Rights Agreements 291

IGOs and Human Rights 293

NGOs and Human Rights 296

Humanitarian Intervention 298

*Case Study 11: Rwanda* 299

International Criminal Law and Courts 308

Refugees and Migration 309

*Case Study 12: The European Migrant/Refugee Crisis* 313

Key Terms 320

References 321

## **CHAPTER 11 Global Governance in 2050 325**

A Realist Cut 325

A Liberal Cut 329

A Marxist Cut 332

A Feminist Cut 335

A Constructivist Cut 336

**Index 338**

# PREFACE

---

In 2016, the liberal world order, under construction since the end of World War II, appeared very much in jeopardy. In June of that year, citizens of the United Kingdom (UK) voted to leave the European Union (EU) by a margin of 52 to 48 percent. This so-called “Brexit” surprised many pollsters, experts, and observers, calling into question the entire European integration project. In March 2017, the UK formally notified the EU that it would leave no later than April 2019, thereby starting official exit negotiations. Then, in June 2017, the conservative UK government leading the Brexit was dealt a major setback in parliamentary elections. Many voters question the wisdom of leaving the EU. The surprise election of Donald Trump in 2016 as president of the United States (US) also shook the liberal foundation. Trump ran on a populist-nationalist platform that mocked the United Nations (UN), demonstrated disdain for existing trade agreements and organizations, and was unwelcoming toward migrants. Trump also questioned the usefulness of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the military alliance that has been the cornerstone of Western European security since 1949. The rise of populist nationalists around the world, along with the growing influence of Russia and China, generates renewed interest in the nature, function, and future of international organizations (IOs).

This text is about the creation, evolution, and sometimes demise of international organizations. It seeks to explain how different worldviews inform contemporary analyses of IOs. Worldviews are expressions of different values and preferences, and international organizations are often the arenas where the competition between worldviews take place. This ongoing competition affects the utility and efficacy of today’s IOs and may influence whether they are discarded or adapted to accommodate different values and preferences.

Since the publication of the fifth edition of this book, the global economy has slowly and unevenly recovered from the 2008 financial crisis, which was an unprecedented meltdown that almost led to the total collapse of the world economy. The financial instability and the ensuing “great recession” made many question who benefits from the existing international rules, norms, and organizations. Who really governs and makes decisions at the global level? The rise of national populism suggests many are dissatisfied with the existing order and are seeking to change it. The violence wrought by the Islamic State (ISIS) and the civil war in Syria threatens to destabilize much of the Middle East and North Africa. Violence and extreme poverty have created a global migration crisis with millions of people on the move searching for peace, safety, and prosperity. The proliferation of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile technology threaten to upend the current balance of power, forcing dominant states to contend with previously marginalized ones. The liberal world order established after World War II by the US and UK is being convulsed by their retreat and growing influence of illiberal states that seek substantive change in the norms and rules of the

international system. This sixth edition accounts for the political and structural changes occurring in world politics and international organizations.

## NEW TO THIS EDITION

In addition to the usual updating and correcting of errors that accompany any new edition, this sixth edition also contains several new case studies, new sections, expanded analysis, and other useful features for students of international organizations.

### New Case Studies

- Syria
- Ukraine
- The Gambia
- The Boeing–Airbus Dispute
- The Greek Financial Crisis
- Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
- The European Migrant/Refugee Crisis

### New Chapters and Sections

- Regional Security
- Regional Trade Organizations including the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

### Expanded Analysis

- Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
- The European Union
- Development organizations
- The Iran nuclear deal
- Climate change and the Paris Agreement

## FEATURES

The sixth edition retains its basic organization in that, in addition to the nuts-and-bolts descriptions of international organizations, it applies international relations theory to specific case studies. This feature allows students to understand international organizations from different worldviews and evaluate policies. It also allows professors to highlight organizations and activities they deem worthy of study. Professors can also assign other case studies for students to research. Each chapter ends with the sections “Key Terms” and “References” to help students organize and retain the material, as well as explore sources and evidence.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

---

Several people have contributed to the development of the sixth edition of this book. First, I thank the anonymous reviewers of previous editions who provided valuable insights and criticism. I would also like to thank the following reviewers for their helpful suggestions: W. Meredith Bacon, University of Nebraska-Omaha; William M. Batkay, Montclair State University; Pamela Chasek, Manhattan College; Adriana Crocker, University of Illinois-Springfield; Francine D'Amico, Syracuse University; Antje Grebner, Hague University of Applied Science; Darren Hawkins, Brigham Young University; Houman A. Sadri, University of Central Florida; Boyka Stefanova, University of Texas-San Antonio; Stacy Taninchev, Gonzaga University; and Howard Tolley, University of Cincinnati.

KELLY-KATE S. PEASE

# Introduction

Understanding international organizations (IOs) and their multifaceted role in world politics is complicated because IOs are part of a complex cast of actors on the world stage. On a national level, **politics** usually involves a competition among individuals and groups (political parties, special interests, corporations) to either gain control of the government (so they can enact their values and preferences into laws and regulations that then become binding on everyone) or to influence government officials (who will then work to embed those values and preferences into national policy). At the global level where no world government exists, **world politics** involves different kinds of actors competing to shape the values and determine the distribution of resources for the international community, usually through the application of power and influence and, relatedly, building consensus. IOs can be thought of as both the sites where world politics takes place, as well as independent actors competing to establish values, rules and norms for the international community.

The election of Donald Trump in the US and the decision by UK voters to leave the European Union (EU) have disrupted the existing world order. This order was established after World War II and was based, in large part, on liberal values and norms. World War II was a global struggle to determine world order, in which three ideologies or value systems (liberalism, fascism, and communism) were pitted against each other. The Allied victory over the fascists in Germany, Italy, and Japan meant the Allies' values and preferences would form the foundation of the new world order. The apparent decisions by the UK and the US to abandon many of those key values (such as the free markets, integration, multilateralism, and free flow of capital, goods, services, and people) mean that certain tenants of liberalism no longer have their major champions in international politics. The liberal world order has always been challenged by China and Russia and others,

who trumpet the benefits of nationalism and are unwilling to embrace certain values such as universal human rights, rule of law, and free markets. Is this the end of the liberal world order as we know it? Or could this be the latest effort on the part of nationalists to assert their interests and values in the face of globalization and pressing global problems such as gross inequalities, slow economic growth, grinding poverty, pandemic disease, and climate change? The evolving answers to these very difficult questions will affect the lives of billions of people.

This introductory chapter describes the different kinds of international organizations at play in world politics. It also briefly summarizes five theoretical frameworks—realism, liberalism, Marxism, feminism, and constructivism—that are applied systematically throughout the text to explain and analyze the behavior and policies of IOs in real world cases. Finally, it explains the organization and structure of the book, highlighting key case studies that will help students understand the important and often controversial roles of IOs in the governance of the international and domestic affairs of many societies.

## WHAT IS AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION?

Traditionally, international organizations were conceived as formal institutions whose principal members are **states**. States are political and geographical entities that represent a population within a defined territory. They are exceptionally important actors in world politics and often create IOs to help address collective problems. Such IOs are referred to as **intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)** because governments (which represent states) voluntarily join, contribute financing, and make decisions within the organization. Their purpose, structures, and decision-making procedures are clearly spelled out in a charter or treaty. Examples of IGOs include the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the EU, and the League of Arab States (the Arab League).

IGOs can be further categorized by rules of membership. IGOs may have universal membership whereby all states may join, such as the UN. Although some membership decisions can be quite political, the UN has, for the most part, practiced an open-door policy. IGOs may also have limited membership in that participation is restricted by some objective criteria. The Arab League, for example, is a voluntary association of states whose people mainly speak Arabic. This association seeks to strengthen Arab ties and promote common political and economic goals. NATO, a security alliance, limits its membership by restricting it to a combination of specific political, geographic, and military considerations.

IGOs are also categorized by their purpose. IGOs can be multi- or general-purpose organizations, meaning they can take up any international issue. General-purpose IGOs, such as the UN, consider a variety of issues that affect their members. IGOs can also have narrow mandates and thus

may focus on specific economic or social issues. The International Labor Organization (ILO), for example, is charged with setting work and labor standards, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) is responsible for liberalizing trade and resolving trade disputes. These kinds of specialized IGOs provide focused and expert analysis to very specific issues.

IGOs often have a special status under international law called **international legal personality**. This means IGOs have the capacity to act under international law. To attain legal personality, the organization must be a permanent association of states that possesses some power that is distinct from that of its member states, with that power being exercised at the international level (Slomanson 1990, 65). The legal personality of IGOs enables them to act in a manner that is similar to how states act. IGOs can reach international agreements with other international organizations and states. IGOs have many of the same legal privileges of states, such as legal immunity or the right to sue in national courts. The international legal personality of an IGO is usually established through a **constitutive treaty**, which is the charter of the IGO. For example, Chapter II, Article 3, of the Charter of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) confers legal personality upon ASEAN.

When a charter or treaty does not explicitly confer international legal personality, it can be conferred by case law. The legal personality of the UN was established in the famous **Reparation for Injuries Suffered in the Service of the United Nations** (1949) case, through an advisory opinion issued by the International Court of Justice (ICJ). The legal issue was whether the UN had the legal personality to sue for harm done to UN employees. The ICJ, citing several treaties and UN Charter provisions, opined that the legal personality of the UN can be inferred from the Charter even though it is not explicitly stated. The UN's legal personality was subsequently recognized by national courts in the US and in Europe.

Another type of international organization is the **nongovernmental organization (NGO)**. NGOs are essentially nonprofit, private organizations that engage in a variety of international activities. They can be oriented toward a single issue or can have a multipurpose agenda. NGOs participate in international politics by defining goals, creating norms, providing information, and giving expert advice. They also directly and indirectly pressure states and IGOs. NGOs such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace, and the International Committee for the Red Cross are instrumental in creating international norms and executing international policy. Although most NGOs receive some funding from governments, their activities are often autonomous and may be coordinated independently with IGOs.

Another important kind of international organization is the **multinational corporation (MNC)**. MNCs are for-profit economic firms that have subsidiaries in two or more countries and engage in transnational production activities involving the movement of goods and services across national boundaries. These kinds of international organizations command extensive resources



whose assets can rival that of states. For example, Apple has cash assets that exceed the gross domestic product of two-thirds of the world's states (Khanna 2016). After the governments of the nine largest national economies, Walmart ranks tenth in the world in terms of revenue generated (Rhodionova, 2016). MNCs have specific interests and preferences that they pursue in local, provincial, national, regional, and global politics. These interests, values, and preferences are often distinct from those of states, IGOs, and NGOs.

The term “international organization” thus refers to different kinds of actors: IGOs (e.g., the UN), NGOs (e.g., Greenpeace), and MNCs (e.g., General Electric). International organization also refers to the institutions, processes, norms, laws, and regulations that are part and parcel of **global governance**. Global governance focuses on how state and nonstate actors (such as the international organizations just discussed) define and address global problems in the absence of a world government. Global governance also involves making and sustaining the rules and the norms of world order (Held 1999, 50). The substance of world politics is about whose interests, values, and preferences become formalized and why.

Here is where the interrelationship between **international law** and IOs comes into play. When we speak of making and sustaining international rules or codifying international norms or values, we are talking about creating international law. International law refers to the formal rules and principles that govern the relations of states and international organizations. As there is no world government or global legislature, international law must be created by states formally through treaties or informally through custom. International law must also be enforced by states and IOs, and although enforcement in some issue areas is difficult (like the laws during war), international law works reasonably well most of the time.

The nexus of international law and international organizations has several dimensions. The legal personality of IGOs comes from a constitutive treaty agreed upon by states. IGOs also play a central role in helping states implement international agreements and following through on states' international obligations (Joachim, Reinalda, and Verbeek 2008). NGOs and MNCs are objects of international law in that their activities are affected by international legal regulation. At the same time, IGOs, NGOs, and MNCs shape international law by promoting values and norms and pressuring the governments of states. International law ranging from war to climate change, to human rights, and to landmines has been influenced directly or indirectly by nonstate actors. Oil MNCs lobbied strenuously against the Kyoto Protocol (a treaty to combat climate change) and an NGO, the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, was central to the development of a treaty designed to eliminate antipersonnel landmines (Scott 2010, 63–71). Global governance involves this interplay of international law and organizations, but the “nature” of global governance remains contested. Who makes the rules and whose values should be privileged in the world order? How are the rules made and the norms institutionalized? Who wins and who loses in the process of global governance? How does change occur? Theory helps us answer these questions.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT

**International relations theory** is a way of systematizing and comprehending world politics. Theoretical frameworks are based on organizing assumptions or propositions that simplify the world and guide analysis. In many respects, theoretical frameworks are similar to **worldviews** (sets of widely held beliefs): both serve as mental maps, providing guides as to how the world works. However, worldviews are more informal. They are shaped by values, norms, and culture. Theoretical frameworks build upon worldviews, yet are more rigorous in that they become mechanisms for methodically generating hypotheses, explanations, and predictions about world politics. Another way to think about theoretical frameworks is to envision them as a pair of glasses whose different lenses allow us to view the distinct political, economic, and social characteristics and processes that shape world politics. These lenses act as filters, directing attention toward (and away from) certain kinds of actors and focusing discussion on certain kinds of questions. Through these theoretical lenses, we see different reflections, that is, different explanations regarding which units of analysis—states, individuals, class, or gender—should figure most prominently in our understanding of international relations and organizations. In addition, these lenses guide our analysis, allowing us to examine particular kinds of international dynamics—anarchy, interdependence, capitalism, and patriarchy. Our theoretical lenses reveal different patterns and provide divergent interpretations regarding the nature and roles of international organizations in international politics. They also prescribe different strategies for addressing global problems.

The central purpose of this text is to explore the nature, role, and behavior of international organizations in world politics, while paying considerable attention to the nexus between international organizations and international law. To achieve this purpose, international organizations are analyzed using five theoretical perspectives: realism, liberalism, Marxism, feminism, and constructivism. No attempt is made to rank these theories in terms of importance. Students must determine for themselves the utility of a particular explanation, while recognizing that one theoretical approach may be useful for analyzing one kind of organization or situation, but not another. Students are also cautioned against dismissing descriptions, explanations, and insights generated by a theoretical approach that is incongruent with their own worldviews.

Chapter 2 provides a nuts-and-bolts overview of three kinds of international organization: the IGO, the NGO, and the MNC. The structure and the principles of several specific IGOs are detailed and NGOs are examined generally in terms of their roles and functions. MNCs are analyzed in the context of their activities and goals. The purpose of Chapter 2 is mainly to be informative, designed to give the student an idea of the basic composition of certain IGOs and functions of NGOs and MNCs. International relations theories are used in subsequent chapters to interpret the activities of IOs in world politics.

International organizations do not exist in a vacuum. They are central features of the world's political landscape—a landscape in which scholars and

observers disagree about the relative importance of certain actors and dynamics. As Wolff and Resnick (1987, 10) have argued, the differences between theories are not minor. Theoretical differences amount to profound disagreements as to how the world works and what ought to be changed. Differences about policy *are* differences about theory. The priorities and actions of international organizations cannot be adequately understood unless considerable attention is paid to the theories that provide meaning to their activities. Unfortunately, the development of theory is not a tidy process. Scholars and practitioners do not always fit neatly into one framework, nor are the lines between theories clear and distinct. The lines are easily blurred, and this, in turn, increases complexity and contributes to conceptual confusion. Despite their shortcomings, theoretical frameworks are necessary and useful maps for helping us understand the intricacies and diversity of today's international organizations, as each framework has very different things to say about the nature of contemporary global governance.

