

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

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Objectives

To provide an introduction to the function and study of major international organisations in the international system. Attention will be devoted to: the idea and history of the international institution as a form of political order; conceptual frameworks to explain and understand international organisations, including neorealism, neoliberal institutionalism, constructivism, and critical approaches; debates focused on security, reconstruction, and development in relation to the United Nations system; political economy problems centered on the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, and the World Trade Organisation; and the management of the global climate crisis involving the United Nations and other political agencies. International institutions have shaped world politics in complex and multiple ways. However, they have not had quite the impact on international relations 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, endemic faults of multilateralism, as well as boundary disputes between what is classified as ‘public’ and ‘private’. Another key objective is to not divorce theoretical knowledge from practical knowledge but, rather, to identify how conceptual approaches can shape the definition of empirical problems and the means by which such problems may be explained.

Teaching arrangements

Attendance at weekly tutorials on Wednesday morning is compulsory. Readings are compulsory. 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. For each tutorial, the student will prepare a one-page outline answering the question posed for the readings of that week. This will form the basis of discussion. In addition, there are five essays required for the course. Four 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. If essays are submitted by Thursday at 12.00 noon, they will be marked and

returned in the tutorial of the following week. The marking scheme for essays is available separately. A grade denoting overall performance – based on essays and tutorials – will be provided at the end of the course.

Topic schedule

<i>Week 1</i>	<i>The Genesis and Purpose of International Organisations</i>
<i>Week 2</i>	<i>Conceptual Frameworks I: Neoliberal Institutionalism</i>
<i>Week 3</i>	<i>Conceptual Frameworks II: Constructivism and Critical Approaches</i>
<i>Week 4</i>	<i>The United Nations System I: Security and Reconstruction</i>
<i>Week 5</i>	<i>The United Nations System II: Development and its Discontents</i>
<i>Week 6</i>	<i>The Politics of Finance and Knowledge: The IMF, World Bank, and OECD</i>
<i>Week 7</i>	<i>The Political Economy of Power and Commerce: The World Trade Organisation</i>
<i>Week 8</i>	<i>Governing the Climate Crisis: The United Nations and Beyond</i>

Readings

Week 1 The Genesis and Purpose of International Organisations

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

- 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), Chs. 1-2 particularly.
- 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). **

Week 2 Conceptual Frameworks I: Neoliberal Institutionalism

Question: How successful is neoliberal institutionalism in explaining international cooperation?

- Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (London: Penguin Books, 2004 [1984]), Chs. 1-4.
- David Baldwin (ed) *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (New York:

Columbia University Press, 1993). Ch. 2-5.
 Joseph Grieco, 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation', *International Organization*, 42 (1988), 3 485-450.
 Andrea Hasenclever, Peter Mayer, and Volker Rittberger, *Theories of International Regimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chs. 3-4.
 Robert Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), Chs. 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 (1992), 3, 466-496. **

Week 3 Conceptual Frameworks II: Constructivism and Critical Approaches

Question: What contributions have constructivists and critical theorists made to our understanding of international organisations?

Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall (eds), *Power in Global Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Chs. 1 and 13.
 Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), Chs. 1, 2, and 6. **
 Fred Gale, 'Cave "Cave! Hic Dragones": A Neo-Gramscian Deconstruction and Reconstruction of International Regime Theory', *Review of International Political Economy*, 5 (1998), 2, 252-283.
 Peter Haas and Ernst Hass, 'Pragmatic Constructivism and the Study of International Institutions', *Millennium*, 31 (2002), 3, 573-601.
 Andrea Hasenclever, Peter Mayer, and Volker Rittberger, *Theories of International Regimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Ch. 5.
 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).
 Leslie Sklair, *The Transnational Capitalist Class* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001), Ch. 2.

Week 4: United Nations System I: Security and Reconstruction

Question: How effective has the United Nations been in managing global security issues?

Mats Berdal, 'The United Nations Security Council: Ineffective but Indispensable', *Survival*, 45 (2003), 2, 7-31.
 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.
 David Cortright, George A. Lopez, and Linda Gerber-Stellingwerf, 'Sanctions', in Vaughan

Lowe, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh, and Dominik Zaum (eds.), *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Ian Hurd, *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the United Nations Security Council* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

Vaughan Lowe, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh, and Dominik Zaum, 'Introduction', in Vaughan Lowe, Adam Roberts, Jennifer Welsh, and Dominik Zaum (eds.), *The United Nations Security Council and War: The Evolution of Thought and Practice since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

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

Thomas Weiss, David Forsythe, Roger Coate, and Kelly-Kate Pease, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007), Ch. 3-4. **

Week 5: United Nations System II: Development and its Discontents

Question: 'The United Nations has been irrelevant to the international development process'. Discuss.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, 'Reinventing UNCTAD', South Centre Research Papers 7 (Geneva: South Centre, July 2006).

