## **International Politics in Theory and Practice**

**INTA 606-DC** 

Spring 2022

**Credit Hours: 3** 

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Location: TBD

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Office Hours:

#### **OVERVIEW**

This course provides students with an introduction to the study of international relations. The purpose of this course is to systematically study international interactions across borders between actors with different interests and ideas, such as states, non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations and international organizations. In this course we will explore topics, encounter puzzles, examine theories, and evaluate evidence to try to gain a greater understanding of world politics.

The course is separated into three sections. In the first three sessions, students will be introduced to the key concepts and purpose of studying international relations, as well as some of the different schools of thought within the discipline, realism, liberalism and critical theories. In the second part of the course, in weeks 4 and 5, students will discuss how order emerges in international relations and differing definitions of security. In the remaining half of the course, students will debate and discuss key issues within international relations from the causes of war to globalization and governance of transnational threats such as pandemics, terrorism and climate change. At the end of the course students will be able to approach international politics in a more sophisticated and theoretically grounded manner.

## **COURSE PREREQUSITES**

#### None

#### **LEARNING OUTCOMES**

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Understand key issues and debates within international affairs;
- Comprehend and critically engage with the major theories of international relations;
- Apply these theories to understand contemporary events;
- Write a policy brief.

#### **REQUIRED TEXTS**

There is no textbook for the course.

Readings will be assigned throughout the course and will be available to the students in the form of handouts or e-mails.

## **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Reading Response: Before each class, every student is expected to contribute at least one brief response to a reading (this could be a point you did not agree with, or an argument that has been refuted or re-enforced by recent events) or discussion question that arose from the readings. The professor will send some questions for you to respond to. You can choose one of these to respond to or formulate your own response. This only needs to be five to seven sentences long and should be emailed to the professor before each class.

<u>Participation and Attendance</u>: All students are expected to attend each class and to participate actively in classroom discussions.

<u>Analysis Papers</u>: During the semester, you will write two papers of a length not to exceed five pages on various aspects of the course material. The questions will be provided no less than a week ahead of the due date. Analysis papers will be due in class 4 and class 9.

Policy brief: Each student will choose one policy issue (e.g. climate change, Afghanistan or kleptocracy) and choose two stakeholders (governments, international organizations, multinational corporations) and write two opposing policy briefs of 10 pages each. For example you could choose the issue of forced labor in China, taking the position of the U.S. government pushing for sanctions on companies participating in supply chains involving forced labor, and the position of Nike, arguing against such measures. Alternatively, you could choose to compare Russia and the United States policies towards normalizing relations with the Taliban. Each policy brief will include the background on the issue, its importance, the current policies being implemented, weigh up the menu of policy options and provide recommendations for policymakers on the best course of action.

<u>Presentations:</u> In the final class, each student will give a short presentation (10 minutes) on their policy brief.

#### **GRADING**

Participation (Attendance and classroom discussion) 10%

Reading Response 20%

Analysis Papers 20%

Policy Briefs 40%

Presentations 10%

The following scale will be used for calculating final grades for this course: 90-100 A; 80-89 B; 70-79 C; 60-69 D; and 0-59 F

#### GRADING POLICY

#### http://student-rules.tamu.edu/rule10

#### LATE WORK POLICY

All course work must be submitted no later than the due date unless prior arrangements are made with the professor and a new due date is established. If a student submits an assignment after the due date without having made arrangements with the professor, a minimum of 5 points, (based on an assignment grading scale of 100 points), will be deducted for each week, or part thereof, that the assignment is late.