## Realism

Chapter 3 discusses **realism**, which, as a worldview, conceives of world politics as essentially conflictual. World politics revolves around sovereign states seeking power and exercising power against each other. States exist in a hostile and dangerous world that forces them to be prepared for war and other forms of violent conflict. For realists, the state is the principal unit of analysis. Although realists recognize that nonstate actors exist, nonstate actors are not as important because, ultimately, they are responsible to the state or, at least, are vulnerable to state action. Relations between states are “international relations” for realists. States seek to survive and maximize their often-competing national interests in an uncertain and dangerous world. The darker side of human nature, resource scarcity, and the constant threat of a violent attack guarantee that world politics will be contentious.

The concept of **anarchy** is critical to an understanding of the realist view of international relations. Anarchy is defined as the absence of a higher authority or world government. The international system is organized around sovereign states, meaning that the state, or its representatives (the government), has the final say within its territorial jurisdiction. The absence of a higher authority or world government requires states to engage in “self-help” in order to guarantee their security and other national interests. International relations are essentially conflictual because states, each pursuing their self-interest, often collide with each other. This collision can very easily, and often does, result in violence. With no world government, no referee exists to settle disputes or prevent war. States, therefore, must seek power because it is through power that states can maximize their interests, promote their values and guarantee their security under the conditions of anarchy.

The realists' emphasis on anarchy does not mean that they see the international system as chaotic. On the contrary, they point to the distribution of capabilities, or the balance of power, as the main source of order in the

international system. Although there is no higher authority in international relations other than the state, there is a hierarchy of power. Through this hierarchy of power, realists explain the creation of international organizations and their role in maintaining international order and fostering cooperation. According to proponents of hegemonic stability theory, world order is established by a single, dominant power that creates and maintains international organizations. These organizations serve the interests of the hegemon and legitimize its dominant position. The hegemon will support international organizations as long as the gains outweigh the costs. Other states join these organizations, even though they serve the interests of the hegemon, because the hegemon bears the lion share of the costs; and, through its power, it is able to provide positive incentives and inducements. States will belong to and use international organizations if it is in their interest to do so. However, they will also ignore or even undermine them if that is in their self-interest.

Order and stability in international relations are based on a hegemon's power. As that power wanes, so does world order. Most realists are very pessimistic about the independent role of international organizations in fostering cooperation among sovereign states. Rather, it is the hegemon's power reflected in international organizations that facilitates international cooperation. Realists tend to view international organizations as extensions of the great powers or as great-power directorates. The interests and behavior of international organizations must be understood in the context of the interests of dominant states. Conceptually, international organizations are IGOs, which are no more than the sum of their member states. NGOs and MNCs have home states that they are largely responsible to and, if they are not functioning as agents of their home states, they have similar interests. For many realists, global governance is a great-power concert facilitated by international organizations.

## Liberalism

Chapter 3 also examines the liberal theoretical approach to international relations and international organizations. As a worldview, **liberalism** maintains a strong belief in the value of the individual, the idea of limited government, the market, and the rule of law. The liberal tradition in international relations, which grew out of a critique of realism, draws heavily upon the economic theory of Adam Smith and the political theory of John Locke. Liberals tend to be more optimistic about the prospects for cooperative relations between societies. They point out that much of international relations is based on the peaceful exchange of goods, services, and ideas among societies. Although war is a major problem, it does not define international relations. International relations are also shaped by important economic and social transactions.

Liberals argue that nonstate actors, such as IGOs, MNCs and NGOs, are also important actors in international relations. This is not to say that states are unimportant, only that other actors can and do influence world

politics. Some liberals see the state as a more fluid entity, an aggregation of competing individuals and interests within a society. Many of these interests have transnational ties that extend beyond a state's borders. The governments of states can also be composed of executive, legislative, judicial, and bureaucratic agents that have personal and sectoral interests. These domestic factors can influence the decision-making process as much as international considerations. Understanding the individuals and types of groups that compete for control of the government is necessary in order to understand how a state behaves in international relations. Rationality cannot necessarily be assumed, given that the different influences on the government can lead to suboptimal decisions.

Liberals see international relations as a combination of cooperation and conflict. Human beings are self-interested, but they are also cooperative, economic creatures. The instincts of humans to “truck, barter, and trade” draw them together in a market. The market that generates wealth and prosperity also creates **complex interdependence**. The expanding global market brings societies together, connecting them through international trade and finance. Societies come to rely on each other for security and economic well-being, and that reliance provides incentives for actors to cooperate with each other. Even when conflict arises, complex interdependence reduces the likelihood of that conflict turning violent because the cost of war becomes too high. Complex interdependence promotes more peaceful relations between societies.

Liberals tend to see IGOs in one of two ways. Some see IGOs as the early institutions—precursors—of world government. IGOs are evolving into supranational organizations that exercise a great deal of authority over nation-states. The EU and the WTO are examples. Others see IGOs as mechanisms that assist governments in overcoming collective-action problems and help them to settle conflicts and problems peacefully. IGOs are important actors in their own right, cooperating with governments and also acting independently. For liberals, global governance is based on the interaction of several kinds of actors—individuals, interest groups, government agencies, IGOs, NGOs, and MNCs—competing and working together to define and promote the “collective good” and to address global problems.

## Marxism

Chapter 4 is devoted to critical theories and approaches. Critical theories challenge the “conventional wisdom” and provide alternative frameworks for understanding how the world works. The first critical theory examined in Chapter 4 is **Marxism**. The Marxist perspective is distinguished by its attention to modes of production (the manner in which goods and services are produced) and economic forces that shape international life. It emphasizes economic and political inequality in international relations, an inequality that leads to superior–subordinate relationships. Such relationships result in both violent and nonviolent international conflict.

For Marxists, **capitalism** is the defining feature of the international system. Capitalism is a way of producing goods that is based on four attributes—private property, profit motive, wage labor, and markets. Capitalists seek to maximize profits in a competitive global market. Such competition creates winners and losers and determines the position and behavior of actors in international affairs. The capitalist accumulation process and the exigencies of the market affect individuals and societies in ways that are not always positive.

Marxists focus on economic class as the principal unit of analysis. Class is defined as a person's relationship to the means of production. Actors in international relations are distinguished by their role in the production of goods and services worldwide. Capitalism spawns two primary, yet unequal, classes: the bourgeoisie (owners of the means of production) and the proletariat (salaried and wage-earning workers). Class analysis can also include economic classes of states. Core states (advanced industrialized countries) provide capital and finance. Periphery states (developing countries) provide cheap raw materials and unskilled labor. Semiperiphery states (newly industrializing countries) provide offshore sourcing and inexpensive skilled labor. The economic interaction of core, periphery, and semiperiphery results in the production of goods and services for global markets, yet the distribution of benefits and costs is inherently unequal.

International relations for Marxists are conflictual because capitalism is based on exploitation. Capitalists seek to exploit resources, markets, and labor in order to maximize profits. In other words, capitalism exploits people and breeds social, political, and economic inequality. The nature of economic relations is essentially a zero-sum game in which one player (class or class of states) wins, while someone else loses. The core exploits the periphery and the semiperiphery, benefiting at their expense. Hence, international relations are conflictual, divided between rich and poor. The division between rich and poor exists both between nations and within societies. Wealth is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few. In a global context, the experience of most of the world's population with capitalism is one of violence and poverty.

Marxists hold that economic factors are most important for understanding both domestic and international politics. Governments are reflections of the dominant economic class, and this dominant class formalizes its interests as the interests of society as a whole. Wars and other forms of violent conflict are rooted in class exploitation, and issues that seem to be geostrategic are really economic in nature. If you want to understand the nature of contemporary international conflict, you have to understand the nature of contemporary capitalism.

For Marxists, the nature of international organizations is determined by the underlying economic order. Contemporary IGOs reflect, legitimize, and promote global capitalism. International financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are mechanisms of capitalist domination. They pry open markets, forcing privatization and encouraging foreign investment. MNCs entangle societies in a malignant web

of dependency that causes underdevelopment and a gross maldistribution of wealth within and between societies. International organizations and law further the interests of capitalists, particularly regarding capital that is transnational rather than national in nature. Capitalism expands under the guise of promoting global economic and social welfare.

## Feminism

Chapter 4 also presents the feminist theoretical framework. **Feminism** examines international relations and international organizations through the lens of **gender**. It challenges conventional understandings by examining world politics in terms of how women are affected and how gender biases influence contemporary international relations theory. Feminists seek to understand what it means to be “feminine,” in both theory and practice of IOs. The feminist approach examines the status, roles, and contributions of women in IOs and seeks to understand how the actions and policies of international IOs impact women. Feminist analyses also highlight the gender bias of the realist, liberal, and Marxist perspectives.

The feminist theoretical approach is organized around several assumptions. First, gender matters. Gender is not simply the sex of an individual. Gender is associated with social expectations about what it means to be masculine and feminine. Traditional scholarship regarding international relations and organizations tends to ignore or minimize the influence of gender. Feminists argue that those explanations are inadequate because the experiences of women in war, politics, markets, and class are often very different and not always addressed. With gender as the principal unit of analysis, new insights into world politics become possible.

Second, international relations are conflictual. Conflict results from the superior–subordinate nature of gender relationships. Biology may account for many differences between men and women, but whether “masculine” and “feminine” differences are considered superior or inferior is socially constructed. This assumption allows us to consider the gender dimensions of unjust forms of global governance (Peterson and Runyan 2013).

Third, patriarchy is the main feature of the international system. Patriarchy means “male dominance.” Most of the edifices of international relations (e.g., states, international organizations, and firms) are either masculinist in nature or dominated by men. Feminists argue that ignoring this feature narrows analysis to principally masculine issues that are the domain of men. Also, scholars implicitly assume universality when they ignore gender, thereby making masculine issues, traits, and behavior universal.

Fourth, the hierarchy of contemporary international issues is ordered on the basis of masculine preferences, marginalizing many “feminine” issues. The priorities of governments, heads of states, decision makers, ambassadors, and senior-level bureaucrats of organizations such as the UN and WTO are masculine not because they are evil men but because they conceptualize and understand the



world in a masculine way. Those who attempt to address feminine issues or consider feminine approaches are faced with the unfortunate reality that feminine attributes and issues are of a lower status and are even the subject of ridicule.

These interrelated assumptions provide an alternative framework for systematically criticizing realism, liberalism, and Marxism and offer an alternative lens for viewing international relations and international organizations. The feminist theoretical approach brings the issue of gender to the study of international organizations by highlighting and evaluating the role of women in international organizations. This kind of gendered analysis examines the employment practices of international organizations to see what kinds of positions women occupy and to assess the status of those positions. Feminist scholarship emphasizes the exclusion of women from important decision-making positions and also seeks to value the contributions of women in their traditional gender roles as caregivers, nurturers, and supporters. The disparate impact of the policies and activities of international organizations on each gender is also a focus of inquiry.

Realism, liberalism, Marxism, and feminism provide different ways of understanding international organizations in terms of their nature and the role they play in world politics. Table 1.1 summarizes the different approaches in terms of their key theoretical features. These theories are “grand” theories of international relations that describe, explain, analyze, and predict how the world works. However, grand theories are not the only way to understand international organizations. **Constructivism** has gained considerable currency among scholars seeking to explain the activities and behavior of international organizations.

## Constructivism

Constructivism centers on the role of ideas, beliefs, and interests in shaping the interactions and understandings of actors in world politics. It involves the “processes by which leaders, groups and states alter their preferences, shape their identities and learn new behavior” (Genest 2003, 259). Constructivists seek to identify the social norms and shared identities that are developed and disseminated by international organizations (see, e.g., Finnemore 2004).

Constructivism does not rest on a framework of assumptions or propositions that says anything about world politics, *per se*. Nor does it rely on any specific level of analysis. Rather it rests on the notion that reality or “interest” is **socially constructed**. Values and ideas are created by human beings who are shaped by their social ties and identities. Moreover, those values and ideas change over time as human beings learn more information. Constructivists, therefore, do not seek to explain the world as it is, but how the world is what we make it.

Constructivism, as applied to international organizations, explores how rules and norms are created and disseminated throughout the international system. These norms are developed by a variety of actors, from a variety of cultures, and with a variety of interests. International organizations socialize individuals



**TABLE 1.1****Comparison of Theoretical Approaches**

	Realism	Liberalism	Marxism	Feminism
Unit(s) of analysis	States	Individuals, groups, and states	Economic class or economic classes of states	Gender
Nature of international relations	Conflict	Cooperation and conflict	Conflict	Cooperation and conflict
Principal feature(s) of international system	Anarchy and balance of power	Complex interdependence	World capitalism	Patriarchy
Nature of international organizations	Principally IGOs; extensions of great-power interests	Regimes; mechanism for collective action and international problem-solving	IGOs, MNCs, reflections of the underlying economic order	Varied: IGOs are patriarchal; NGOs are more horizontally structured
Behavior of international organizations	Non autonomous; determined by great-power interests and the underlying distribution of capabilities	Foster cooperative relations among states and non-state actors; autonomous	Promote and reinforce capitalist production; tools of capitalist domination	Varied; reinforce and challenge patriarchy

and states as to how to behave in international relations and how to view international problems. The nature of global governance, according to constructivists, is fluid in that it is constructed by individuals and groups (and therefore states) differently at different times.

## The Issues

This text also examines international organizations in practice. In general, each chapter introduces an issue area and provides a brief overview of some of the relevant international organizations in terms of their charters, operations,

and mandates. Each also highlights the international law and politics surrounding the issue and then, using case studies, examines the behavior of international organizations, using the different theoretical approaches. Borrowing the idea from Graham Allison's (1971) classic case study of the Cuban Missile Crisis, *The Essence of Decision*, international events and the role of international organizations are explored using the different theoretical perspectives to guide the analysis. This technique provides the student with multiple and often-competing interpretations of the same event. This method yields improved explanations regarding the nature, behavior, and role of international organizations in world politics.

Chapter 5 explores international security and the challenges posed by war and other threats to international peace and security. It explains the role of the United Nations and provides a brief overview of how the UN has adapted over time to confront threats to international peace and security. The civil war in Syria and nuclear proliferation in Iran serve as the chapter's two case studies. Regional security and organizations are taken up in Chapter 6. The origins, functions, and expansion of NATO are detailed, and then the case study of the crisis in Ukraine investigates the nature of Russia–NATO relations. The second case study examines the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) mission in The Gambia.

Chapter 7 shifts analysis to international trade providing an overview of the history of trade and the IGOs created to manage disagreements. The Boeing–Airbus dispute and genetically modified organisms are the chapter's case studies that show the dynamic interactions states, IGOs, MNCs, and NGOs in trade governance. The chapter also examines the recent trend toward bilateral and regional arrangements and the challenges posed by economic nationalism to the EU, North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the TransPacific Partnership (TPP). Chapter 8 delves into the contested nature of development and the myriad of international organizations that seek to promote economic growth and improve the lives of impoverished peoples. It also explores the challenges and obstacles to development, with a special emphasis on financial crises. The first case study examines Greece and its ongoing financial crisis in terms of the response of key international organizations, such as the EU and the IMF. The application of the different theoretical approaches shows who wins and who loses from international development and financial policies. How UN agencies, working in tandem with NGOs, set and strive toward the Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals is the chapter's second case study. Increasingly, the international community is seeking additional ways to alleviate poverty and promote human development.

