

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

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Objectives

To provide an introduction to the function and study of major international institutions in the international system. Attention will be devoted to: the notion and history of the international institution as a form of political organisation; the United Nations system; political economy debates centred on the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organisation; conceptual frameworks to explain and understand institutions including neoliberal institutionalism and constructivism; and a simulation of the practice of conducting negotiation drawing on the literature on negotiation analysis. International institutions have shaped international relations in complex and multiple ways. However, they have not had quite the impact on international politics for which many people hoped. One key objective when studying international organisations is to evaluate what contributions to international life they make; specifically in terms of achievements, illusions of internationalism, and the endemic faults and inefficiencies of multilateralism. Another key objective for the analyst is to scrutinise their own conceptual orientation and identify how theoretical frameworks influence their thinking, and in turn, how this contributes to our understanding of how international institutions behave.

Readings

Core readings are compulsory. Please do not assume that an entire work has to be thoroughly absorbed and pondered at length; understanding the key concepts, elements and stories is the first task, before exploring debates in more detail. A recommendation for the first reading is marked with '***'. If there are any problems in finding texts or accessing resources, please let me know early.

Essays

There are six essays required for the term. Five of these essays should be short, between 1500 and 2000 words. One essay should be a longer piece of work, involving wider research and greater reflection, and be at least 3000 words. More time will be allocated to writing the longer essay, but all shorter essays should be completed and emailed by midday of the day prior to the tutorial. There is no need to write an essay for Week 1.

Structure

Week 1	Origins and the Idea of International Institutions
Week 2	United Nations System I: Institutional Challenges and Reform at 60
Week 3	United Nations System II: Security, Reconstruction, and Development
Week 4	Politics of Debt, Aid and Knowledge: World Bank and International Monetary Fund
Week 5	Political Economy of Power, Ideas and Interests: World Trade Organization
Week 6	Conceptual Frameworks I: Neoliberal institutionalism
Week 7	Conceptual Frameworks II: Constructivism
Week 8	Simulation: Inside the Negotiation Room

Useful introductions and core references

- John Baylis and Steve Smith (eds), with Patricia Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons (eds) *The Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002).
- Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
- Joel Krieger et al (eds) *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Joseph Nye, *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History* (London: Longman, 2002).

Week 1: The Origins and the Idea of International Institutions

The idea of the international institution is a relatively recent innovation in the history of political governance. In 1909 there were only 37 intergovernmental organisations; today there are at least 400. The increasing credibility of such political organisation during the twentieth century reflects the consequences of major wars and a more interdependent international system. One can conceive of different ways of classifying international institutions, such as by types of party, by geographical area, by types of function, and by the nature of roles vis-à-vis states and other actors. A complimentary notion is the ‘international regime’, usually defined as ‘sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision making procedures around which actors’ expectations converge in a given area of international relations’.ⁱ

Question: Do international institutions matter in international relations, and if so, how?

Readings:

- Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, ‘Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations’, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42 (1998): 3-32.
- Clive Archer, *International Organizations* (London: Routledge, 2001). Ch 1-2, more if you have the time.
- Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), Ch. 2.
- John Mearsheimer, ‘The False Promise of International Institutions’, *International Security*, 19 (1994/5), 3, 5-49.
- David Mitrany, ‘The Functional Approach to World Organisation’, *International Affairs*, 24 (1948), 3, 350-363.
- John Ruggie, ‘Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution’, in John Ruggie (ed) *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
- John Ruggie, ‘International Regimes, Transactions and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Post-War Economic Order’, *International Organization*, 36 (1982), 2, 379-415.
- Beth Simmons and Lisa L Martin, ‘International Organizations and Institutions’, in Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons (eds) *The Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2002). **

ⁱ Stephen Krasner, ‘Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables’, in Stephen Krasner (ed), *International Regimes* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1983), 2.

Week 2: United Nations System I: Institutional Challenges and Reform at 60

Question: Why is there such an impulse to reform the United Nations and how would you assess the viability of current proposals?

