

Proseminar 15162 – International Political Economy

International Cooperation in Changing World Orders

Summer term 2017 Wednesday, 16.00-18.00 c.t. Garystr. 55/A Hörsaal

Vincent Dreher, M.A.
Center for International Political Economy
Otto Suhr Institute, Free University Berlin
Ihnestr. 22, 14195 Berlin, Room 217
vincent.dreher@fu-berlin.de
Office hours: Wednesday, 14.00-16.00
(appointment by email)

Course description:

Why do states cooperate? The seminar engages with one of the central questions to theories of International Relations and International Political Economy. Revisiting four phases of world history, the course will delve into the dynamics of power, interests, and institutions underlying cooperation among sovereign states. The first part of the seminar is dedicated to the post-WWII era until the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989. During this time, the world was split into two power blocks. The international monetary system saw the end of the Bretton Woods system and the onset of cross-border financial integration. What where implications of this bipolar world order? And what policy choices underlay the end of Bretton Woods and the beginning of modern globalization? The second part addresses the unipolar moment after the dissociation of the Soviet Union until the global financial crisis of 2007-09. With financial and economic globalization championed by Western economies reaching unparalleled heights, this phase ended in a devastating crash at the heart of the system. What was the alleged 'End of History'? Moreover, how did unfettered markets nearly overpower the international institutional system? The third part engages with the post-crisis years of 2009-2017. Unprecedented collaboration of the world's major powers in crisis-prevention measures prevented the collapse of the economic system while providing evidence of an increasingly multipolar world. Over the years, as multipolarity consolidated, multilateral collaboration diminished. Why did countries' interests converge on supporting the open international economy in a critical moment? What to make of the increasing number of institutional alternatives at the international level? The fourth part assesses indications of an emerging multipolar world 'disorder' in the wake of Brexit and the United States Presidential elections of late 2016. The seminar closes with a view on the European Union, noting growing uncertainty while stressing avenues for future international cooperation. Against the backdrop of episodes of world history, the seminar engages with the theoretical canon of international cooperation and explanations for cooperation – or failure of cooperation, that is. The empirical analysis will draw on examples taken from securities studies, economic cooperation, and financial regulation.

Course features:

- Session introduction and weekly recap by lecturer
- Student presentations provide detailed and/or critical perspectives on the topic of the day
- Regular group work
- Minutes for each session are taken to facilitate course review

Course requirements:

Certificate of attendance ('Teilnahmeschein'):

- Regular and active participation
- Minutes *or* presentation *or* essay

>> Example: Regular and active participation + minutes = Teilnahmeschein

Full certificate ('Leistungsschein'):

- Regular and active participation
- Minutes or presentation or essay
- 'Referatsausarbeitung' (3000 words) or term paper (4000 words)

>> Example: Regular and active participation + presentation + term paper = Leistungsschein

Regular and active participation: A successful and enriching seminar depends crucially on the engagement of all participants. This presupposes attendance, interest as well as thorough preparation by all students. The required reading for each session ranges between 20-40 pages, demanding at least two hours of preparation. Please plan accordingly.

Minutes: For each session, select students will write minutes of 2-3 pages to be posted on Blackboard. These should roughly display the contents of the session, the topics we discussed as well as the different points of view. Please send me the minutes as Word-Document at the latest one week after the respective session. Minutes slots will be allocated during the introductory session.

Presentation: Presentations are placed towards the middle of each session, and intended to provide further empirical material, a pro and con perspective, or an inherently critical account of the topic of the day. The presentation should last about 10-15 minutes, time will be checked. Please meet me in advance after class or during office hours to discuss the structure of the presentation. Presentation slots will be allocated during the introductory session.

Essay: The essay is a well-referenced opinion piece. Make sure the opinion-part does not fall short. Feel free to engage with a given topic in the realm of politics, economics, finance, international relations in the way you consider appropriate. Deadline is on 30.09.2017, word count is ca. 1000 (meaning 800-1200 words), excluding footnotes and bibliography.

Referatsausarbeitung and Term paper: The deadline for the assignment is on 30.09.2017, extensions only for legitimate reasons and after advance notification. Please send your paper as PDF to: vincent.dreher@fu-berlin.de

You are strongly encouraged to send me a one- to two-page outline of your topic or idea in advance, explaining what question or puzzle you want to analyze, why it is interesting, and how you want to answer it (or how you could imagine answering it). I will comment on your work by e-mail or we can meet to discuss your project.