Chapter 9 surveys how international organizations address the challenges of environmental protection. Climate change and whaling are systematically analyzed to explain why different actors cooperate (or not) to reduce greenhouse gas emissions or preserve certain species. The focus of Chapter 10 is on the relevant international law and organizations that govern human rights and humanitarian affairs. It explains how norms and values are adopted and ultimately implemented in world politics. Rwanda and the migration/refugee

crisis affecting Europe are the chapter's case studies. The concluding chapter looks into the future to sketch out the nature of global governance in 2050 as might be predicted by the different theoretical approaches. Combining international relations theory with the study of international organizations provides a more comprehensive explanation of the nature of global governance. Today, more than 193 nation-states and self-governing territories exist on the planet. The human population is approximately 7.5 billion people. The complexity of contemporary world problems and their elusive solutions are the result, at least in part, of competing worldviews about how the world operates. The first step in addressing this dilemma is to understand and explore worldviews other than one's own. Looking at an issue from a different perspective or worldview creates an expanded knowledge base and can assist in resolving disputes or fashioning acceptable strategies for managing these complicated and seemingly intractable problems.

## KEY TERMS

politics	nongovernmental	liberalism
world politics	organization (NGO)	complex interdependence
states	multinational corporation	Marxism
intergovernmental	(MNC)	capitalism
organizations (IGOs)	global governance	feminism
international legal	international law	gender
personality	international relations	constructivism
constitutive treaty	theory	socially constructed
Reparation for Injuries	worldviews	
Suffered in the Service	realism	
of the United Nations	anarchy	

## REFERENCES

- Allison, Graham. 1971. *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.
- Finnemore, Martha. 2004. *Purpose of Intervention*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Genest, Marc. 2003. *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*. 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Held, David. 1999. *Global Transformation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Joachim, Jutta, Bob Reinalda, and Bertjan Verbeek. 2008. *International Organizations and Implementation: Enforcers, Managers, Authorities?* London: Routledge.
- Khanna, Parag. 2016. These 25 Companies Are More Powerful than Many Countries: Going Stateless to Maximize Profits, Multinational Companies Are Vying with Governments for Global Power. Who Is Winning? *Foreign Policy* (March 15). <http://foreignpolicy.com>.
- Peterson, V. Spike, and Anne Sisson Runyan. 2013. *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium*. 4th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

- 
- Rhodiumova, Zlata. 2016. World's Largest Corporations Make More Money than Most Countries on Earth Combined. *Independent* (September 13). [www.independent.co.uk](http://www.independent.co.uk).
- Scott, Shirley V. 2010. *International Law and World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Lynn Reinner.
- Slomanson, William R. 1990. *Fundamental Perspectives on International Law*. New York: West Publishing.
- Wolff, Richard, and Stephen Resnick. 1987. *Economics: Marxian and Neoclassical*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.

## Introduction

Allison, Graham . 1971. *The Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* . Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.

Finnemore, Martha . 2004. *Purpose of Intervention*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Genest, Marc . 2003. *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*. 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Held, David . 1999. *Global Transformation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Joachim, Jutta , Bob Reinalda , and Bertjan Verbeek . 2008. *International Organizations and Implementation: Enforcers, Managers, Authorities?* London: Routledge.

Khanna, Parag . 2016. These 25 Companies Are More Powerful than Many Countries: Going Stateless to Maximize Profits, Multinational Companies Are Vying with Governments for Global Power. Who Is Winning? *Foreign Policy* (March 15). <http://foreignpolicy.com>.

Peterson, V. Spike , and Anne Sisson Runyan . 2013. *Global Gender Issues in the New Millennium*. 4th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Rhodonova, Zlata . 2016. World's Largest Corporations Make More Money than Most Countries on Earth Combined. *Independent* (September 13). [www.independent.co.uk](http://www.independent.co.uk).

Scott, Shirley V. 2010. *International Law and World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Lynn Reinner.

Slomanson, William R. 1990. *Fundamental Perspectives on International Law*. New York: West Publishing.

Wolff, Richard , and Stephen Resnick . 1987. *Economics: Marxian and Neoclassical*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.

## International Organizations: Nuts and Bolts

Acharya, Amitav . 2017. The Myth of ASEAN Centrality? *Contemporary South East Asia: A Journal of International and Strategic Affairs* 39 (August) 2: 273–279.

Ahsan, Abdullan . 1988. *The Organization of Islamic Conference*. Herndon, VA: The International Institute of Islamic Thought.

Akpinar, Pinar . 2016. The Limits of Mediation in the Arab Spring: The Case of Syria. *Third World Quarterly* 37 (December) 12: 2288–2303.

Allison, Laura . 2015. *The EU, ASEAN and Interregionalism: Regionalism Support and Norm Diffusion Between the EU and ASEAN* . New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Berend, T. Ivan . 2017. *The Contemporary Crisis of the European Future: Prospects for the Future* . New York: Routledge.

Betsill, Michelle M. , and Elisabeth Corell , eds. 2008. *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organization in International Environmental Negotiations* . Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Boulding, Carew 2014. *NGOs, Political Protest, and Civil Society* . New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bros, Natalia . 2017. Public Diplomacy and Cooperation with Non-Governmental Organizations in the Liberal Perspective of International Relations. *Journal of Education, Culture, and Society* 1: 11–22.

Cohn, Theodore . 2016. *Global Political Economy: Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.

Dakhlallah, Farah . 2012. The League of Arab States and Regional Security: Towards an Arab Security Community. *The British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39 (December) 3: 392–411.

Davies, Thomas . 2014. *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.

de Coning, Cedric . 2017. Peace Enforcement in Africa: Doctrinal Distinctions Between the African Union and the United Nations. *Contemporary Security Policy* 38 (1): 145–160.

Dinan, Desmond , Neill Nugent , and William E. Paterson . 2017. *The European Union in Crisis* . London: Palgrave, Macmillan.

Elger, Richard . 2014. Women's Rights in Transitions: The Collision of Feminist Interest Groups, Religion, and Non-Governmental Organizations in Three Latin American Countries. *Journal of Public Affairs* 14 (November) 3: 359–368.

European Report . 2001. Eurobarometer Confirms Indifference of EU Citizens Towards the EU. (July 21): 102.

Fattah, Hassan M. 2006. At Mecca Meeting, Cartoon Outrage Crystallized. *New York Times* (February 9): A1.

Feld, Werner J. , Robert S. Jordan , and Leon Hurwitz . 1994. *International Organizations: A Comparative Approach*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Foreign Policy . 2001. An NGO by Any Other name (July): 18.

Gilpin, Robert . 1987. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Goldman, Ogen . 2016. Do Democracies Support Violent Non-Governmental Organizations Less Than Autocracies Do? *Civil War* 18 (December) 4: 439–466.

Goldstone, Rick , and Alan Cowell . 2017. At Least 15 U.N. Peacekeepers Are Killed in Congo. *New York Times* (December 8): [www.nytimes.com/2017/12/08/world/africa/congo-un-peacekeepers-killed.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/08/world/africa/congo-un-peacekeepers-killed.html?_r=0).

Haufler, Virginia . 2017. Governing Conflict through Transnational Corporations: The Case of Conflict Minerals. pp. 61–83 in *Transnational Actors in War and Peace*, ed. David Malet and Miriam J. Anderson . Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Haynes, Jeff . 2001. Transnational Religious Actors and International Politics. *Third World Quarterly* 22 (April): 143–158.

Hughes, Steve , and Nigel Hawath . 2010. *The International Labour Organization: Coming in From the Cold*. New York: Routledge.

Jacobson, Harold . 1984. *Networks of Interdependence: International Organization and the Global Political System*. 2nd ed. New York: Knopf.

Kaloudis, George . 2017. Non-Governmental Organizations: Mostly a Force for Good. *International Journal on World Peace* 34 (March), 1: 81–112.

Kayaoglu, Turin . 2015. *The Organization of Islamic Cooperation: Politics, Problems and Potential* . New York: Routledge.

Kim, Dongwook . 2016. International Non-Governmental Organizations and the Abolition of the Death Penalty. *European Journal of International Relations* 22 (September), 3: 596–621.

Maddy-Weitzman, Bruce . (2012). The Arab League Comes Alive. *Middle East Quarterly* 19 (Summer), 3: 71–78.

McIntyre, Richard . 2008. *Are Worker Rights Human Rights?* Ann Arbor, MI: University Michigan Press.

Moinuddin, Hasan . 1987. *The Carter of the Islamic Conference and the Legal Framework of Economic Cooperation among Its Member States*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Noel, Emile . 1994. *Working Together—The Institutions of the European Community*. Luxembourg: Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities.

Olsen, Jonathan and John McCormick . 2017. *The European Union: Politics and Policies* , 6th ed. Boulder: CO: Westview Press.

Parlapiano, Alicia , and Gregor Aisch . 2017. Who Wins and Who Loses in Trump's Proposed Budget. *New York Times* (March 16): [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com).

Pease, Kelly-Kate . 2016. *Human Rights and Humanitarian Diplomacy*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Ralph, Philip Lee , Robert E. Lerner , Standish Meacham , and Edward McNall Burns . 1991. *World Civilization*, 8th ed. New York: W.W. Norton.

Rudner, Martin . 2010. Hizbullah Terrorism Finance: Fundraising and Money Laundering. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 33(August) 8: 700–715.

Ruggie, John Gerald . 2013. *Just Business: Multinational Corporations and Human Rights*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Sabbarwal, Smriti . 2017. Indigenous Peoples' Concerns for Environment: Examining the Role of Non-Governmental Organizations. *Fourth World Journal* 15 (Winter) 2: 27–39.

Thirlway, Hugh . 2016. *The International Court of Justice* . Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Touray, Omar Alieu . 2016. *The African Union: The First Ten Years* . Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Vick, Brian E. 2014. *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Weiss, Thomas G. , David P. Forsythe , Roger A. Coate , and Kelly-Kate Pease . 2017. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*. 5th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Willets, Peter . 2011. *Non-governmental Organizations in World Politics: The Construction of Global Governance* . New York: Routledge.

Wolfe, Richard . 2003. Phoenix from the Ashes. *Newsweek* (October 6): 32–33.

Worrall, James . 2017. *International Institutions of the Middle East: The GCC, Arab League, and the Arab Maghreb* . New York: Routledge.

## Mainstream Theories

Alvarez, Jose . 2005. *International Organizations as Law-Makers*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Axelrod, Robert , and Robert Keohane . 1986. Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions. pp. 226–260 in *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, ed. Kenneth Oye . Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Balaam, David N. , and Bradford Dillman . 2016. Introduction to International Political Economy. 6th ed. New York: Routledge.

Barker, J. Craig . 2000. International Law and International Relations. London: Continuum.

Barnett, Michael N. , and Martha Finnemore . 2004. Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Beinart, Peter . 2017. A Radical Rebuke of Barack Obama's Foreign Policy Legacy. The Atlantic (September 19). [www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/09/trump-united-nations-obama/540288/](http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/09/trump-united-nations-obama/540288/).

Bennett, A. LeRoy . 1991. International Organizations: Principles and Issues. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Binmore, Ken . 1992. Fun and Games: A Text on Game Theory. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.

Crane, George T. , and Alba Amawi . 1997. The Theoretical Evolution of International Political Economy. New York: Oxford University Press.

Foot, Rosemary , S. Neil MacFarlane , and Michael Mastanduno , eds. 2003. U.S. Hegemony and International Organizations. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gilpin, Robert . 1981. War and Change in World Politics. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gowa, Joanne . 1988. Rational Hegemons, Excludable Foods, and Small Groups: An Epitaph for Hegemonic Stability Theory. World Politics 41 (April): 307–324.

Gutner, Tamar L. 2017. International Organizations in World Politics. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE/CQ Press.

Haas, Ernst . 1958. Uniting Europe. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Haas, Ernst . 1964. Beyond the Nation-State. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. , Brad L. LeVeck , and David G. Victor . 2016. How Activists Perceive the Utility of International Law. Journal of Politics 78 (January), 1:167–180.

Heilbroner, Robert L. 1986. The Worldly Philosophers. 6th ed. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Hurd, Ian . 2017. International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice . 3rd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Keohane, Robert O. 1984. After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Koh, Harold Hongju . 1997. Why Do States Obey International Law? The Yale Law Journal 106 (June), 8: 2599–2659.

Krasner, Stephen . 1991. Global Communication and National Power: Life and the Pareto Frontier. World Politics 43 (April): 336–366.

Machiavelli, Niccolò . 1952. The Prince, trans. Luigi Ricci . New York: Oxford University Press.

Mearsheimer, John J. 1994/1995. The False Promise of International Institutions. International Security 19 (Winter): 5–49.

Mearsheimer, John J. 1995. A Realist Theory. International Security 20 (Summer): 82–104.

Mitrany, David . 1948. The Functional Approach to World Organization. International Affairs 24 (July): 350–363.

Mitrany, David . 1966. A Working Peace System. Chicago, IL: Quadrangle Books.

Nye, Joseph . 1990. Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power. New York: Basic Books.

O'Neill, Onora . 2017. Accountable Institutions, Trustworthy Cultures. Hague Journal of the Rule of Law 9 (October), 2:201–412.

Posner, Eric A. 2009. The Perils of Global Legalism. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press

Rathburn, Brian C. 2010. Is Anybody Not an (International Relations) Liberal? Security Studies 10 (January), 1: 2–25.

Ricardo, David . 1965[1817]. The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. London: Dent; New York: Dutton.

Ripsman, Norrin M. , and Jeffery W. Taliaferro . 2016 . *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Relations* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Roach, Steven , ed. 2009. Governance, *Order and the International Criminal Court: Between Realpolitik and a Cosmopolitan Court* . Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Schweller, Randall L. , and David Preiss . 1997. A Tale of Two Realisms: Expanding the Institutions Debate. Mershon International Studies Review 41 (May): 1–32.

Setear, John K. 2005. Room for Law: Realism, Evolutionary Biology, and the Promise(s) of International Law. Berkeley Journal of International Law 23 (1): 1–46.

Slaughter-Burley, Anne-Marie . 1993. International Law and International Relations Theory: A Dual Agenda. American Society of International Law 87: 205–239.

Smith, Adam . 1971[1776]. The Wealth of Nations. New York: Dutton.

Strange, Susan . 1983. Cave Hic Dragones. pp. 337–354 in International Regimes, ed. Stephen Krasner . Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Thucydides . 1963. The Peloponnesian Wars, trans. Benjamin Jowett . New York: Washington Square Press.

Tuchman, Barbara W. 1984. *The March of Folly*. New York: Knopf.

Viotti, Paul R. , and Mark V. Kauppi . 1993. *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, and Globalism*. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan.

Wang, Hongying . 2013. Middle Range Powers in Global Governance. *Third World Quarterly* 34 (July), 6: 985–999.

Waltz, Kenneth N. 1959. *The Man, State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Zweifel, Thomas . 2006. *International Organizations and Democracy: Accountability, Politics and Power*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

## Critical Theories and Approaches

Adler, Emanuel . 1997. Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics. *European Journal of International Relations* 3 (3): 319–363.

Ashworth, Lucian M. , and Larry A. Swatuk . 1998. Masculinity and the Fear of Emasculation in International Relations Theory. pp. 73–92 in *The “Man” Question in International Relations*, ed. Marysia Zalewski and Jane Parapart . Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Barnett, Michael N. 2003. *Eyewitness to Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Berger, Peter L. , and Thomas Luckmann . 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Doubleday.

Bergeron, Suzanne L. 1999. Imperialism. pp. 464–471 in *Elgar Companion to Feminist Economics*, ed. Meg Lewis and Janice Peterson . Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar.