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).

Craig Murphy, *Global Institutions, Marginalization, and Development* (London: Routledge, 2005), Ch. 7.

Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith* (London: Zed Books, 2008), Ch. 4-5.

Robert Rothstein, *Global Bargaining: UNCTAD and the Quest for a New International Economic Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979).

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, Roger Coate, and Kelly-Kate Pease, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2007), Ch. 8-10. **

Week 6 The Politics of Finance and Knowledge: The IMF, World Bank and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Question: What problems of legitimacy are associated with the Bretton Woods twins and how have they addressed critiques of their work?

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

Graham Harrison, 'The World Bank, Governance and Theories of Political Action in Africa', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 7 (2005), 240-260.

- Rianne Mahona and Stephen McBridea, 'Standardizing and Disseminating Knowledge: The Role of the OECD in Global Governance', *European Political Science Review*, 1 (2009), 1, 83-101.
- Daniel L. Nielson and Michael J. Tierney, 'Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform', *International Organization*, 57 (2003), 241-276.
- Catherine Weaver, *Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), Chs. 1-2.
- Lindsay Whitfield (ed), *The Politics of Aid: African Strategies for Dealing with Donors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Ngairé Woods, *The Globalizers: The IMF, the World Bank, and Their Borrowers* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), Chs. 2-6. **
- Ngairé Woods, 'Understanding Pathways Through Financial Crises and the Impact of the IMF – An Introduction', *Global Governance*, 12 (2006), 4: 373-393. (Part of a special issue, including case studies on Turkey, South Africa, Malaysia, Indonesia, India, and Argentina).

Week 7 The Political Economy of Power and Commerce: The World Trade Organisation

Question: 'The WTO is the best international organisation for poor countries to defend their economic interests'. Discuss.

- Kevin P. Gallagher, 'Understanding Developing Country Resistance to the Doha Round', *Review of International Political Economy*, 15 (2008), 1, 62-85.
- Andrew Hurrell and Amrita Narlikar, 'The New Politics of Confrontation: Developing Countries at Cancún and Beyond', *Global Society*, 20 (2006), 4, 415-433.
- Fatoumata Jawara and Aileen Kwa, *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). **
- John Ravenhill, 'Regionalism', in John Ravenhill (ed) *Global Political Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Razeen Sally, 'The End of the Road for the WTO? A Snapshot of International Trade Policy after Cancun', *World Economics*, 5 (2004), 1, 1-14.
- Gregory Shaffer, 'The Challenges of WTO Law: Strategies for Developing Country Adaptation', *World Trade Review*, 5 (2006), 2, 177-198.
- Robert Hunter Wade, 'What Strategies Are Viable for Developing Countries Today? The World Trade Organization and the Shrinking of "Development Space"', *Review of International Political Economy*, 10 (2003), 4, 621-644.

Week 8 Governing the Climate Crisis: The United Nations and Beyond

Question: Why has a global agreement on governing climate change proved so difficult to design?

- Scott Barrett, 'Climate Treaties and the Imperative of Enforcement', in Dieter Helm and Cameron Hepburn (eds), *The Economics and Politics of Climate Change* (Oxford:

- Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Pamela S. Chasek, David Leonard Downie, Janet Welsh Brown, *Global Environmental Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2006), Ch. 2. **
- Dieter Helm, 'Climate Change Policy: Why Has So Little Been Achieved?', in Dieter Helm and Cameron Hepburn (eds), *The Economics and Politics of Climate Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Peter Newell and Harriet A. Bulkeley, *Governing Climate Change* (London: Routledge, 2010).
- Chukwumerije Okereke, 'The Politics of Interstate Climate Negotiations', in Max Boykoff (ed), *The Politics of Climate Change: A Survey* (London: Routledge, 2009).
- Chukwumerije Okereke, Harriet Bulkeley, and Heike Schroeder, 'Conceptualizing Climate Governance Beyond the International Regime', *Global Environmental Politics*, 9 (2009), 1, 58-78.
- Heike Schroeder, 'The History of International Climate Change Politics: Three Decades of Progress, Process and Procrastination', in Max Boykoff (ed), *The Politics of Climate Change: A Survey* (London: Routledge, 2009).