POL 550: International Organization

G. John Ikenberry
Bendheim 116
Phone: 258:4779
Email: gji3@princeton.edu
Office Hours: Wednesday 1:30-4:00

Monday 1:30-4:20
Robertson 006

Course Description

The number and scope of international organizations continues to expand so that there are few areas of international politics that are not regulated in some way by an international institution, whether informal norms or a formal organization. Why do states establish institutions and what determines their shape and impact? Do these institutions merely reflect underlying power and interests? How do states use institutions as tools of diplomacy and power politics? What determines the effectiveness of international institutions? Why do states join international institutions, and what are the reasons they comply with international rules and norms, to the extent they do? To what extent do multilateral forms of institutional cooperation depend on the leadership of a powerful – that is, hegemonic – state? How have international institutions evolved over historical eras? The "golden age" of multilateral institutions has occurred during the era of American and Western dominance of the global system. How are non-Western rising states making choices about joining new and old international institutions? These are some of the question we will be asking in this course. It is a survey and research seminar that will introduce theories of international institutions, evaluate critical perspectives, and examine the role and significance of international institutions across security, economic, and environmental policy areas.

Course Requirements

1) Participation in seminar discussion. 20 percent.

2) For three weeks in the course, you are expected to write a 1-2 page review of an article or book, due in the box outside my office door on noon Friday prior to seminar discussion of the article or book. These papers should discuss the theoretical contribution of the article or book to the literature, assess its empirical strategy and quality of evidence, and offer specific suggestions for how the article or book could be improved. The idea is to get you to identify ways in which theoretical debates and research can be advanced. 30 percent.

3) Choice of two 8-10 page papers on themes from the main topic area with the first due by the start of the sixth week of the term and the second due by Dean's date; or a 20-30 page research

paper, due on Dean's date (those who choose the second option should discuss their topic with me and submit a 1 page proposal by the beginning of the sixth week of the semester). 50 percent.

Books Recommended for Purchase

Keohane, Robert, After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

Johnston, Alastair Iain, Social States: China and International Institutions, 1980-2000 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Ikenberry, G. John, After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Thompson, Alexander, Channels of Power: The UN Security Council and U.S. Statecraft in Iraq (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

Simmons, Beth, Mobilizing Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

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

Stone, Randall, Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Week One: Introduction

Krasner, Stephen, "Structural causes and regime consequences: regimes as intervening variables," and "Regimes and the limits of realism: regimes as autonomous variables," in Krasner, ed., International Regimes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 1-22, 355-68. (Also available through JSTOR as International Organization, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring 1982).

Keohane, Robert, After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), Chapters 1, 4-6 (pp. 5-17, 49-109).

Haggard, Stephen, "Liberal Pessimism: International Relations Theory and the Emerging Powers," Asia & the Pacific Policy, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 2014), pp. 1-17.

Stephen Krasner, "Realist Views of International Law," Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (American Society of International Law), Vol. 96 (March 13-16, 2002), pp. 365-68.

Supplemental:

Mearsheimer, John "The False Promise of International Institutions, " International Security, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 5-49.

Strange, Susan, "*Cave! Hic Dragones*: A Critique of Regime Analysis," in Krasner, ed., International Regimes. Also available through JSTOR as International Organization, Vol. 36 (1982), pp. 479-96.

Week Two: Theories about the Creation and Character of International Institutions

Ruggie, John G., "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution," in Ruggie, ed., Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 3-47.

Ruggie, John G., "International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," International Organization, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Spring 1982).

Martin, Lisa, "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism," International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Autumn 1992), pp. 765-92.

Drezner, Daniel, "A Typology of Global Governance Processes," Chapter Three in Drezner, All Politics in Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 63-88.

Lipson, Charles, "Why Are Some Agreements Informal?" International Organization, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Autumn 1991), pp. 495-538.

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal, "The Rational Design of International Institutions," International Organization, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Autumn 2001), pp. 761-99.

Supplemental:

Haas, Peter, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," International Organization, Vol. 46 (1992), pp. 1-36.