Bernal, Victoria , and Inderpal Grewal , eds. 2014. *Theorizing NGOs: States, Feminisms, and Neoliberalism* . Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Brooks, Rosa E. 2002. Feminist Justice at Home and Abroad. *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 14: 345.

Brunnée, Jutta , and Stephen J. Toope . 2009. International Law and Constructivism: Elements of an International Theory of International Law. *Columbia Journal of International Law* 39: <http://ssrn.com/abstracts/1432539>.

Buss, Doris , and Manji Ambreena . 2005. *International Law: Modern Feminist Approaches*. London: Hart.

Cahn, Steven M. 1997. *Classics of Modern Political Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

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

Charlesworth, Hilary , and Christine Chinkin . 2000. *The Boundaries of International Law: A Feminist Analysis*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Checkel, Jeffery T. 2000. Social Learning and European Identity Change. *International Organization* 55 (3): 553–588.

Checkel, Jeffery T. 2005. International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework. *International Organization* 59 (4): 801–826.

Chertoff, Emily . 2017. Prosecuting Gender-Based Prosecution: The Islamic State at the ICC. *Yale Journal of International Law* 126 (February 4): 1050–1117.

Crane, George T. , and Alba Amawi . 1997. *The Theoretical Evolution of International Political Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cutler, A. Claire. 2008. Toward a Radical Political Economy Critique of Transnational Economic Law. pp. 199–219 in *International Law on the Left: Reexamining Marxist Legacies* , ed. Susan Marks . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

D'Aoust, Marie-Alice . 2017. Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in International Criminal Law: A Feminist Assessment of the Bemba Case. *International Criminal Law Review* 17 (1): 208–221.

Dos Reis, Filipe , and Oliver Kessler . 2017. Constructivism and the Politics of International Law. pp. 344–363 in *The Oxford Handbook on the Theory of International Law*, ed. Anne Orford , Florian Hoffmann , and Martin Clark . New York: Oxford University Press.

Duncanson, Claire . 2016. *Gender and Peacebuilding* . Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Eaton, Sarah , and Richard Stubbs . 2006. Is ASEAN Powerful? Neo-realist Versus Constructivist Approaches to Power in Southeast Asia. *The Pacific Review* 19 (June): 135–155.

Falcon, Sylvanna M. 2016. *Power Interrupted: Antiracist and Feminist Activism Inside the UN* . Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Fehl, Caroline . 2004. Explaining the International Criminal Court: A “Practice Test” for Rationalist and Constructivist Approaches. *European Journal of International Relations* 10: 357–394.



Fellmeth, Aaron Xavier . 2000. Feminism and International Law: Theory, Methodology and Substantive Reform. *Human Rights Quarterly* 22: 658–733.

Ferber, Marianne , and Julie A. Nelson . 1993. Introduction: The Social Construction of Economics and the Social Construction of Gender. pp. 1–22 in *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics* , ed. Marianne Ferber and Julie A. Nelson . Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.

Finnemore, Martha . 2004. *Purpose of Intervention* . New York: Cornell University Press.

Garner, Karen , 2017. Global Feminism and Cold War Paradigms: Women's International NGOs and the United Nations, 1970–1985. pp. 224–250 in *Gender, Sexuality, and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, ed. Philip E. Muelenbeck . Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.

Genest, Marc . 2003. *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*. 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Gilpin, Robert . 1987. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Haas, Peter M. 2016. *Epistemic Communities, Constructivism, and International Environmental Politics* . New York: Routledge.

Hoare, Quentin , and Geoffrey N. Smit , eds. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* . London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Hobson, John A. (1901). *Imperialism: A Study*. New York: James Pott & Company.

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

Kolko, Joyce , and Gabriel Kolko . 1972. *The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1945–1954* . New York: Harper & Row.

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

Marx, Karl , and Friedrich Engels . 1965[1848]. *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. Joseph Katz . New York: Washington Square Press.

Mason, Robert . 2017. China's Impact on the Landscape of African International Relations: Implications for Dependency Theory. *Third World Quarterly* 38 (January), 1: 84–96.

Mieville, China . 2006. *Between Equal Rights: A Marxist Theory of International Law*. London: Haymarket Books.

Mill, John Stuart . 1869. *The Subjection of Women*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer.

Murphy, Craig N. 1994. *International Organization and Industrial Change* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Narine, Shaun . 2006. The English School and ASEAN. *The Pacific Review* 19 (June): 199–218.

Nelson, Julie A. 1996. *Feminism, Objectivity, and Economics*. New York: Routledge.

Onuf, Nicholas G. 1989. *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Pettman, Jan Lindy . 1998. Gender Issues. pp. 483–497 in *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, ed. John Bayliss and Steve Smith . Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Pruitt, Lesley J. 2016. *The Women in Blue Helmets: Gender, Policing and the UN's First All-Female Peacekeeping Unit* . Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Rupp, Leila J. 1998. *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sassoon, Anne Showstack . 1982. *Approaches to Gramsci*. London: Writers and Readers.

Simon, Roger . 1982. *Gramsci's Political Thought*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Smith, Phillip Andrew . 2010. Dependency Theories and the Icelandic Pension Crisis. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 2 (May), 1: 446–453.

Snyder, Fredrick , and Surakiart Sathirathai . 1987. *Third World Attitudes Toward International Law*. Dordrecht, Martinus Nijhoff.

Steele, Brent . 2007. Liberalism-Idealism: A Constructivist Critique. *International Studies Review* 9 (March): 23–52.

Tai, Wie Lim . 2014. Multilateralism and Dependency Theory. *African and Asian Studies* 13 (1/2): 80–99.

Totaro, Martin . 2008. Legal Positivism, Constructivism, and International Human Rights Law: The Case of Participatory Development. *Virginia Journal of International Law* 48 (4): 720–765.

True, Jacqui . 2008. Global Accountability and Transnational Networks: The Women Leaders' Network and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation. *Pacific Review* 21 (March): 1–26.

Valenzuela, J. Samuel , and Arturo Valenzuela . 1978. Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment. *Comparative Politics* 10 (July): 535–537.

Viotti, Paul R. , and Mark V. Kauppi . 1993. *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, and Globalism*. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan.

Wallerstein, Immanuel . 1980. *The Modern World System*. New York: Academic Press.

Weeks, Kathi . 2011. *The Problem with Works: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries* . Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Welch, Susan , John Gruhl , John Comer , and Susan Rigdon . 1997. *American Government* . 6th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Wendt, Alexander . 1992. Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics. *International Organization* 46 (Spring): 291–424.

Whitworth, Sandra . 2004. *Men, Militarism, and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* . Boulder, CO: Lynn Reinner.

Zalewski, Marysia , and Jane Parpart , eds. 1998. *The “Man” Question in International Relations*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

## International Security

Aboul-Enein, Sameh . 2010. The 2010 NPR Review and the Middle East: Challenges and Opportunities. *Palestine-Israel Journal* 16 (3): 67–76.

Afrasiabi, Kaveh , and Mustafa Kibaroglu . 2005. Negotiating Iran’s Nuclear Populism. *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 12 (Summer/Fall): 255–268.

Ahmad, Feroz . 1991. Arab Nationalism, Radicalism, and the Specter of Neocolonialism. *Monthly Review* 42 (February): 30–35.

Alsaba, Khulud and Anuj Kapilashrami . 2016. Understanding Women’s Experience of Violence and the Political Economy of Gender in Conflict: The Case of Syria. *Reproductive Health Matters* 24 (May), 47: 5–17.

Ahmed, Nafeez . 2013. Syrian Intervention Fueled by Oil Interests, Not Chemical Weapons Concerns. *Guardian* (August 30): [www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2013/aug/30/syria-chemical-attack-war-intervention-oil-gas-energy-pipelines](http://www.theguardian.com/environment/earth-insight/2013/aug/30/syria-chemical-attack-war-intervention-oil-gas-energy-pipelines).

Atlas, Pierre M. 2012. US Foreign Policy and the Arab Spring: Balancing Values and Interests. *Digest of Middle East Studies* 21(Fall) 2: 353–385.

Averre, Derek , and Lance Davies . 2015. Russian Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: The Case of Syria. *International Affairs* 91 (July) 4: 813–834.

Bahgat, Gawdat . 2017. US–Iran Relations under the Trump Administration. *Mediterranean Quarterly* 28 (September) 3: 93–111.

Barringer, Felicity . 2003. Iran Is Urged to Sign Pact Giving Power to Inspectors. *The New York Times* (June 17): [www.nytimes.com/2003/06/17/world/iran-is-urged-to-sign-pact-giving-power-to-inspectors.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2003/06/17/world/iran-is-urged-to-sign-pact-giving-power-to-inspectors.html).

BBC News . 2013. UN’s del Ponte Says Evidence Syria Rebels “used Sarin.” (May 6): [www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-22424188](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-22424188).

BBC News . 2014. Syria Death Toll “more than 191,000.” (August 22): [www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28892552](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-28892552)

Bellamy, Alex J. 2015. *The Responsibility to Protect: A Defense*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bellamy, Alex J. , Paul D. Williams , and Stuart Griffin . 2010. *Understanding Peacekeeping* . 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Boulden, Jane . 2001. *Peace Enforcement: The United Nations Experience in Congo, Somalia, and Bosnia* . Westport: CT: Praeger.

Broad, William J. , and David E. Sanger . 2006. Restraints Fray and Risks Grow as Nuclear Club Gains Members. *New York Times* (October 15): [www.nytimes.com/2006/10/15/world/asia/15nuke.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/15/world/asia/15nuke.html).

Broad, William J. 2009. Panel Sees No Need for A-Bomb Upgrade. *New York Times* (November 20): [www.nytimes.com/2009/11/20/science/20nuke.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/20/science/20nuke.html).

Brockmeier, Sarah , Oliver Stuenkel , and Marcos Tourinho . 2016. The Impact of the Libyan Intervention Debates on Norms of Protection. *Global Society* 30 (January) 1: 112–133.

Burns, John F. 1998. Nuclear Anxiety: The Subcontinent; India Glows with Pride as Outrage Rises Abroad. *New York Times* (May 13): [www.nytimes.com/1998/05/13/world/nuclear-anxiety-the-subcontinent-india-glows-with-pride-as-outrage-rises-abroad.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1998/05/13/world/nuclear-anxiety-the-subcontinent-india-glows-with-pride-as-outrage-rises-abroad.html).

Byers, Michael . 2004. Agreeing to Disagree: Security Council Resolution 1441 and Intentional Ambiguity. *Global Governance* 10 (April–June): 165–186.

Caldicott, Susan . 1984. *Missile Envy: The Arms Race and Nuclear War*. New York: Morrow.

Carswell, Andrew J. 2013. Unblocking the UN Security Council: The Uniting for Peace Resolution. *The Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 18 (December) 3: 453–480.

Chertoff, Emily . 2017. Prosecuting Gender-Based Persecution: The Islamic State at the ICC. *Yale Law Journal* 126 (February) 4: 1050–1117.

Chomsky, Noam . 2004. *Hegemony or Survival? America's Quest of Global Dominance* . New York: Henry Holt.

Chomsky, Noam . 2008. Humanitarian Imperialism: The Doctrine of the Imperial Rights. *Monthly Review* (September): <https://chomsky.info/200809/>.

Cohn, Carol . 2006. The Relevance of Gender for Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction. *The Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission. Background Paper #38*. Stockholm, Sweden: Weapons of Mass Destruction Commission, [www.wmdcommission.org](http://www.wmdcommission.org).

Dingott Alkopher, Tal . 2016. From Kosovo to Syria: The Transformation of NATO Secretaries General's Discourse on Military Humanitarian Intervention. *European Security* 23 (March) 1: 49–71.

Dunne, Tim , and Sarah Teitt . 2015. Contested Intervention: China, India, and the Responsibility to Protect. *Global Governance* 21 (July–September) 3: 371–391.

Egeland, Jan . 2015. A Way Out of the Syrian Carnage. *Brown Journal of World Affairs* . 22 (Fall/Winter) 1: 297–304.

Entessar, Nadar , and Kaveh L. Afrasiabi . 2016. The Iran Nuclear Accord and the Future of Nonproliferations: A Constructivist-Critical Approach. *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 22 (Spring/Summer) 2: 177–195.

Erich, Reese . 2014. *Inside Syria: The Backstory of their Civil War and What the World Can Expect* . Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books.

Fahim, Kareem , and David D. Kirkpatrick . 2011. Qaddafi's Grip on Capital Tightens as Revolt Grows. *New York Times* (February 23): [www.nytimes.com/2011/02/23/world/africa/23libya.html?pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/23/world/africa/23libya.html?pagewanted=all).

Ferguson, Niall . 2004. *Colossus: The Price of America's Empire*. New York: Penguin Press.

Fitzpatrick, Mark . 2015. Iran: A Good Deal. *Survival* 57 (September) 5: 47–52.

Foley, Conor . 2017. *UN Peacekeeping Operations and the Protection of Civilians: Saving Succeeding Generations* . New York: Cambridge University Press.

Franck, Thomas M. 2003. What Happens Now? The United Nations After Iraq? *American Journal of International Law* (July): 607–620.

Freedman, Jane , Zeynep Kivilcim , and Nurcan Ozgur Baklacioglu , eds. 2017 . *A Gendered Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis* . New York: Routledge.

Gholiagha, Sassan . 2015. To Prevent Future Kosovos and Future Rwandas: A Critical Constructivist View of the Responsibility to Protect. *International Journal of Human Rights* 19 (December) 9: 1074–1097.

Giffkins, Jess . 2016. R2P in the UN Security Council: Darfur, Libya, and Beyond. *Cooperation and Conflict* 51 (June) 2: 148–165.

Giovanni, Janine Di . 2014. Saving Syria: A Dearth of Women and Ideas. *Newsweek Global* 162 (January 31) 5: 57–65.

Glanville, Luke . 2016. Does R2P Matter? Interpreting the Impact of a Norm. *Cooperation and Conflict* 51 (June) 2: 184–199.

Goodby, James E. , and Daniel B. O'Connor . 1993. *Collective Security: An Essay on Its Limits and Possibilities After the Cold War*. Washington, DC: United States Institute for Peace.

Hakke, Murat Metin . 2004. The Second Iraq War One Year On: Can George W. Bush and Tony Blair Be Tried for War Crimes? *Human Rights Review* (January–March): 869–903.

Hersh, Seymour M. 2017. Trump's Red Line. *Die Welt* (June 26): [www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article165905578/Trump-s-Red-Line.html](http://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article165905578/Trump-s-Red-Line.html).

Higgins, Patrick . 2015. The War on Syria. *Jacobin* (August 27): [www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/syria-civil-war-nato-military-intervention](http://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/08/syria-civil-war-nato-military-intervention).

Hoagland, Jim . 2004. Pakistan's Nuclear Ali Baba. *The Washington Post* (February 10): A5.

Hoge, Warren . 2005. Report Finds U.N. Isn't Moving to End Sex Abuse by Peacekeepers. *New York Times* (October 19): A5.

Hoge, Warren . 2006. Praise at Home for Envoy, but Scorn at UN. *New York Times* (July 23): [www.nytimes.com/2006/07/23/world/praise-at-home-for-envoy-but-scorn-at-un.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/23/world/praise-at-home-for-envoy-but-scorn-at-un.html).

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty . 2001. *The Responsibility to Protect: Report* . Ottawa, ON: ICISS.

Jacoby, Tami Amanda . 2015. Jihadi Brides at the Intersections of Contemporary Feminism. *New Political Science* 37 (December) 4: 525–542.

