

2532F: International Law and Order

Department of Political Science
University of Western Ontario

Fall, 2025

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Course Description

This course provides an introduction to the complexity of the international system. It considers the ways in which actors are able to act and interact with one another, and how the structures that have been created at the international level mediate those relationships. The course focuses on the evolution of these interactions, paying careful attention to the tensions between state and non-state actors.

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of this course, students will be able to:

1. Describe the historical origins and evolution of the field of international relations and its relevance to global legal and political order.
2. Analyze the role of international law in shaping the behavior of states and non-state actors in international relations.
3. Conduct systematic searches for academic literature and relevant legal documents on issues of international law and order.

4. Evaluate academic and non-academic sources critically and engage constructively with differing scholarly arguments.
5. Identify sources of conflict in the international system and propose potential legal and political pathways for state and institutional action.
6. Develop and communicate actionable policy recommendations to both specialist and non-specialist audiences, drawing on legal and political analysis.

Teaching and Learning Methodologies

This course has one in-person lecture per week. The lecture is two hours in duration.

Expectations

Students should attend class regularly, arrive on time and prepared, and conduct themselves with respect and courtesy toward others. Students can expect the same from me. Students are expected to read the required materials *prior* to class. All materials will be posted on the class page. This course assumes no prior familiarity with international law and order, but students are strongly encouraged to follow current events through a major newspaper with reputable coverage of foreign affairs. I recommend, in particular, the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *BBC News*, *The Economist*, and *Foreign Affairs*.

Assignments

Midterm Exam, 20%

Students will complete a one-hour-long, multiple choice exam based on the lectures and readings from Part I of the syllabus. A study guide complete with information on which topics will be included in the exam will be provided to students beforehand. The midterm exam will take place during class time on **October 15**. If required, the make-up exam will be on **October 24 at 3.30pm**.

UN Security Council Report, 40%

Students will be presented with a fictional scenario on an international crisis in which the UN Security Council has scheduled a meeting to debate the international community's next steps. In preparation for this meeting, each permanent or non-permanent member of the Security Council—as well as selected regional organizations and NGOs—have been asked to submit a confidential policy report outlining their official position. Students will be part of a delegation for a specific state or organization. In teams of no more than five, students will write a report setting out their delegation's response to the crisis at hand.

The report should be no more than 4000 words and must be submitted by **November 12**. A dossier containing detailed information on the crisis, tips, and expectations for the assignment will be available to students ahead of the deadline. Students should meet regularly in their

teams to organize themselves. All group members are expected to contribute equally to the written report, and individual penalties can apply if this is not the case.

Final Exam, 40%

Students will be required to complete a three-hour-long final exam. The exam will comprise of two sections. In Section 1, students will be presented with six concepts discussed in class and are expected to define *four* of the concepts, providing a short description of what the concept means and its relevance to international law and order. In Section 2, students will be expected to write an essay-style answer to *one* question out of a choice of four. The essay should be approximately 1,000 words. The exam will be held on a date and location to be determined by the Registrar during the December exam period. A study guide complete with information on which topics will be included in the exam as well as questions that can appear will be provided to students beforehand.

Writing Guidelines

Unless otherwise specified, all written work should be single-spaced with 12-point Times New Roman font and 1 inch margins. All references and quotations should be cited in the text with author and year (and page number if a quote is used), and full citations should be included in the bibliography. Example in-line citation: (Brown 1997) or (Brown 1997, 10).

Here are a list of helpful documents that you might find useful during the course:

- Amelia Hoover Green's (2013) 'How to Read' for Political Science Guide: <https://www.ameliahoovergreen.com/uploads/9/3/0/9/93091546/howtoread.pdf>.
- Amelia Hoover Green's (2021) Writing Guide: <https://www.ameliahoovergreen.com/uploads/9/3/0/9/93091546/writing-guide.pdf>.
- Steven Miller's (2014) Guide on Reading a Regression Table: <https://svmiller.com/blog/2014/08/reading-a-regression-table-a-guide-for-students/>.

Academic Policies

Artificial Intelligence Software

All written assignments will be evaluated using plagiarism software. The policy on academic offences is outlined below. Any evidence of plagiarism or other breaches of academic integrity will be harshly dealt with. Copying or paraphrasing the work of other students, or of essays on the internet, is not acceptable. The use of ChatGPT, Quillbot, or Grammarly are not permitted for any assignments in class. AI detection software will be used on all assignments. Submissions that are determined to have relied on AI assisted technologies in whole or in part will be given a failing (F) grade.