#### **KEY DATES**

Analysis Paper 1 due: February 14

Analysis Paper 2 due: March 21

Policy Brief due: May 2

#### ADA POLICY STATEMENT

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring accommodation, please make that fact known to me and I will assist you in every way possible.

http://disability.tamu.edu/

#### **DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION**

The Department of International Affairs is committed to fostering a diverse, equitable, and inclusive learning environment for all students, staff, and faculty. We welcome individuals of all ages, backgrounds, citizenships, disabilities, ethnicities, family statuses, genders, gender identities, geographical locations, languages, military experiences, political views, races, religions, sexual orientations, socioeconomic statuses, and/or work experiences (see <a href="diversity.tamu.edu/">diversity.tamu.edu/</a>). We recognize a special responsibility to undertake particular efforts to include the participation and voices of those from historically underrepresented groups. In all of this, diversity alone is not the only goal; we also strive to hear, listen to, and incorporate new voices in our teaching, research, and service. We hold that embracing and supporting new perspectives, individuals, and ideas

invigorates academic excellence and pushes our entire community forward. The Department of International Affairs and the Bush School expect everyone to demonstrate respect for different experiences, beliefs and values expressed by other members of our community and to engage in reasoned discussions. As a department of international affairs, within a university dedicated to the public good, a commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion is critical for preparing and ensuring the success of the next generation of leaders.

#### **ATTENDANCE**

The university views class attendance as an individual student responsibility. Students are expected to attend class and to complete all assignments. Instructors are expected to provide notice of the dates on which major exams will be given and assignments will be due on the course syllabus, which must be made available by the first class period. Graduate students are expected to attend all examinations required by departments or advisory committees as scheduled formally.

Students who are requesting an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code (See Rule 24).

#### **Excused Absences**

- 7.1 The student is responsible for providing satisfactory evidence to the instructor to substantiate the reason for absence. Among the reasons absences are considered excused by the university are the following: (1Muster)
- 7.1.1 Participation in an activity appearing on the university authorized activity list. (see List of Authorized and Sponsored Activities)
- 7.1.2 Death or major illness in a student's immediate family. Immediate family may include: mother, father, sister, brother, grandparents, spouse, child, spouse's child, spouse's parents, spouse's grandparents, step-mother, step-father, step-sister, step-brother, step-grandparents, grandchild, step-grandchild, legal guardian, and others as deemed appropriate by faculty member or student's academic Dean or designee.
- 7.1.3 Illness of a dependent family member.
- 7.1.4 Participation in legal proceedings or administrative procedures that require a student's presence.
- 7.1.5 Religious holy day. (See Appendix IV.)
- 7.1.6 Injury or Illness that is too severe or contagious for the student to attend class.

- 7.1.6.1 Injury or illness of three or more days. For injury or illness that requires a student to be absent from classes for three or more business days (to include classes on Saturday), the student should obtain a medical confirmation note from his or her medical provider. The Student Health Center or an off-campus medical professional can provide a medical confirmation note only if medical professionals are involved in the medical care of the student. The medical confirmation note must contain the date and time of the illness and medical professional's confirmation of needed absence.
- 7.1.6.2 Injury or illness less than three days. Faculty members may require confirmation of student injury or illness that is serious enough for a student to be absent from class for a period less than three business days (to include classes on Saturday). At the discretion of the faculty member and/or academic department standard, as outlined in the course syllabus, illness confirmation may be obtained by one or both of the following methods:

Texas A&M University Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class.

Confirmation of visit to a health care professional affirming date and time of visit.

- 7.1.6.3 An absence for a non acute medical service does not constitute an excused absence.
- 7.1.7 Required participation in military duties.
- 7.1.8 Mandatory admission interviews for professional or graduate school which cannot be rescheduled.
- 7.1.9 Mandatory participation as a student-athlete in NCAA-sanctioned competition.
- 7.1.10 In accordance with Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, Texas A&M University shall treat pregnancy (childbirth, false pregnancy, termination of pregnancy and recovery therefrom) and related conditions as a justification for an excused absence for so long a period of time as is deemed medically necessary by the student's physician. Requests for excused absence related to pregnancy should be directed to the instructor; questions about Title IX should be directed to the University Title IX Coordinator.
- 7.2 The associate dean for undergraduate programs, or the dean's designee, of the student's college may provide a letter for the student to take to the instructor stating that the dean has verified the student's absence as excused.
- 7.3 Students may be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Section 7.1, or other reason deemed appropriate by the student's instructor. Except in the case of the observance of a religious holiday, to be excused the student must notify his or her instructor in writing (acknowledged e-mail message is acceptable) prior to the date of

