

Index

- Acharya, Amitav, 274, 294, 335
 Adhanom Ghebreyesus, Tedros, 226, 245, 246
 Adler, Emanuel, 84, 85, 87
 Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, 330
 African Union, 23, 200, 297
After Hegemony (Keohane), 22
 Allan, Bentley, 313
 American Rescue Plan (2021), 269
 Andersen, Inger, 223
 Annan, Kofi, 20
apartheid, 165, 166
 appeasement, 38, 146
 Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), 134–135, 261
 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), 18
 Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 16–17, 18
 Autesserre, Séverine, 201
- Barnett, Michael N., 22, 84, 115, 120, 187
 Beijing consensus, 136
 Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), 128, 134, 136, 244
 Benedick, Richard, 217
 Benson, Robert, 295, 296
 Berlin Treaty (1878), 42
 Biden, Joe, 50, 75, 260, 266, 268–269
 Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 242
 Bipartisan Infrastructure Deal (2021), 269
 Bismarck, Otto von, 41, 53
 Bolton, Frances P., 233
 Bremmer, Ian, 294–295
 Bretton Woods, 46, 68, 113, 135
 BRICS, 134, 261, 278, 335–336
 Brooks, Stephen, 141
 Brown, Theodore M., 238
 Brundtland, Gro Harlem, 239–241
 Bull, Hedley, 36, 88, 311, 337
- Bush, George W., 49, 292–293
 Buzan, Barry, 36
- Campbell, Kurt, 75
 Carnegie, Allison, 201
 Carr, Edward Hallett, 33, 38, 80, 307
 Chan, Margaret, 241
 Checkel, Jeffrey, 85
 Chessé, Alice, 27, 316, 319–341
 Chisholm, Brock, 233
 Chorev, Nitsan, 246–247, 250n7
 Claude, Inis L., 43
 Cliff, Roger, 126
Closure of the International System, The (Viola), 287
 Cohen, David K., 312
 Cold War (1949–1989), 46–48, 66, 80–81, 96–97, 99, 162, 232–233
 collective security. *See also* Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
 1919–1939, 42–45
 about, 23, 37
 Iraq invasion of Kuwait, 49
 United Nations, 47
 Collective Security Treaty Organization, 133
 Commission of Sustainable Development (CSD), 210–211
 Concert System
 about, 37
 Concert of Europe, 39–40, 53, 69
 Congress of Vienna (1815), 31, 32, 39
 future of, 51
 G20, 288–289
 great power concerts, 37
 neutralization, 40
 Conference of Allied Ambassadors, 44
 Conference of the Parties (COP), 139n66, 173, 175, 210
 conferences and congresses, 31, 37, 39, 41, 54
 constructivism, 79–80, 83–88