Morrow, James, "Modeling the Forms of International Cooperation: Distribution Versus Information," International Organization, Vol. 48, No. 3 (Summer 1994), pp. 387-423.

Hawkins, Darren, David Lake, Daniel Nelson, and Michael Tierney, "Delegation Under Anarchy: States, International Organizations, and Principal-Agent Theory," Chapter One in Delegation and Agency in International Organizations Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

2006), pp. 63-88.

Historical Origins of Multilateral Institutions:

Cooper, Richard N., "International Cooperation in Public Health as a Prologue to Macroeconomic Cooperation," in Cooper, Barry Eichengreen, C. Randall Henning, Gerald Holtham, and Robert D. Putnam, Can Nations Agree? Issues in International Economic Cooperation (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institutions, 1989), pp. 178-254.

Murphy, Craig, Global Governance and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

Jaap de Wilde, Saved from Oblivion: Interdependence in the First Half of the 20th Century (Brookfield, Vt.: Dartmouth, 1991).

Iriye, Akira, Cultural Internationalism and World Order (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

Mazower, Mark, Governing the World: The History of an Idea (London: Allen Lane, 2012).

Mitzen, Jennifer, Power in Concert: The Nineteenth-Century Origins of Global Governance (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2013).

Reinalda, Bob, Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Week Three: International Organizations as Social Environments and Networks

Johnston, Alastair Iain, Social States: China and International Institutions, 1980-2000 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Gheciu, Alexandra, "Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the 'New Europe,'" International Organization, Vol. 59, No. 4 (2005), pp. 973-1012.

Rathbun, Brian, "Before Hegemony: Generalized Trust, International Cooperation, and the Design of International Organizations," International Organization, Vol. 45, No. 2 (2011), pp. 243-73.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie, "The Real New World Order," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 76, No. 5 (September-October 1997), pp. 183-97.

Supplemental:

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, and Peter Barsoom, "Managing the Evolution of Multilateralism," International Organization, Vol. 52, No. 2 (April 1998), pp. 397-419.

Kydd, Andy, "Trust Building, Trust Breaking: The Dilemma of NATO Enlargement," International Organization, Vol. 55, No. 4 (Autumn 2001), pp. 801-28.

Martha Finnemore, National Interests in International Society (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), Chapter One.

Week Four: Theories of Compliance

Chayes, Abram and Antonia Handler Chayes, "On Compliance," International Organization, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 175-205.

Simmons, Beth, "Compliance with International Agreements," Annual Review of Political Science, Vol. 1 (1998), pp. 75-93.

Down, Rocke, and Barsoom, "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation," International Organization, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 379-406.

Ostrom, Elinor and James Walker and Roy Gardner, "Covenants With and Without a Sword: Self-Governance Is Possible," American Political Science Review, Vol. 86, No. 2 (June 2002), pp. 405-36.

Dai, Xinyuan, "Information Systems in Treaty Regimes," World Politics, Vol. 54 (July 2002), pp. 405-36.

Christina Davis, Why Adjudicate? Enforcing Trade Rules in the WTO (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), Chapter 1.

Supplemental:

Keohane, Robert, Andrew Moravcsik, and Anne-Marie Slaughter, "Legalized Dispute Resolution: Interstate and Transnational," in Legalization and World Politics, special issue of International Organization, Vol. 54, No. 3 (2000), pp. 457-88.

Week Five: International Organizations as Actors

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, Rules for the World: International Organizations in

Global Politics (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), Chapters One, Two and Six.

Finnemore, Martha, "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms," in Martin and Simmons, eds., International Institutions (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001).

Alter, Keren, "Who are the 'Masters of the Treaty?' European Governments and the European Court of Justice," in Martin and Simmons, eds., International Institutions, Vol 57, No. 1 (1998), pp. 121-147.

Hawkins, Darren, and Wade Jacoby, "How Agents Matter," in Daren Hawkins, David Lake, and Michael Tierny, eds., Delegation and Agency in International Organizations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Pages?