absence if such notification is feasible. In cases where advance notification is not feasible (e.g. accident, or emergency) the student must provide notification by the end of the second working day after the absence. This notification should include an explanation of why notice could not be sent prior to the class. Accommodations sought for absences due to the observance of a religious holiday can be sought either prior or after the absence, but not later than two working days after the absence.

If needed, the student must provide additional documentation substantiating the reason for the absence that is satisfactory to the instructor, within one week of the last date of the absence.

If the absence is excused, the instructor must either provide the student an opportunity to make up any quiz, exam or other work that contributes to the final grade or provide a satisfactory alternative by a date agreed upon by the student and instructor. If an instructor has a regularly scheduled make up exam, students are expected to attend unless they have a university approved excuse. The make-up work must be completed in a timeframe not to exceed 30 calendar days from the last day of the initial absence.

- 7.4 The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence.
- 7.5 See Part III, Grievance Procedures: 49. Unexcused Absences, for information on appealing an instructor's decision.
- 7.6 If the student is absent for excused reasons for an unreasonable amount of time during the semester, the academic Dean or designee of the student's college may consider giving the student a grade of W during the semester enrolled or a NG (no grade) following posting of final grades.
- 7.7 Whenever a student is absent for unknown reasons for an extended period of time, the instructor should initiate a check on the welfare of the student by reporting through the head of the student's major department to the Dean or designee of the student's college.

In accordance with Faculty Senate Resolution FS.14.101 (see Faculty Senate meeting minutes of Feb. 10, 1997), "faculty members are encouraged not to hold exams on the day of Muster. Any absence from classes beginning after 5 p.m. to attend Muster will be considered a university excused absence."

## **Makeup Work Policy**

Students will be excused from attending class on the day of a graded activity or when attendance contributes to a student's grade, for the reasons stated in Student Rule 7, or other reason deemed appropriate by the instructor.

Please refer to <u>Student Rule 7</u> in its entirety for information about makeup work, including definitions, and related documentation and timelines.

Absences related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 may necessitate a period of more than 30 days for make-up work, and the timeframe for make-up work should be agreed upon by the student and instructor" (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.1).

"The instructor is under no obligation to provide an opportunity for the student to make up work missed because of an unexcused absence" (Student Rule 7, Section 7.4.2).

Students who request an excused absence are expected to uphold the Aggie Honor Code and Student Conduct Code. (See <u>Student Rule 24</u>.)

#### AGGIE HONOR CODE

For many years Aggies have followed a Code of Honor, which is stated in this very simple verse:

## An Aggie does not lie, cheat or steal or tolerate those who do.

The Aggie Code of Honor is an effort to unify the aims of all Texas A&M men and women toward a high code of ethics and personal dignity. For most, living under this code will be no problem, as it asks nothing of a person that is beyond reason. It only calls for honesty and integrity, characteristics that Aggies have always exemplified.

The Aggie Code of Honor functions as a symbol to all Aggies, promoting understanding and loyalty to truth and confidence in each other.

http://aggiehonor.tamu.edu

#### **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY**

The Bush School is committed to the development of principled leaders for public service. Entering a Bush School course as a student means accepting this commitment personally. The commitment to "principled leadership" is a further expansion of the Texas A&M student honor code. Every student in this course must comply with this code in all work submitted for a grade and will be held accountable accordingly for both individual and team assignments. Anyone who is not prepared to be held accountable to this standard should immediately withdraw from this course.