- Cooper, Andrew F., 27, 273–297
 Corwin, Edward, 72
 COVID-19 pandemic, 139n66, 226–227, 243–246
 Cox, Robert W., 208, 279, 282
Crashed: How a Decade of Financial Crises Changed the World (Tooze), 281–282
 Cui, Shunji, 36
- de Coning, Cedric, 188
 Declaration of Alma-Ata, 236
 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 162
 decolonization, 15, 48, 161–163, 234, 337–338
 Deutsch, Karl, 74, 84, 97, 257
 dispute settlement mechanism (DSM), 257, 331
 Doshi, Rush, 75
 Doyle, Michael, 74
 Drezner, Daniel, 278, 281, 285–286, 289
 Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1945), 156–157
 Dunn, Frederick, 38
 DuPont, 217
 Duvall, Raymond, 115, 120
- Economy, Elizabeth, 73
 Edu-Afful, Fifi, 197–198
 Enlightenment, 56–57, 76, 325
 equilibria, 107–109, 121–122
 Eurasian Economic Union, 133
 Europe Concert. *See* Concert System, Concert of Europe
 European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), 16
 European Union (EU), 16, 18, 85
 export-led growth (ELG), 171–172
- Farrell, Henry, 259
 Fee, Elizabeth, 232, 234, 235
 Finger, J. Michael, 263
 Finnemore, Martha, 22, 187
 Flockhart, Trine, 24–25, 78–101, 114, 187–188
 formal intergovernmental organizations (FIGOs)
 about, 25, 109–111, 335
 change management, 118–119
 cooperative order, 119–120
 Founex Report, 207
 Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC), 240
- G20
 about, 27, 133, 273–274, 335
 Bali summit (2022), 296–297
 Brisbane summit (2014), 292
 Buenos Aires summit (2018), 293, 296
 Concert System, 288–289
 credibility, 280–283
 Global Financial Crisis (2008), 273, 281–282, 283, 291, 296
 Hamburg summit (2017), 292
 Hangzhou summit (2016), 291
 London summit (2009), 294
 Pittsburgh summit (2009), 293
 Washington, DC summit (2008), 293
 Gandhi, Indira, 204
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 15, 116–117
 Geneva conventions, 107
 Gilpin, Robert, 22, 34, 138
 Global Development Initiative (GDI), 134, 136
 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) (2008), 273, 281–282, 283, 291, 296
 Global Programme on AIDS, 235, 238
 Global Research Network on Peaceful Change (GRENPEC), 27n81
 global trading system
 about, 336
 crisis of success, 252, 258–261, 267
 peaceful change, 249–250, 251
 trade conflicts, 250–251, 257, 266–267
 good life, 78–79, 82, 88–89, 99, 100–101
 Gowan, Richard, 192
 great power management
 about, 24, 32–33, 36–37, 52, 333
 conditions for peaceful change, 32
 future of, 51
 historical periods of, 33, 53
 Sino-American power transition, 138–140
 United Nations, 47
 Grotian tradition, 31, 35–36
 Group of 77, 164, 170, 171, 172, 215
 Guérin, Jules, 230
- Haas, Ernst B., 84, 219
 Haass, Richard N., 288–289
 Haig, Alexander, 237
 Hamas–Israel war. *See* Israel–Hamas war (2023 onwards)
 Hamilton, Alexander, 73
 Han, Dal Sun, 230
 Harrison, Gordon (Ford Foundation), 208
 He, Kai
 definition of concepts, 317–318

344 Index

- He, Kai (cont.)
 How International Organizations
 Promote or Detract Peaceful Change,
 3–28
 international institutions, 275, 281
 peaceful change, 314, 316
Health by the People (WHO publication),
 236
 Health for All, 236, 237, 238
 Hedström, Peter, 308
 hegemony, 64–66, 128–129, 145
 Held, David, 280
 Helleiner, Eric, 278, 281, 285–286
 Hoffmann, Stanley, 55, 140
 Hollis, Martin, 305, 309
 Hooghe, Liesbet, 313
 Hopewell, Kristen, 268
 Horton, Richard, 231
 Howard, Lise M., 193
 Human Rights Commission, 158, 166,
 176
 Hume, David, 71–72
 Hurd, Ian, 27, 301–318, 321
- Ikenberry, G. John
 crisis of success, 258
 G20, 285
 G-7, 284–285
 great power management, 37
 institutional change, 284
 liberal internationalism, 24
 liberalism, institutional statecraft, and
 international order, 55–77
 lock-in theory, 141–142, 143
 world order, 315–316
 informal intergovernmental organizations
 (IIGOs)
 about, 25, 110, 111–112, 335
 change management, 118–119
 transformation, 120–122
 informal international organizations.
See informal intergovernmental
 organizations (IIGOs)
 institutional statecraft
 anarchy, 59–62
 hierarchy, 62–66
 illiberal competition, 72–76
 interdependence, 66–69
 openness, 69–72
 intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)
 agency, 110
 change management, 118–119
 peaceful change, 102
 rationalism, 102–103
 International Atomic Energy Agency
 (IAEA), 8, 15, 160
 International Code on the Marketing of
 Breastmilk Substitutes (1982), 237
 International Conference on Primary
 Health Care (1978), 236
 International Court of Justice (ICJ), 16,
 158
 International Health Regulations (IHR),
 243, 245
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 22
 international organizations (IOs)
 about, 3–5, 7–8, 17–19
 liberal international order (LIO), 20–23
 peaceful change, 9–11, 14–17
International Organizations as Orchestrators
 (Abbott), 287
 international political economy (IPE), 284
 Iraq invasion of Kuwait (1991), 54
 Ismay, Lord, 96
 Israel–Hamas war (2023 onwards), 50, 51
 Ivanova, Maria, 26, 204–224
- Jacques, Martin, 142
 Jessop, Bob, 279–280
 Jupille, Joseph Henri, 113
- Kacowicz, Arie M., 24, 31, 308
 Kahler, Miles, 274
 Kant, Immanuel, 9, 35, 57, 73–74, 84,
 306–307
 Kantian tripod scheme, 3, 249
 Kaplan, Morton, 310, 311, 315
 Kellogg–Briand Pact (1928), 44
 Kennedy, Paul, 15
 Keohane, Robert O.
 G20, 291, 295–296
 institutions, 61, 282–283, 289
 interdependence, 67–68
 IOs, 22
 neoliberal institutionalism, 276
 Keynesian economics, 68, 130
 Kissinger, Henry, 288
 Klamberg, Mark, 192
 Korean War (1950), 49, 54
 Koremenos, Barbara, 313
 Kosso, Peter, 313, 316
 Kupchan, Charles A., 288–289
- Lamy, Pascal, 267
 Larson, Deborah Welch, 301
 Lascurettes, Kyle, 13
 Layne, Christopher, 25, 123–149, 293
 League of Nations (1920–1946)
 about, 42–45
 Concert System, 37
 Covenant (1920), 32
 neutralization, 45