Late Policy

It is the student's responsibility to make sure assignments are correctly uploaded and sent. Late submissions for assignments will not be accepted unless an extension has been granted. Extensions will only be granted for documented medical and compassionate reasons.

Medical and Compassionate Extensions

If illness prevents you from coming to class or from turning in assignments on time, the illness must be documented according to Western's Policy on Accommodation for Illness (https://www.uwo.ca/arts/counselling/procedures/medical_accommodation.html). To obtain any accommodation, you must email appropriate documentation to the Academic Counselling office. All requests for medical or compassionate extensions must go through this office only. The Accommodation request is emailed to professors shortly after, and it is the student's responsibility to follow up with professors and make the appropriate arrangements if approved.

Make-up Exams

For each exam (midterm and final), there will be one make-up exam held only for students who have obtained an accommodation from the Academic Counseling office. The format for the make-up exam is exactly the same as for the main exam and it will cover the exact same material as the main exam, but with different questions. Having another class or tutorial scheduled during the make-up exam will not be accepted as a reason to miss it. If you have a test or assignment that makes it impossible for you to miss the conflicting class, you must email me the course name and number, its exact start/finish times on the day, the professor's name and email (not a TA), and the reason you can't miss it. I will contact them to confirm. As I'm sure you understand, we simply cannot schedule countless make-up exams: any request to also miss the make-up exam will therefore be denied without very good and very well documented reasons that we will follow up with phone calls to confirm. If you miss the make-up exam with an accommodation, it will be replaced with a significant written assignment based on all the material and readings covered during the semester.

Requests for Re-Assessment of Graded Work

If you believe there has been a mistake in the grading of your work, you may request a re-assessment. In accordance with the University's policy on requests for relief from academic decisions, students are encouraged to first seek informal resolution with the instructor. To request a re-assessment, you must email me no sooner than 48 hours after grades are released, and within two weeks of receiving your grade. Your email must include: (a) the original graded assignment, and (b) a clear written explanation justifying why you believe the grade should be reconsidered, referencing specific criteria or errors. Please note that I will re-evaluate the entire assignment. As such, your grade may be raised, lowered, or remain the same. Re-assessments are intended for cases of genuine grading concern, not dissatisfaction with a mark. If you remain unsatisfied with the outcome of the re-assessment, you may pursue further action in accordance with university policy; details are available in the official policy document: https://www.uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/requests_for_relief_from_academic_decisions.pdf.

Attendance

Students are expected to attend all classes. For success in the course, students are advised to complete the assigned readings *before* coming to class and to ask questions, make comments, and engage with the instructor and fellow classmates during class hours.

Electronic Devices

Students are permitted to bring laptops and digital devices to class; however, their use is limited to specific academic purposes. Devices may only be used when prompted for in-class demonstrations, exercises, or note-taking. Any use of electronic devices outside of these approved purposes (e.g., for personal browsing, social media, or unrelated activities) is not permitted. Students found using devices for non-academic purposes will be asked to leave the class. Please be mindful and respectful of the learning environment.

Team Work

In this course, collaboration and effective teamwork are essential. Students are expected to work respectfully with their peers, organizing themselves in a manner that supports the goals of the class. While occasional disagreements may arise, it is important that students make every effort to address and resolve any team-related issues within their group before seeking assistance from me. I do not expect to mediate conflicts. Please approach teamwork with professionalism, open communication, and a focus on achieving the collective goals of the project.

Email

I check e-mail regularly and will respond to your emails within 48 hours if your email is received during the week (Monday through Friday). However, please do not wait until the last minute to email me if there is something urgent you need to communicate.

Children and Childcare

I fully support efforts to balance academic responsibilities with family needs. Students who need to bring children to class are encouraged to do so in a way that ensures minimal disruption to the learning environment; though I do not expect class time to be used for childcare indefinitely. If you require accommodations or need to step out for childcare needs, please feel free to do so as necessary. If you have any specific concerns or require additional accommodations, please don't hesitate to reach out to me privately.