It is imperative to avoid plagiarism or the appearance of plagiarism through sloppy citation. As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own ideas, words, writings, etc. that which belongs to another. In accordance with this definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you have the permission of that person. It does not matter from where the material is borrowed--a book, an article, material off the web, another student's paper-all constitute plagiarism unless the source of the work is fully identified and credited. It is important when using a phrase, a distinct idea, concept, a sentence, or sentences from another source to credit explicitly that source either in the text, a footnote, or endnote. Plagiarism is a violation of academic and personal integrity and carries extremely serious consequences. Scholastic dishonesty (including cheating, multiple submission of work for grades in different courses, and plagiarism) will not be tolerated and will be punished. Further information can be found at:

http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor/acadmisconduct.htm

## TITLE IX AND STATEMENT ON LIMITS TO CONFIDENTIALITY

Texas A&M University is committed to fostering a learning environment that is safe and productive for all. University policies and federal and state laws prohibit gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, sexual exploitation, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking.

With the exception of some medical and mental health providers, all university employees (including full and part-time faculty, staff, paid graduate assistants, student workers, etc.) are Mandatory Reporters and must report to the Title IX Office if the employee experiences, observes, or becomes aware of an incident that meets the following conditions (see University Rule 08.01.01.M1):

The incident is reasonably believed to be discrimination or harassment.

The incident is alleged to have been committed by or against a person who, at the time of the incident, was (1) a student enrolled at the University or (2) an employee of the University.

Mandatory Reporters must file a report regardless of how the information comes to their attention – including but not limited to face-to-face conversations, a written class assignment or paper, class discussion, email, text, or social media post. Although Mandatory Reporters must file a report, in most instances, you will be able to control how the report is handled, including whether or not to pursue a formal investigation. The University's goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and to ensure access to the resources you need.

Students wishing to discuss concerns in a confidential setting are encouraged to make an appointment with Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS).

Students can learn more about filing a report, accessing supportive resources, and navigating the Title IX investigation and resolution process on the University's Title IX webpage.

#### STATEMENT ON MENTAL HEALTH AND WELLNESS

Texas A&M University recognizes that mental health and wellness are critical factors that influence a student's academic success and overall wellbeing. Students are encouraged to engage in proper self-care by utilizing the resources and services available from Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS). Students who need someone to talk to can call the TAMU Helpline (979-845-2700) from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. weekdays and 24 hours on weekends. 24-hour emergency help is also available through the National Suicide Prevention Hotline (800-273-8255) or at suicidepreventionlifeline.org.

## PERSONAL ILLNESS AND QUARANTINE

Students required to quarantine must participate in courses and course-related activities remotely and must not attend face-to-face course activities. Students should notify their instructors of the quarantine requirement. Students under quarantine are expected to participate in courses and complete graded work unless they have symptoms that are too severe to participate in course activities.

Students experiencing personal injury or Illness that is too severe for the student to attend class qualify for an excused absence (See Student Rule 7, Section 7.2.2.) To receive an excused absence, students must comply with the documentation and notification guidelines outlined in Student Rule 7. While Student Rule 7, Section 7.3.2.1 indicates a medical confirmation note from the student's medical provider is preferred, for Spring 2021 only, students may use the Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class form in lieu of a medical confirmation. Students must submit the Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class within two business days after the last date of absence.

#### **COURSE OUTLINE**

Syllabus topics are subject to change at the discretion of the instructor.

#### Week 1: Why Study IR? (January 24)

David Baldwin, 2012. "Power and International Relations." In: *Handbook of International Relations*, Sage.

Robert Cox, 2008. "The Point is Not Just to Explain the World But to Change It." In: *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. Oxford University Press.

Paul Sharp, 2018. Introducing International Relations. Routledge, Chapter 1

Stewart Patrick, 2016. "World Order: What, Exactly, are the Rules?" *The Washington Quarterly* 39, 1, pp. 7-27.

Amitav Acharya, 2021. "What "Introduction to International Relations" Misses Out: Civilizations, World Orders, and the Rise of the West," *Social Science Research Network*.

