

## **Syllabus: New Approaches to International Organization**

**College of William and Mary  
Government 491**

**Office Hours: Morton 31 Mon/Wed: 10-11:30**

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This course looks at “new” approaches to the study of international organization. Hence, almost all the books and articles we read in this course have been published within the past 10 years. Some of the work has not yet been published. The course does not offer an introductory survey of the field and assumes some basic knowledge of IR theory and previous debates about the origin and impact of international organizations on world politics. It is designed for students at an advanced stage in the study of political science and International Relations.

The course has two primary aims: first, to introduce students to the current theoretical debates in the sub-field of IO and to assess the value and limitations of these theories for understanding why and how world politics gets organized; second, to encourage individual and collaborative research on the impact, creation, design, behavior and change of IOs in world politics. All the research papers written for this course will address explicit theories of international organization – your research should have theoretical implications or it should test observable implications of some extant theory. The reading is designed to give you plenty of theoretical ideas (to test or build upon) and plenty of empirical information about IOs that you can use as a starting point for your research.

**Themes:** The course will revolve around four distinct themes and reading will be divided roughly into these categories (though, in many of the subsequent categories we will re-visit issues raised in the previous categories).

1. Relationship between power and world order.
2. Legitimacy, Accountability, and Effectiveness of IOs in Contemporary World Politics.
3. Alternative Understandings of IO Influence on States, IO Behavior, and IO Reform.
4. Theoretical Synthesis in the Study of IO.

**Learning Environment:** The course will be run as a research seminar where much of the “teaching” will be done by the students in the course. You will occasionally be required to lead the seminar discussion of particular readings. Hence, as a member of the seminar you are responsible for your own education and that of your colleagues. If you and your colleagues expend little effort, then this class will not succeed and it will not be fun. If you and your colleagues throw yourselves into the class, then it will be both fun and rewarding.

The reading will be VERY heavy. On average we will read one book or four articles every week. In addition to the required seminar reading you will be doing outside reading for your research paper. Graded assignments will include 3 reaction papers (3

pages each), 1 research paper (15-25 pages), 1 critique paper that responds to the research of your colleagues.

**IO Speaker Series:** Since the course counts for 4 credits, I am required to ensure at least 8 extra “contact hours” and some additional written work. Students can earn that 4<sup>th</sup> credit by attending a series of lectures on the theory and practice of IOs and writing a short paper in response. With support from the Program on the Theory and Practice of International Relations, I have put together an interesting list of speakers from within William and Mary and from various other universities, international organizations, and government agencies. I will announce the speakers in class as the times and dates firm up. A tentative list appears at the end of this draft syllabus. Students will be asked to write a 4-5 page reaction paper that addresses at least two of the lectures. You might contrast the views of two speakers who are discussing a similar theme or you might explain why speaker X and speaker Y have a completely different view of IOs in IR. Alternatively, you might discuss the ideas of the speakers in light of the reading we have been doing in the seminar. Upon completion of the written assignment and attendance at each of the lectures, you will have earned the extra credit hour in this course.

An alternative way for you to fulfill the extra credit hour would be to attend a weekly meeting of another research seminar that I am co-teaching with Daniel Maliniak and Sue Peterson. In this setting we will be explicitly discussing research design in the study of international relations and international organization. The group consists of six undergraduates that are enrolled in my Government 325 course plus the three instructors. We will be reading chapters from a new book by Sprinz and Wolinsky entitled *Models, Numbers and Cases: Methods for Studying International Relations*, University of Michigan Press, 2004. You can purchase a copy from Barnes and Nobel online or from the publisher. In terms of your time commitment, this will be MUCH more than 1 credit hour worth of work, but it will also likely improve the quality of your resulting research paper.