Academic Integrity and Academic Offences

At Western, a commitment to excellence, fairness, honesty, and respect within and outside the classroom is essential to maintaining the integrity of our community. By accepting membership in this community, students, faculty, and staff take responsibility for demonstrating these values in their own conduct and for recognizing and supporting these values in others. In turn, these values create a campus climate that encourages the free exchange of ideas, promotes scholarly excellence through active and creative thought, and allows community members to achieve and

be recognized for achieving their highest potential. Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: https://uwo.ca/univsec/pdf/academic_policies/appeals/undergrad_scholastic_offence_procedure.pdf.

All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (<http://www.turnitin.com>).

Support Services

Western is committed to providing equal educational opportunity and participation for students with disabilities. If you have any questions or would like to have further information about support services offered to students, please visit the Registrarial Services webpage (<http://www.registrar.uwo.ca>) or the Student Support Services webpage (<http://westernusc.ca/services/>).

Gender-Based and Sexual Violence

Western is committed to reducing incidents of gender-based and sexual violence (GBSV) and providing compassionate support to anyone who is going through or has gone through these traumatic events. If you are experiencing or have experienced GBSV (either recently or in the past), you will find information about support services for survivors, including emergency contacts at the following website: https://www.uwo.ca/health/student_support/survivor_support/gethelp.html. To connect with a case manager or set up an appointment, please contact support@uwo.ca.

Mental Health Resources

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western <http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/> for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.

Further Appendix

For the Departmental Appendix, including further information on policies, please see <https://politicalscience.uwo.ca/undergraduate/docs/outlines/2025-26/APPENDIX%20TO%20UNDERGRADUATE%20COURSE%20OUTLINES1.pdf>.

Course Calendar and Schedule

The substance of course might change depending on the progress of the class. All required readings are available on OWL.

Part I: Foundations of International Law and Order

Week 1, September 10: Introduction

Required readings:

1. Keohane, Robert O. "International Relations and International Law: Two Optics." *Harvard International Law Journal* 38, no. 2 (1997): 487–502.
2. Cali, Basak. "International Law for International Relations: Foundations for Interdisciplinary Study." In *International Law for International Relations*, edited by Başak Çalı, 3–24. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Optional readings:

1. International Court of Justice. *Whaling in the Antarctic (Australia v. Japan: New Zealand intervening)*, Judgment of 31 March 2014. <https://www.icj-cij.org/case/148>.

Week 2, September 17: Theoretical Perspectives on International Law and Order

Required readings:

1. Keohane, Robert O. "The Demand for International Regimes." *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982): 325–355.
2. Morgenthau, Hans J. "Main Problems of International Law." In *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 6th ed., 278–306. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985.

Optional readings:

1. Adamson, Fiona B., and Chandra Lekha Sriram. "Perspectives on International Law and International Relations." In *International Law for International Relations*, edited by Başak Çalı, 25–45. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Week 3, September 24: The State and the International System

Required readings:

1. Chayes, Abram, and Antonia Handler Chayes. "On Compliance." *International Organization* 47, no. 2 (1993): 175–205.
2. Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter N. Barsoom. "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50, no. 3 (1996): 379–406.

Optional readings:

1. Morse, Julia C., and Tyler B. Pratt. "Smoke and Mirrors: Strategic Messaging and the Politics of Noncompliance." *American Political Science Review* (forthcoming, 2025): <https://shorturl.at/MYT0h>.
2. Abbott, Kenneth W., Robert O. Keohane, Andrew Moravcsik, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Duncan Snidal. "The Concept of Legalization." *International Organization* 54, no. 3 (2000): 401–419.
3. Allison, Graham. "Of Course China, Like All Great Powers, Will Ignore an International Legal Verdict." *The Diplomat*, July 11, 2016.
4. Eichensehr, Kristen. "United States Signs Agreement with the Taliban, but Prospects for Its Full Implementation Remain Uncertain." *American Journal of International Law* 114, no. 3 (July 2020): 529–538.

Week 4, October 1: International Organizations and the International System

Required readings:

1. Mearsheimer, John J. "The False Promise of International Institutions." *International Security* 19, no. 3 (1994): 5–49.
2. Keohane, Robert O., and Lisa L. Martin. "The Promise of Institutional Theory." *International Security* 20, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 39–51.

