

JOHN GERARD RUGGIE

Education

B.A. (Politics and History), McMaster University, Canada, 1967

M.A. (Political Science), University of California, Berkeley, 1968

Ph.D. (Political Science), University of California, Berkeley, 1974

Appointments

Berthold Beitz Professor in Human Rights and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, since 2009

Kirkpatrick Professor of International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2001-2009

Affiliated Professor in International Legal Studies, Harvard Law School, since 2005

Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General for Business and Human Rights, 2005-2011

Assistant Secretary-General, Senior Adviser for Strategic Planning to the Secretary General, United Nations, New York, 1997-2001

Burgess Professor of Political Science, James T. Shotwell Professor of International Relations, Columbia University, 1996-2001 (on public service leave 1997-2001)

Dean, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, 1991-1996

Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, 1991-1996

Professor of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1987-1991

Director, University of California (system-wide) Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, 1989-1991

Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, 1983-1987

Associate Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, 1978-1983

Acting Assistant Professor/Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 1973-1978

Jean Monnet Visiting Professor, European University Institute, Florence, May 1994

Visiting Professor, Institute of International Relations, Beijing University, Spring 1988

Visiting Research Fellow, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1976- 1977

Honors & Awards

Doctor of Letters (*Honoris Causa*), University of Waterloo, Canada, 2012

Guggenheim Fellow, 2008-2009

Doctor of Laws (*Honoris Causa*), McMaster University, Canada, 2000

Hubert H. Humphrey Award for outstanding public service by a political scientist, American Political Science Association, 2000

Fellow, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, since 1999

Distinguished Scholar Award, International Studies Association, 1999

Listed in *Who's Who in America*; *Who's Who in the World*; *Europa Biographical Reference Series*

Featured in Iver B. Neumann and Ole Wæver, eds., *The Future of International Relations: Masters in the Making* (London: Routledge, 1997); Sandra Waddock, *The Difference Makers: How Social and Institutional Entrepreneurs Have Created the Corporate Social Responsibility Movement* (Sheffield, UK: Greenleaf, 2008); Mark Gerencser, Christopher Kelly, Fernando Napolitano, Reginald Van Lee, *Megacommunities: How Leaders of Government, Business and Non-Profits Can Tackle Today's Global Challenges Together* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008); *Lexpert—The Business Magazine for Lawyers*, February 2011; *The European Lawyer*, 103 (February 2011); Radu Mares, ed., *The UN Guiding Principles on Business Human Rights* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2011); Surya Deva & David Bilchitz, eds., *Human Rights Obligations of Business: Beyond the Corporate Responsibility to Respect?* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Christine Bader, *The Evolution of a Corporate Idealist: When Girl Meets Oil* (Brookline, MA: Bibliomotion, 2014); Cesar Rodriguez-Garavito, ed., *Business and Human Rights: Beyond the End of the Beginning* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017); Karin Buhmann, *Changing Sustainability Norms Through Communication Processes: The Emergence of the Business and Human Rights Regime as Transnational Law* (Cheltenham, UK: Elgar, 2017)

Named among 25 most influential international relations scholars in the U.S. and Canada, *Foreign Policy* magazine, 2005

Named among “Top 10 Ethical Leaders of 2008,” *Ethical Corporation* magazine (UK)

2014 First annual award, Center for International Governance Innovations, University of Waterloo, Canada, “for outstanding contributions to global governance”

2014 Global Environment Award, International Association for Impact Assessment, selected for producing the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights

2014 Harry LeRoy Jones Award, Washington Foreign Law Society, for “an individual who has made an outstanding contribution to the development and application of international law”

2016 World Order Under Law Award, American Bar Association

2017 Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (WZB) A.SK Award, honoring “researchers from the social sciences who have made an important contribution to political and economic reforms”

Elected Memberships

Council on Foreign Relations, since 1990

Foreign Policy Association, Board of Governors, 1992-1995

United Nations Association of the USA, National Council, 1989-2009

Major Editorial Responsibilities

Editorial Boards: *International Organization*, 1976-1981; 1983-1988; 1990-1995; 2002-2007; Chair, 1991- 1993; Senior Advisor since 2008; *Global Governance*, 1994-present; *Global Policy*, since 2008; *World Politics*, 1986-1989; *Economics & Politics*, 1987-1989

International Advisory Board, *European Journal of International Relations*, 1994-1998

General Editor, *New Directions in World Politics* (formerly *The Political Economy of International Change*), Columbia University Press series, 1982-1996; 31 books published.

