

GOVT 325: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

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Course Description: This course examines contemporary and historical efforts by sovereign states and other international actors to organize their relations in pursuit of their mutual interests. While the international system is characterized by anarchy (the absence of a centralized governing authority) we observe numerous efforts by state and non-state actors to organize international affairs. We also observe variation in the effectiveness of these constructed orders.

The course asks six inter-related questions. First, can there be “international order” without the creation of formal international organizations? Second, why do states (and other actors) sometimes create international organizations in pursuit of their interests? Third, once created, how do international organizations constrain or enable the behavior of states and other actors in the international arena? Fourth, why do international organizations behave the way they do? Fifth, when are international organizations effective in achieving their stated goals? Sixth, to whom are international organizations accountable...or are they entirely unaccountable? As in domestic society, actors in international politics employ a wide array of delegated authority, rules, norms and legal principles in an effort to coordinate their behavior. We will examine all of these mechanisms over the course of the semester.

While a heavy emphasis is placed on the role of formal international organizations in this course, the broader question that guides our inquiry asks: How are international relations organized? As the empirical section of the course will demonstrate, formal inter-governmental organizations, regimes, informal rules, international law, and even non-governmental organizations all play a role in “organizing” international relations. The course focuses attention on different theoretical explanations for the variations in international organization in different historical periods and different issue areas of international relations.

Required Reading: The two books for the class are available at the campus bookstore. In addition a number of required articles will be provided through the course Blackboard site.

1. Karns and Mingst, *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*. Rienner, 2009.
 2. Hawkins et. Al., *Delegation and Agency in International Organization*, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- In addition to the required readings for this class students are required to stay abreast of news related to politics within and around international organizations. Good coverage can be found in the *London Financial Times*, *Economist*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, www.foreignpolicy.com, and the web pages of most international organizations. The Blackboard site also links to a number of blogs maintained by foreignpolicy.com and by various scholars of international organization. These blogs tend to focus on current events related to particular IOs or issue areas in IR. You should set up your RSS Reader and/or

Google Alerts to let you know when stories are published on issues that you have identified as your area of interest.

Class Assignments: In addition to the reading there are five assignments for this class.

(1) A **final exam** on April 29th at 9 am or April 30th at 2 pm. You are free to take the exam on either date. The final exam will include two parts – a multiple choice/identification section and an essay section. The essay section will be a take-home assignment to be turned in at the time of the final exam. It will require you to apply the theoretical approaches discussed in this course to one or more empirical questions from the world of international relations. The in-class portion will allow you to demonstrate your mastery of the readings, lectures, and current events surrounding IOs. Each section will count equally in calculating your grade. The final exam is a large part of your grade and is comprehensive. You should keep up over the course of the semester.

(2) A **five page paper** due on March 12 (after Spring Break). I will give you more details on that assignment in the near future.

(3) A **group project**, which focuses on a contemporary issue addressed within international organizations. The project will culminate with a twenty-minute presentation to the class. Students will be provided with a list of topics from which to choose.

(4) Five **quizzes** on the reading and/or on issues that relate to contemporary international organizations that you have been following in the news.

(5) **Active participation** in class discussions. You will come to all class meetings prepared to discuss the reading, analyze current events in light of the reading, ask interesting questions, and answer questions from the instructor or other students. If you are not in class, then you are not participating (and your grade will suffer...a lot). Occasionally you will be asked to participate in discussions on the course Blackboard site.

(Extra Credit) **Written reactions to visiting speakers.** Over the course of the semester there will be a minimum of 8 outside speakers or events identified by the instructor. If you attend at least 6 of these events and write a brief response on our discussion board, then your participation grade will be raised by one full letter grade. Speakers will be announced via Blackboard.

(For Fun) **Two Field Trips.** I will organize two trips to major international organizations this year. We will visit the United Nations Headquarters in New York City. We will get a guided tour of UN Headquarters and we will get a series of briefings on UN Peacekeeping and UNHCR. In April we will visit World Bank Headquarters and the OAS Headquarters in Washington DC. Again, we will attend a series of briefings by staff members within these IOs and within the U.S. Executive Director's Office. The cost of these trips will be paid by students, but I will attempt to negotiate group rates on airline tickets to NY. Nobody is required to attend either of these trips, but if you are an IO nerd and don't have much else going that day, you are welcome to come along.

Grades: Your course grade will be the weighted average of your performance on the final exam, the paper, the group project, quizzes, and class participation. Percentages follow:

Final Exam	40%
Paper	15%
Group Project	15%
Quizzes	15%
Participation	15%

- *All late assignments will be penalized one third of a letter grade (i.e., from an A- to a B+) for each day or fraction of a day late.*
- *No student can pass this course without completing all assignments.*
- *All students must submit assignments in hard copy and are responsible for retaining a hard copy of their papers until they have received a grade from the instructor. The only exception is for graded group projects and comments on outside speakers which students will post on the appropriate discussion board on our blackboard site.*

Other Policies:

Absence: Students are required to attend all classes. To reschedule a test or receive a paper extension because of an absence requires notice from the Health Center or the Dean of Students, preferably prior to the due date. Late paper assignments will be penalized as stated above, unless an excuse is provided from the Health Center or the Dean's office. If you will miss class or require an extension because of a religious holiday or school sanctioned activity, you must notify me in writing during the first two weeks of classes.