- FU students: the word count for 'Referatsausarbeitung' is ca. 3000 words and for term paper ca. 4000 words, excluding footnotes and bibliography. **Important!:** apart from the word count, in this course the requirements for a 'Referatsausarbeitung' and term paper are the same. This includes the paper structure, i.e. it is not just a summary of a presentation.
- ERASMUS and exchange students: a certificate of attendance will give you 3 ECTS, a full certificate 7 ECTS. Term paper for a full certificate should count 3000 words, excluding footnotes and bibliography. Please prepare the 'Leistungsnachweis' and bring it to the last session: http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/polwiss/studium/auslandsstudium/llp_erasmus/leistungs und teilnahmeschein fb polsoz.pdf

Grading: The Referatsausarbeitung and term paper will be graded according to the criteria laid out in the 'Evaluation sheet', available in the Introduction folder on Blackboard.

Further guidelines on academic writing: Please refer to the "Introduction and Guidelines to Academic Research and Writing" by the Institute of Political Science at the University of Bremen for an excellent overview, available in English and German in the Introduction folder on Blackboard.

Course goals:

After finishing the course students will be able to:

- Critically assess theoretical approaches and concepts in the field of International Relations and International Political Economies
- Discuss broad developments in international politics during the past decades
- Analyze problems in cooperation over international security, trade, and finance
- Understand the foundations of the international political and economic order

Course schedule:

Required readings are obligatory for participation, the provided text questions facilitate and orient the reading process. Further readings provide additional literature on the topic.

1. Introduction (19.04.2017, 16-18)

PART I – Cooperation during the Cold War

2. Stability in a Bipolar World (26.04.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1964): The Stability of a Bipolar World. In *Daedalus* 93 (3), pp. 881–909

>> read pages 881-887

Jervis, Robert (1978): Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma. In World Politics 30 (2), pp. 167–214

>> read pages 167-186

Text questions:

Waltz (1964)

- 1. Which are the two conventional wisdoms Waltz mentions? What does he think of them?
- 2. Which four factors provide stability in the bipolar system? What role does power play? Jervis (1978)
- 3. What are the effects of anarchy on state behavior?
- 4. What are the four possible outcomes of the 'Stag Hunt'? What three factors are added in the international system?
- 5. What is the essence of the security dilemma?
- 6. How does the Prisoner's dilemma differ from the Stag Hunt? What increases the probability for mutual cooperation (CC) in both cases?
- 7. What are the benefits for large states? What role does vulnerability play?
- 8. How does the logic for expansion emerge? What is a 'war of defense'?

• Presentation 2: The Cuban Missile Crisis

Swift, John (2007): The Cuban Missile Crisis. History Review. Available online at http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/amcdouga/Hist112/add_rdgs/The%20Cuban%20Missile%20Crisis.pd f, checked on 4/11/2017

Trachtenberg, Marc (1985): The Influence of Nuclear Weapons in the Cuban Missile Crisis. In *International Security* 10 (1), pp. 137–163

Further reading:

Nye, Joseph S.; Lynn-Jones, Sean M. (1988): International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field. In *International Security* 12 (4), pp. 5–27

Walt, Stephen M. (1991): The Renaissance of Security Studies. In *International Studies Quarterly* 35 (211-239)

Waltz, Kenneth N. (2000): Structural Realism after the Cold War. In *International Security* 25 (1), pp. 5–41

3. British and American Hegemony compared (03.05.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Lake, David A. (1991): British and American hegemony compared. In Michael G. Fry (Ed.): History, the White House and the Kremlin. Statesmen as historians. London: Pinter, pp. 106–122

Text questions:

- 1. Describe the theory of hegemonic stability. What are the 'Pax Britannica' and the 'Pax Americana'?
- 2. What role did Britain play during the Pax Britannica? Why did it decline?
- 3. What role did the United States play during the Pax Americana? Why did it begin to decline?
- 4. Why does Lake criticize the comparison of the two periods? Where does he see differences in terms of a) international political structures, b) international economic structures, c) international political processes, and d) international economic processes?
- 5. What does Lake conclude in terms of the 'open international economy'? What policy advice follows for the United States?