## Week 2: Realism/Liberalism (January 31)

John Mearsheimer, 2001. The Tragedy of World Politics. W.W. Norton. Introduction.

Hans J. Morgenthau, 1978. *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 4-15

Paul Sharp, 2018. Introducing International Relations. Routledge, Chapter 2, 3

Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, 1995. "The Promise of Institutionalist Theory." *International Security* 20, 1, pp. 39-51

## **Week 3: Critical Theories (February 7)**

Paul Sharp, 2018. Introducing International Relations. Routledge, Chapter 4

Kelebogile Zvobgo, Meredith Loken, 2020. "Why Race Matters in International Relations," *Foreign Policy*, 19 June 2020, https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/06/19/why-race-matters-international-relations-ir/

Barry Buzan, 2001. 'The English School: An Underexploited Resource in IR." *Review of International Studies* 27, 3, pp.471-488.

Emanuel Adler, 1997. "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 3, 3.

Perpetua Lynne Nielsen, Donna Lee Bowen and Valerie M. Hudson. 2020. *The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide*. Columbia University Press.

## **Week 4: Security (February 14)**

Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughan-Williams, 2018. *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*. Routledge, Chapter 1

Theirry Balzacq, 2009. "Constructivism and Securitization Studies." *Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*. Routledge.

Stephen M. Walt, 1991. "The Renaissance of Security Studies." *International Studies Quarterly* 35, 2, pp. 211-239.

David Baldwin, 1997. "The Concept of Security." *Review of International Studies* 23, 5-26.

## Week 5: Presidents Day, February 21 (No Class)

#### Week 6: Order (February 28)

Hans Morgenthau, 1978. "The Balance of Power," "Different Methods of the Balance of Power," and "Evaluation of the Balance of Power." In: *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Alfred A. Knopf.

John Ikenberry, 2018. 'The End of Liberal International Order? *International Affairs* 94, 1, pp 7–23.

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

## **Case Study: What Comes Next?**

Amitav Charya, 2017. "After Liberal Hegemony: The Advent of a Multiplex World Order." *Ethics and International Affairs*.

Alexander Cooley and Daniel Nexon, 2020. "How Hegemony Ends The Unraveling of American Power," *Foreign Affairs*.

#### **Week 7: Great Power Competition (March 7)**

Emma Ashford, 2021. "Great-Power Competition Is a Recipe for Disaster," *Foreign Policy*, 1 April, https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/04/01/china-usa-great-power-competition-recipe-for-disaster/

Daniel Nexon, 2021. "Against Great Power Competition," Foreign Affairs, 15 February, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2021-02-15/against-great-power-competition

John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, 2016. "The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy," *Foreign Affairs*.

Hal Brands, 2017. "Six Propositions about GreatPower Competition and Revisionism in the 21st Century," https://global.upenn.edu/sites/default/files/go-six-propositions-brands.original.pdf

John J. Mearsheimer, 2021. "The Inevitable Rivalry America, China, and the Tragedy of Great-Power Politics," *Foreign Affairs*.

#### Week 8: Spring Break!

## Week 9: Causes of War (March 21)

Robert Jervis, 1978. "Cooperation under the Security Dilemma." World Politics 30, 2.

Kenneth N. Waltz, 1988. "Origins of War in Neorealist Theory." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, 4, pp. 615-628

Robert Gilpin, 1985. "Hegemonic War and International Change" in *War and Change in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press.

#### **Case Study: The Coming War with China?**

Frank Hoffman and Andrew Orner, 2021. "The Return of Great Power Proxy Wars," War on the Rocks, 2 September, https://warontherocks.com/2021/09/the-return-of-great-power-proxy-wars/

Christopher Layne, 2020. "Coming Storms: The Return of Great-Power War." *Foreign Affairs*.

## Week 10: Globalization and International Political Economy (March 28)

Paul Sharp, 2018. Introducing International Relations. Routledge, Chapter 9, 10.