Professional and Community Service

Chair of the Board, Shift (New York), since 2011

Chair of the Board, Institute for Human Rights and Business (London), 2012-2017

President, Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs, 1996; Secretary-Treasurer and President-Elect, 1995

Council, American Political Science Association, 1996-98

Program Committee, American Political Science Association, Annual Meeting, 1980, 1992

Board of Directors, Academic Council on the United Nations System, 1993-1996

International Advisory Committee, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (Japan), 1998-2001

Advisory Council, Stanley Foundation, 2001-2009

Board of Education, Bronxville, New York, 1986-87

Publications

Books

Author. [Just Business: Multinational Corporations and Human Rights](#) (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013).

Editor. [Embedding Global Markets: An Enduring Challenge](#) (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate 2008).

Editor and contributing author. [Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form](#) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); translated into Chinese, with new preface (2003).

Author. [Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalization](#) (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).

Author. [Winning the Peace: America and World Order in the New Era](#) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); named “Outstanding Academic Book of the Year” by *Choice*; Japanese translation with new Foreword and Conclusion (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009).

Co-Editor (with Jagdish Bhagwati) and contributing author. [Power, Passions, and Purpose: Prospects for North-South Negotiations](#) (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984).

Editor and contributing author. [The Antinomies of Interdependence: National Welfare and the International Division of Labor](#) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

Co-Editor (with Ernst B. Haas) and contributing author. *International Responses to Technology: Regimes, Institutions and Technocrats*, published as a special issue of *International Organization*, 29 (Summer 1975); received Harold and Margaret Sprout Award from International Studies Association in 1976 as best book on international environmental subjects published in 1975.

Scholarly Articles, Book Chapters and Working Papers

“Corporate Globalization and Its Consequences: Shifting Governing Norms,” in Peter J. Katzenstein and Jonathan Kirshner, eds., *The Downfall of the American Order: Liberalism’s End?* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, forthcoming 2022).

“Ten Years After: From UN Guiding Principles to Multi-Fiduciary Obligations” (with Caroline Rees and Rachel Davis), *Business and Human Rights Journal*, 6 (2021); also available as [“Making ‘Stakeholder Capitalism’ Work: Contributions from Business and Human Rights”](#) (with Caroline Rees and Rachel Davis), HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP20-034, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA (November 2020).

["The Paradox of Corporate Globalization: Disembedding and Reembedding Governing Norms,"](#) M-RCBG Faculty Working Paper Series, 2020-01, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA (2021).

"The Social Construction of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights," in Surya Deva and David Birchall, eds., *Research Handbook on Human Rights and Business* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2020); also available as "[The Social Construction of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights](#)," Corporate Responsibility Initiative Working Paper No. 67, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (2017).

"Corporate Purpose in Play: The Role of ESG Investing," in Andreas Rasche, Herman Brill and Georg Kell, eds., *Sustainable Investing: A Path to a New Horizon* (London & NY: Routledge, 2020).

"Money, Millennials and Human Rights: Sustaining 'Sustainable Investing'" (with Emily K. Middleton), *Global Policy* 10:1 (January 2019); also available as "[Money, Millennials and Human Rights: Sustaining 'Sustainable Investing'](#)," M-RCBG Faculty Working Paper Series, 2018-01, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA (2018).

["The Multinational as Global Institution: Power, Authority and Relative Autonomy,"](#) *Regulation & Governance* (2017).

["The Concept of 'Due Diligence' in the UN Principles on Business & Human Rights: A Reply to Professors Bonnitcha and McCorquodale"](#) (with John F. Sherman III), *The European Journal of International Law* 28:3 (2017).