• Presentation 3: Hegemony in the Soviet Union

Brubaker, Rogers (1994): Nationhood and the National Question in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Eurasia: An Institutionalist Account. In *Theory and Society* 23 (1)

Yurchak, Alexei (2003): Soviet Hegemony of Form: Everything Was Forever, until It Was No More. In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45 (3), pp. 480–510

Further reading:

Maier, Charles S. (1977): The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy after World War II. In *International Organization* 31 (4), pp. 607–633

Axelrod, Robert; Keohane, Robert O. (1985): Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions. In *World Politics* 38 (1), pp. 226–254

Snidal, Duncan (1985): The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory 39 (4), pp. 579–614

Webb, Michael C.; Krasner, Stephen D. (1989): Hegemonic Stability Theory: An Empirical Assessment. In *Review of International Studies* 15 (2), pp. 183–198

4. The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony (10.05.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Strange, Susan (1987): The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony. In *International Organization* 41 (04), pp. 551–574

Text questions:

- 1. Why does Strange question two central propositions of the literature?
 - a) the United States lost its hegemonic power
- b) this loss is the main explanation for instability in the world economy (during 1970s and early 80s)

- 2. What are Strange's arguments in short? What does she in particular mean by
 - a) changes in the 'great game of states'?
 - b) structural vs relational power?
 - c) liberal internationalism vs realism in US foreign policy?
- 3. How does Strange describe hegemonic stability theory? Which authors does she discuss? What do these authors conclude in terms of the declining hegemony of the United States?
- 4. What is the relationship of hegemonic power and a liberal order?
- 5. What is structural power? What are its four constitutive aspects?
- 6. In view of the United States' continued hegemony, what else can explain international economic disorder?
 - Presentation 4: The World in the 1980s

Leftwich, Adrian (1993): Governance, Democracy and Development in the Third World. In *Third World Quarterly* 14 (3)

Further reading:

Cox, R. W. (1981): Social Forces, States and World Orders. Beyond International Relations Theory. In *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 10 (2), pp. 126–155

Gill, Stephen R.; Law, David (1989): Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital. In *International Studies Quarterly* 33 (4), pp. 475–499

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1974): The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System. Concepts for Comparative Analysis. In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16 (04), p. 387

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice (1979): The capitalist world-economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [etc.] (Studies in modern capitalism)

PART II – After the Cold War

5. The End of History (17.05.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Fukuyama, Francis (1989): The End of History. In The National Interest

Text questions:

- 1. What does Fukuyama claim is the outcome of the competition among systems at the end of the 20th century?
- 2. To whom does the author trace the idea of 'the end of history' back to? Which authors were central in promulgating the thesis? What place for ideas?
- 3. What is 'deterministic materialism'? Why does Fukuyama criticize it?
- 4. What were the two major challengers of liberalism? Why did they fail?
- 5. What role for China? What role for the Soviet Union?
- 6. Which other two challengers to liberalism might arise?
- 7. Why does Fukuyama conclude that "[the] end of history will be a very sad time"?
 - Presentation 5: The dissolution of the Soviet Union

Solnick, Steven L. (1996): The Breakdown of Hierarchies in the Soviet Union and China: A Neoinstitutional Perspective. In *World Politics* 48 (2), pp. 209–238

Further reading:

Gaddis, John Lewis (1993): International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War. In *International Security* 17 (3), pp. 5–58

Garrett, Geoffrey (1992): International Cooperation and Institutional Choice: The European Community's Internal Market. In *International Organization* 46 (2), pp. 533–560

Goldgeier, James M.; McFaul, Michael (1992): A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era. In *International Organization* 46 (2), pp. 467–491

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

Layne, Christopher (2006): The Unipolar Illusion Revisited. The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment. In *International Security* 31 (2), pp. 7–41

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1990): Realist thought and neorealist theory. In *Journal of International Affairs* 44 (1), pp. 21–37

6. Globalization and its Discontents (24.05.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Gilpin, Robert; Gilpin, Jean M. (2000): The challenge of global capitalism. The world economy in the 21st century. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press. Chapter 10, 'Globalization and its Discontents'

Text questions:

- 1. Why do the authors describe many assertions of the proponents and opponents of globalization as "either untrue, exaggerated, or just plain silly?"
- 2. Describe a) the free market perspective, b) the populist (nationalist) perspective, and c) the communitarian perspective.
- 3. How is globalization defined? What are globalization's effects according to a), b), and c)? How do the authors respond?
- 4. What problems are created by the rapid rise of emerging markets according to the Swedish economist S. B. Linder?
- 5. Describe the increase of income inequality over the past decades.
- 6. Has there been a 'race to the bottom' because of globalization, or is globalization rather used as scapegoat for justifying conservative policies?
- 7. Has there been a 'Loss of National Autonomy' because of globalization?
- 8. Have national economic institutions converged because of globalization?

• Presentation 6: The Seattle Protests of 1999

Gill, Stephen R. (2000): Toward a Postmodern Prince? The Battle in Seattle as a Moment in the New Politics of Globalisation. In *Journal of International Studies* 29 (1), pp. 131–140

Smith, Jackie (2001): Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements. In *Mobilization* 6 (1-20)

Further reading:

Sassen, Saskia (2003): Globalization or denationalization? In *Review of International Political Economy* 10 (1), pp. 1–22

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1993): The World-System after the Cold War. In *Journal of Peace Research* 30 (1), pp. 1–6

7. Peace as Global Public Good (31.05.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Mendez, Ruben P. (1999): Peace as a Global Public Good. In Inge Kaul, Isabelle Grunberg, Marc A. Stern (Eds.): Global public goods. International cooperation in the 21st century. Oxford: Oxford University Press; New York, pp. 382–416

Text questions:

- 1. What is a public good? Why is a public good 'nonrival' and 'nonexcludable'? Who are the 'free riders'?
- 2. Why is defense a public good? What questions are raised in this context according to Mendez?
- 3. What are possible positive and negative outcomes of defense and military spending? What role for peace?
- 4. What are the chances for a universal system of collective security after the Cold War? Why are regional arrangements on the rise?
- 5. How can the United Nations contribute to global peace and security?
 - Presentation 7: The Political Economy of International Cooperation

Martin, Lisa L. (1999): The Political Economy of International Cooperation. In Inge Kaul, Isabelle Grunberg, Marc A. Stern (Eds.): Global public goods. International cooperation in the 21st century. Oxford: Oxford University Press; New York, pp. 51–64

Further reading:

Jervis, Robert (1999): Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation. Understanding the Debate. In *International Security* 24 (1), pp. 42–63

Keohane, Robert O.; Martin, Lisa L. (1995): The Promise of Institutionalist Theory. In *International Security* 20 (1), pp. 39–51

PART III - In the new Millennium

8. The Unipolar Illusion revisited (07.06.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Layne, Christopher (2006): The Unipolar Illusion Revisited. The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment. In *International Security* 31 (2), pp. 7–41

Text questions:

1. What has been the United States' 'Grand Strategy' since the 1990s? Why does Layne disagree with this approach?

- 2. What is 'balancing'? What different variants of balancing exist?
- 3. What is Layne's central argument in the article?
- 4. Why were 'Waltzian balance of power realists' wrong in predicting international disorder after the end of the Cold War?
- 5. How does Layne define hegemony? How does this definition differ from Susan Strange's concept of structural power? (session 4)
- 6. What goals did the United States pursue since the 1940s to create a 'unipolar distribution of power'? Why could US hegemony be 'exceptional'?
- 7. Why does Layne criticize the US exceptionality-thesis? Why does he ultimately conclude that US hegemony is in decline?
 - Presentation 8: A New World Order

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

Further reading:

Rogoff, Kenneth S. (1999): International Institutions for Reducing Global Financial Instability. In *The Journal for Economic Perspectives* 13 (4), pp. 21–42

Slaughter, Anne-Marie (2004): A new world order. Princeton: Princeton University Press

9. The Global Financial Crisis of 2007-09 (14.06.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Sheng, Andrew (2009): From Asian to global financial crisis: an Asian regulator's view of unfettered finance in the 1990s and 2000s. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 15 'The Financial Meltdown' (extra: Chapter 16 'A Crisis of Governance')

>> read pages 385-395 (pages 375-385 are technical, but recommended)

Johnson, Simon (2009): The Quiet Coup. In *The Atlantic*. Available online at http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2009/05/the-quiet-coup/307364/, checked on 6/15/2015

Text questions:

Sheng (2009)

- 1. What were the four mega-trends according the Andrew Sheng underlying the Global Financial Crisis? And which four lines of defence were breached?
- 2. Describe the issue of regulatory capture.