Jones, David Martin , and M.L.R. Smith . 2015. Return to Reason: Reviving Political Reason in Western Foreign Policy. *International Affairs* 91 (September) 5: 933–952.

Juneau, Thomas . 2015a. Containing the Islamic State. *Middle East Policy* 22 (Fall) 3: 36–43.

Juneau, Thomas . 2015b. *Squandered Opportunity: Neoclassical Realism and Iranian Foreign Policy* . Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kaplan, Robert D. 2016. The Devil You Know. *The National Interest* (November/December): 12–17.

Kuperman, Alan J. 2013. A Model Humanitarian Intervention? *International Security* 38 (Summer) 1: 105–136.

Landau, Emily B. 2017. Obama's Legacy, a Nuclear Iran. *Middle East Quarterly* 24 (Spring): 1–13.

Landler, Mark , and David E. Sanger (2017) Trump Disavows Nuclear Deal, but Doesn't Scrap It. *New York Times* (October 13): [www.nytimes.com/2017/10/13/us/politics/trump-iran-nuclear-deal.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/13/us/politics/trump-iran-nuclear-deal.html).

Leitch, David G. 2017. Red Flecks on a White Suit: Mark Twain on Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). *Peace and Change* 42 (October) 4: 521–556.

Mackinlay, John , and Jarat Chopra . 1997. Second Generation Multinational Operations. pp. 175–200 in *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organization in an Interdependent World*, ed. Paul Diehl . Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press.

Marcetic, Branko . 2017. The Elite Consensus on Syria. *The Jacobin* (April 7): [www.jacobinmag.com/2017/04/syria-airstrikes-trump-assad-gas-attack-chemical-weap-ons-hillary-clinton](http://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/04/syria-airstrikes-trump-assad-gas-attack-chemical-weap-ons-hillary-clinton).

Michelis, Ilaria , and Melanie Megevand . 2014. Gender-Based Violence and Displacement. *Therapy Today* 25 (September) 7: 14–19.

Moore, Catherine , and Tarsila Talarico . 2015. Inclusion to Exclusion: Women in Syria. *Emory International Law Review* 30 (2): 213–260.

Morris, Justin . 2013. Libya and Syria: R2P and the Spectre of the Swinging Pendulum. *International Affairs* 89 (September) 5: 1265–1283.

Myrtilinen, Henri . 2003. Disarming Masculinities. *Disarmament Forum* 4: 37–46.

Naim, Moises . 2009. Minilateralism. *Foreign Policy* (July–August): 135–136.

Nau, Henry R. 2015. How Restraint Leads to War: The Real Danger of the Iran Deal. *Commentary* (September): 13–21.

Negron-Gonzales, Melinda and Michael Contarino . 2014. Local Norms Matter: Understanding National Responses to the Responsibility to Protect. *Global Governance* 20 (April–June) 2: 255–276.

Niaz, Unaiza . 2014. Psychiatric Impact of War and Terrorism on Muslim Women. *Arab Journal of Psychiatry* 25 (May) 1: 1–17.

Olsson, Louise . 2001. Gender Mainstreaming in Practice: The United Nations Transitional Assistance Group in Namibia. pp. 97–111 in *Women and International Peacekeeping*, ed. Louise Olsson and Torunn Tryggstad . London: Frank Cass.

Omelycheva, Mariya Y. 2012. Russia's Foreign Policy Toward Iran: A Critical Geopolitics Perspective. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 14 (September) 3: 331–344.

Parker, Stephanie . 2015. Hidden Crisis: Violence Against Female Refugees. *Lancet* 385 (June 13) 9985: 2341–2342.

Paul, T. V. 2003. Systemic Conditions and Security Cooperation: Explaining the Persistence of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 16 (April): 135–154.

Paul, T. V. 2009. *The Tradition of the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons*. Stanford, CA: University of Stanford Press.

Phillips, Christopher . 2016. *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East* . New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Putin, Vladimir . 2013. A Plea of Caution from Russia. *New York Times* (September 11): [www.nytimes.com/2013/09/12/opinion/putin-plea-for-caution-from-russia-on-syria.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/12/opinion/putin-plea-for-caution-from-russia-on-syria.html).

Quainton, Anthony C.E. 2012. The New Imperialism: Stabilization and Reconstruction or the Responsibility to Fix? *Mediterranean Quarterly* 23 (Winter) 1: 5–13.

Rayman, Noah . 2015. ISIS Manifesto Depicts Its Grim Vision on the Role of Women. (February 5): [www.time.com](http://www.time.com).

Reardon, Robert J. 2012. *Containing Iran: Strategies for Addressing the Iranian Nuclear Challenge* . Santa Monica, CA: RAND.

Riggs, Robert E. , and Jack C. Plano . 1994. *The United Nations: International Organization and World Politics*. 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Rost-Rublee, Maria . 2008. Taking Stock of the Nuclear Proliferation Regime: Using Social Psychology to Understand Regime Effectiveness. *International Studies Review* 10: 420–450.

Rost-Rublee, Maria . 2009. *Nonproliferation Norms: Why States Choose Nuclear Restraint*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

Saikal, Amin . 2006. The Iran Nuclear Dispute. *The Australian Journal of International Affairs* 60 (June): 193–199.

Saleh, Yassin al-Haj . 2017. *The Impossible Revolution: Making Sense of the Syrian Tragedy* . Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.

Sanger, David E. , and Mark Mazzetti . 2007. Israel Struck Syrian Nuclear Project, Analysts Say. *New York Times* (October 14): [www.nytimes.com/2007/10/14/washington/14weapons.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/14/washington/14weapons.html).

Shank, Gregory . 2015. Anatomy of a Done Deal: The Fight Over the Iran Nuclear Deal. *Social Justice* 42 (1): 1–18.

Sibbald, Barbara . 2013. Needs Escalate, Capacity Stagnates in Syria. *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 185 (July 9) 10: 437–438.

Simpson, Gerry . 2005. The War with Iraq and International Law. *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 6 (May): 167–189.

Soguel, Dominique . 2014. In Syrian Conflict, Women Rescuers are Saving Lives and Changing Minds. *Christian Science Monitor* (December 9): 1.

Sohlman, Eva . 2013. Women's Role in Syria Uprising Obscured by War and Islamists, but Still Crucial. *American Foreign Policy Interests* 35: 40–74.

Stephen, Chris . 2017. Gaddafi Son Saif al-Islam Freed by Libyan Militia. *Guardian* . (June 11): [www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/11/gaddafi-son-saif-al-islam-freed-by-libyan-militia](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/11/gaddafi-son-saif-al-islam-freed-by-libyan-militia).

Stevenson, Jonathan . 2014. The Syrian Tragedy and Precedent. *Survival* 56 (June/July) 3: 121–140.

Suleman, Arsalan M. 2008. Bargaining in the Shadow of Violence: The NPT, IAEA and Nuclear Non-Proliferation Negotiations. *Berkeley Journal of International Law* 26 (1): 206–253.

Taft, William H. IV . 2005. International Law and the Use of Force. *Georgetown Journal of International Law* (Spring): 659–663.

Tannenwald, Nina . 2008. *Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Non-Use of Nuclear Weapons*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tariq, Ali . 2003. "Re-colonizing Iraq." *The New Left Review* 21 (May–June): 5–19.

Taylor, Paul . 1998. The United Nations and International Organization. pp. 264–283 in *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, ed. John Baylis and Steve Smith . Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, Richard Norton . 2012. Libya Campaign has "made UN Protection Missions Less Likely." *Guardian* (March 18): [www.theguardian.com/world/2012/mar/19/libya-un-missions-civilians](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/mar/19/libya-un-missions-civilians).

Tertrais, Bruno . 2015. Iran: An Experiment in Strategic Risk-Taking. *Survival* 57 (October–November) 5: 67–73.

UN News Centre . 2012. Kofi Annan Resigns as UN-Arab League Joint Special Envoy for Syrian Crisis. (August 2): [www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42609#.WgCnUlu3y1s](http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42609#.WgCnUlu3y1s).

UN Security Council . 2012. Security Council Fails to Adopt Draft Resolution as Russian Federation Veto Text Supporting Arab League's Proposed Peace Plan. SC/10536 (February 4): [www.un.org/press/en/2012/sc10536.doc.htm](http://www.un.org/press/en/2012/sc10536.doc.htm).

Vafai, John C. 2017. The New Era of Doing Business with Iran: Iran's International Commercial Transactions and Global Security. *Pace International Law Review* 29 (1):1–129.

Vanhullahbusch, Mathias . 2015. The Arab League and Military Operations: Prospects and Challenges in Syria. *International Peacekeeping* 22 (April) 2: 151–168.

Washington Report on Middle East Affairs. 2001. OIC Condemns Raids on Iraq 20 (April): 38.

Weiss, Thomas G. , and Barbara Crossette . 2006. *The United Nations: The Post-Summit Outlook*. pp. 1–10 in *Great Decisions*. New York: Foreign Policy Association.

Weiss, Thomas G. 2014. "Military Humanitarianism: Syria Hasn't Killed It." *The Washington Quarterly* 37 (Spring) 1: 7–20.

Weiss, Thomas G , David P. Forsythe , Roger A. Coate , and Kelly-Kate Pease . 2017. *The United Nations and Changing World Politics*. 8th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Wendt, Alexander . 1999. *Social Theory and International Relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, Gary . 2014. *United Nations and Collective Security* . New York: Routledge.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. 2016. *Violations Against Women in Syria and the Disproportionate Impact of the Conflict on Them* . [www.wilpf.org](http://www.wilpf.org).

Xue, Hanquin . 2007. Chinese Observations on International Law. *Chinese Journal of International Law* 6 (March): 83–93.

Yilmaz, Muzaffer Ercan . 2005. UN Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era. *International Journal of World Peace* 22 (June): 13–29.

Zakaria, Rafia . 2015. Women and Islamic Militancy. *Dissent* 62 (Winter) 1: 118–125.

## Regional Security

Albright, Madeleine . 1994. Bosnia in Light of the Holocaust: War Crimes Tribunals . U.S. Department of State Dispatch 5 (April 18): 209–212.

Allers, Robin . 2016. The Framework Nation: Can Germany Lead on Security. *International Affairs* 92 (September) 5: 1167–1187.

Aning, Kwesi and Fifi Edu-Afful. 2016. African Agency in R2P: Interventions by African Union and ECOWAS in Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, and Libya. *International Studies Review* 18 (March) 1: 120–133.

Art, Robert J. 2016. Creating a Disaster: NATO's Open Door Policy. *Political Science Quarterly* 131 (2): 341–363.

Asmus, Ronald D. 2002. *Opening NATO's Door: How the Alliance Remade Itself for a New Era*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Barry, Ellen . 2011. Former Ukraine Premier Jailed for 7 Years. *New York Times* (October 11): [www.nytimes.com/2011/10/12/world/europe/yulia-tymoshenko-sentenced-to-seven-years-in-prison.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/12/world/europe/yulia-tymoshenko-sentenced-to-seven-years-in-prison.html).

Bilefsky, Dan . 2008. Tension Mounts as Kosovo Constitution Takes Effect. *New York Times* (June 16): [www.nytimes.com/2008/06/15/world/europe/15iht-kosovo.4.13724698.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/15/world/europe/15iht-kosovo.4.13724698.html).

Brzezinski, Zbigniew . 2016. Toward a Global Realignment. *The American Interest* . (July/August): 7–11.

Burke, Louise , and Colin Freeman . 2017. Gambia Crisis: Everything You Need to Know about the battle to Remove Yahya Jammeh. *Telegraph* (January 20): [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/18/gambia-crisis-everything-need-know-battle-remove-president-yahya/](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/18/gambia-crisis-everything-need-know-battle-remove-president-yahya/).

Channell, Emily . 2014. Is Sextremism the new Feminism? Perspectives from Pussy Riot and Femen. *Nationalities Papers* 42 (July) 4: 611–614.

Cohen, Stephen F. 2014. Why Cold War Again? *Nation* 298 (April 21) 16: 5–16.

Cooper, Helene . 2010. Iron Lady. *World Affairs* 173 (November/December) 4: 43–50.

Dapaah-Agyemang, Joshua . 2003. The Transformation of ECOWAS as a Security Apparatus and Its Implication in Ghana's Political Orientation, 1990–2000. *African and Asian Studies* 2 (1): 3–36.

Darden, Keith A. 2017. Russian Revanche: External Threats and Regime Reactions. *Daedalus* 146 (Spring) 2: 128–141.

De Wet, Erika . 2014. The Evolving Role of ECOWAS and the SADC in Peace Operations: A Challenge to the Primacy of the United Nations Security Council in Matters of Peace and Security." *Leiden Journal of International Law* 27: 353–369.

The Economist . 2013. Over There. (June 15): 44.

ECOWAS website: [www.ecowas.int/about-ecowas/governance-structure/](http://www.ecowas.int/about-ecowas/governance-structure/).

Feklyunina, Valentina . 2016. Soft Power and Identity: Russia, Ukraine and the "Russian World(s)." *European Journal of International Relations* 22 (December) 4: 773–796.

Foreign Policy . 2017. Gambia's Ousted Dictator Living the Good Life in a Palace in Equatorial Guinea. (April 3): <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/03/gambias-ousted-dictator-is-living-the-good-life-in-a-palace-in-equatorial-guinea/>.

Gaddis, John Lewis . 1998. History, Grand Strategy, and NATO Enlargement. *Survival* 40 (Spring): 145–151.

Gardner, Hall . 2015. *Crimea, Global Rivalry, and the Vengeance of History* . New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ghervas, Stella . 2014. Three Lessons of Peace from the Congress of Vienna to the Ukraine Crisis. *UN Chronicle* 51 (3): 9–11.

Goldgeiger, James . 1999. *Not Whether but When: The U.S. Decision to Enlarge NATO* . Washington, DC: Brookings Institute.

Gow, David . 2009. Russia-Ukraine Gas Crisis Intensifies as All European Gas Supplies Are Cut Off. *Guardian* (January 7): [www.theguardian.com/business/2009/jan/07/gas-ukraine](http://www.theguardian.com/business/2009/jan/07/gas-ukraine).

Hallams, Ellen , and Benjamin Sheer . 2012. Toward a Post-American Alliance? *International Affairs* 88 (2): 313–327.

Harding, Luke . 2010. Yanukovich Set to Become President as Observers Say Ukraine Election Was Fair. *Guardian* (February 8): [www.theguardian.com/world/2010/feb/08/viktor-yanukovich-ukraine-president-election](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/feb/08/viktor-yanukovich-ukraine-president-election).

Hartmann, Christof . 2017. ECOWAS and the Restoration of Democracy in the Gambia. *Africa Spectrum* 52 (1): 85–99.

Hirsh, Afua . 2013. Gambia Quits the Commonwealth. *Guardian*. (October 2): [www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/03/gambia-quits-commonwealth-yahya-jammeh](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/03/gambia-quits-commonwealth-yahya-jammeh).

Hrycak, Alexandra . 2007. Seeing Orange: Women's Activism and Ukraine's Orange Revolution. *Women's Studies Quarterly* 35 (Fall/Winter) 4: 208–225.

Hunt, Swanee , and Zan Larsen . 2012. Why They Won the Nobel Peace Prize. *Women's Policy Journal of Harvard* 9: 3–4.

Hurd, Douglas . 1994. *NATO's New Horizons*. Policy Statement PS51/94. New York: British Information Services.

Ifediora, Obinna Franklin , and Kwesi Aning . 2017. West Africa's Ebola Pandemic: Toward Effective Multilateral Responses to Health Crises. *Global Governance* 23 (April–June) 2: 225–244.