**Grades:** Your course grade will be the weighted average of your performance in class discussions/assignments, three short reaction papers, one critique paper, one research paper, and the 4<sup>th</sup> credit assignment. In the computation of your course grade, your performance on these requirements will be weighted as follows:

1 Critique Paper	5%
3 Reaction Papers	15%
Class Participation	25%
4 <sup>th</sup> Credit Assignment	20%
Research Paper	35%

**Reading Material:** The articles and book chapters will be collected in a course reader that you can purchase from the Copy Center in Swem Library. In addition there are a large number of required and recommended books for this course. The first three books and the Wendt article will not be read during the semester, but we will refer back to them throughout the course, as will many of the readings, so you need to familiarize yourselves

with these classics if you have not already done so. Many of you have probably read them in previous classes. You can get them online or in any library. In our first week of class we will discuss these books in the context of a broad overview of past research on IO and world order.

### **Recommended Books and Articles for Winter Break:**

Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace 1812-1822*. 1963. (If you can't get this book, then read his chapter on the Concert of Europe in his more recent book, *Diplomacy*.)

Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*. New York: Random House, 1979.

Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984.

Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of it," *International Organization*, spring, 1992.

In addition to these classics of IO scholarship, please start reading your daily paper and your weekly news magazines for contemporary discussions on the role of IOs in world politics. Think about how different (or similar) the scholarly discourse on IOs is compared to the discourse of US politicians, columnists, and policy wonks of all stripes. During the semester I will post a series of contemporary policy oriented articles and columns that address the role of IOs in international relations. I encourage you to post similar articles that you find interesting. One of your three reaction papers can address this series of online columns/articles (or an outside speaker), if you choose. The other two reaction papers must address the required reading.

**Required Books:** These books are available at the college bookstore and most are available at Amazon.com and other online booksellers. In addition to these books you will need to purchase the course-pack.

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Cornell University Press, 2004.

Paul Diehl, *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World*. Lynn Rienner, 2001.

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Cornell University Press. 1998.

Thomas D. Zweifel, *International Organizations and Democracy: Accountability, Politics, and Power*, Lynn Rienner. 2006.

## **Other Recommended Books (interspersed in schedule below):**

Karen Alter, *Establishing the Supremacy of European Law: The Making of an International Rule of Law in Europe*. Oxford University Press. 2003.

Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide*. Cornell University Press. 2003.

Lloyd Gruber, *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000.

John Ikenberry, *After Victory. Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001.

David Lake, *Entangling Relations: American Foreign Policy in its Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999.

Sebastian Mallaby, *The World's Banker: A Story of Failed States, Financial Crises, and the Wealth and Poverty of Nations*. New York: Penguin Press. 2004.

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*. Cornell University Press. 1998.

Mark Pollack, *The Engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the EU*. Oxford University Press. 2003.

Joseph Schwartzberg, *Revitalizing the United Nations: Reform Through Weighted Voting*. New York: Institute for Global Policy. 2004.

Anne Marie Slaughter. *A New World Order*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

## **Course Schedule of Readings:**

### **I. The History and Historiography of International Organization**

#### **A. History and Contemporary Patterns of IO**

- Thompson and Snidal. 1999. "International Organization." (Blackboard)
- Pevehouse et al. 2004. "International Governmental Organizations (Diehl)
- Dan Lindley, "Avoiding Tragedy in Power Politics: The Concert of Europe, Transparency, and Crisis Management," *Security Studies*, 03/04. (Course pack)

*Optional Reading:* Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*.

#### **B. Alternative Approaches: Realism, Liberalism, Constructivism, Legalism**

- Mearsheimer vs Martin, "Do Institutions Matter?" *IS* 94/95 (D & course pack)

- Alexander Wendt. 2003. "Why a World State is Inevitable," *European Journal of International Relations*. (course pack)
- Abbott and Snidal. 2001. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *IO*. (course pack)
- Judith Kelley, "The International Criminal Court: A Quasi-Experiment." (BB)

*Optional Reading:* Karen Alter, *Establishing the Supremacy of European Law*; Keohane, *After Hegemony*; Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*; Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of it."