Supplemental:

Fang, Songying and Randall Stone, "International Organizations as Policy Advisors," International Organization, Vol. 66, No. 4 (2012), pp. 537-69.

Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," in Martin and Simmons, eds., International Institutions.

Week Six: Alliances and Hegemonic Strategies

Ikenberry, G. John Ikenberry, After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Schweller, Randall, "The Problem of International Order Revisited: A Review Essay," International Security, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Summer 2001), pp. 161-86.

Supplemental:

Martin, Lisa, "The Rational State Choice for Multilateralism," in John Gerard Ruggie, ed., Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an International Form (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 91-122.

Joseph Grieco, "The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union and the Neo-Realist Research Programme," Review of International Studies, Vol. 21 (1995), pp. 21-40.

Paul Schroeder, "Alliances, 1815-1945: Weapons of Power and Tools of Management," in Klaus Knorr, ed., Historical Dimensions of National Security Problems (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1975), pp. 227-63.

Pressman, Jeremy, Warring Friends: Alliance Restraint in International Politics (Ithaca: Cornell

University Press, 2008).

Week Seven: Collective Security and the UN

Thompson, Alexander, Channels of Power: The UN Security Council and U.S. Statecraft in Iraq (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), pp. 1-85, 163-203.

Wallander, Celeste and Robert Keohane, "Risk, Threat, and Security Institutions," in Haftendorn, Helga, Robert Keohane, and Celeste Wallander, eds., Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions Over Time and Space (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 21-47.

Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore, "Genocide and the Peacekeeping Culture at the UN," in Barnett and Finnemore, Rules for the World, Chapter Five, pp. 121-55.

Supplemental:

Claude, Inis, Jr., "Collective Legitimation as a Political Function of the United Nations," International Organization, Vol. 20 (1966), pp. 267-79.

Hurd, Ian, "Legitimacy and Authority in International Politics," International Organization, Vol. 53 (1999), pp. 379-408.

Hurd, Ian, "Myths of Membership: The Politics of Legitimation in UN Security Council Reform," Global Governance, Vol. 14 (2008), pp. 199-217.

Week Eight: Human Rights Regime

Simmons, Beth, Mobilizing Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Vreeland, James, "Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture," International Organization, Vol. 62, No. 1 (Winter 2008), pp. 65-101.

Eric A. Posner, "Some Skeptical Comments on Beth Simmon's Mobilizing for Human Rights,", NYU Journal of International Law and Policy, Vol. 44 (2012).

Simmons, Beth, "Reflections on Mobilizing for Human Rights," Journal of International Law and Politics, Vol. 44 (2012), pp. 729-50.

Supplemental:

Eric Posner, “Let’s admit it: Human rights law is a complete failure,” Washington Post, 14 January 2015.

Eric A. Posner, The Twilight of Human Rights Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Hafner-Burton, Emile and Kiyoteru Tsutsui, “Human Rights in a Globalizing World: The Paradox of Empty Promises,” American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 110 (2005).

Hathaway, Oona, “Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference? The Yale Law Journal, Vol. 111 (2002).

Neumayer, Eric, “Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights? Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 49 (2005).

Kelley, Judith, “Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Surrender Agreements,” American Political Science Review, Vol. 101, No. 3 (2007), pp. 573-89.

Morrow, James, “When Do States Follow the Laws of War?” American Political Science Review, Vol. 101, No. 3 (August 2007), pp. 559-72.

Week Nine: International Finance and the World Economy

Stone, Randall, Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Chapters 1-3, pp. 1-48; Chapter 4, pp.51-79; Chapter 7, pp.133-153; Conclusion

Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore, “Expertise and Power at the International Monetary Fund,” Rules for the World, Chapter Three, pp. 16-44.

Drezner, Daniel, “Club Standards and International Finance,” Chapter Five, in All Politics in Global: Explaining International Regulatory Regimes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 119-48.

Supplemental:

Ikenberry, G. John, "A World Economy Restored: Expert Consensus and the Anglo-American Postwar Settlement," International Organization, 46 (Winter 1991/92), pp. 289-321.