"Hierarchy or Ecosystem? Regulating Human Rights Risks of Multinational Enterprises," in César Rodríguez-Garavito, ed., *Business and Human Rights: Beyond the End of the Beginning* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Also available as "[Hierarchy or Ecosystem? Regulating Human Rights Risks of Multinational Enterprises](#)," SSRN ID-2776690 (2016).

"Constitutionalization and the Regulation of Transnational Firms," in Jean-Philippe Robé, Antoine Lyon Caen and Stéphane Vernac, eds., *Multinationals and the Constitutionalization of the World-Power System* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2016).

"Incorporating Human Rights: Lessons Learned, and Next Steps," in Dorothee Baumann-Pauly and Justine Nolan, eds., *Business and Human Rights: From Principles to Practice* (London: Routledge, 2016).

["Adding Human Rights Punch to the New Lex Mercatoria: The Impact of the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights on Commercial Legal Practice"](#) (with John F. Sherman, III), *Journal of International Dispute Settlement*, 6 (November 2015).

["Human Rights and the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises: Normative Innovations and Implementation Challenges"](#) (with Tamaryn Nelson), *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 22

(Fall/Winter 2015). Also available as [“Human Rights and the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises: Normative Innovations and Implementation Challenges.”](#) Corporate Social Responsibility Initiative Working Paper No. 66, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (2015).

[“Global Governance and ‘New Governance Theory’: Lessons from Business and Human Rights.”](#) *Global Governance*, 20 (Jan-Mar 2014); Chinese translation in Yu Keping, ed., *Global Governance and Security* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2016).

“Protect, Respect and Remedy: The United Nations Framework for Business and Human Rights,” in Mashood Baderin and Manisuli Ssenyonjo, eds., *International Human Rights Law: Six Decades After the UDHR* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2010); abbreviated version available as [“Protect, Respect and Remedy: The United Nations Framework for Business and Human Rights.”](#) *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, American Society of International Law*, Vol. 103 (2009).

“Introduction” (with Peter Haas, Philippe C. Schmitter and Antje Wiener) to Ernst B. Haas, *Beyond the Nation State: Functionalism and International Organization* (Essex, UK: European Consortium for Political Research Press, 2008).

“Business and Human Rights: The Evolving International Agenda,” *American Journal of International Law*, 101 (October 2007); also available as [“Business and Human Rights: The Evolving International Agenda.”](#) Corporate Responsibility Initiative Working Paper No. 31, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (2007); Chinese translation in *Chinese Review of International Law*, 3 (2017).

“Global Markets and Global Governance: The Prospects for Convergence,” in Stephen Bernstein and Louis W. Pauly, eds., *Global Governance: Towards a New Grand Compromise?* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 2007).

“Doctrinal Unilateralism and its Limits: America and Global Governance in the New Century,” in David P. Forsythe, Patrice C. McMahon and Andrew Wedeman, eds., *American Foreign Policy in a Globalized World* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

“American Exceptionalism, Exemptionalism and Global Governance” in Michael Ignatieff, ed., *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); also available as [“American Exceptionalism, Exemptionalism and Global Governance.”](#) KSG Faculty Research Working Paper Series, RWP04-006, Harvard Kennedy School, Cambridge, MA (2004).

[“Transformations in World Politics: The Intellectual Contributions of Ernst B. Haas”](#) (with Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane and Philippe C. Schmitter), in *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8 (2005).

[“Reconstituting the Global Public Domain: Issues, Actors and Practices.”](#) *European Journal of International Relations*, 10 (December 2004); also in Paul James, ed., *Globalization and*

Economy (New Delhi: Sage, 2006); in Peter Haas, ed., *International Environmental Governance* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008); in Judith Goldstein and Richard Steinberg, eds., *International Institutions* (New Delhi: Sage, 2009); and in David Coen and Wyn Grant, ed., *Business and Government* (Cheltenham, UK: Edgar Elgar, 2016).

["The United Nations and Globalization: Patterns and Limits of Institutional Adaptation."](#) *Global Governance*, 9 (Summer 2003).