## **II. The Relationship Between Power and Order in International Organization**

### **A. Hegemonic Stability Theory and the Aftermath – brief lecture and discussion**

- Mandelbaum. 2006. "David's Friend Goliath." (Blackboard)

*Optional Reading:* Krasner, *Structural Conflict*; Gilpin, *International Political Economy*; Keohane, *After Hegemony*.

### **B. "New" Approaches to Power and IO**

- Lloyd Gruber, "Power Politics and the Institutionalization of IR," (Blackboard)
- Barnett and Duvall, "Power in International Politics." 2005. (Blackboard)

### **C. Does Power Matter within IOs: Close Look at the UN Security Council**

- Barry O'Neill. "Power and Satisfaction in the Security Council." (Diehl)
- Erik Voeten, "The Political Origins of UNSC's Ability to Legitimize," (BB)
- Ian Johnstone, "The Power of Interpretive Communities," (Blackboard)
- Ian Hurd, "The Strategic Use of Liberal Internationalism: Libya and the UN Sanctions, 1992-2003," *IO*. (Blackboard)

*Optional Reading:* John Ikenberry, *After Victory*. 2001; Kissinger, *A World Restored*, 1963; Robert Gilpin, *War and Change* 1983.

## **III. Alternative Approaches to IO Behavior and Change**

### **A. Rationalist Institutionalism**

- Kenneth Abbott & Duncan Snidal. 1998. "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. (Diehl book)
- Nielson and Tierney, "Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform." *IO*. (course pack)
- Tamara Gutner, "Revisiting the Lessons of Agency Theory." *IO*. (Blackboard)
- Nielson and Tierney, "Environmental Reform Redux," *IO*. (Blackboard)

- Cooley and Ron. 2002. "The NGO Scramble" *IS*. (course pack)
- Hawkins, Lake, Nielson, and Tierney, "Delegation under Anarchy." (Blackboard)
- Article of your choice from the CUP book manuscript. (Blackboard)
- Randall Stone, Chapter 1 from *Lending Credibility*. (Course pack)
- Pollack, "Delegation and Discretion in the European Union," (Blackboard)

*Optional Reading:* Schwartzberg, *Revitalizing the United Nations*. (Online) Jonathan Strand, "Measuring Power in International Financial Institutions." (Online). Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*.

## **B. Constructivist, Ideational, and Organizational Theory**

- Hemmer and Katzenstein. 2002. "Why is there no NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism." *IO*. (course pack)
- Checkel, Introduction to *IO Special Issue*, "International Institutions and Socialization in Europe,"
- Hooghe, "Several Roads Lead to International Norms," *IO*. (Blackboard)
- Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World*.

## **C. NGOs, Transnational Actors, and Policy Networks**

- Keck and Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders*.
- Lisa Sundstrom, "Foreign Assistance, International Norms, and NGO Development." (Blackboard)

*Optional Reading:* Betsill and Bulkeley, "Transnational Networks" in *ISQ*, June 2004. Ann Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order*. 2005.

## **IV. Accountability and Representation in International Organizations**

- Thomas Zweifel, *International Organizations and Democracy*, 2006.
- Robert Dahl, "Can International Organizations be Democratic?" 1999.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "APSA Paper," 2005.
- Beth Simmons, "APSA Paper," 2005.

## **Speaker Series (Tentative) Times and Locations TBA**

**Lt. Col. Tanya Price**, "NATO Today and Tomorrow," Thursday, January 26, 6:00 pm, Millington 150.

**Robert Watson**, Chief Scientist and Director, World Bank, previously Chair Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and associate director for environment, Clinton White House. "The World Bank and Global Climate Change," February 15 at 7pm in Andrews Auditorium.

**Christiana Figueres**, Official negotiator of the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Kyoto Protocol for Costa Rica, Founder and past Executive Director of the Center for Sustainable Development in the Americas. “UN Negotiations on Climate Change,” March 1 at 7pm in Andrews Auditorium.

**Margaret Keck**, Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University, “The Role of Transnational Activists in Shaping Development Policy,” April 6<sup>th</sup>, Time and Place TBA.