Simon (2009)

- 3. What roles play elite business interests across the cases Simon describes? What is the 'Wall Street-Washington' Corridor?
- 4. Which two major, interrelated problems does the author identify with regard to the financial crisis?
- 5. What way out does Simon propose?
 - Video: The Global Financial Crisis of 2007-09

Further reading:

Claessens, Stijn; Dell'Ariccia, Giovanni; Igan, Deniz; Laeven, Luc (2010): Lessons and Policy Implications from the Global Financial Crisis. In *IMF Working Paper* (44)

Helleiner, Eric (2011): Understanding the 2007–2008 Global Financial Crisis: Lessons for Scholars of International Political Economy. In *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 14 (1), pp. 67–87. DOI: 10.1146/annurevpolisci-050409-112539

Mosley, Layna; Singer, David Andrew (2009): The Global Financial Crisis: Lessons and Opportunities for International Political Economy. In *International Interactions* 35 (4), pp. 420–429

10. Geopolitical Implications of the Global Financial Crisis (21.06.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Xinbo, Wu (2010): Understanding the Geopolitical Implications of the Global Financial Crisis. In *The Washington Quarterly* 33 (4), pp. 155–163

Text questions:

- 1. According to Xinbo, on which two pillars did the US position rest? How were these pillars challenged during the crisis?
- 2. What is the problem of the 'American Dream'?
- 3. What is the Chinese model of development? What role for the Chinese currency Renminbi? What are the developments across Asian economies?
 - Presentation 10: The System Worked

Drezner, Daniel W. (2014): The System Worked. Global Economic Governance during the Great Recession. In *World Pol.* 66 (01), pp. 123–164

Further reading:

Garrett, Geoffrey (2010): G2 in G20. China, the United States and the World after the Global Financial Crisis. In *Global Policy* 1 (1), pp. 29–39. DOI: 10.1111/j.1758-5899.2009.00014.x Griffith-Jones, Stephany; Helleiner, Eric; Woods, Ngaire (Eds.) (2010): The Financial Stability Board: An Effective Fourth Pillar of Global Economic Governance? Waterloo: CIGI/ Center of International Governance Innovation

Woods, Ngaire (2010): Global Governance after the Financial Crisis: A New Multilateralism or the Last Gasp of the Great Powers? In *Global Policy* 1 (1), pp. 51–63

PART IV – The future of international cooperation

11. Why the BRICS matter (28.06.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

Armijo, Leslie; Roberts, Cynthia (2014): The emerging powers and global governance: why the BRICS matter. In Robert E. Looney (Ed.): Handbook of emerging economies. Abingdon (Routledge international handbooks), pp. 503–524

Text questions:

- 1. What dramatic power shift is expected to occur until 2030?
- 2. What are theoretical expectations of International Relations theory in view of these power shifts?

- 3. Describe the BRICS representation across UN Security Council, the IMF, and the World Bank.
- 4. What role for challengers to the US Dollar as reserve currency of the world?
- 5. What can explain the continued mismatch between material resources and representation in the institutions of global governance?
- 6. What are the five central conclusions of Armijo and Roberts? What do you think?
- Presentation 11: Cooperation or Conflict in a multipolar world order? Mearsheimer, John J. (2006): China's unpeaceful rise. In *Current History*

Further reading:

Destradi, Sandra (2010): Regional powers and their strategies. Empire, hegemony, and leadership. In *Review of International Studies* 36 (04), pp. 903–930

12. International Trade (05.07.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

- 1. Rodrik, Dani (2011): The globalization paradox. Democracy and the future of the world economy. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, Introduction
- 2. Rodrik, Dani (2016a): No Time for Trade Fundamentalism. Project Syndicate. Available online at https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/protectionism-for-global-openness-by-dani-rodrik-2016-10, checked on 4/10/2017
- 3. Rodrik, Dani (2016b): Straight Talk on Trade. Project Syndicate. Available online at https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/trump-win-economists-responsible-by-dani-rodrik-2016-11, checked on 4/10/2017

Text questions:

Rodrik (2011)

- 1. Where are global finance and international trade similar? Where do they differ?
- 2. What is the trade-off between power of governments vs. freedom of markets?
- 3. What is Rodrik's central argument?