"Taking Embedded Liberalism Global: The Corporate Connection," in David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, eds., *Taming Globalization: Frontiers of Governance* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003).

["Trade, Sustainability and Global Governance,"](#) *Columbia Journal of Environmental Law*, 27:2 (2002).

["The Theory and Practice of Learning Networks: Corporate Social Responsibility and the Global Compact,"](#) *Journal of Corporate Citizenship*, 5 (Spring 2002); excerpted as "global_governance.net: The Global Compact as Learning Network," *Global Governance*, 7 (October-December 2001); also in Malcolm McIntosh, et al., eds., *Learning to Talk: Corporate Social Responsibility and the Global Compact* (Sheffield, UK: Greenleaf, 2004); also in Malcolm McIntosh, ed., *Business, Capitalism and Corporate Citizenship: A Collection of Seminal Essays* (Sheffield, UK: Greenleaf, 2015), with reflections on developments since original publication.

"Global Markets and Social Legitimacy: The Case of the Global Compact" (with Georg Kell) in Daniel Drache, ed., *The Market or the Public Domain? Global Governance and the Asymmetry of Power* (London: Routledge, 2001). Also available at: http://www.yorku.ca/drache/talks/pdf/apd_ruggiekellfin.pdf.

["What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge,"](#) *International Organization*, 52:4 (Autumn 1998); also in Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane and Stephen D. Krasner, eds., *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999); excerpted in Karen Mingst and Jack Snyder, eds., *Essential Readings in World Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001); also in Harold Hongju Koh and Oona A. Hathaway, *Foundations of International Law and Politics* (New York: Foundation Press, 2005).

"Globalization and the Embedded Liberalism Compromise: The End of an Era?" in Wolfgang Streeck, ed., *Internationale Wirtschaft, Nationale Demokratie* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1998); German translation in *Jahrbuch Arbeit & Technik* (Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1997).

["The Past as Prologue? Interests, Identity, and American Foreign Policy,"](#) *International Security*, 21:4 (Spring 1997); also in Michael E. Brown, et al., eds., *America's Strategic Choices* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997).

["Peace in Our Time? Causality, Social Facts, and Narrative Knowing,"](#) *American Society of*

International Law, Proceedings, 89th Annual Meeting (1995).

["At Home Abroad, Abroad At Home: International Liberalization and Domestic Stability in the New World Economy,"](#) *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 24 (Winter 1995); longer monograph published as *Jean Monnet Chair Papers*, 20 (Florence: European University Institute, 1995); excerpted as "Trade, Protectionism and the Future of Welfare Capitalism," *Journal of International Affairs*, 48 (Summer 1994); also in Richard Higgott and Anthony Payne, eds., *The New Political Economy of Globalisation* (London: Edward Elgar, 2000); and in Eivind Hovden and Edward Keene, eds., *Globalisation of Liberalism* (London: Palgrave, 2001).

["The False Premise of Realism,"](#) *International Security*, 20:1 (Summer 1995); also in Michael E. Brown, et al., eds., *Theories of War and Peace* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1998).

["Third Try at World Order? America and Multilateralism After the Cold War,"](#) *Political Science Quarterly*, 109 (Fall 1994); also in Demetrios James Caraley and Bonnie B. Hartman, eds., *American Leadership, Ethnic Conflict and the New World Politics* (New York: Academy of Political Science, 1997).

["Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations,"](#) *International Organization*, 47:1 (Winter 1993); also in Richard Higgott and Anthony Payne, eds., *The New Political Economy of Globalisation* (London: Edward Elgar, 2000); Andrew Linklater, *International Relations: Critical Perspectives*, vol. 4 (London: Routledge: 2000); excerpted in Bernard E. Brown, ed., *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings*, 10th Ed., (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 2005); Polish translation published in *New Europe—Natolin Review*, 2 (Summer/Autumn 2010).

"Unravelling Trade: Global Institutional Change and the Pacific Economy," in Richard Higgott, Richard Leaver and John Ravenhill, eds., *Pacific Economic Relations in the 1990s: Cooperation or Conflict?* (Sydney, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 1993; Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1993).

["Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution,"](#) *International Organization*, 46:3 (Summer 1992); also in Ruggie, *Multilateralism Matters*; in Friedrich Kratochwil and Edward D. Mansfield, eds., *International Organization: A Reader* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994); and in Lisa Martin, ed, *International Institutions in the New Global Economy* (Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2005).

["Embedded Liberalism Revisited: Institutions and Progress in International Economic Relations,"](#) in Emanuel Adler and Beverly Crawford, eds., *Progress in Postwar International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

"International Structure and International Transformation: Space, Time and Method," in James N. Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel, eds., *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1989).

["The North American Political Economy in the Global Context: An Analytical Framework"](#) (with David Leyton-Brown), *International Journal*, 42:1 (Winter 1986/87).

["International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State"](#) (with Friedrich Kratochwil), *International Organization*, 40:4 (Autumn 1986); also in Paul F. Diehl, ed., *The Politics of International Organizations: Patterns and Insights* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989); in Friedrich Kratochwil and Edward D. Mansfield, eds., *International Organization: A Reader* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994); in Oran R. Young, ed., *The International Political Economy and International Institutions*, vol. 1 (Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 1996); in Paul F. Diehl, ed., *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World* (Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner, 1996); in Andrew Linklater, ed., *International Relations: Critical Perspectives*, vol. 2 (London: Routledge, 2000); and in John J. Kirton, ed., *International Organization* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2009).

"Social Time and International Policy: Conceptualizing Global Population and Resource Issues," in Margaret P. Karns, ed., *Persistent Patterns and Emergent Structures in a Waning Century* (New York: Praeger, 1986).

"Another Round, Another Requiem? Prospects for the Global Negotiations," in Bhagwati and Ruggie, eds., *Power, Passions, and Purpose*.

["Human Rights and the Future International Community."](#) *Daedalus*, 112:4 (Fall 1983).

"Political Structure and Change in the International Economic Order: The North-South Dimension," in Ruggie, ed., *The Antinomies of Interdependence*.

"International Interdependence and National Welfare," in Ruggie, ed., *The Antinomies of Interdependence*.

["Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis."](#) *World Politics*, 35:2 (January 1983); also in Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); also in Rainer Baumann, Peter Mayer and Bernhard Zangl, *International Relations: The Great Debates* (Cheltenham, UK: Elgar, 2011).

["What Message in the Medium of Information Systems?"](#) (with Ernst B. Haas), *International Studies Quarterly*, 26:2 (June 1982).

["International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order."](#) *International Organization*, 36:2 (Spring 1982); also in Stephen D. Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983); Oran R. Young, ed., *The International Political Economy and International Institutions*, vol. 2 (Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar, 1996); Charles Lipson and Benjamin J. Cohen, eds., *Theory and Structure in International Political Economy* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999); Benjamin J. Cohen, ed., *International Political Economy* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005); Abla Amawi and Darel Paul, eds., *The Theoretical Evolution of International Political Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

["Information Exchange and International Change: The Case of INFOTERRA"](#) (with Ernst B. Haas), *International Relations* (London), 7 (May 1981).

["On the Problem of 'The Global Problematique': What Roles for International Organizations?"](#) *Alternatives*, 5 (January 1980); also in Richard A. Falk, Samuel S. Kim and Saul H. Mendlovitz, eds., *The United Nations and a Just World Order* (Boulder: Westview, 1991).

"Changing Frameworks of International Collective Behavior: On the Complementarity of Contradictory Tendencies," in Nazli Choucri and Thomas Robinson, eds., *Forecasting in International Relations* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1978).

"The 'New International Economic Order': Origins and Evolution of the Concept" (with Branislav Gosovic), *International Social Science Journal*, 28 (Autumn 1976).

["On the Creation of a New International Economic Order: Issue-Linkage and the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly"](#) (with Branislav Gosovic), *International Organization*, 30:2 (Spring 1976).

["International Responses to Technology: Concepts and Trends,"](#) *International Organization*, 29:3 (Summer 1975); also in Sheila Jasanoff, ed., *Comparative Science and Technology Policy* (Cheltenham, U. K.: Edward Elgar, 1997).