Optional readings:

1. Goldenziel, Jill I., Sean Michael Blochberger, and Tyler Granholm. "Weapon of the Weak: Lawfare and State Power in the International Court of Justice." *Harvard International Law Journal* 66, no. 2 (2025): 563–631.
2. International Court of Justice. *Reparation for Injuries Suffered in the Service of the United Nations, Advisory Opinion*, April 11, 1949. I.C.J. Reports 1949, p. 174. <https://www.icj-cij.org/case/4>.
3. International Court of Justice. *Legality of the Use by a State of Nuclear Weapons in Armed Conflict, Advisory Opinion*, July 8, 1996. I.C.J. Reports 1996, p. 66. <https://www.icj-cij.org/case/93>.
4. International Court of Justice. *Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons, Advisory Opinion*, July 8, 1996. I.C.J. Reports 1996, p. 226. <https://www.icj-cij.org/case/95>.

Week 5, October 8: Sources of International Law

Required readings:

1. Voyiakis, Emmanuel. "International Treaties." In *International Law for International Relations*, edited by Başak Çalı, 125–146. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

2. Beckett, Jason. "Customary International Law." In *International Law for International Relations*, edited by Başak Çalı, 147–166. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
3. Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54, no. 3 (2000): 421–456.

Optional readings:

1. *Treaties*: Reservations to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1951 I.C.J. 15 (May 28) (advisory opinion); Armed Activities on the Territory of the Congo (Dem. Rep. Congo v. Rwanda), 2006 I.C.J. 126.
2. *Custom*: Military and Paramilitary Activities In and Against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America), ICJ Rep. 14 (1986); Jurisdictional Immunities of the State, (Germany v. Italy), Judgment, ICGJ 434 (ICJ 2012).
3. *Soft law*: South China Sea Arbitration (Philippines v. China, PCA 2016); Advisory Opinion on the Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (ICJ, 2004).

Week 6, October 15: Midterm Exam

Midterm exam will be held during this class.

Part II: Issues in International Law and Order

Week 7, October 22: Adjudication and Dispute Resolution

Required readings:

1. Keohane, Robert O., Andrew Moravcsik, and Anne-Marie Slaughter. "Legalized Dispute Resolution: Interstate and Transnational." *International Organization* 54, no. 3 (2000): 457–88.
2. Voeten, Erik. "The Impartiality of International Judges: Evidence from the European Court of Human Rights." *American Political Science Review* 102, no. 4 (2008): 417–433.

Optional readings:

1. Allee, Todd L., and Paul K. Huth. "Legitimizing Dispute Settlement: International Legal Rulings as Domestic Political Cover." *American Political Science Review* 100, no. 2 (2006): 219–234.
2. Agence France-Presse. "Japanese Judge Yuji Iwasawa Elected New ICJ President." *Barron's*, March 3, 2025.
3. Human Rights Law Centre. "European Court of Human Rights Rules Russia's 'Gay Propaganda Laws' Are Discriminatory and Breach Free Speech." *Human Rights Law Centre*, December 15, 2017.
4. Laurens Lavrysen. "Bayev and Others v. Russia: On Judge Dedov's Outrageously Homophobic Dissent." *Strasbourg Observers*, July 13, 2017.

Week 8, October 29: The Use of Force and Humanitarian Intervention

Required readings:

1. Schrijver, Nico. "The Ban on the Use of Force in the UN Charter." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Use of Force in International Law*, edited by Marc Weller, 465–487. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
2. John Yoo, "International Law and the War in Iraq," *The Harvard International Law Journal* 44, no. 2 (2003): 463–507.

Optional readings:

1. Akemark, Andreas. "Storms, Foxes, and Nebulous Legal Arguments: Twelve Years of Force against Iraq, 1991–2003." *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 13, no. 1 (2008): 1–24.
2. MacAskill, Ewen, and Julian Borger. "Iraq Inquiry Publishes Legal Advice to Blair on War." *BBC News*, June 30, 2010. <https://www.bbc.com/news/10463844>.
3. International Court of Justice. *Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro*, Judgment, February 26, 2007. ICJ Reports 2007, 43.
4. United Nations Security Council. *Resolution 1973 (2011)*. S/RES/1973(2011), March 17, 2011. [https://undocs.org/S/RES/1973\(2011\)](https://undocs.org/S/RES/1973(2011)).

Week 9, November 5: No Class (Reading Week)

Week 10, November 12: International Human Rights

Required readings:

1. Hathaway, Oona A. "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *The Yale Law Journal* 111, no. 8 (2002): 1935–1992.
2. Neumayer, Eric. "Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 6 (2005): 925–953.