Core Readings:

Mats Berdal, 'The UN's Unnecessary Crisis', *Survival*, 47 (2005), 3: 7-32.

Mats Berdal, 'The United Nations Security Council: Ineffective but Indispensable', *Survival*, 45 (2003), 2, 7-31.

Maurice Bertrand, 'The Historical Development of Efforts to Reform the UN', in Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Role in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). **

Edward Luck, *Reforming the United Nations: Lessons from a History in Progress*, Occasional Paper Series (New Haven, CT: Academic Council on the United Nations System, 2003).

Available at: <http://www.globalpolicy.org/reform/intro/2003history.pdf>.

Report of the UN Secretary-General, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*, United Nations A/59/2005, March 21, 2005. Available at: <http://www.un.org/largerfreedom>.

Thomas Weiss, *Overcoming the Security Council Reform Impasse: The Implausible Versus the Plausible*, Dialogue on Globalization Occasional Paper No. 14 (New York: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2005).

Available at: <http://www.fesny.org/docus/Weiss14www.pdf>.

Mark Zacher, 'The Conundrums of International Power Sharing: The Politics of Security Council Reform', in Richard Price and Mark Zacher (eds) *The United Nations and Global Security* (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Supplementary Readings:

Kofi Annan, 'In Larger Freedom: Decision Time at the UN', *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2005.

Conference Report, 'The UN: Adapting to the 21st Century Conference', Centre for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, Canada. April 3-5, 2005. Available at: http://www.the-igloo.org/UNconference/unreform.conf_report.pdf.

Michael Glennon, 'Why the Security Council Failed', *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003. See also responses in *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2003.

Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe, and Roger Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Oxford: Westview Press, 2001).

Justin Morris, 'UN Security Council Reform: A Counsel for the 21st Century', *Security Dialogue*, 31 (2000): 265-277.

David Malone (ed), *The Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century* (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

For the latest analysis on the UN reform debate, including the text of the 2005 summit, see the 'Reform the UN' website run by the World Federalist Movement – Institute for Global Policy (WFM-IGP) at: <http://www.reformtheun.org/index.php>. For additional immediate commentary, see the September issues of *The Economist*.

Week 3: United Nations System II: Security, Reconstruction, and Development

Choose one of two tracks:

EITHER

Question 1: How effective is the United Nations in managing global security issues, and what are its most significant achievements?

OR

Question 2: Discuss the proposition that the United Nations has been irrelevant to the international development process.

Question 1 Readings:

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004). Ch. 5.

Simon Chesterman, *You the People: The United Nations, Transitional Administrations, and State-building* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Inis L. Claude, 'Peace and Security: Prospective Roles for the Two United Nations', *Global Governance*, 2 (1996), 3, 289-298.

H. J. Holzgrefe, and Robert Keohane (eds), *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Jennifer Welsh (ed), *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Role in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), esp. chs. by Urquhart (international security after the Cold War), Parsons (UN and national interests) and Wilenski (UN structure in post-Cold War period). **

Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe, and Roger Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Oxford: Westview Press, 2001). As much as Part I and II as you can manage.

Question 2 Readings:

Adeoye Akinsanya and Arthur Davies, 'Third World Quest for a New International Economic Order: An Overview', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 33 (1984), 1, 208-217.

Kenneth Dadzie, 'The UN and the Problem of Economic Development', in Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury (eds), *United Nations, Divided World: The UN's Role in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). **

David Forsythe, *The United Nations in the World Political Economy* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989).

John Toye and Richard Toye, *The UN and Global Political Economy: Trade, Finance and Development* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004). Ch. 7-11.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, *Beyond Conventional Wisdom in Development Policy: An Intellectual History of UNCTAD 1964-2004* (Geneva: United Nations, 2004). Part I.

Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe, and Roger Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Oxford: Westview Press, 2001). Ch. 8-10.

Week 4: The Politics of Debt, Aid and Knowledge: The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF)

Question: How has the legitimacy of the Bretton Woods twins been challenged? Can the Washington Consensus be reconstructed?

Core readings:

Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004). Ch. 3.

