

“International Politics Colloquium: International Organization”

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Office Hours: Mondays 2:00-4:00pm and by appointment.

Prerequisite: Political Science 1601 or equivalent introduction to International Relations.

Welcome to “International Organization.” In this colloquium we will explore the various structures, institutions and processes that order international relations. Students should have at least one previous course in international relations theory.

The colloquium is divided into two major sections. In the first part we will read works on classic topics in international organization including the dynamics of state sovereignty, the functions of international institutions, accountability in international governance and the make-up of international society. We will consider a number of different theoretical approaches (including realism, liberal institutionalism and constructivism) and familiarize ourselves with important debates in international relations theory.

In the second part of the course we will use these theoretical frameworks to examine current problems and controversies in international organization. We will consider the relationship between U.S. power and the United Nations, the philosophical and practical problems of managing overseas peacebuilding in weak states, examine Europe and Asia as political regions, debate the role that NGOs are now playing in world politics, and assess the emerging politics of the international humanitarian sector. Throughout the course we will ask what elements of the international system are enduring and what actors or processes are, indeed, new. We will also relate what we are doing in class with developments in the “real world,” especially the ongoing US-led reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq.

REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Class: The most important requirement is that you read the weekly assignments and come to each class fully prepared for discussion; after all, this is your seminar and our group time is limited. The instructor’s primary role will be to introduce the week’s topic and then facilitate class discussion and debate. Class participation will count 20% towards your final grade. If you are uncomfortable speaking in a public setting, please let me know as soon as possible - we can work something out.

Presentation: Each seminarian will be asked to sign-up and lead class discussion for a week (usually in coordination with a partner). Presentations should be no longer than 10 minutes each

and SHOULD NOT summarize the arguments of the readings (the assumption is that everyone will come to class having completed the assigned reading). Instead, you should present reactions, critical observations or commentaries on the major themes, topics and noteworthy debates that are brought up by the readings and merit further discussion. The presentation will be factored into your class participation grade.

Research Paper: In addition, students will be required to complete a major research paper (about 25-30 pages, 60% of final grade). All papers must explore some theoretical issue in the study of international organization and will require additional empirical research based on primary and secondary materials. Paper guidelines and sample topics will be distributed during Week 3 (January 30). A one-page summary of your topic and preliminary bibliography is due Week 6 (February 20). After you turn in your preliminary topic, you should contact me for an appointment to discuss your topic. An optional rough draft of the paper will be due on April 20, 2006 (no later). The final draft is due on Monday, April 30th, 2006 before 4:00pm. Late papers will be penalized one-third of a grade for every additional day (including weekends) beyond this deadline.

PLEASE NOTE: I do not grant unsolicited incompletes (nor solicited ones without a documented emergency). If you do not hand in a paper, you will be assigned the grade of “F”, not “I.”

Memos: Finally, in addition to the research paper, every student must turn in TWO memos during the course of the semester. The memos (about 2.0 – 2.5 pages single-spaced) should present your reactions to and assessments of the week’s key issues and/or debates. You must turn in ONE of the memos by or on Week 7 (February 27). All memos are due (I prefer e-mail and Word attachments) by 10:00 am on the day of class (Tuesdays). Together, they will constitute the final 20% of your grade.

READINGS: The following books are required and are available for purchase at the Columbia University bookstore:

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1999.

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

Peter Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

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

All other readings are available on reserve at Barnard College Reserves and electronically through Courseworks and Barnard College Library E-reserves. However, access to the readings is restricted to Columbia UNI ID holders who are actively registered in the course. If you cannot get a reading via Courseworks/Reserves, then look for it individually under the journal title in E-journals (if you don’t understand what this is, ask a librarian!). If for some reason you still can’t find it, then go to the library and get a hard copy from the reserve desk.

Part I. Theoretical Approaches to International Organization

Week 1 (January 16): *Course Overview and Introduction*

If the international system is “anarchic,” then where do order and international governance come from? What is the difference between “international organization” and “international organizations”? How can we have international governance without a world government?