Optional readings:

1. Simmons, Beth A. "Why International Law? The Development of the International Human Rights Regime in the Twentieth Century." In *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*, 23–56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
2. European Court of Human Rights. *Leyla Şahin v. Turkey*, Application No. 44774/98, Grand Chamber Judgment, November 10, 2005.
3. Inter-American Court of Human Rights. *Case of Velásquez Rodríguez v. Honduras*, Judgment of July 29, 1988, Series C No. 4.
4. European Court of Human Rights. *Soering v. United Kingdom*, Application No. 14038/88, Judgment, July 7, 1989.

5. European Court of Human Rights. *Lopez Ostra v. Spain*, Application No. 16798/90, Judgment, December 9, 1994.
6. United Nations Human Rights Committee. *Toonen v. Australia*, Communication No. 488/1992, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/50/D/488/1992, March 31, 1994.
7. European Court of Human Rights. *Aleksey Navalnyy v. Russia*, Application No. 29580/12, Judgment, February 15, 2018.

Week 11, November 19: International Crimes

Required readings:

1. Gilligan, Michael J. "Is Enforcement Necessary for Effectiveness? A Model of the International Criminal Regime." *International Organization* 60, no. 4 (2006): 935–936.
2. Ku, Julian, and Jide Nzelibe. "Do International Criminal Tribunals Deter or Exacerbate Humanitarian Atrocities?" *Washington University Law Quarterly* 84 (2007): 777–828.
3. Prorok, Alyssa K. "The (In)compatibility of Peace and Justice? The International Criminal Court and Civil Conflict Termination." *International Organization* 71, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 213–243.

Optional readings:

1. Jackson, Robert H. "Nuremberg in Retrospect: Legal Answer to International Lawlessness." *American Bar Association Journal* 35 (October 1949): 813–816, 881–887.
2. International Criminal Court. *The Prosecutor v. Omar Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir*. ICC-02/05-01/09.
3. France 24. "Bashir Defies Arrest Warrant for War Crimes with Visit to Chad." *France 24*, July 21, 2010.
4. Africanews. "Sudan's Bashir Defies ICC–Arrest Warrant, Travels to Kigali for AU Trade Summit." *Africanews*, March 22, 2018.
5. Human Rights Watch. "Philippines: Duterte Arrested on ICC Warrant." Human Rights Watch, March 12, 2025.

Week 12, November 26: International Trade

Required readings:

1. Chilton, Adam S., and Rachel Brewster. "Supplying Compliance: Why and When the US Complies with WTO Rulings." *Yale Journal of International Law* 39 (2014): 201.
2. Davis, Christina L., and Sarah Blodgett Bermeo. "Who Files? Developing Country Participation in GATT/WTO Adjudication." *The Journal of Politics* 71, no. 3 (2009): 1033–1049.

Optional readings:

1. Jackson, John H. "The Evolution of the World Trading System – The Legal and Institutional Context." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Trade Law*, edited by Daniel Bethlehem et al., 2009. Online edition, Oxford Academic, September 18, 2012.
2. Steinberg, Richard H. "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO." *International Organization* 56, no. 2 (2002): 339–374.
3. Chu, Ben. "What Would a US-China Trade War Do to the World Economy?" *BBC News*, April 11, 2025. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/c4g2089vznzo>.
4. World Trade Organization. *United States – Definitive Safeguard Measures on Imports of Certain Steel Products (DS248, DS249, DS251, DS252, DS253, DS254, DS258, DS259)*. Reports of the Panel and Appellate Body, adopted December 10, 2003. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/cases_e/ds248_e.htm.
5. World Trade Organization. *United States – Subsidies on Upland Cotton (DS267)*. Reports of the Panel and Appellate Body, adopted March 21, 2005. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/cases_e/ds267_e.htm.
6. World Trade Organization. *United States – Section 110(5) of US Copyright Act (DS160)*. Report of the Panel, adopted July 27, 2000. https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dispu_e/cases_e/ds160_e.htm.

Week 13, December 3: The Future of International Law and Order

Required readings (*Note*: We will also cover exam revision):

1. Alter, Karen J. "The Future of International Law." In *The New Global Agenda*, edited by Diana Ayton-Shenker, 25–42. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.
2. Guilfoyle, Douglas. "The Future of International Law in an Authoritarian World." *EJIL: Talk!*, June 3, 2019.

Week 14, December 10: No Class (Exam Leave)