Itskowitz Shiffrinson , Joshua R . 2016. Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion. *International Security* 40 (Spring) 4: 7–44.

Kay, Sean . 2005. What Went Wrong With NATO? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 18 (April): 69–83.

Kegley, Charles W. , and Gregory A. Raymond . 1990. *When Trust Breaks Down: Alliance Norms and World Politics* . Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Keller, Patrick . 2007. The Future of NATO: Between Overstretch and Irrelevance. *American Foreign Policy Interests* 21 (May/June): 207–217.

Kennan, George R. 1997. A Fateful Error. *New York Times* (February 5): A23.

Klare, Michael T. 1995. Going South. In *These Times* 19 (May 1): 22–24.

Mearsheimer, John J. 2014. Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault. *Foreign Affairs* 93 (September/October) 5: 77–89.

Myers, Steven Lee and Thom Shanker . 2008. NATO Expansion, and a Bush Legacy, Are in Doubt. *New York Times* (March 15): [www.nytimes.com/2008/03/15/world/europe/15nato.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/15/world/europe/15nato.html).

Nau, Henry . 2014. NATO Should Act Now, Not Later. *DW* (April 22): [www.dw.com/en/nato-should-act-now-not-later/a-17582668](http://www.dw.com/en/nato-should-act-now-not-later/a-17582668).

Obi, Cyril I. 2008. Nigeria's Foreign Policy and Transnational Security Challenges in West Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 26 (April) 2: 183–196.

Obi, Cyril I. 2009. Economic Community of West African States on the Ground: Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau, and Cote d'Ivoire. *African Security* 2 (December) 2–3: 119–135.

Ogunnubi, Olusola and Ufo Okeke-Uzodike , 2016. Can Nigeria Be Africa's Hegemon? *African Security Review* 25 (March) 2: 173–179.

Oguz, Safak . 2015. NATO's Mistakes That Pave the Way for the Russia–Ukraine Crisis. *Journal of Black Sea Studies* 12 (45): 1–12.

Olsen, Gorm Rye . 2014. Fighting Terrorism by Proxy in Africa: The USA and the European Union in Somalia and Mali. *European Security* 23 (September) 3: 290–306.

Oluwadare, Abiodun Joseph . 2014. The African Union and the Conflict in Mali: Extra-Regional Influence and the Limitations of a Regional Actor. *Journal of International and Global Studies* 6 (1): 106–120.

Ong, G. Gerard . 2003. Credibility over Courage: NATO's Mis-Intervention in Kosovo. *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 26 (March): 73–108.

Phillips, Sarah D. 2014. The Women's Squad in Ukraine's Protests: Feminism, Nationalism, and Militarism on the Maidan. *American Ethnologist* 41 (August) 3: 414–426.

Proedrou, Filippos . 2010. Ukraine's Foreign Policy: Accounting For Ukraine's Indeterminate Stance between Russia and the West. *Journal of Southeast European & Black Sea Studies* 10 (December) 4: 443–456.

Raji, Rafiq . 2017. Good Cop, Bad Trader. *New African* (March): 18–19.

Roter, Petra , and Zlatko Sabic . 2004. New and Old Europe in the Context of the Iraq War and Its Implications of European Security. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 5 (3): 517–542.

Rynning, Sten . 2017. The Divide: France, Germany and Political NATO. *International Affairs* 93 (March) 2: 267–289.

Schjølset, Anita . 2013. Data on Women's Participation in NATO Forces and Operations. *International Interactions* 39 (September/October) 4: 575–587.

Sciolino, Elaine . 2004. Drifting NATO Finds New Purpose with Afghanistan and Iraq. *New York Times* (February 23): A8.

Scully, Pamela . 2016. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Searcey, Dionne . 2017. Why Democracy Prevailed in Gambia. *New York Times* (January 30): [www.nytimes.com/2017/01/30/world/africa/gambia-barrow-democracy-africa.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/30/world/africa/gambia-barrow-democracy-africa.html).

Sestanovich, Stephen . 2014. How the West Has Won. *Foreign Affairs* 93 (November/December) 6: 171–175.

Shakhrai, Ina . 2015. The Legitimation of Authoritarian Rule Through Constructed External Threats: Russian Propaganda During the Ukraine Crisis. *Eastern European Quarterly* 43 (March 1): 29–54.

Shanker, Thom . 2008. NATO Fails to Address Shortfalls in Kabul. *International Herald Tribune* (Saturday–Sunday, June 14–15): 3.

Siddi, Marco . 2016. German Foreign Policy Toward Russia in the Aftermath of the Ukraine Crisis: A New Ostpolitik? *Europe Asia Studies* 68 (June) 4: 665–677.

Sky, Emma . 2007. Increasing ISAF's Impact on Stability in Afghanistan. *Defense & Security Analysis* 23 (March): 7–25.

Toal, Gerald . 2017. *Near Abroad: Putin, the West, and the Contest over Ukraine and the Caucasus* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Terriff, Terry . 2004. Fear and Loathing in NATO: The Atlantic Alliance After the Crisis over Iraq. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* (May): 419–446.

Weitz, Richard . 2014. Global Insights: Ukraine Crisis Shows the Strength of NATO Partnership Policies. *World Politics Review* (February 25): 1.

Weller, Marc . 2011. Modesty Can Be a Virtue: Judicial Economy in the ICJ Kosovo Opinion. *Leiden Journal of International Law* 24 (1): 127–147.

The White House, Office of the US Press Secretary . 2016. Press Conference by President Obama After the NATO Summit. (July 9): <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/07/09/press-conference-president-obama-after-nato-summit>.

Wilde, Ralph . 2011. Accordance with International Law of Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Respect of Kosovo, Advisory Opinion. *American Journal of International Law* 105 (2): 301–307.

Winrow, Gareth . 2007. Geopolitics and Energy Security in the Wider Black Sea Region. *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 7 (June): 217–235.

Wolff, Andrew . 2015. The Future of NATO Enlargement after the Ukraine Crisis. *International Affairs* 91 (September) 5: 1103–1121.

Wright, Katherine A. 2016. NATO's Adoption of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security: Making the Agenda a Reality. *International Political Science Review* 37 (June) 3: 350–361.

Yost, David S. 2015. The Budapest Memorandum and Russia's Intervention in Ukraine. *International Affairs* 91 (May) 3: 505–538.

Zenko, Micah . 2016. The Big Lie About the Libyan War. *Foreign Policy* (March 22): <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/03/22/libya-and-the-myth-of-humanitarian-intervention/>. HAPTER

## Trade

Agra Europe. 1999. EU Judge Rejects French GM Ban (November 26): 11.

Agra Europe. 2000a. Public Ignorant of GM Issues (April 28): 5–7.

Agra Europe. 2000b. Thailand Files First GMO Complaint at WTO (September 29): 9.

Bhagwati, Jagdish . 2004. Don't Cry For Cancun. *Foreign Affairs* 83 (January–February): 52–63.

Bosch, Xavier . 2003. USA Fights Europe's Ban on Genetically Modified Food. *Lancet* 361 (May 24): 1798.

Brooks, Stephen G. 2011. *Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Global Security and the Changing Calculus of Conflict* . Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bunge, Jacob . 2016. If Monsanto Loses Its Name, What Will Its Haters Have to Hate. *Wall Street Journal* . (April 7): 1.

Cho, Sungjoon . 2014. *The Social Foundations of World Trade* . Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, Nicola . 2011. W.T.O. Ruling on Airbus Subsidies Upheld on Appeal. *New York Times* (May 18): [www.nytimes.com/2011/05/19/business/global/19wto.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/19/business/global/19wto.html).

Crow, Patrick . 1996. Defending the WTO. *Oil & Gas Journal* 94 (March 18): 37.

The Economist. 1998. Food Fights: Genetically Modified Plants Are Already Commonplace in America. Europeans Would Be Better off if They Embraced Them with Equal Enthusiasm (June 13): 79–81.

Friedman, Thomas L. 1999. Senseless in Seattle. *New York Times* (December 1): A31.

Fisher, Daniel I. 2002. Super Jumbo Problem: Boeing, Airbus, and the Battle for the Geopolitical Future. *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 35 (May) 3: 865–893.

Folsom, Thomas C. 2015. Designing Food, Owning the Cornucopia: What the Patented Peanut Butter and Jelly Sandwich Might Teach About GMOs, Modified Foods, Replicator and Non-Scarcity Economics. *Akron Intellectual Property Journal* 8 (1): 53–116.

Gilpin, Robert . 1987. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Grogan, John and Cheryl Long . 2000. The Problem with Genetic Engineering. *Organic Gardening* 47 (January): 42–55.

Halford, Nigel . 2001. Agricultural Biotechnology. *Chemistry and Industry* (August 20): 505–508.

Hoekman, Bernard and Petros C. Mavroidis . 2015. WTO “a la Carte” or “Menu du Jour”: Assessing the Case for More Plurilateral Agreements. *The European Journal of International Law* 26 (May) 2: 319–343.

Hoekman, Bernard , and Petros C. Mavroidis . 2016. *The World Trade Organization: Law, Economics, and Politics*. London: Routledge.

Joseph, Sara . 2011. *Blame It on the WTO?: A Human Rights Critique* . New York: Oxford University Press.

Journal of Environmental Health. 2000. National Research Council Weighs in on Transgenic Plants 63 (July): 40–43.

Kaluderovic, Zeljiko and Jovana Potpara . 2013. Genetically Modified Organisms—A Solution to World Hunger. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 3 (February) 1: 53–56.

Kemp, Kenny . 2013. *Flight of the Titans* . New York: Random House.

Lang, Andrew T. F. 2006. Reconstructing Embedded Liberalism: John Gerald Ruggie and Constructivist Approaches to the International Trade Regime. *Journal of International Economic Law* 9 (March): 81–116.

Langer, Gary . 2001. Behind the Label: Many Skeptical of Bio-Engineered Food . (June 19); [www.abcnews.go.com/sections/scitech/dailynews/poll010619.html](http://www.abcnews.go.com/sections/scitech/dailynews/poll010619.html).

Lawson, Charles , and Berris Charnley , eds. 2015. *Intellectual Property and Genetically Modified Organisms: A Convergence in Laws* . New York: Routledge.



Madrazo, Alejandro . 2013. Biocolonialism: Trips and Genetic No Man's Land. *Georgetown International Environmental Law Review* . 25 (Summer) 4: 487–515.

Maynard, Cindy . 2000. Biotech at the Table. *Current Health* 2 (November): 22–25.

Mitre, Maya and Bruno P.W. Reis . 2014. Science and Politics in the Regulation of Genetically Modified Organisms in Brazil. *Review of Policy Research* 31 (March) 2: 125–147.

Myers, Polly Reed . 2015. *Capitalist Family Values: Gender, Work, and Corporate Culture* . Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

New York Times . 2016. Global Trade after the Failure of the Doha Round. (January 1): [www.nytimes.com/2016/01/01/opinion/global-trade-after-the-failure-of-the-doha-round.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/01/opinion/global-trade-after-the-failure-of-the-doha-round.html?_r=0).

Nichols, Philip M. 2004. Realism, Liberalism, Values, and the World Trade Organizations. *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Economic Law* 25 (2): 725–754.

Olsen, Elizabeth . 2000. Members Call for Change in WTO Dispute System. *International Herald Tribune* (October 23): 9.

Paarlberg, Robert L. 2001. *The Politics of Precaution: Genetically Modified Crops in Developing Countries*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.

Pires-O'Brien, Joaquina . 2000. GM Foods in Perspective. *Contemporary Review* 276 (January): 19–24.

Pollack, Andrew . 2000. Montreal Talks Agree on Rules for Biosafety. *New York Times* (January 20): [www.nytimes.com/2000/01/30/world/130-nations-agree-on-safety-rules-for-biotech-food.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2000/01/30/world/130-nations-agree-on-safety-rules-for-biotech-food.html).

Ruggie, John Gerald . 1982. International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Post-Cold War Economic Order. *International Organization* 36 (Special Issue): 379–415.

Sanchez, Miguel A. , and Wayne A. Parrott . 2017. Characterization of Scientific Studies Usually Cited as Evidence of Adverse Effects of GM Food/Feed. *Plant Biotechnology Journal* 15 (October) 10: 1227–1234.

Schifferes, Steve . 2005. Final Round of Global Trade Deal. *BBC News* (December 21). [www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk).

Schrope, Mark . 2001. UN Backs Transgenic Crops for Poorer Nations. *Nature* 412 (July 12): 109–110.

Sell, Susan K. , and Aseem Prakash . 2004. Using Ideas Strategically: The Contest Between Business and NGO Networks in Intellectual Property Rights. *International Studies Quarterly* 24: 143–175.

Shiva, Vandana . 1997. *Biopiracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Shiva, Vandana . 1999. *Stolen Harvest: The Hijacking of the Global Food Supply* . Boston, MA: South End Press.

Stephan, Hannes R. 2015. *Cultural Politics and the Transatlantic Divide over GMOs* . New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Strauss, Debra M. 2009. The Application of TRIPS to GMOs: International Intellectual Property Rights and Biotechnology. *Stanford Journal of International Law* 45 (Summer) 2: 287–320.

Thomson, Jennifer A. 2015. How Genetical Engineering Can Help Small Farmers in Developing Countries. *Current History* 114 (November) 775: 305–310.

Wall, Robert . 2011. Collective Guilt. *Aviation Week and Space Technology* (April 4): 24.

Warwick, Hugh . 2000. Terminator Too. *The Ecologist* 30 (May): 50.

Willging, Jennifer . 2008. Of GMOs. *McDommation and Foreign Fat: Contemporary Franco-American Food Fights*. *French Cultural Studies* 19 (June): 199–226.

Wirth, David . A. 2013. The World Trade Organization's Dispute Concerning Genetically Modified Organisms: Precaution Meets International Trade Law. *Vermont Law Review* 37: 1152–1188.

Wolfe, Robert . 2005. See You in Geneva? Legal (Mis)Representation of the Trading System. *European Journal of International Relations* 11 (September): 339–365.

WTO website. [www.wto.org](http://www.wto.org).

## Development

Adeyami, Adebola . 2014. Changing the Face of Sustainable Development in Developing Countries: The Role of the International Finance Corporation. *Environmental Law Review* 16 (2): 91–106.

Bantekas, Ilias and Renaud Vivien . 2016. On the Odiousness of Greek Debt. *European Law Journal* 22 (July) 4: 539–565.

Beeton, Dan . 2013. Give Me Liberty or Give Me Debt. *Third World Quarterly* 34 (September) 8: 1499–1501.

Bird, Graham , and Dane Rowlands . 2007. The IMF and the Mobilisation of Foreign Aid. *Journal of Development Studies* 43 (July): 856–870.

Blustein, Paul . 2016. *Laid Low: Inside the Crisis that Overwhelmed Europe and the IMF* . Ottawa, ON: Centre for International Governance Innovation.

Brazys, Samuel and Niamh Hardiman . 2015. “From Tigers to PIIGS”: Ireland and the Use of Heuristics in Comparative Political Economy. *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (February) 1: 23–42.

Briant Carant, Jane . 2017. Unheard Voices: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Millennium Development Goals' Evolution into the Sustainable Development Goals. *Third World Quarterly* 38 (January) 1: 16–41.