Rodrik (2016a)

- 4. What is changing in terms of the role of nation-states today? What is the author's view on that?
- 5. What is the key challenge?

Rodrik (2016b)

- 6. What does Rodrik say about economists' concerns over criticizing free trade? What has been the 'economists' failure'?
 - Presentation 12: Future of International Trade Cooperation

Global Future Council (2017): Global Future Council on the Future of International Trade and Investment. Available online at http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_DAVOS_BRIEF.pdf, checked on 3/10/2017

Further reading:

Alt, James E.; Gilligan, Michael; Rodrik, Dani; Rogowski, Ronald (1996): The Political Economy of International Trade. Enduring Puzzley and an Agenda for Inquiry. In *Comparative Political Studies*

29 (6), pp. 689-717

Mansfield, Edward D.; Milner, Helen V.; Rosendorff, Peter (2002): Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements. In *International Organization* 56 (3), pp. 477–513

13. European Union at 60 (12.07.2017, 16-18)

Required reading:

- 1. http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary the long road to peace europe at 60 7254
- 2. http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/en/topics/aktuelle-meldungen/2017/maerz/60th-anniver-sary-of-the-treaties-of-rome-what-now-for-the-eu read accounts of six experts
- 3. http://europesworld.org/2017/03/24/60-years-rome-eu/#.WOyYrTG0kj9
- 4. http://epc.eu/pub details.php?cat id=4&pub id=7530
- 5. http://www.gmfus.org/blog/2017/03/28/uk-prepares-leave-europe-disintegrating-after-60-vears
- 6. http://carnegieeurope.eu/strategiceurope/?fa=68370
- 7. https://www.clingendael.nl/publication/lessons-60-years-'rome'-and-25-years-'maastricht'
- 8. http://bruegel.org/2017/03/what-future-for-europe/

Text questions:

In view of the various expert accounts:

- 1. What are the greatest achievements of the European Union in a) politics, b) the economy, c) society
- 2. What are the greatest challenges to the European Union in a) politics, b) the economy, c) society
- 3. Can you discern different perspectives between nationalities/ between experts with regard to the future of the European Union?
- 4. In view of theories of international cooperation, how would you assess the European Union?
 - Presentation 13: Political Science theories and the European Union

Risse-Kappen, Thomas (1996): Exploring the Nature of the Beast. International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union. In *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1), pp. 53–80

Further reading:

Bruegel (2017): Europe in a New World Order. In *Bruegel Policy Contribution* (2) Jupille, Joseph Henri; Caporaso, James A. (1999): Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics. In *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 2, pp. 429–444 Moravcsik, Andrew (1991): Negotiating the Single European Act. National interests and conventional statecraft in the European Community. In *International Organization* 45 (01), p. 19 Parsons, Craig (2002): Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union. In *International Organization* 56 (1), pp. 47–84

14. Conclusion (19.07.2017, 16-18)

Publication bibliography

Alt, James E.; Gilligan, Michael; Rodrik, Dani; Rogowski, Ronald (1996): The Political Economy of International Trade. Enduring Puzzley and an Agenda for Inquiry. In *Comparative Political Studies* 29 (6), pp. 689–717.

Armijo, Leslie; Roberts, Cynthia (2014): The emerging powers and global governance: why the BRICS matter. In Robert E. Looney (Ed.): Handbook of emerging economies. Abingdon (Routledge international handbooks), pp. 503–524.

Axelrod, Robert; Keohane, Robert O. (1985): Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions. In *World Politics* 38 (1), pp. 226–254.

Brubaker, Rogers (1994): Nationhood and the National Question in the Soviet Union and Post-Soviet Eurasia: An Institutionalist Account. In *Theory and Society* 23 (1).

Bruegel (2017): Europe in a New World Order. In Bruegel Policy Contribution (2).