Week 2 (January 23) *State Sovereignty and International Organization*

What is the difference between “classical” sovereignty and juridical sovereignty? Why is juridical sovereignty so important for weaker states in the international system? Krasner argues that state interactions with international organizations/actors have traditionally weakened the sovereignty regime. Do you agree?

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 2000).

Week 3 (January 30): *International Institutions I: Neoliberal Institutionalism and Regimes*

What functions do international institutions perform according to neoliberal theory? How does this view of regimes differ from that of realist or sociological (or “reflectivist”) understandings? Are regimes merely “intervening variables” or do they exert an independent influence on international relations? How do regimes “socialize” participants?

Robert Keohane, “International Institutions: two approaches,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 32:4 (1988), pp. 379-396.

Robert Wade, “US Hegemony and the World Bank: the fight over people and ideas,” *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 9:2 (Summer 2002), pp. 215-243.

Alistair Ian Johnston, “Treating International Institutions as Social Environments,” *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 45:4 (2001), pp. 487-515.

John Mearsheimer, “The False Promise of International Institutions,” *International Security* Vol.19:3 (Winter 1994/95), pp. 5-49.

Week 4 (February 6) *Intl. Institutions II: International Organizations*

What explains the policies and actions of international organizations: the political interests of powerful state members or the interests and culture of an organization’s permanent staff? What is an “organizational culture” and under what circumstances does it become “pathological”? How does this approach differ from more rationalist or neo-institutional understandings of institutions? Was this the source of international inaction in Rwanda?

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

Week 5 (February 13) *International Norms and Societal Perspectives*

What do “social” theories purport to explain that “rationalist” theories cannot? How do we distinguish between behavior that is influenced by international norms and behavior dictated by state interests? How do norms become defined and disseminated in the international community? How does the study of “gender norms” differ from most traditional feminist approaches to IR? Was the blacklisting of tax havens by the OECD an example of norm dynamics or state power? Are these mutually exclusive?

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” *International Organization* Vol. 52:4 (Autumn 1998), pp. 887-917.

Audie Klotz, “Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and U.S. Sanctions against South Africa.” *International Organization* 49:3 (Summer 1995), pp. 451-78.

R. Charli Carpenter, “Women and Children First: Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-95,” *International Organization* Vol. 57:4 (Fall 2003), pp. 661-694.

Jason Sharman, “The Bark is the Bite: International Organizations and Blacklisting,” draft article, Department of Political Science. University of Sydney.

Week 6 (February 20) *Conditionality and IO Membership Incentives: The EU and NATO*

Frank Schimmelfennig, “The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union,” *International Organization* Vol. 55:1 (Winter 2001), pp. 47-80.

Judith Kelley, “International Actors on the Domestic Scene: Membership Conditionality and Socialization by International Institutions,” *International Organization* Vol. 58:3 (Fall 2004), pp. 425-457.

Alexandra Gheciu, “Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization: NATO and the “New Europe,”” *International Organization* Vol. 59:4 (Fall 2005), pp. 973-1012.

Thad Dunning, “Conditioning the Effects of Aid: Cold War Politics, Donor Credibility and Democracy in Africa,” *International Organization* Vol. 54:2 (Spring 2004), pp. 409-423.

Week 7 (February 27) *International Organizations and Accountability*

Joseph Stiglitz, “Democratizing the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank: Governance and Accountability,” *Governance* Vol. 16:1 (January 2003), pp. 111-139.

Ruth W. Grant and Robert Keohane, “Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics,” *American Political Science Review* Vol. 99:1 (February 2005), pp. 29-43.

Andrew Moravcsik, “Is there a Democratic Deficit in World Politics? A Framework for Analysis,” *Government and Opposition*, (2004), pp. 337-363

Ilan Kapoor, “Deliberative Democracy and the WTO,” *Review of International Political Economy* Vol. 11, No. 3 (August 2004), pp. 522-541.

