

Political Science / Science Politique

Academic year 2009 - 2010

Course title: The Study of International Politics IV: Multilateral Governance and International Organizations

E562 - Fall - Course - 6 ECTS
Mondays 10:15- 12:00 (Villa Rigot)

Course Description

This course will explore the history and evolution of global institutions of multilateral governance over the course of the past century, continuing up to current debates about the governance of the contemporary international system. Different institutional forms, innovations, and ad hoc arrangements for governing the global system will be surveyed, including both formal and informal institutional arrangements. The course will provide students with an historicization of theories and policy debates about multilateral governance and the changing role of international organisations over the course of the past century, illustrating both contradictory and transcendental elements of different governance arrangements.

> PROFESSOR

Liliana Andonova
Liliana.andonova@graduateinstitute.ch
+ 41 22 908 59 43

Office hours:
00:00 – 00:00
(Rigot 30)

Thomas Biersteker
Thomas.biersteker@graduateinstitute.ch
+41 22 908 58 07

Office hours:
Tuesdays 14:00-16:00
(Rothschild, RT016)

> ASSISTANT

Elena Gadjanova
Elena.gadjanova@graduateinstitute.ch
+ 41 22 908 59 47

Office hours:
Mondays 14:00-16:00
(Rigot 37)

Syllabus

This course will explore the history and evolution of global institutions of multilateral governance over the course of the twentieth century, continuing up to the present day. Different institutional forms, innovations, and ad hoc arrangements for governing the global system will be surveyed.

The course will be divided into four sections. Section I will consider conceptions of global governance and multilateralism. Section II will review the historical evolution of multilateral governance over the course of the 20th century. Section III will assess theoretical perspectives on governance and multilateral institutions in the post WWII era, while the Section IV will address contemporary governance challenges, from institutional adaption to UN reform, the greening of institutions, *ad hoc* arrangements such as “coalitions of the willing,” and the challenges of globalization and security governance.

This course will provide students with an historicization of debates about multilateral governance and the changing role of international organizations over the course of the past century, illustrating both contradictory and transcendental elements of different governance arrangements.

There will be no textbooks assigned. Rather, students will read original texts, sometimes dating from the periods under study. Wherever possible, we will provide web links for the material. Some texts are out of print, however, so we will make extensive use of a specially prepared course packet.

The pedagogical objectives of the course include: (1) sensitizing seminar participants to the contextual setting of theoretical and empirical work on multilateral governance and international organizations, (2) providing a basis for a sophisticated understanding of contemporary theoretical work on multilateral governance and international organizations (and a heightened ability to differentiate what is genuinely new from what is not), (3) and illustrating how different conceptions of governance have emerged over the past century.

Course requirements will consist of active participation in the seminar discussions, taking the lead (along with at least one other student) of a portion of the discussion of one week's readings (posing one or two questions for class discussion), and the completion of two short (8-10 page) papers analyzing some aspects, or recurring themes, in the readings in different sections of the course. The short papers will be due on October 16 and November 27, and a take-home final exam will be due on December 18. Further details about the papers and the exam will be provided in class.

Course Packets: Available at *Imprimerie Minute*.

Seminar sessions:

14 September: Introduction to the course

There will be no formal meeting on this day, since classes do not begin officially until 15 September. Students who intend to enroll in the course, however, will be able to download the syllabus in advance and will be expected to have completed the assigned readings for the discussion at the first session of the seminar on 21 September.

SECTION I: CONCEPTS OF GOVERNANCE AND MULTILATERALISM

21 September: Conceptions of Governance and Multilateralism

James Rosenau, *Governance without Government*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), Chapter 1;

Thomas Biersteker, "Global Governance" in Myriam Dunn Cavelty and Victor Mauer (eds.) *Routledge Companion to Security* (New York and London: Routledge Publishers, 2009)

John Ruggie, *Multilateralism Matters: the Theory and Praxis of an International Forum* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), Chapter 1

Lisa Martin, "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism" in *International Organization*, Vol. 46, No. 4, 1992; pp. 765-792.