Week Ten: International Trade

Barton, John, Judith Goldstein, Tim Josling, and Richard Steinberg, The Evolution of the Trade Regime: Politics, Law, and Economics of the GATT and WTO (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), Chapters 1-3, pp 1-90; Chapter 8, pp. 204-217.

Jupille, Joseph, Walter Mattli, and Duncan Snidal, "Building Theseus' ship: Why the ITO failed, the GATT succeeded, and the WTO emerged," Chapter Three in Jupille, Mattli, and Snidal, Institutional Choice and Global Commerce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 53-101.

Davis, Christina, "International Institutions and Issue Linkage: Building Support for Agricultural Trade Liberalization," American Political Science Review, Vol. 98, No. 1 (2004), pp. 153-69.

Subramanian, Arvind and Shang-Jin Wei, "The WTO Promotes Trade, Strongly but Unevenly," Journal of International Economics, Vol. 72, No. 1 (2007), pp. 151-75.

Gordon Wong, "The Beginning of World Trade Disorganization? How the WTO is linked to the relative decline of U.S. Power," The Diplomat, 15 January 2015, pp. 1-3. http://thediplomat.com/2015/01/the-beginning-of-world-trade-disorganization/

Supplemental:

The Warrick Commission, "The Multilateral Trade Regime: Which Way Forward," The Report of the First Warwick Commission, The University of Warwick, 2007, pp. 1-59.

Melendez-Ortiz, Ricardo, Christophe Bellmann, and Miguel Rodriguez Mendoza, "The Future and the WTO: Confronting the Challenges," A collection of short essays, July 2012.

Week Eleven: Cooperation to Protect the Environment

Barrett, Scott, Environment and Statecraft: The Strategy of Environmental Treaty-Making (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), Chapters 1, 2, 11, and 15.

Keohane, Robert and David Victor, "The Regime Complex for Climate Change," Perspectives on Politics, Vol. 9, No. 1 (March 2011), pp. 7-23.

Keohane, Robert, "The Politics of Climate Change," James Madison Lecture, American Political Science Association meeting, Aug. 29-31, 2014. PDF of Madison Lecture

Battig, Michele B. And Thomas Bernauer, "National Institutions and Global Public Goods: Are Democracies More Cooperative in Climate Change Policy?" International Organization, Vol. 63

(2009), pp. 281-308.

Week Twelve: Rising States and Counter-Hegemonic Multilateralism

Foot, Rosemary, and Andrew Walter, China, the United States, and Global Order (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), chapters 1-2, pp 1-78; chapters 5-6, pp.175-228.

Morse, Julia and Robert Keohane, "Contested Multilateralism," The Review of International Organizations, 2014.

Brutsch, Christian and Mihaela Papa, "Deconstructing the BRICS: Bargaining Coalitions, Imagined Community, or Geopolitical Fad?" Chinese Journal of International Politics, Vol. 6, No. 3 (2013), pp. 299-327.

Kahler, Miles, "Rising Powers and Global Governance: Negotiating Change in a Resilient Status Quo," International Affairs, Vol. 89, No. 3 (May 2013), pp. 711-29.

Supplemental:

Gehring, Thomas and Benjamin Faude, "A Theory of Emerging Order within Institutional Complexes: How Competition among Regulatory International Institutions Lead to Institutional Adaptation and Division of Labor," The Review of International Organizations, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 471-498.

Papa, Mihaela, "Emerging Powers in International Dispute Settlement: From Legal Capacity Building to a Level Playing Field?" Journal of International Dispute Settlement, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2013), pp. 83-109.

Morton, Katherine, "Learning By Doing: The Global Governance of Food Security," in Scott Kennedy, ed., The Dragon's Learning Curve: Global Governance and China (Global Institutions Series, Routledge, 2015).

Morton, Katherine, "China and Global Climate Policy Making: Leadership in a State of Flux," in Huang Xiaoming and Robert Pateman (eds.) Becoming a World Power: China and the International System (Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2013).