Claessens, Stijn; Dell'Ariccia, Giovanni; Igan, Deniz; Laeven, Luc (2010): Lessons and Policy Implications from the Global Financial Crisis. In *IMF Working Paper* (44).

Cox, R. W. (1981): Social Forces, States and World Orders. Beyond International Relations Theory. In *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 10 (2), pp. 126–155.

Destradi, Sandra (2010): Regional powers and their strategies. Empire, hegemony, and leadership. In *Review of International Studies* 36 (04), pp. 903–930.

Drezner, Daniel W. (2014): The System Worked. Global Economic Governance during the Great Recession. In *World Pol.* 66 (01), pp. 123–164.

Fukuyama, Francis (1989): The End of History. In The National Interest.

Gaddis, John Lewis (1993): International Relations Theory and the End of the Cold War. In *International Security* 17 (3), pp. 5–58.

Garrett, Geoffrey (1992): International Cooperation and Institutional Choice: The European Community's Internal Market. In *International Organization* 46 (2), pp. 533–560.

Garrett, Geoffrey (2010): G2 in G20. China, the United States and the World after the Global Financial Crisis. In *Global Policy* 1 (1), pp. 29–39. DOI: 10.1111/j.1758-5899.2009.00014.x.

Gill, Stephen R. (2000): Toward a Postmodern Prince? The Battle in Seattle as a Moment in the New Politics of Globalisation. In *Journal of International Studies* 29 (1), pp. 131–140.

Gill, Stephen R.; Law, David (1989): Global Hegemony and the Structural Power of Capital. In *International Studies Quarterly* 33 (4), pp. 475–499.

Gilpin, Robert; Gilpin, Jean M. (2000): The challenge of global capitalism. The world economy in the 21st century. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Global Future Council (2017): Global Future Council on the Future of International Trade and Investment. Available online at http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_DAVOS_BRIEF.pdf, checked on 3/10/2017.

Goldgeier, James M.; McFaul, Michael (1992): A Tale of Two Worlds: Core and Periphery in the Post-Cold War Era. In *International Organization* 46 (2), pp. 467–491.

Griffith-Jones, Stephany; Helleiner, Eric; Woods, Ngaire (Eds.) (2010): The Financial Stability Board: An Effective Fourth Pillar of Global Economic Governance? Waterloo: CIGI/ Center of International Governance Innovation.

Helleiner, Eric (2011): Understanding the 2007–2008 Global Financial Crisis: Lessons for Scholars of International Political Economy. In *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 14 (1), pp. 67–87. DOI: 10.1146/annurev-polisci-050409-112539.

Jervis, Robert (1978): Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma. In *World Politics* 30 (2), pp. 167–214.

Jervis, Robert (1999): Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation. Understanding the Debate. In *International Security* 24 (1), pp. 42–63.

Johnson, Simon (2009): The Quiet Coup. In *The Atlantic*. Available online at http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2009/05/the-quiet-coup/307364/, checked on 6/15/2015.

Jupille, Joseph Henri; Caporaso, James A. (1999): Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics. In *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 2, pp. 429–444.

Keohane, Robert O.; Martin, Lisa L. (1995): The Promise of Institutionalist Theory. In *International Security* 20 (1), pp. 39–51.

Lake, David A. (1991): British and American hegemony compared. In Michael G. Fry (Ed.): History, the White House and the Kremlin. Statesmen as historians. London: Pinter, pp. 106–122.

Layne, Christopher (2006): The Unipolar Illusion Revisited. The Coming End of the United States' Unipolar Moment. In *International Security* 31 (2), pp. 7–41.

Leftwich, Adrian (1993): Governance, Democracy and Development in the Third World. In *Third World Quarterly* 14 (3).

Maier, Charles S. (1977): The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy after World War II. In *International Organization* 31 (4), pp. 607–633.

Mansfield, Edward D.; Milner, Helen V.; Rosendorff, Peter (2002): Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements. In *International Organization* 56 (3), pp. 477–513.

Martin, Lisa L. (1999): The Political Economy of International Cooperation. In Inge Kaul, Isabelle Grunberg, Marc A. Stern (Eds.): Global public goods. International cooperation in the 21st century. Oxford: Oxford University Press; New York, pp. 51–64.

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

Mearsheimer, John J. (2006): China's unpeaceful rise. In Current History.