- peaceful change, 38
- Lee, Kelley, 26, 225–248
- Lee Jong-Wook, 241
- liberal international order (LIO), 7n9, 11–13, 20, 23, 101, 225–226, 333
- liberal internationalism, 55–56
- liberal rules-based international order (LRBIO), 123
- Lindblom, Charles E., 312
- Locke, John, 63
- Louis, Marieke, 227, 246, 317
- low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), 225–226, 235–236
- Luce, Edward, 146
- Lundgren, Magnus, 192
- Lytton Report, 44
- Maertens, Lucile, 227, 246, 317
- Mahler, Halfdan, 237
- Maier, Charles, 62
- major groups, 176, 178n65
- Mann, Jonathan, 238
- Manning, C. A. W., 38
- Martin, Lisa L., 289, 291, 295–296
- Martin-Brûlé, Sarah-Myriam, 26, 181–203
- Matuszak, John, 209
- McCarthy, Joseph, 233
- McDonald, John W., 213
- McDougall, Walter, 148
- McKibben, Heather Elko, 309–310
- Mearsheimer, John, 50, 139, 148, 275, 288
- Menton Message, 207, 223
- Mérand, Frédéric, 17–18, 33, 187
- Mikulaschek, Christoph, 201
- Millennium Declaration (2000), 175, 180
- Mingst, Karen A., 309–310
- Mitrany, David, 67, 84
- Mitter, Rana, 147
- Modi, Narendra, 296–297
- Molina, Mario, 217
- Montesquieu, 57, 63
- Montreal Protocol, 216–217, 219
- Morgenthau, Hans, 307
- Mueller, John, 18, 48
- Mueller, Karl, 18
- Nakajima, Hiroshi, 238–239
- Narlikar, Amrita, 265
- Nathan, Andrew, 146
- NATO. *See* North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- Navari, Cornelia, 36
- neutralization of countries/territories, 40, 45, 48
- New Development Bank (BRICS), 134
- New International Economic Order (NIEO), 117, 171, 235, 236, 237, 338
- Newman, Abraham L., 259
- Nexon, Daniel H., 330
- Nogues, Julio J., 263
- Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), 8, 15
- North Atlantic Fisheries Organization (NAFO), 110
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- about, 79
- change by, for peaceful change, 98–100
- change in, for peaceful change, 96–98
- change of, for peaceful change, 94–96
- collective security, 47
- liberal international order, 50
- peaceful change, 85, 327–328
- North, Douglass, 106
- Novosseloff, Alexandra, 199
- Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), 160
- O'Neill, Jim, 134
- Obama, Barack, 129, 130, 132, 260, 268–269, 292–293, 294
- ontological security, 86n38, 92–94
- openness, 57, 69–72, 310
- Origins of Informality, The* (Roger), 277
- Overholt, William, 258
- Owens, Patricia, 309
- Oxford Handbook of Global Policy and Transnational Administration, The*, 286
- ozone layer, 216–220
- Pailin, Zachary, 91
- Paul, T. V.
- definition of concepts, 317–318
- How International Organizations Promote or Detract Peaceful Change, 3–28
- international institutions, 137, 275, 281
- liberal international order, 225
- peaceful change, 34, 246, 257, 314, 316, 320–321
- power transitions, 140
- Pax Americana*
- about, 123–125
- economic dominance, 126–128
- military dominance, 126
- peaceful change
- about, 6, 33, 34, 78–79, 327
- agents of, 323–331
- Cold War, 47–48
- intermediate change, 257, 332
- justice, 337–339