PART II. Current Problems and Issues in International Organization

Week 8 (March 6) *The United Nations System and the United States*

What criteria should we use to measure the United Nation's influence on international relations? How is the body organized internally and what jurisdictional conflicts does this lead to? Should the U.N.'s security role be curtailed or expanded? Does the UN's legitimacy matter for powerful nations? Did the Iraq war undermine the UN or promote the importance of the Security Council?

Inis Claude, Jr. "Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the UN" *International Organization* Vol. 20:3 (1966), pp. 367-379.

Bruce Cronin, "The Two Faces of the United Nations: the Tension between Intergovernmentalism and Transnationalism," *Global Governance* Vol. 8:1 (Jan-Mar 2002), pp. 53-71.

Jochen Prantl, "Informal Groups of States and the UN Security Council," *International Organization* Vol. 59 (Summer 2005), pp. 559-592.

Michael Glennon, "Why the Security Council Failed," *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 82:3 (May/June 2003), pp. 16-35.

Edward Luck, "How Not to Reform the UN," *Global Governance* Vol. 11 (2005), pp. 407-414,

Recommended: Erik Voeten, "The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force," *International Organization* Vol. 59:3 (July 2005), pp. 527-557.

March 13: NO CLASS (Spring Break)

Week 9 (March 20) *Regions as Organizations: Europe and East Asia*

What does Katzenstein mean when he regards a region as a distinct "organizational form"? Do you agree with how he distinguishes between the organizational attributes of East Asia and Europe as regions? What are the implications of such an approach for assessing United States involvement in other regions such as the Middle East? What are the strengths and weaknesses of this versus more state-centric approaches to international organization?

Peter Katzenstein, *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005)

Week 10 (March 27) *International Peacebuilding and New Forms of Sovereignty*

What are the responsibilities of the international community for rebuilding and reconstructing states after deadly conflicts? Should peacekeeping be limited to maintaining order or should it actually try to change states into Western-style liberal democracies? Can peacekeeping regimes ever remain politically neutral? Do they represent a new form of colonialism? What is the

alternative? Do you agree that sovereignty may need to be compromised or shared in order to help post-conflict states?

James Fearon and David Laitin, "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security* Vol. 28, No. 4 (2004), pp. 5-43.

Stephen Krasner, "Building Democracy After Conflict: The Case for Shared Sovereignty," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 16, No. 1 (January 2005), pp. 69-83.

Roland Paris, "International Peacebuilding and the "Mission Civilisatrice," *Review of International Studies* Vol. 28:4 (October 2002), pp. 637-656.

Week 11 (April 3) Transnational Networks, NGOs and their Critics

Do transnational NGOs herald the emergence of a global civil society? What strategies and tools do NGOs use to change state policies? Do all networks in international politics inherently share common liberal values and benign normative motivations? What are the unspoken material constraints on the actions of transnational NGOs? Does the current proliferation of NGOs in various sectors resemble a deliberative civil society or a competitive frenzy? What strategies do states employ to avoid pressures exerted by international NGOs?

Margaret Keck and Katherine Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 1998), read chaps. 1, 3 and skim 4 and 5. (chapter 2 is optional).

Richard Price. "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Land Mines." *International Organization*, Vol. 52: 3 (Summer 1998), pp. 575-612.

Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Survival and Transnational Action," *International Security* Vol. 27:1 (Summer 2002), pp. 5-37.

Clifford Bob, "Merchants of Morality," *Foreign Policy* No. 129 (Mar/Apr 2002), pp. 36-45.

Week 12 (April 10) The New Politics of International Humanitarianism

Michael Barnett, "Humanitarianism Transformed," *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 3, No. 4 (Dec 2005), pp. 723-740.

Week 13 (April 17) Optional Individual Meetings to Discuss Papers

OPTIONAL FIRST DRAFT OF PAPER DUE: 5:00pm, Friday, **April 20, 2007.**

Week 14 (April 24) Optional Individual Conferences to Discuss Rough Drafts

You can also just drop by to talk about your paper, but this week sign-up time priority will be given to those who have actually turned in a rough draft.

Final Draft Due: Monday, **April 30th, by 4:00pm.** Last day of classes. No exceptions, no incompletes.