SECTION II: THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE IN THE 20TH CENTURY

28 September: The 19th Century Inheritance – Balance of Power as Governance during the Age of Imperialism

Kal Holsti, "Governance without Government: Polyarchy in Nineteenth Century European International Politics," Chapter 2 in Rosenau and Czempiel (eds.) *Governance without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Paul Schroeder, "The nineteenth century system: balance of power or political equilibrium?" *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 15, No 2, April 1989, pp. 135-154

Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion*, Chapters II and III, pp. 15-48, (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910)

Henry Noel Brailsford, *The War of Steel and Gold*, Chapter 1, pp. 9-46, 1916.
<http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi/comment/Brailsford/AP01.htm>

G. Lowes Dickenson, *The International Anarchy, 1904-1914*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1937) Chapter 1, pp. 3-12.

5 October: The Idea of the League of Nations as a Basis for Global Governance

John A. Hobson, *Towards International Government*, (London: George Allen&Unwin, 1916), Chapter 1, pp. 11-27.

Sir Halford Mackinder, *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, (New York: Holt, 1919), Chapter 6, pp. 148-181

Woodrow Wilson, "The Fourteen Points Speech," 1918.
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1918wilson.html>

John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, Chapters I, III, and IV, 1920.
<http://historicaltextarchive.com/keynes/>

Georges Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery of Victory*, (New York: Harcourt, 1930), Chapters XI and XVI, pp. 170-192 and 277-285.

Arnold Wolfers, *Britain and France between the Two Wars*, (London: RS Means, 1966), Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 3-8 and 380-390.

12 October: Learning from the Past to Design the Post WWII Order

Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations*, (New York: Knopf, 1966), Chapters 28 and 29, pp. 459-499.

John Ikenberry, *After Victory*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) Chapters 1 and 6.

John G. Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic System," *International Organization* Vol. 36 No. 2, pp. 379-415

Ian Hurd, *After Anarchy: Legitimacy and Power in the UN Security Council*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), Chapters 1 and 5, pp. 1-25 and 111-136

Eric Helleiner, *States and the Re-emergence of Global Finance* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-50

SECTION III: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNANCE AND MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE POST WWII ERA

19 October: Theories of Hegemonic Stability

Charles P. Kindleberger, *The World in Depression*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), Chapter 14, pp. 291-308

Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), Chapters 1 and 6, pp. 9-49 and 211-244

Stephen D. Krasner (1991), "Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier" *World Politics*, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 336-366

Susan Strange, *States and Markets*, (London: Continuum, 1988) Chapter 2, pp 23-42

Henry Nau, *The Myth of America's Decline*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), Chapter 1, pp. 3-14

26 October: Theories of Regimes and International Cooperation

Stephen Krasner, 1982 *International Regimes*, pp. 1-21, 1981.

Robert Keohane, 1984 *After Hegemony*, Chapters 4-6, pp. 49-109, 1984.

Robert Axelrod, 1986, *The Evolution of Cooperation*, Chapter 4, pp. 73-87.

Kenneth Oye, 1986, *Cooperation Under Anarchy*, Chapter 1, pp. 1-24, 1986. (Reprinted from article in *World Politics*)

Robert Keohane, 1988, "International Institutions: Two Approaches," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 379-396

2 November: Theories of International Society

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), Chapters 1-4, pp. 3-98

Hedley Bull and Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), Chapters 1 and 25.

Christian Reus-Smit, "The Constitutional Structure of International Society and the Nature of Fundamental Institutions" *International Organization* Vol. 51 No. 4, 1997, pp. 555-89. Stable URL:

Andrew Hurrell, *On Global Order: Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Chapter 1, pp 1-24

9 November: Theories of Regional Institutions as a Basis for Multilateral Governance

David Mitrany, "The Functional Approach to World Organization," *International Affairs*, Vol. 24 No. 2, July 1948

Karl Deutsch et. al., "Political Community and the North Atlantic Area," in *International Political Communities*, pp. 1-24, 1957.

Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell, *Regionalism and World Politics: Regional Organizations and International Order*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), Chapter 11, pp. 309-329.

Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutionalist Analysis" *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 29, 1996, pp 123 – 145.

Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), chapter 1.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-Level Governance", *American Political Science Review* Vol. 97 No. 2, 2003, pp 233-43.