346 Index

- peaceful change (cont.)
 maximalist change, 251, 257, 258, 332
 minimalist change, 251, 257, 258, 332
 order enforcement, 332–335
 processes of, 339–341
 public good provision, 335–337
- Pearson, Lester B., 184
- Perliger, Arie, 308
- Perry, Henry B., 236
- Peterson, M. J., 25–26, 153–180, 337
- Pingeot, Lou, 189, 198
- Politics Among Nations* (Morgenthau), 307
- Pouliot, Vincent, 17–18, 33, 187, 189, 198
- power transitions
 about, 14–15, 140–141, 143–145
 IIGOs, 121
 Sino-American shift, 136–137, 140–141, 143, 145–149
- Prebisch, Raúl, 170
- Priess, David, 137
- Pu, Xiaoyu, 138
- quantitative easing (QE2), 131–132
- RAND Corporation, 126
- rapprochement, 42, 54
- Rasmussen, Anders Fogh, 76
- rationalism, 102–106, 122
- Responsibility to Protect (R2P), 16, 23, 174, 185. *See also* collective security
- Reus-Smit, Christian, 23
- Rietzler, Katharina, 309
- Rikhye, Indar, 184
- Rio Conference (1992), 174, 175, 178, 178n65, 210
- Rock, Stephen R., 38
- Roger, Charles, 277
- Rogoff, Kenneth S., 133
- Roll Back Malaria, 240
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 68, 73, 228–229
- Rowland, Sherwood, 217
- Ruger, Jennifer Prah, 241
- Ruggie, John, 70
- rules of the game
 Cold War, 47
 erosion of, 51
 Europe, post Crimean War, 40–41
 European Concert, 39–40
 great power management, 38
 institutions, 106–107, 108
 international order, 52
 rules and institutions, 58–59
 Russian–Ukraine war, 51
 United Nations, 47
- Russett, Bruce, 310–311, 314
- Russian–Ukraine war (2022 onwards), 32, 35, 49, 50, 54, 294
- Ryan, Mike, 246
- San Francisco Conference (1945), 157, 162, 176
- Saunders, George, 312
- Schaffer, Simon, 313
- Schuman Declaration (1950), 16
- Schweller, Randall, 137, 143
- Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (Morgenthau), 308
- Scobell, Andrew, 146
- Security Council. *See* UN Security Council (UNSC)
- Sending, Ole Jacob, 247
- Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), 133–134
- Shapin, Steven, 313
- Shapiro, Ian, 303, 317
- Sinha, Aseema, 26–27, 249–272, 250n7
- smallpox eradication, 225, 234–235
- Smith, Adam, 57
- Smith, Steve, 83
- Smith, Tony, 313–314
- Snidal, Duncan, 25, 102–122, 277–278
- social medicine, 230–231, 233, 234
- social structures
 about, 88–90, 101
 power, 89
 practices, 89
 principles, 89
- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), 18
- Special Programme for Research and Training in Tropical Diseases (TDR), 235
- Stockholm Conference (1972), 204, 205, 206–208, 212–213, 215
- Strong, Maurice, 173, 206, 207, 334
- Suganami, Hidemi, 91
- Summit for Democracy (2021), 75
- Supreme Council of Allies, 44
- Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), 154, 175, 216, 223
- Swedberg, Richard, 308
- Tedesco, Laura, 292
- Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, 226, 245, 246
- Theseus' ship (Greek paradox), 113
- Tolba, Mostafa, 217–218
- Tooze, Adam, 281–282, 289
- Toynbee, Arnold, 38, 44
- Treaty of Versailles (1919), 38, 323