Nancy Birdsall and John Williamson with Brian Deese, *Delivering on Debt Relief: From IMF Gold to a New Aid Architecture* (Washington D.C.: CGD/IIE 2002). Available at: http://bookstore.iie.com/merchant.mvc?Screen=PROD&Product_Code=337.

Tony Killick, with Ramani Gunatilaka and Ana Marr, *Aid and the Political Economy of Policy Change* (London: Routledge, 1998).

Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (London: Penguin Books, 2004).

Ngaire Woods, 'The International Monetary Fund and World Bank', (London: Routledge, 2002). Available at: <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~ntwoods/Woods%20for%20Routledge.pdf>**

Ngaire Woods, 'Making the IMF and the World Bank More Accountable', *International Affairs*, 77 (2001), 1, 83-100.

Supplementary reading:

Paul Blustein, *And the Money Kept Rolling In (and Out): Wall Street, the IMF, and the Bankrupting of Argentina* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2005).

Susan George, *The Debt Boomerang* (London: Pluto Press, 1991). Dated but a classic holistic statement on the extensive repercussions of developing world debt on the West.

Thomas Pogge and Sanjay Reddy, 'Unknown: The Extent, Distribution, and Trend of Global Income Poverty', Version 3.4, July 26, 2003. Available at:

<http://www.columbia.edu/~sr793/povpop.pdf>. Or for a more detailed investigation into the World Bank's estimate of global income poverty, see Pogge and Reddy, 'How *Not* to Count the Poor', Version 4.5, March 26, 2003, available at: <http://www.columbia.edu/~sr793/count.pdf>

Dani Rodrik, 'Growth Strategies', September 2003. Available at:

http://econ.ucsd.edu/seminars/seven_ssrc/draft_30.pdf. Not directly focused on the Bank and Fund *per se*, rather an analysis of lessons that can be drawn from the history of ideas of economic development. Note Rodrik's conception of an 'augmented Washington Consensus' now operating.

Diane Stone, 'The "Knowledge Bank" and the Global Development Network', *Global Governance*, 9 (2003): 43-61.

United Nations Human Settlements Program, *The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements 2003* (New York: UNHSP, 2003). Ch. 3.

Robert Wade, 'US Hegemony and the World Bank: The Fight over People and Ideas', *Review of International Political Economy*, 9 (2002), 2, 215-243.

For the latest news and critical analysis on the World Bank and the IMF see 'The Bretton Woods Project' at <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/index.shtml>. For a good overview of the international economy in its current state, see *The Financial Times: FT Reports, World Economy 2005*, October 6, 2005. For an introductory read into the rise of neoliberalism – the dominant ideology adhered to by the Bank and the Fund – see David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Week 5: The Political Economy of Power, Ideas, and Interests: The World Trade Organisation (WTO)

Question: ‘The WTO is the best international institution for poor countries to advance their economic interests’. Discuss.

Core reading:

Bernard Hoekman and Michel Kostecki, *The Political Economy of the World Trading System: WTO and Beyond* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Fatoumata Jawara, Aileen Kwa, and Shefali Sharma, *Behind the Scenes at the WTO: The Real World of International Trade Negotiations/Lessons of Cancún* (London: Zed Books, 2004).

Amrita Narlikar, *The World Trade Organization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).**

Amrita Narlikar and Diana Tussie, ‘The G20 at the Cancún Ministerial: Developing Countries and their Evolving Coalitions in the WTO’, *World Economy* 27 (2004), 7: 947-966.

Report by the Consultative Board to the former Director-General Supachai Panitchpakdi, *The Future of the WTO: Addressing Institutional Challenges in the New Millennium* (Geneva: WTO, 2005).

Available at: http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/10anniv_e/future_wto_e.htm.

Supplementary reading:

Jagdish Bhagwati, ‘Don’t Cry For Cancún’, *Foreign Affairs*, January-February 2004. More generally, Bhagwati, *In Defense of Globalization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Part II.

Amrita Narlikar, *International Trade and Developing Countries: Coalitions in the GATT and WTO* (London: Routledge, 2003).