"Complexity, Planning and Public Order," in Todd R. LaPorte, ed., *Organized Social Complexity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

["Contingencies, Constraints, and Collective Security: Perspectives on UN Involvement in International Disputes,"](#) *International Organization*, 28:3 (Summer 1974).

"International Technology and International Action" (with Ernst B. Haas), in Eugene B. Skolnikoff, ed., *Priority Research on Technology-Related Transnational and Global Policy Problems* (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for International Studies, MIT, 1973).

"The Structure of International Organization: Contingency, Complexity and Postmodern Form," *Papers, Peace Research Society (International)*, 18 (1972).

["Collective Goods and Future International Collaboration,"](#) *American Political Science Review*, 66:3 (September 1972).

Notes

"Foreword" to Liang Xiaohui, *From Regulation to Governance: The Evolution of the UN's Approach towards Business and Human Rights* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2016).

"Transnational Corporations and Human Rights," in Joshua Goldstein and Jon Pevehouse, eds., *International Relations* (London and New York: Pearson Longman, 2011).

“Foreword” to Thomas G. Weiss and Ramesh Thakur, *The United Nations and Global Governance: An Unfinished Journey* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

“American Exceptionalism and the U.S. Role in the World,” in Morton H. Halperin, et al., eds., *Power and Superpower: Global Leadership and Exceptionalism in the 21st Century* (New York: Century Foundation Press, 2007).

“Foreword” to Norman Myers and Julian Simon, *Scarcity or Abundance? A Debate on the Environment* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).

Policy Analyses

[“For the Game. For the World.” FIFA and Human Rights.](#) Corporate Responsibility Initiative Report #68, Harvard Kennedy School of Government (April 2016).

“Business and Human Rights: The Next Chapter,” *Dovenschmidt Quarterly*, 4 (2013).

[“Kiobel and Corporate Social Responsibility: An Issues Brief,”](#) Harvard Kennedy School, (September 4, 2012).

“*Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum*,” Brief *Amici Curiae* of Former UN Special Representative for Business and Human Rights, Professor John Ruggie; Professor Philip Alston; and the Global Justice Clinic at NYU School of Law in Support of Neither Party, United States Supreme Court, No. 10-1491.

“The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: The Legal Context and Operational Implications” (with Amy K. Lehr & Elizabeth Holland), *Business Law News—California* (No. 4, 2012).

“On the Construction of the UN ‘Protect, Respect and Remedy’ Framework: The True Confessions of a Principled Pragmatist,” *European Human Rights Law Review*, 2 (2011).

“Business and Human Rights: A Political Scientist’s Guide to Survival in a Domain where Lawyers and Activists Reign,” *Oil, Gas & Energy Law Intelligence*, 6 (November 2008).

“Treaty road not travelled,” *Ethical Corporation* (May 2008).

“Standards and Practices: Guiding Principles for Business and Human Rights,” *Ethical Corporation* (October 2007).

“The Global Compact: An Extraordinary Journey,” in Claude Fussler, et al., eds., *Raising the Bar: Creating Value with the UN Global Compact* (Sheffield, UK: Greenleaf, 2004).

“How to Marry Civic Politics and Private Governance,” in *The Impact of Corporations on Global Governance: A Report of the Empire and Democracy Project* (New York: Center on International Cooperation, NYU, and Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, 2004).

“Allegations of Corruption in the U.N. Oil-for-Food Program: How Could this Have Happened?” *UNA-USA Policy Brief*, No. 3 (June 2004).

“Marriages of Convenience – But Marriages Nonetheless,” in Susan Stern and Elisabeth Seligman, eds., *The Partnership Principle: New Forms of Governance in the 21st Century* (London: Archetype, 2004).

“This Crisis of Multilateralism is Different,” *The InterDependent* (October 2003).

“Breaking the Loving Embrace: African Solutions for African Problems,” in *Africa Economic Summit 2003: Harnessing the Power of Partnership* (Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2003).

“The United States, the United Nations and the Transatlantic Rift,” *Annual Lecture of the Transatlantic Programme* (Florence: European University Institute, 2003).