Henry Farrell and Abraham L. Newman, 2019. "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." *International Security* 44, 1, 42–79.

Robert O. Keohane, Joseph S. Nye, Jr. 1987, "Power and Interdependence Revisited Reviewed Work: Power and Interdependence." *International Organization* 41, 4, pp. 725-753.

Thomas Oatley, 2019. "Toward a Political Economy of Complex Interdependence." *European Journal of International Relations* 25, 4, pp. 957-978.

## Week 11: State Failure, Civil Wars and Intervention (April 4)

Martha Finnemore, 1996. "Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention," in: *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. Columbia University Press, 153-185.

Robert Rotberg, "Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators." 2003.

"The Responsibility to Protect," UN, 2014.

Stephen Krasner, 2001. "Abiding Sovereignty." International Political Science Review, 22, 3, pp. 229-251.

## Case Study: R2P, Libya and Syria

Jennifer M. Welsh, 2016. "The Responsibility to Protect after Libya & Syria." *Daedalus* 145, 4, 75–87.

#### Week 12: Technology and Security (April 11)

Camino Kavanagh, 2019. "New Tech, New Threats, and New Governance Challenges: An Opportunity to Craft Smarter Responses?," Carnegie Endowment, https://carnegieendowment.org/2019/08/28/new-tech-new-threats-and-new-governance-challenges-opportunity-to-craft-smarter-responses-pub-79736

Scott Sagan, 2016. "Ethics, Technology and War," Daedalus, Fall 2016.

Darran Anderson, 2018, "The Grim Future of Urban Warfare." *The Atlantic*, https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2018/12/technology-will-make-wareven-worse/577723/

Warren Chin, 2019. "Technology, War and the State: Past, Present and Future." *International Affairs* 95, 4, 765–783.

Michael Horowitz, "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons and International Conflict: Does Experience Matter?" *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, 2, pp. 234-257.

## Week 13: Terrorism (April 18)

Richard Jackson, 2005. Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-terrorism. Manchester University Press, Introduction.

Bruce Hoffman, 2017. *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press, Chapter 1.

Daniel Byman, 2021. "The Good Enough Doctrine Learning to Live With Terrorism." Foreign Affairs.

Michael E. O'Hanlon and Lily Windholz, 2021. "Do not Take the War on Terror's Big Success for Granted." *Brookings*, 27 August, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2021/08/27/do-not-take-the-war-on-terrors-big-success-for-granted/

# Week 14: The Tragedy of the Commons? Climate Change, Outer Space and Pandemics (April 25)

Jason Bordoff, 2020. "It's Time to Put Climate Action at the Center of U.S. Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy*, 27 July, https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/27/climate-change-foreign-policy/

Daniel Drezner, 2020. "The Song Remains the Same: International Relations After COVID-19." *International Organization*.

Richard Beardsworth, 2020. "Climate Science, the Politics of Climate Change and Futures of IR." *International Relations* 34, 3, 374-390.

Stewart Patrick, "Biden Will Have to Confront a New and Perhaps More Dangerous Space Race," *World Politics Review*, 14 December 2020, https://www.cfr.org/blog/biden-will-have-confront-new-and-perhaps-more-dangerous-space-race

## **Week 15: Future of International Relations (May 2)**

Heather Conley, 2021. "The Future of the International System." CSIS.

Michael F. Oppenheimer, 2020. The Future of Global Affairs. Springer, pp.23-47.

Helen V. Milner, Susan Peterson, Ryan Powers, Michael J. Tierney and Erik Voeten, 2020. "Trump, COVID-19, and the Future of International Order," 8 October, https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/10/08/international-relations-experts-polling-pessimism-global-order-trump-covid/

Jan Aart Scholte, Soetkin Verhaegen and Jonas Tallberg, 2021. "Elite Attitudes and the Future of Global Governance," *International Affairs* 97, 3, pp.861–886.