Disability Services: Persons with documented disabilities requiring accommodations to meet the expectations of this course should contact the Dean of Students Office. If you feel it is important for me to know that you have a diagnosed disability that will require accommodation, the Dean of Students Office must notify me in the first two weeks of classes.

Blackboard: All assignments will be posted on our course blackboard site. Occasionally I will make announcements to the class on this site as well. Students should check this site regularly for announcements and details on course assignments, outside speakers, etc... In addition, our substantive conversations from class will occasionally spill over onto the class discussion board. I will occasionally ask you to answer a question or make some observation on our discussion site. These responses will be considered when calculating participation grades.

Class Participation: Participation during class meetings is a required part of the course. You will be expected to come to class prepared to discuss the reading. If you are not in class you are not participating. If you are not participating, you will get a bad grade in this class. Discussion provides an opportunity to critically question the ideas presented in the readings and the lecture and it offers students the chance to share their own ideas.

ORDER OF LECTURES, READINGS, AND ASSIGNMENTS:

I. How is International Politics Organized?

- A Growing Need for Global Governance?
- Public Goods and Authority in Global Governance
- The Actors in Global Governance
- Recurring Themes: Legitimacy, Accountability, and Effectiveness of IOs

Reading: K&M Chapter 1. pp 3-33.
Michael Mandelbaum, "David's Friend Goliath." (BB)
Contemporary Blog Entries and OP EDs Posted on BB

Optional: Robert Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations*, 1987.
John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Rebuilding Order after Major Wars*, 2001.
Ann Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order*, Princeton, 2004.
Hall and Biersteker, *Private Authority in Global Governance*, 2002.
David Lake, "Beyond Anarchy: the Importance of Security Institutions," 1999.
John Ruggie, *Multilateralism Matters*, Columbia. 1993.

II. Historical Development and Growth of IOs

- Concert of Europe, League of Nations, United Nations, What Next?
- The Birth and Death of International Organizations Over Time

Reading: K&M Chapter 3. pp 63-93.
Hooghe and Marks, "The Pattern of International Organization, APSA. 2011.
Johnson and Urpelainen, *Who Creates IGO?* 2011.

Optional Henry Kissinger, *A World Restored*, 1959.
Pevehouse, Jon. "The Birth and Death of International Organizations
Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: Ideological Origins of the UN*, 2009.

III. IR Theory: General Explanations and Expectations for Global Governance

- Liberalism, Realism, Marxism, and Constructivism
- Do International Institutions Really Matter in IR?

Reading: K&M Chapter 2. pp 35-60.
Abbott and Snidal, "Why States Act Through Formal IOs" (BB).
Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Organizations" (BB).
Keohane and Martin, "The Promise of Institutional Theory" (BB)

Optional: Robert Cox, *Production, Power and World Order*. Columbia. 1987.
David Dessler, "What's at Stake in the Agent Structure Debate?" 1989.

Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony*, 2nd ed., Princeton. 2005.

IV. Alternative Approaches to Organizational Behavior and Change

- Bureaucratic Politics and Organizational Culture: Look Inside the Organization
- Principal-Agent Theory: Look at the Rules and the Preferences of Member States

Reading: Barnett and Finnemore, “Politics, Power and Pathologies of IOs” (BB)
Nielson and Tierney, “Delegation to International Organizations” (BB)
Kate Weaver, “The Meaning of Development: Constructing...” (BB)
Hawkins et al, “Delegation Under Anarchy,” (H)
Hawkins and Jacoby, “How Agents Matter,” (H)

Optional: Barnett and Finnemore, *Rules for the World*. Cornell. 2004.
Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide*. Cornell. 2001.
Kate Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap*. Cornell 2008.
Mark Pollack, *Engines of European Integration*. Oxford 2003.
Hawkins et al, *Delegation and Agency*, Cambridge 2006.
Mark Copelovitch, “Master or Servant: Common Agency & IMF Lending,” 2010.

V. The United Nations: The Relevance of Rules and the Power of Persuasion

Reading: K&M pp 97-144
Ian Johnstone, “The Role of the UN Secretary-General” (BB)
Alex Thompson, “Screening Power: IOs as Informational Agents (H)
Michael Tierney, “Delegation Success and Policy Failure: Weapons Inspectors (B)

Group #1 – Class Presentation: New Politics at the UN

Optional: Barry O’Neil, “Power and Satisfaction in the Security Council,” (BB)
Alex Thompson, “UNSCOM Paper” ISA 2006 (BB)
Ian Johnstone, “The Power of Interpretive Communities in UNSC,” (BB)
Donald Puchala, “World Hegemony and the United Nations,” 2005.
Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palance: Ideological Origins of UN*. 2009.

Reading: For Feb. 28 at 8am: “TBA Article” Class will meet in Morton 20 at 8am.
Research Presentation and Discussion by Professor Mark Buntaine

SPRING BREAK

For those interested I am arranging a tour and some briefings in Washington DC over Spring Break. We will visit the OAS and the World Bank.