[“Trade, Sustainability and Global Governance,”](#) *Columbia Journal of Environmental Law*, 27:2 (2002).

[“The UN: Bush’s Newest Ally?”](#) *The Nation* (December 31, 2001).

“Weaving the Global Compact: Sustaining the Single Global Economic Space,” *UN Chronicle*, 37 (September 2000).

“Globalization, the Global Compact and Corporate Social Responsibility,” *Transnational Associations*, 52:6 (2000).

"Consolidating the European Pillar: The Key to NATO's Future," *Washington Quarterly*, 20 (Winter 1997); also in *Quaderni Forum* [Florence], 9 (No. 4, 1996).

"Peacekeeping and U.S. Interests," *Washington Quarterly*, 17 (Autumn 1994); also in Brad Roberts, ed., *Order and Disorder after the Cold War* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995).

"The United Nations and the Collective Use of Force: Whither -- Or Whether?" *International Peacekeeping*, 3 (Winter 1996/7); also in Michael Pugh, ed., *The UN, Peace and Force* (London: Cass, 1997); also published as occasional paper by the United Nations Association of the United States of America (New York: UNA-USA, 1996).

[“Wandering in the Void: Charting the U.N.’s New Strategic Role,”](#) *Foreign Affairs*, 72:5 (November/ December 1993); also in William H. Lewis, ed., *Peacekeeping: The Way Ahead?* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University, McNair Paper # 25, 1993); in *Foreign Affairs Agenda 1994: Critical Issues in Foreign Policy* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations,

1994); and in Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Eugene R. Wittkopf, eds., *The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1995); Japanese translation in *Chuo Koron* (February 1994).

["The United States and the United Nations: Toward a New Realism,"](#) *International Organization*, 39:2 (Spring 1985); also in Paul F. Diehl, ed., *The Politics of International Organizations: Patterns and Insights* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989); and in Peter A. Toma and Robert F. Gorman, eds., *International Relations: A Primer on Understanding Global Issues* (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1991).

"United States Strategy in a Changing World," *Disarmament*, 13 (No. 4, 1990).

["A Political Commentary on Cancun,"](#) *Third World Quarterly*, 4:3 (July 1982).

"The Politics of Money," *Foreign Policy*, 43 (Summer 1981).

"The North-South Dialogue: Problems and Prospects of Developing Nations," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Special Edition (Autumn 1978).

"Environmental and Resource Interdependencies: Reorganizing for the Evolution of International Regimes" (with Ernst B. Haas), in *Report of the Commission on the Organization of Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975).

Major Reports to UN Human Rights Council

"Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: Implementing the United Nations 'Protect, Respect and Remedy' Framework," UN Document A/HRC/17/31 (21 March 2011).

"Business and Human Rights: Further Steps Toward the Operationalization of the 'Protect, Respect and Remedy' Framework," UN Document A/HRC/14/27 (9 April 2010).

"Business and Human Rights: Towards Operationalizing the 'Protect, Respect and Remedy' Framework," UN Document A/HRC/11/13 (20 April 2009).

"Clarifying the Concepts of 'Corporate Sphere of influence' and 'Complicity'," UN Document A/HRC/8/16 (15 May 2008).

"Protect, Respect and Remedy: A Framework for Business and Human Rights," UN Document A/HRC/8/5 (7 April 2008).

"Business and Human Rights: Mapping International Standards of Responsibility and Accountability for Corporate Acts," UN Document A/HRC/4/035 (19 February 2007).

“Interim Report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the issue of human rights and transnational corporations and other business enterprises,” UN Document E/CN.4/2006/97 (22 February 2006).

Commentaries

New York Times, Washington Post, Financial Times, International Herald Tribune, Los Angeles Times, Christian Science Monitor, Boston Globe, New York Newsday, San Francisco Chronicle, The Nation, San Diego Union, Japan Times, National Herald (New Delhi), ABC, CBS, NBC, PBS, Fox, CNN, NPR, BBC, France 2, Asahi TV (Japan), Al Jazeera. Numerous blogs on Institute for Human Rights and Business website.