Mendez, Ruben P. (1999): Peace as a Global Public Good. In Inge Kaul, Isabelle Grunberg, Marc A. Stern (Eds.): Global public goods. International cooperation in the 21st century. Oxford: Oxford University Press; New York, pp. 382–416.

Moravcsik, Andrew (1991): Negotiating the Single European Act. National interests and conventional statecraft in the European Community. In *International Organization* 45 (01), p. 19.

Mosley, Layna; Singer, David Andrew (2009): The Global Financial Crisis: Lessons and Opportunities for International Political Economy. In *International Interactions* 35 (4), pp. 420–429.

Nye, Joseph S.; Lynn-Jones, Sean M. (1988): International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field. In *International Security* 12 (4), pp. 5–27.

Parsons, Craig (2002): Showing Ideas as Causes: The Origins of the European Union. In *International Organization* 56 (1), pp. 47–84.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas (1996): Exploring the Nature of the Beast. International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union. In *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34 (1), pp. 53–80.

Rodrik, Dani (2011): The globalization paradox. Democracy and the future of the world economy.

New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

Rodrik, Dani (2016a): No Time for Trade Fundamentalism. Project Syndicate. Available online at https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/protectionism-for-global-openness-by-dani-rodrik-2016-10, checked on 4/10/2017.

Rodrik, Dani (2016b): Straight Talk on Trade. Project Syndicate. Available online at https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/trump-win-economists-responsible-by-dani-rodrik-2016-11, checked on 4/10/2017.

Rogoff, Kenneth S. (1999): International Institutions for Reducing Global Financial Instability. In *The Journal for Economic Perspectives* 13 (4), pp. 21–42.

Sassen, Saskia (2003): Globalization or denationalization? In *Review of International Political Economy* 10 (1), pp. 1–22.

Sheng, Andrew (2009): From Asian to global financial crisis: an Asian regulator's view of unfettered finance in the 1990s and 2000s. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

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

Slaughter, Anne-Marie (2004): A new world order. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Smith, Jackie (2001): Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements. In *Mobilization* 6 (1-20).

Snidal, Duncan (1985): The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory 39 (4), pp. 579–614.

Solnick, Steven L. (1996): The Breakdown of Hierarchies in the Soviet Union and China: A Neoinstitutional Perspective. In *World Politics* 48 (2), pp. 209–238.

Strange, Susan (1987): The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony. In *International Organization* 41 (04), pp. 551–574.

Swift, John (2007): The Cuban Missile Crisis. History Review. Available online at http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/amcdouga/Hist112/add_rdgs/The%20Cuban%20Missile%20Crisis.pd f, checked on 4/11/2017.

Trachtenberg, Marc (1985): The Influence of Nuclear Weapons in the Cuban Missile Crisis. In *International Security* 10 (1), pp. 137–163.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1974): The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System. Concepts for Comparative Analysis. In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16 (04), p. 387.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1993): The World-System after the Cold War. In *Journal of Peace Research* 30 (1), pp. 1–6.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice (1979): The capitalist world-economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [etc.] (Studies in modern capitalism).

Walt, Stephen M. (1991): The Renaissance of Security Studies. In *International Studies Quarterly* 35 (211-239).

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1964): The Stability of a Bipolar World. In *Daedalus* 93 (3), pp. 881–909.

Waltz, Kenneth N. (1990): Realist thought and neorealist theory. In *Journal of International Affairs* 44 (1), pp. 21–37.

Waltz, Kenneth N. (2000): Structural Realism after the Cold War. In *International Security* 25 (1), pp. 5–41.

Webb, Michael C.; Krasner, Stephen D. (1989): Hegemonic Stability Theory: An Empirical Assessment. In *Review of International Studies* 15 (2), pp. 183–198.

Woods, Ngaire (2010): Global Governance after the Financial Crisis: A New Multilateralism or the Last Gasp of the Great Powers? In *Global Policy* 1 (1), pp. 51–63.

Xinbo, Wu (2010): Understanding the Geopolitical Implications of the Global Financial Crisis. In *The Washington Quarterly* 33 (4), pp. 155–163.

Yurchak, Alexei (2003): Soviet Hegemony of Form: Everything Was Forever, until It Was No More. In *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45 (3), pp. 480–510.