Index

347

- Trump, Donald
 G20, 293
 Sino-American power shift, 130n29
 WHO, 226
 WTO, 260, 266, 268–269, 271
 Trusteeship Council, 176
Twenty-Years Crisis (Carr), 307
- Ukraine–Russian war. *See* Russian–Ukraine war (2022 onwards)
- UN Charter (1945)
 about, 156–157
 arms reduction, 160
 human rights, 164
 peaceful change, 32, 153, 174, 185
 Westphalian system, 46
- UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, 163–164
- UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), 338
- UN Development Program (UNDP), 170
- UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), 158, 166, 170, 176, 178
- UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 19, 22
- UN Environment Programme (UNEP)
 about, 26, 204–205, 334
 funding of, 213–214
 headquarters of, 214–216
 mandate, 208–210
 ozone layer, 216–220
 peaceful change, 220–222
- UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), 210
- UN General Assembly (UNGA)
 about, 15, 25, 156–158, 337–338
 decolonization, 162–163
 economic development, 169–173
 environment, 173–174
 human rights, 164–169
 peaceful change, 153–154, 159
 Resolution 76/224, 179
 Resolution 377, 47, 157–158
 Resolution 1514, 162, 165, 337–338
- UN peace operations
 about, 188–189, 334–335
- UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan (UNITAMS), 181, 193, 196, 199–200
- UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), 191, 196–197
- UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), 181
- UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), 181, 193, 195–196, 200–201
- UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the CAR (MINUSCA), 193, 196–197
- UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO), 181, 193, 196–197
- UN Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), 182, 193, 194–195
- UN-African Union Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), 181, 196
- UN Secretariat, 159
- UN Security Council (UNSC)
 about, 153–154
 great power management, 45
 Israel–Hamas war, 51
 power politics, 5
 status quo, 109
 US–Iraq war (2003), 15
 veto power, 16, 46, 132–133n38, 153–154, 157–158, 158n11, 189n21, 195
- UN Trusteeship Council, 158–159, 176
- United Nations
 1945–1989, 45–48
 Cold War, 48
 collective security, 47
 Concert System, 37
 great power management, 47
 interstate disputes, 48
 membership of, 109
 neutralization, 48
 rules of the game, 47
 US–Iraq war (2003), 15, 32
 Utley, Jonathan G., 148
- Vabulas, Felicity, 277–278, 286
- veto power, 15–16, 46, 132–133n38, 153–154, 157–158, 158n11, 189n21, 195
- Vezirgiannidou, Sevasti-Eleni, 141
- Viola, Lora Anne, 286–287, 310
- Virchow, Rudolf, 230, 231
- Waltz, Kenneth, 59, 62, 311
- War against Terror, 49
- Ward, Barbara, 206
- Warsaw Pact, 47
- Washington Consensus, 134, 135, 241, 261
- Westphalian system, 46, 50, 52, 70, 71, 317
- Wilén, Nina, 188, 197
- Wilson, Woodrow, 10, 23, 42, 43–44

348 Index

- Wivel, Anders
 - definition of concepts, 317–318
 - How International Organizations Promote or Detract Peaceful Change, 3–28
 - international institutions, 275, 281
 - peaceful change, 314, 316
- Wohlforth, William C., 137, 141, 146
- Wolf, Martin, 128
- World Bank, 22
- World Health Organization (WHO)
 - about, 15, 26, 336–337
 - COVID-19 pandemic, 139n66, 226–227, 243–246
 - establishment of, 228–230
 - smallpox eradication, 225, 234–235
 - underfunding of, 22, 237
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 15, 19, 26–27, 107, 109, 116–117
- Wright, Quincy, 179
- Xi Jinping
 - conflictual policies, 136, 256, 260
 - rise of, 127, 259, 268
 - world order, 73
- Young, Oran, 19
- Youngs, Richard, 292
- Zakaria, Fareed, 144
- Zoellick, Robert, 144
- Zürn, Michael, 12, 280, 290, 295, 296