16 November: Theories of Organizational Behavior

Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 1998, pp. 3-32

Hawkins, Lake, Nielson, and Tierney, (eds.) *Delegation and Agency in International Organizations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chap. 1, pp. 3-33

Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations", *International Organization*, Vol. 53, No. 4, 1999, pp. 699-732. Stable URL:

Peter Haas and Ernst B. Haas, "Learning to Learn: Improving International Governance," *Global Governance*, Vol. 1 No. 3, 1995

Alastair Iain Johnston, 2001. "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments" *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 45 No. 4, pp 487-516

Henry Farrell and Adrienne Héritier "Contested Competences in Europe: Incomplete Contracts and Interstitial Institutional Change" Special issue of *West European Politics*, Vol. 30 No. 2; 2007, see "Introduction: Contested competences in the European Union," pp. 227 – 243 and "Co-decision and Institutional change", pp. 285 – 300

23 November: Theories of the Role of Transnational Networks in Global Governance

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998) Chapter 1

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change", *International Organization*, Vol. 52 No. 4, 1998

Anne Marie Slaughter, *A New World Order*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), Chapter 1, pp. 1-64

Liliana Anodnova, Michele Betsill and Harriet Bulkeley "Transnational Climate Governance", *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 9 No. 2, pp 52-73

Ole Jacob Sending and Iver B. Neumann "Governance to Governmentality: Analyzing NGOs, States, and Power", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 50, 2006, pp 651–672

30 November: Theories about the Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance

Claire Cutler, Virginia Hauffler, and Tony Porter, *Private Authority and International Affairs* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), Chapter 1, pp 3-30

Rodney Hall and Thomas Biersteker, *The Emergence of Private Authority in Global Governance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), Chapter 1, pp 3-22 and Chapter 10, pp 203-222

John Gerard Ruggie, "Reconstituting the Global Public Domain: Issues, Actors, and Practices" A Working Paper of the Corporate Social Responsibility Initiative, Harvard University. Available at: http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/m-rcbg/CSRI/publications/workingpaper_6_ruggie.pdf

Liliana Andonova, "International Organizations Inc. - Patterns of Environmental Partnerships" In Biermann et. al. *International Organizations in Global Environmental Governance* (London: Routledge, 2009)

SECTION IV: CONTEMPORARY GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES

7 December: Institutional Adaptation or Institutional Redesign?

Paul Kennedy, *The Parliament of Man*, (New York: Vintage, 2007), Chapter 8, pp. 243-280

Thomas Weiss, *What's Wrong with the UN and How to Fix It* (New York: Polity Press, 2008), Chapter 1

Peter M. Haas "Addressing the Global Governance Deficit", *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol. 4 No 4, 2004, pp. 1-15.

James Lindsay and Ivo Daalder, *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*, (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 2001), Chapters 1 and 12

Charlotte Ku and Paul F. Diehl, "Filling In the Gaps: Extrasystemic Mechanisms for Addressing Imbalances Between the International Legal Operating System and the Normative System" *Global Governance*, Vol. 12, 2006, p. 161-83

Daniel Drezner, "The Viscosity of Global Governance: When is Forum-Shopping Expensive?" (Unpublished paper)

14 December: The Challenges of Globalization and Security Governance

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, "Introduction," In Nye, J and Donahue, J., eds. *Governance in a Globalizing World* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2000)

Devesh Kapur, "The Changing Anatomy of Governance of the World Bank" in Pincus, Jonathan R. and Jeffrey A. Winters, *Reinventing the World Bank* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 54-79

Tamar Gutner, "Explaining the Gaps between Mandate and Performance: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform", *Global Environmental Politics* Vol. 5 No. 2, 2005, p. 10-37

Ngairé Woods, *From Intervention to Cooperation: Reforming the IMF and the World Bank* (London: Progressive Governance, 2008)

Dani Rodrik, "How to Save Globalization from its Cheerleaders July 2007" Working paper, Kennedy School of Government, link: <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~drodrik/Saving%20globalization.pdf>
Also published as "Saving Globalization from its Cheerleaders," *Journal of International Trade and Diplomacy*, Vol. 1 No. 2, Fall 2007.

Christopher Daase and Cornelius Friesendorf, *Rethinking Security Governance: The Problem of Unintended Consequences*, (London: Routledge, 2007), Chapter 1