Brisset, Nigel O.M. 2018. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Caribbean: Unrealizable Promises. *Progress in Development Studies* 18 (January) 8: 18–35;

Brunnermeier, Markus K. , Harold James , and Jean-Pierre Landau . 2016. *The Euro and the Battle of Ideas*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Catsambas, Thanos . 2016. The Greek Economic Crisis: Myths, Misperceptions, Truths, and Realities. *Mediterranean Quarterly* 27 (March) 1: 55–70.

Chin, Gregory T. 2016. Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank: Governance Innovation and Prospects. *Global Governance* 22 (January–March) 1: 11–25.

Chow, Daniel C.K. 2016. Why China Established the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank. *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 49 (5): 1255–1298.

Collier, Paul . 2007. *The Bottom Billion*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Cooper, Scott , Darren Hawkins , Wade Jacoby , and Daniel Nielson . 2008. Yielding Sovereignty to International Institutions: Bringing System Structure Back In. *International Studies Review* 10 (3): 501–524.

Danaher, Kevin , ed. 1994. *Third World: 50 Years Is Enough: The Case Against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Das, Gouranga C. 2017. Food-Feed-Biofuel Trilemma: Biotechnological Innovation Policy for Sustainable Development. *Journal of Policy Modeling* 39 (May) 3: 410–442.

De Jonge, Alice . 2017. Perspectives on the Emerging Role of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. *International Affairs* 93 (September) 5: 1061–1084.

Easterly, William . 2006. *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*. New York: Penguin Press.

Economou, Marina , E. Angelopoulos , Lily E. Peppou , Kyrakos Souliotis , and Costas Stefanis . 2016. Major Depression Amid Financial Crisis in Greece: Will Unemployment Narrow Existing Gender Differences in the Prevalence of the Disorder in Greece. *Psychiatry Research* 242 (August): 260–261.

Evans-Pritchard, Ambrose . 2016. IMF Admits Disastrous Love Affair with Euro and Apologises for the Immolation of Greece. *Telegraph* (July 29): [www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2016/07/28/imf-admits-disastrous-love-affair-with-euro-apologises-for-the-i/](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2016/07/28/imf-admits-disastrous-love-affair-with-euro-apologises-for-the-i/).

Fallon, Theresa . 2015. The New Silk Road: Xi Jinping's Grand Strategy for Eurasia. *American Foreign Policy Interests* 37 (May/June) 3: 140–147.

Frank, Andre Gunder . 1979. *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Freese, Bill . 2008. Biotech Snake Oil. *Multinational Monitor* 29 (September/October): 10–14.

Frey, Diane F. 2017. Economic Growth, Full Employment, and Decent Work: The Means and the Ends in SDG 8. *International Journal of Human Rights* 21 (October) 8: 1164–1184.

Galbraith, James K. 2016. *Welcome to the Poisoned Chalice: The Destruction of Greece and the Future of Europe* . New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Gidda, Mirren . 2016. The Trials of IMF Power Player Christine Lagarde. *Newsweek* (January 11): [www.newsweek.com/international-monetary-fund-christine-lagarde-second-term-413797](http://www.newsweek.com/international-monetary-fund-christine-lagarde-second-term-413797).

Gilpin, Robert . 1987. *The Political Economy of International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hecan, Mehmet . 2016. The Dynamics of Institutional Proliferation in Financing for Development: The Birth of the AIIB. *Development* 59 (June) 1: 158–166.

Horowitz, Jason and Liz Alderman . 2017. Chastised by E.U.: A Resentful Greece Embraces China's Cash and Interests. *New York Times* . (August 26): [www.nytimes.com/2017/08/26/world/europe/greece-china-piraeus-alexis-tsipras.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/26/world/europe/greece-china-piraeus-alexis-tsipras.html).

Irwin, Neil . 2015. How Germany Prevailed in the Greek Bailout. *New York Times* (July 29): [www.nytimes.com/2015/07/30/world/europe/how-germany-prevailed-in-the-greek-bailout.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/30/world/europe/how-germany-prevailed-in-the-greek-bailout.html).

Isaak, Robert A. 1995. *Managing World Economic Change*. 2nd ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Kelly, Annie . 2008. Liberia Aims to Become an Inspiration to Others. *Guardian*. [www.guardian.co.uk/alloutonpoverty/liberia](http://www.guardian.co.uk/alloutonpoverty/liberia).

Kollman, Kelly . 2008. The Regulatory Power of Business Norms. *International Studies Review* 10 (3): 397–410.

Konstandaras, Nikos . 2017. Can the E.U.'s Weakest Link Hold? *New York Times* (October 17): [www.nytimes.com/2017/10/17/opinion/germany-greece-bond.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/17/opinion/germany-greece-bond.html?_r=0).

Kotarski, Kristijan . 2012. Deconstructing the Profligacy Myth using Critical Theory and Social Constructivism: The Case of Greece and its Wider Socio – and Political Consequences. *Croatian Political Science Review* 49 (2): 7–29.

LaForgia, Rebecca . 2017. Listening to China's Multilateral Voice for the First Time: Analysing the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank for Soft Power Opportunities and Risks in the Narrative of “Lean, Clean, and Green.” *Journal of Contemporary China* 26 (September) 107: 633–649.

Lai-Ha, Chan . 2017. Soft Balancing Against the US "Pivot to Asia": China's Geostrategic Rationale for Establishing the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 71 (December) 6: 568–590.

Lancet. 2017. Canada's Feminist Foreign Aid Agenda 290 (July 15): 204.

Marshall, Katherine . 2008. *The World Bank: From Reconstruction to Development to Equity* . London: Routledge.

Martin, Felix . 2015. What the Greek Crisis Means for the World. *New Statesman* 144 (July 10) 5270: 20–22.

Mohashin, K.M. Shazzad . 2017. IMF in Greece: In the Shadow of the Washington Consensus. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 19 (December) 6: 666–683.

Moyo, Dambisa . 2009. *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa* . New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux.

Newell, Peter , and Jędrzej G. Frynas . 2007. Beyond CSR? Business Poverty and Social Justice: An Introduction. *Third World Quarterly* 28 (June): 669–681.

Nielson, Daniel , Michael Tierney , and Catherine Weaver . 2006. Bridging the Rationalist-Constructivist Divide: Reengineering the Culture of the World Bank. *Journal of International Relations and Development* 9 (June): 107–139.

Panageotou, Steven . 2017. Disciplining Greece: Crisis Management and Its Discontents. *Review of Radical Political Economics* 49 (Fall) 3: 358–374.

Paradise, James . 2016. The Role of "Parallel Institutions" in China's Growing Participation in Global Economic Governance. *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 21 (June) 2: 149–175.

Park, Susan . 2005. Norm Diffusion Within International Organizations: A Case Study of the World Bank. *Journal of International Relations and Development* 8 (June): 111–141.

Rao, Sujata . 2017. Business Can Unlock \$12 Trillion via Key Development Goals. *Reuters* (January 15): [www.reuters.com/article/us-davos-meeting-development/businesses-can-unlock-12-trillion-via-key-development-goals-davos-study-idUSK-BN1500D6](http://www.reuters.com/article/us-davos-meeting-development/businesses-can-unlock-12-trillion-via-key-development-goals-davos-study-idUSK-BN1500D6).

Reich, Robert . 2015. Goldman's Greek Gambit. *Nation* (August 3): 5–8.

The Report of the High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda . 2013. *A New Global Partnership: Eradicate Poverty and Transform Economies Through Sustainable Development* . New York, United Nations: [www.post2015hlp.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/UN-Report.pdf](http://www.post2015hlp.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/UN-Report.pdf).

Riggs, Robert E. , and Jack C. Plano . 1994. *The United Nations: International Organization and World Politics*. 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Rogers, Chris , and Sophia Vasilopoulou . 2012. Making Sense of Greek Austerity. *Political Quarterly* 83 (October–December) 4: 777–785.

Rosche, Daniela . 2016. Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals: Gender Equality at Last? An Oxfam Perspective. *Gender and Development* 24 (March) 1: 111–126.

Rostow, Walt . 1971. *Stages of Economic Growth*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Sachs, Jeffery . 2005. *The End of Poverty*. New York: Penguin Press.

Sen, Amartya . 1996. Development. Which Way Now? pp. 1–28 in *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*, ed. Kenneth P. Jameson and Charles K. Wilber . 6th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Shiller, Robert . 2008. *The Subprime Solution: How Today's Financial Crisis Happened and What to Do About It*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sklias, Pantelis , and Georgios Maris . 2013. The Political Dimension of the Greek Financial Crisis. *Perspectives of European Politics & Society* 14 (April) 1: 144–164.

Sutherland, Ruth . 2009. After the Crash, Iceland's Women Lead the Rescue. *Guardian* (February 21): [www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/22/iceland-women](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/22/iceland-women).

Thomas, Caroline . 1998. Poverty, Development, and Hunger. pp. 449–467 in *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, ed. John Baylis and Steve Smith . New York: Oxford University Press.

Vaiou, Dina . 2014. Is The Crisis in Athens Also Gendered? Facets of Access and the (In)visibility in Everyday Public Spaces. *City* 18 (August–October) 4/5: 533–537.

Van der Putten, Frans Paul . 2016. Infrastructure and Geopolitics: China's Emerging Presence in the Eastern Mediterranean. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 18 (August) 4: 337–351.

Varoufakis, Yanis . 2016. *And the Weak Suffer What They Must? Europe's Crisis and America's Economic Future* . New York: Nation Books.

Weber, Heloise . 2015. Reproducing Inequalities Through Development: The MDGs and the Politics of Method. *Globalizations* 12 (August) 4: 660–676.

Winkler, Inga T. , and Carmel Williams . 2017. The Sustainable Development Goals and Human Rights: A Critical Early Review. *International Journal of Human Rights* 21 (October) 8: 1023–1028.

Woestman, Lois . 2012. Economic Shock Therapy in the Eurozone: The Greek Case. *Development* 55 (September) 3: 382–389.

Wright, Tom . 2015. New Fund Challenges Japan's Lead Role as Lender. *Wall Street Journal* (March 25): A9.

Xiaohui, Wu . 2017. Friendly Competition for Co-Progressive Development: The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank vs. the Bretton Woods Institutions. *Chinese Journal of International Law* 16 (March) 1: 41–76.

Zavras, Dimitris , Athanasios I. Zavras , Ilias-Ioannis Kyriopoulos , and John Kyriopoulos . 2016. Economic Crisis, Austerity, and Unmet Healthcare Needs: The Case of Greece. *BMC Health Services Research* 16 (July 27): 1–7.

## The Environment

Aron, William 2000. The International Whaling Commission—A History of Malignant Neglect. *Microbehavior and Macroresults* : [www.oregonstate.edu/dept/iifet/2000/papers/aron.pdf](http://www.oregonstate.edu/dept/iifet/2000/papers/aron.pdf).

Avdeeva, T. G. 2010. 2009 Copenhagen Summit: Failure, Success or Moment of Truth. *International Affairs: A Russian Journal of World Politics, Diplomacy and International Relations* 56 (2): 130–145.

Associated Press . 2001. 165 Nations Agree to Rules for Pact Cutting Back Carbon Emissions. *The St. Louis Post Dispatch* (November 11): A15.

BBC News . 2000. Whaling Commission Struggles to Survive (July 4): [news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/818713.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/818713.stm).

Bekker, S. , A. Doronin , and S. Kozlov . 2017. Critical Analysis of Active Methods of Ozone Layer Repair. *Geomagnetism and Aeronomy* 57 (September) 5: 630–636.

Benedict, Richard E. 1991. *Ozone Diplomacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Betsill, Michelle M. , and Elisabeth Corell , eds. 2008. *NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organization in International Environmental Negotiations* . Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Billings, Lee . 2017. China's Moment. *Scientific American* 317 (October) 4: 72–73.

Chadwick, Douglas H. 2001. Pursuing the Minke. *National Geographic* 199 (April): 58.

Chasek, Pamela . 2012. Incorporating Regional Priorities in to Global Conferences: Review of the Regional Preparatory Committee Meetings for Rio+25. *Review of European Community and International Environmental Law* 21 (April) 1: 4–11.

Cohen, Susan . 1994. Consensus or Competition? Women, Population and the Planet. *Populi* (July/August): 7–9.

Cullen, Lisa Takeuchi . 2001. Wailing Over Whales, *Time Magazine* 158 (August 6): 26–28.

d'Aspremont, Jean . 2016. The International Court of Justice, the Whales, and the Blurring of the Lines between Sources and Interpretation. *The European Court of Justice* 27 (November) 4: 1027–1041.

Deese, Brian . 2017. Paris Isn't Burning. *Foreign Affairs* 96 (July/August) 4: 83–92.

Department of Conservation . 2001a. Media Statement from the Office of the Prime Minister of New Zealand (July 19).

Department of Conservation. 2001b. South Pacific Whale Sanctuary Issue Sparks Renewed International Interest in the IWC (June 28).

Dimitrov, Radoslav . 2010. Inside Copenhagen: The State of Climate Governance. *Global Environmental Politics* 10 (May) 2: 18–24.

Edwards, Rob . 1998. Unfit to Eat. *New Scientist* (September 26): 13.

Eilperin, Juliet . 2009. In the Trenches on Climate Change, Hostility Among Foes: Stolen Email Reveal Venomous Feelings Toward Skeptics. *Washington Post* (November 22).

Epstein, Charlotte . 2006. The Making of Global Environmental Norms: Endangered Species Protection. *Global Environmental Politics* 6 (May) 2: 32–54.

Fisher, Dana . 2010. COP-15 in Copenhagen: How the Merging of Movements Left Civil Society Out in the Cold. *Global Environmental Politics* 10 (May) 2: 11–17.

Fountain, Henry . 2016. Ozone Hole Shows Signs of Shrinking, Scientists Say. *New York Times* (June 30): [www.nytimes.com/2016/07/01/science/ozone-hole-shrinking-montreal-protocol.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/01/science/ozone-hole-shrinking-montreal-protocol.html).

Giddens, Anthony . 2010. Climate Change Meets Geopolitical Reality in Copenhagen. *New Perspectives Quarterly* 27 (Spring): 58–60.

Graves, Alisha . 2016. Population's Part in Mitigating Climate Change. *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 72 (May) 2: 186–188.

Greene, Owen . 1998. Environmental Issues. pp. 451–478 in *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, ed. John Baylis and Steve Smith. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Guardian . 2017. Japan Kills more than 300 Whales in Annual Antarctic Hunt. (March 31): [www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/mar/31/japan-kills-whales-annual-antarctic-hunt](http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/mar/31/japan-kills-whales-annual-antarctic-hunt).

Hale, Thomas . 2016. All Hands on Deck: The Paris Agreement and Nonstate Climate Action. *Global Environmental Politics* 16 (August) 3: 12–22.

Haney, Mary P. 2005. Women's NGOs at the UN Conference: The 1992 Rio Conference on the Environment as a Watershed Event. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 27 (October) 1/2: 181–187.

Hardin, Garrett . 1968. The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science* 162 (December 16): 1243–1248.

Hirata, Keiko . 2004. Beached Whales: Examining Japan's Rejection of an International Norm. *Social Science Japan Journal* 7 (August): 177–197.

Hoffmann, Matthew . 2005. *Ozone Depletion and Climate Change*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Hovi, Jon , and Tora Skodvin . 2008. Which Way to U.S. Climate Cooperation? Issue Linkage versus U.S.-Based Agreement. *Review of Policy Research* 25 (March): 129–148.

Johnson, Jay , Gary Pacquet , and Leon Taylor . 2007. Potential Gains from Trade in Dirty Industries: Revisiting the Summer's Memo. *The Cato Journal* 27 (Fall) 3: 397–410.