Ernst-Ulrich Petersmann, (ed) *Reforming the World Trading System: Legitimacy, Efficiency and Democratic Governance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Notable chapters include: 10, 11, and 26-29.

Tim Rice, *Farmgate: The Developmental Impact of Agricultural Subsidies* (London: ActionAid, 2002). Updated versions are available at: <http://www.actionaid.org.uk/791/agriculture.html>.

Dani Rodrik, *The Global Governance of Trade: As If Development Really Mattered* (New York: United Nations Development Programme, October 2001).

Available at: http://www.undp.org/poverty/docs/pov_globalgovernancetrade_pub.pdf.

South Centre, *From Cancún to Hong Kong: Lessons from the Fifth Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization*, T.R.A.D.E. Series Working Paper 20, May 2004 (Geneva: South Centre). Available at:

<http://www.southcentre.org/publications/workingpapers/paper20/wp20.pdf>.

John Toye, ‘Order and Justice in the International Trade System’, in Rosemary Foot, John Gaddis and Andrew Hurrell (eds), *Order and Justice in International Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Michael Trebilcock and Robert Howse, *The Regulation of International Trade* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Robert Wade, ‘What Strategies are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The WTO and the Shrinking of Development Space’, *Review of International Political Economy*, 10 (2003), 4, 621-644.

For the latest WTO news and analysis, see the International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD) at: <http://www.ictsd.org/index.htm>. A concise and useful ‘Overview of the July Package’ (2004), the current core text used as a basis for negotiations in the Doha Round (2001-), is available at: http://www.ictsd.org/pubs/dohabriefings/Vol3/V3_00.pdf (updated December 2004).

Week 6: Conceptual Frameworks I: Neoliberal institutionalism

Question: What contribution has neoliberal institutionalism made to our understanding of how and why states cooperate?

Readings:

- Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (London: Penguin Books, 2004 [1984]), Ch. 1-4.
- David Baldwin (ed) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). Ch. 2-5.
- Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984). Ch. 4-7.
- John Mearsheimer, 'The False Promise of International Institutions', *International Security*, 19 (1994/5), 3, 5-49. Also see the exchange in 20, 1.
- Helen Milner, 'International Theories of Cooperation among Nations: Strengths and Weaknesses', *World Politics* 44 (April 1992). **

Week 7: Conceptual Frameworks II: Constructivism

Question: How do constructivists explain and understand the character of international institutions?

Readings:

- Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (eds), *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Ch. 1, 13, and others if you have the time.
- Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004). Ch. 1, 2, and 6. **
- Peter Haas and Ernst Hass, 'Pragmatic Constructivism and the Study of International Institutions', *Millennium*, 31 (2002), 3, 573-601.
- Robert Keohane, 'International Institutions: Two Approaches', *International Studies Quarterly*, 32 (1988), 4, 379-396.
- Thomas Risse, 'Constructivism and International Institutions: Toward Conversations Across Paradigms', in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner (eds) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (New York: WW Norton, 2002).
- Jens Steffek, 'The Legitimation of International Governance: A Discourse Approach', *European Journal of International Relations*, 9 (2003), 2, 249-275.

Week 8: Simulation: Inside the Negotiation Room

For practitioners who work within or communicate between international institutions, operating at many levels, success frequently depends upon their negotiation skills. The qualities that make a good negotiator, however, are multiple and experienced practice is essential. This final session has two aims: to introduce some the ideas drawn from the literature on negotiation analysis, and to apply these insights towards a case study problem. At the same time, through exploring possible negotiation options, one will reflect upon the empirical and theoretical knowledge gained during the term.

Readings:

- David Lax and James Sebenius, *The Manager as Negotiator: Bargaining for Cooperation and Competitive Gain* (New York: Free Press, 1986). Ch. 2 and 4.
- Leigh Thompson, *The Mind and Heart of the Negotiator* (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2005). Ch. 1 and 2.
- William Zartman and Jeffrey Rubin (ed) *Power and Negotiation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000). Ch. 1, 11, and 12.