

27. James Rosenau & Mary Durfee, *Thinking Theory Thoroughly: Coherent Approaches to an Incoherent World* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), especially chapter 3.
28. See Gene M. Lyons & Michael Mastanduno (eds.), *Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) and Zacher, Mark, "The Decaying Pillars of the Westphalian Temple: Implications for International Order and Governance", in James Rosenau & Ernst-Otto Cziempel (eds.), *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
29. Some of these issues are discussed in Rochester, J. Martin, "The Rise and Fall of International Organization as a Field of Study", *International Organization*, 40 (4) (Autumn 1986).
30. Richard A. Falk, "Democratizing, Internationalizing and Globalizing," in Yoshikazu Sakamoto (ed.), *Global Transformation: Challenges to the State System* (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 1994), p.477.
31. James N. Rosenau & Mary Durfee, *Op.cit.*, p.40.
32. John Burton, *World Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).
33. Thomas G. Weiss & Leon Gordenker (eds.), *NGOs, the UN, & Global Governance* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1996), pp.7-8. Robert Cox makes an important distinction between articulated (interest groups, NGOs, etc.) and amorphous elements (the masses) in civil society. He suggests that the new multilateralism will depend on "a functioning relationship with an articulated global civil society" rather than on the amorphous element. See Robert Cox (ed.), *The New Realism: Perspectives on Multilateralism and World Order*, p.8.
34. For a more detailed discussion of this phenomenon see the following chapter in Thomas Weiss & Leon Gordenker edited volume *NGOs, the UN, & Global Governance, op.cit.*, Leon Gordenker & Thomas Weiss, "Pluralizing Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions," Felice D. Gaer, "Reality Check: Human Rights NGOs Confront Governments at the UN," Andrew S. Natsios, "NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies: Conflict or Cooperation?" Antonio Donini, "The Bureaucracy and the Free Spirits: Stagnation and Innovation in the Relationship between the UN and NGOs," Ken Conca, "Greening the UN: Environmental Organisations and the UN system," Christer Jönsson & Peter Söderholm, "IGO-NGO Relations and HIV/AIDS: Innovation or Stalemate?" Martha Alter Chen, "Engendering World Conferences: The International Women's Movement and the UN," Peter Sollis, "Partners in Development? The State, NGOs, and the UN in Central America," and Leon Gordenker & Thomas Weiss, "NGO Participation in International Policy Process."
35. To use a term coined by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1977), see especially chapter 2.