VI. States, NGOs, Regional Organizations, and International Conferences

Reading: K&M pp 145-276 (Focus on chapter 7 and skim the rest)
Keck and Sikkink 1998, "Activists beyond Borders, Chapter 1" (BB)
Mark Pollack, "Delegation and Discretion in the European Union," (H)
Lyne, Nielson and Tierney, "Who Delegates? Development Aid," (H)

Group #2 – Varies by section (NGOs/Transnational Networks)

Optional: Keck and Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*. 2002.
Weaver and Peratsakis, "Creating a Regime for Aid Transparency."
Boli and Thomas, *Constructing World Culture: INGOs*, Stanford, 1999.
Kal Raustiala, "States, NGOs, and International Environmental Institutions," '97.
Mansfield and Milner, "The New Wave of Regionalism," 1999.
Hemmer and Katzenstein, "Why is there no NATO in Asia?" 2002.

VII. Economic Issues: The Paradigmatic Liberal Cases of Cooperation

- Money, Development, Trade, and Foreign Aid

Reading: K&M pp 335-412.
Jeff Chweiroth, "Learning and Network Connections at the IMF" (BB)
Elsig and Pollack, "The Politics of Appointment at WTO," 2012 (BB)

Group #3 – Class Presentation: New Politics of Trade and Finance

Optional: Charles Lipson, "Cooperation in Economic and Security Affairs," 1984. (BB)
Helen Milner, "Why Multilateralism?" (H)
Iida, "Is WTO Dispute Settlement Effective?" (D)
Stephen Krasner, *Structural Conflict: Against Global Liberalism*, 1985.
Lisa Martin, *Coercive Cooperation: Multilateral Economic Sanctions*, 1992.
Randall Stone, *Lending Credibility: IMF and Post Communist Trans.*, 2002.
Broz and Hawes, "US Domestic Politics and IMF Conditionality (H)
Erica Gould, "Delegating IMF Conditionality," (H)

VIII. Peace and Security: Tougher Cases for International Organization?

- Collective Security, Peacekeeping, Arms Control, and Terrorism

Reading: K&M pp 277- 354.
Auerswald and Saideman: *Perils of Multilateralism: NATO Goes to War* (BB)
Lynn Miller, "The Idea and Reality of Collective Security," (D)

Group #4 – Class Presentation: (Terrorism?)

- Optional: Holger Schmidt, "Effectiveness of Third Party Interventions," (BB)
Haftendorn et al, *Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions over Time*, 1999.
Robert Jervis, "From Balance to Concert," 1985.
Michael Tierney, "Delegation Success and Policy Failure," LCT, 2008.
Robert Jackson, "International Engagement in War Torn Countries," (D)
Paul Diehl, "Forks in the Road: 21st Century Peacekeeping," (D)

IX. Global Environment and Health: The Big Challenges Ahead

- Global Warming, Bio-Diversity, HIV-AIDS, and Avian Flu

Reading: K&M pp 459-506
Adil Najam, "The Case Against a New International Environmental Org," (BB)
Cortell and Peterson, "Dutiful Agents or Rogue Actors: WHO and WTO" (H)

Group #5 – Class Presentation

Optional: Mark Buntaine, "Does the Asian Development Bank Respond..." (BB)
Detlef Sprinz, "Interest Based Explanation for International Enviro. Policy," 1994.
Oran Young, *International Governance: Protecting the Environ.* Cornell, 1994.
Peter Haas, "Banning CFCs: Epistemic Community Efforts to Protect Ozone" '92.
Haas, Keohane and Levy, *Institutions for the Earth*, MIT Press, 1993.
Keohane and Levy, *Institutions for Environmental Aid*, MIT Press, 1996.

X. The Legalization of World Politics

- Do International Law (and institutions) Influence State Behavior?
- Is Law Becoming more Important in International Relations?

Reading: Keohane, Moravcsik, Slaughter, "Legalized Dispute Resolution," 2001. (BB)
Judith Kelley, "The International Criminal Court: A Quasi-Experiment, 2005 (BB)
Karen Alter, "Delegation to International Courts," (H)

Group #6 – Class Presentation:

Optional: Karen Alter, *Establishing the Supremacy of European Law*, Oxford, 2001.
Goldstein et al, *Legalization and World Politics*, MIT Press, 2001.
Cortell and Davis, "How Do International Institutions Matter?"
Downs, Rocke and Barsoom, "Good News about Compliance,"

XI. Legitimacy, Accountability, and Effectiveness of Global Governance

- Returning to our Original Question.
- Is there a Democratic Deficit in International Organizations?

Reading: Alex Thompson, "Understanding IO Legitimation." (BB)
Keohane and Grant, "Accountability and Abuses of Power." (BB)

Group #7 – Class Presentation: Democracy at the Global Level?

Optional: Thomas Zweifel, *International Organizations and Democracy*. Rienner, 2006.
Robert Dahl, "Can International Organizations be Democratic?" 1999.
Fox and Brown, *The Struggle for Accountability: World Bank and NGOs*, 1998.