Jolly, David . 2010. Under Pressure, Commission Discusses Lifting Whaling Ban. *New York Times* (June 21): [www.nytimes.com/2010/06/22/world/22whale.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/22/world/22whale.html).

King , Ed. 2016. With Women at the Top, UN Climate Body Has a Change for Real Change. *Guardian* (May 18): [www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/may/18/with-women-at-top-un-climate-body-has-chance-real-change](http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/may/18/with-women-at-top-un-climate-body-has-chance-real-change).

Korger, Nick . 2017. Going Boldly Where No Country Has Gone Before: UNCLOS and the Russian Federation's Claim to the Arctic Circle. *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 34 (Spring) 4: 731–754.

Linner, Bjorn , and Merle Jacob . 2005. From Stockholm to Kyoto and Beyond: A Review of the Globalization of Global Warming Policy and the North–South Relations. *Globalizations* 3 (December): 403–415.

Lynas, Mark . 2010. How China Made It an Unfair COP. *New Statesman* (January): 34.

Moellendorf, Darrel . 2009. Treaty Norms and Climate Change Mitigation. *Ethics and International Affairs* 23 (3): 247–265.

New Scientist . 2001. Cruel to Be Kind 171 (August 4): 3.

Odeyemi, Chisto . 2015. UNCLOS and Maritime Security: The Securitization of the South China Sea Disputes. *Defense and Security Analysis* 31 (December) 4: 293–302.

Online Newshour. 1997. Airing It Out (December 8). [www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/environment/july-dec97/eu\\_12-8.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/environment/july-dec97/eu_12-8.html).

Page, Edward . 2007. Equity and Kyoto Protocol. *Politics* 27 (1): 8–15.

Parks, Bradley , and J. Timmons . 2010. Climate Change, Social *Theory and Justice* . Theory, Culture, and Society 27 (March–May): 134–166.

Peterson, V. Spike , and Anne Sisson Runyan . 1993. *Global Gender Issues*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Pettenger, Mary . 2007. Constructing Themselves. pp. 51–74 in *The Social Construction of Climate Change*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Plumer, Brad . 2017. How Can U.S. States Fight Climate Change if Trump Quits the Paris Accords. *New York Times* (September 20): [www.nytimes.com/2017/09/20/cli-mate/paris-climate-agreement-trump.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/20/cli-mate/paris-climate-agreement-trump.html).

Porter, Gareth , and Janet Welsh Brown . 1991. *Global Environmental Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Press, Robert M. 1992. Biodiversity Pact Ready for Ink at Earth Summit. *Christian Science Monitor* (May 26).

Purvis, Nigel . 2004. The Perspective of the United States on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol. *International Review for Environmental Studies* 5 (1): 169–178.

Revkin, Andrew C. 2001. Deals Break Impasse on Global Warming Treaty. *New York Times* (November 11): A8.

Revkin, Andrew C. 2004. Save the Whales! Then What? *New York Times* (August 17): D1, D4.

Sasvari, Adele . 2010. Changes in Climate Negotiations: Gender Equality Towards Copenhagen. *Global Social Policy* 10 (April) 1: 15–18.

Schweder, Tore . 2000. Distortion of Uncertainty in Science: Antarctic Fin Whales in the 1950s. *Journal of International Wildlife Law and Policy* 3 (Spring): 73–94.

Seabrook, Jeremy . 1993. *Victims of Development: Resistance and Alternatives*. London: Verso.

Sharp, Todd L. 2011. The Implications of Ice Melt on Arctic Security. *Defense Studies* 11 (June) 2: 297–322.

Shear, Michael D. 2017. Trump Will Withdraw U.S. From Paris Climate Agreement. *New York Times* (June 1): [www.nytimes.com/2017/06/01/climate/trump-paris-cli-mate-agreement.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/01/climate/trump-paris-cli-mate-agreement.html).

Stoett, Peter J. 2005. Of Whales and People: Normative Theory, Symbolism, and the IWC. *Journal of International Wildlife Law and Policy* 8: 151–175.

Strand, Jonathan R. , and John P. Tuman . 2012. Foreign Aid and Voting Behavior in an International Organization: The Case of Japan and the International Whaling Commission. *Foreign Policy Analysis* 8 (October) 4: 409–430.

Sun-Sentinel. 2005. Deal with Japan on Whaling Denied (June 21): A12.

The Times. 2010. Japan's Bribes on Whaling Exposed. (June 13)<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/japans-bribes-on-whaling-exposed-9vmmf99t97x>:

Tsung-Sheng, Liao . 2016. MNCs under International Climate Change Regime: Recognizing the Atmospheric Absorptive Capacity as the Common Heritage of Mankind. *Journal of East Asia and International Law* 9 (Autumn) 2: 379–380.

Weidenbaum, Murray . 1992. A Different View of Global Warming. *Christian Science Monitor* (May 21): 3.

Wingfield-Hayes, Rupert . 2016. Japan and the Whale. *BBC News* (February 8): [www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35397749](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-35397749).

World Bank News. 1997. Climate Change Debates Heats Up in Kyoto (December 4). [www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/extcs/w120497e.htm#kyoto](http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/extcs/w120497e.htm#kyoto).

World Commission on Environment and Development . 1987. *Our Common Future*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wright, Christopher , and Daniel Nyberg . 2015. *Climate Change, Capitalism, and Corporations: Processes of Creative Self-Destruction* . New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ying, Ma . 2010. China's View of Climate Change. *Policy Review* 161 (June/July): 27–43.

Young, Margaret A. , and Sebastian R. Sullivan . 2015. Evolution Through the Duty to Cooperate: Implications of the Whaling Case at the International Court of Justice. *Melbourne Journal of International Law* 16 (December) 2: 1–33.

Zengerle, Jason . 1998. Hagelianism. *The New Republic* 218 (February 9): 10–12.

## Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs

Amnesty International website. [www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org).

Anaya, S. James and Sergio Puig . 2017. Mitigating State Sovereignty: The Duty to Consult with Indigenous Peoples. *University of Toronto Law Journal* 67 (Fall) 4: 435–464.

Barnett, Michael N. 2003. *Eyewitness to Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

BBC News . 2001. Rwanda Trial Opens Belgians' Eyes. (June 7): <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1375603.stm>.

BBC News . 2016. Migrant Crisis: Migration to Europe Explained in Seven Charts. (March 4): [www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34131911).

Bob, Clifford . 2012. *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics* . New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brachet, Julien . 2016. Policing the Desert: The IOM in Libya Beyond War and Peace. *Antipode* 48 (March) 2: 272–292.

Cassese, Antonio , Paola Gaeta , Laurel Baig , Mary Fan , Christopher Gosnell , and Alex Whiting . 2016. *Cassese's International Criminal Law* . Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Elie, Jerome . 2010. The Historical Roots of Cooperation Between the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Organization of Migration. *Global Governance* 19 (July–September): 345–360.

Embury-Dennis, Tom . 2017. US votes against UN Resolution Condemning Gay Sex Death Penalty, joining Iraq and Saudi Arabia. *Independent* (October 3): [www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-gay-sex-death-penalty-un-same-sex-relations-human-rights-council-saudi-arabia-iraq-nikki-haley-a7980981.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-gay-sex-death-penalty-un-same-sex-relations-human-rights-council-saudi-arabia-iraq-nikki-haley-a7980981.html).

Encarnacion, Omar G. 2014. Human Rights and Gay Rights. *Current History* 113 (January) 759: 36–39.

Foppiani, Oreste , and Oana A. Scarlatescu , eds. 2018. *Family, Separation, and Migration: An Evolution-Involution of the Global Refugee Crisis* . Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang.

Forsythe, David P. 2017. *Human Rights and International Relations* . 4th ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Freedman, Jane . 2015. Women's Experience of Forced Migration: Gender-based Forms of Insecurity and the uses of "Vulnerability." pp. 125–141 in *A Gendered Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis*, ed. Jane Freedman , Zeynep Kilivilim , and Nurcan Ozgur Baklacioglu . New York: Routledge.

Freedman, Rosa . 2013. The United Nations Human Rights Council: More of the Same. *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 31 (Summer) 2: 205–251.

Frontline. 1999. *The Triumph of Evil*. PBS, aired (January 26): [www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/etc/script.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/etc/script.html).

Garvey, Timothy . 2010. God v. Gays? The Rights of Sexual Minorities in International Law as seen through the Doomed Existence of the Brazilian Resolution. *Denver Journal of International Law & Policy* 38 (Fall) 4: 569–685.

Geddes, Andrew , and Leila Hadj-Abdou . 2018. Changing the Path? EU Migration after the "Arab Spring." *Mediterranean Politics* 23 (March) 1: 142–160.

Gettleman, Jeffery , and Josh Kron . 2010. Rwanda Threatens to Pull Peacekeepers from Darfur. *New York Times* (August 31): [www.nytimes.com/2010/09/01/world/africa/01rwanda.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/01/world/africa/01rwanda.html).

Gordenker, Leon . 1987. *Refugees in International Politics*. London: Croom Helm.

Gourevitch, Philip . 1998. *We Wish to Inform You that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families*. New York: Picador.

Guilfoyle, Douglas . 2016. *International Criminal Law* . Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Hoge, Warren . 2007. Dismay over New U.N. Human Rights Council. *New York Times* (March 11): [www.nytimes.com](http://www.nytimes.com).

Johansen, Anne Ingemann . 2017. Assessing the European Union's Strategic Capacity: The Case of EUNAFOR MED Operation Sophia. *European Security* 26 (December) 4: 507–526.

Joireman, Sandra F. 2003. *Nationalism and Political Identity*. New York: Continuum International.

Jordaan, Eduard . 2016. The African Group on the United Nations Human Rights Council: Shifting Geopolitics and the Liberal International Order. *African Affairs* 115 (July) 460: 490–515.

Kivilcim, Zeynep . 2015. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transexual (LGBT) Syrian Refugees in Turkey. pp. 26–41 in *A Gendered Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis*, ed. Jane Freedman , Zeynep Kivilcim , and Nurcan Ozgur Baklacioglu . New York: Routledge.

Kuschminder, Katie . 2017. Interrogating the Relationship between Remigration and Sustainable Return. *International Migration* 55 (December) 6: 107–121.

Kyriakides, Christopher . 2017. Word's Don't Come Easy: Al Jazeera's Migrant-Refugee Distinction and the European Culture of (Mis)trust. *Current Sociology* 65 (November) 7: 933–952.

Laipson, Ellen . 2016. Despite Flaws, EU–Turkey Refugee Deal Pulls Europe Back from Brink. *World Politics Review* (March 22): 1.

Lee, Laurence . 2018. Desperate Journeys: EU Liberalism Lost in Battle Against Refugees. *Aljazeera* (January 29): [www.aljazeera.com/blogs/europe/2018/01/desperate-journeys-eu-liberalism-lost-battle-refugees-180126152936625.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/europe/2018/01/desperate-journeys-eu-liberalism-lost-battle-refugees-180126152936625.html).

Lendaro, Annalisa . 2016. A “European Migrant Crisis?” Some Thoughts on Mediterranean Borders. *Studies in Ethnicity & Nationalism* 16 (April) 1: 148–157.

Lewis, Neil A. 2001. *Papers Show U.S. Knew of Genocide in Rwanda*. *New York Times* (August 23): [www.nytimes.com/2001/08/22/world/papers-show-us-knew-of-genocide-in-rwanda.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2001/08/22/world/papers-show-us-knew-of-genocide-in-rwanda.html).

MacFarquhar, Neil . 2008. In a First, Gay Rights are Pressed at the U.N. *New York Times* (December 19): [www.nytimes.com/2008/12/19/world/19nations.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/19/world/19nations.html).

Makaryan, Shushanik . 2015. Construction of Migration in the Eastern Neighbourhood of the European Union. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 23 (June 2): 222–237.

Mamdani, Mahmood . 2001. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Maogoto, Jackson . 2004. *War Crimes and Realpolitik: International Justice from World War I to the 21st Century*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Milsap, Chase . 2016. America's Ronin Refugees: Forgotten Allies in the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. *Journal of International Affairs* 69 (Spring/Summer) 2: 151–167.

Moore, Tina . 2017. Burundi Quits International Criminal Court. *New York Times* (October 27): [www.nytimes.com/2017/10/27/world/africa/burundi-international-criminal-court.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/27/world/africa/burundi-international-criminal-court.html).

Morano-Foadi, Sonia . 2017. Solidarity and Responsibility: Advancing Humanitarian Responses to EU Migratory Pressures. *European Journal of Migration and Law* 19 (3): 223–254.

Mushaben, Joyce Marie . 2017. Angela Merkel's Leadership in Refugee Crisis. *Current History* 116 (March) 788: 95–100.

Myrntinen, Henri , Lana Khattab , and Charbel Maydaa . 2015. Trust No one, Beware of Everyone: Vulnerabilities of LGBTI refugees in Lebanon. pp. 61–76 in *A Gendered Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis*, ed. Jane Freedman , Zeynep Kivilcim , and Nurcan Ozgur Baklacioglu . New York: Routledge.

*New York Times*. 1992. Excerpts from Speeches by Leaders of the Permanent Members of UN Council 141 (February 1): A5.

Paris, Roland . 2003. Peacekeeping and the Constraints of Global Culture. *European Journal of International Relations* 9: 441–473.

Peskin, Victor . 2005. Beyond Victor's Justice? The Challenge of Prosecuting the Winners at the International Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. *Journal of Human Rights* 4 (April–June): 213–231.

Riemer, Nick . 2015. How to Justify a Crisis. *Jacobin* (October 5): [www.jacobinmag.com/2015/10/refugee-crisis-europe-zizek-habermas-singer-greece-syria-academia](http://www.jacobinmag.com/2015/10/refugee-crisis-europe-zizek-habermas-singer-greece-syria-academia).

Royte, Elizabeth . 1997. The Outcasts. *New York Times Magazine* (January 19): 37.

Scott, Shirley V. 2017 *International Law and World Politics*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner.

Sigona, Nando , 2018. The Contested Politics of Naming in Europe's “Refugee Crisis.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41 (February) 3:456–460.

Smith, Helena . 2015. Shocking Images of Drowned Syrian Boy Show the Plight of Refugees. *Guardian* (September 2): [www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/02/shocking-image-of-drowned-syrian-boy-shows-tragic-plight-of-refugees).

- Summerfield, Derek . 1996. Rwanda: When Women Become Killers. *The Lancet* 347 (June 29): 1816–1818.
- Szasz, Paul . 1983. The Role of the United Nations in Internal Conflicts. *Georgia Journal of International Law* 13 (Winter): 345–354.
- Terry, Fiona . 2002. *The Paradox of Humanitarian Action: Condemned to Repeat?* Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press.
- UN Security Council . 2000. Press Release: Chairman of Independent Inquiry into United Nations Actions During 1994 Rwanda Genocide Presents Report to Security Council (April 14) (SC/6843).
- Vilmer, Jean-Baptiste Jeangène . 2016. The African Union and the International Criminal Court: Counteracting the Crisis. *International Affairs* 92 (November) 6: 1319–1342.
- Waters, Tony . 2001. *Bureaucratizing the Good Samaritan: The Limitations of Humanitarian Relief Operations*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- WIN News . 1998. Violence in Rwanda: A Women's Perspective 24 (Summer): 34–35.
- Zavirsek, Darja . 2017. The Humanitarian Crisis versus the Crisis of Humanitarianism: Current Dimensions and the Challenges of Social Work Practice. *Social Work Education* 36 (April) 3: 231–244.