#### **INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (8752.715)**

### Syllabus Spring, 2023

## International Cooperation Programme Graduate School of International Studies Seoul National University

Instructor: Professor Taekyoon Kim Classroom: TBA Email: <u>oxonian07@snu.ac.kr</u> Class hours: Tuesday 14:00 – 15:00 Office hours: Friday 10:00 – 12:00 TA: Kyeongmin Kyeong (kyeongmk@snu.ac.kr)

#### **Outline of the Course**

This course is designed to understand the formation of intergovernmental organizations institutionalizing cooperation among states at the international level. The course will explore their historical origins, key organizational functions, the intersection between the international and domestic political forces that impact their operations and effective performances. We will begin by touching on theoretical disputes on the practical validity of international organizations (IOs) between neo-realism and neo-liberal institutionalism. In the first part of the course, we will continue to review the history and activities of IOs by taking UN, IMF, World Bank, WTO, regional organizations, global civil society, etc. The second part will explain varieties of issue areas such as human rights, development cooperation, economic statecraft, democratic supports, and so forth through the filter of IOs.

#### Honor code

You are expected to be thoroughly familiar with the Honor Code, which provides guidance on when citation is required. Essentially, all quotations must be set off as such and attributed; citations should be used whenever material is derived from another source; and students who present words or ideas from another source as their own in papers or exams by failing to give proper attribution will receive a failing grade in the class, at a minimum. Please do not plagiarize your own work: work that has been prepared for a purpose other than this class may not be submitted to fulfill class requirements and doing so is a violation of the Honor Code. If you have any questions about plagiarism or proper citation practices please do not hesitate to ask.

#### Participation

Stimulating and thoughtful class discussion is a public good that is only possible if students come to class and are prepared. You are expected to attend class, to arrive on

time, and to come to class prepared to engage in class discussion by doing the assigned reading, noting the key arguments, and identifying and thinking about discussion questions and raising questions of your own. You should be prepared to be called upon at random and asked to introduce a reading by outlining its main discussion points.

## Grading

- Mid-term exam (30%)
- Weekly propositions (2 per week) (15%)
- Final exam (35%)
- Presentation (20%)

• Class participation and attendance are a basic requirement that all students enrolled in this course are expected to meet.

## Mid-term & Final Examinations

Both mid-term and final examinations will be conducted in a form of essay writing, consisting of one compulsory (50%) and two optional questions (25% per each). 6 questions will be provided as optional; thus, students are able to choose the two optional questions out of 6.

### Weakly Proposition

In order to encourage the active participation of students in seminar discussion, all students are required to submit two propositions (or arguments) which are of greatest importance as discussion topics. Everyone is asked to post a memo with two propositions and reasons why they are selected on the basis of what you learn from the readings on the ETL site, no later than 10 pm on Monday, each week.

## **Basic References**

- Karns, Margaret P., Karen A. Mingst, and Kendall W. Stiles, *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2015).
- Claude, Inis L., *Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization* (New York: Random House, 1971).

#### Presentation

All students are required to make verbal presentations, at least once, on a particular session topic. You can present your own analytical points on the basis of the required and recommended readings, with the particular reference to case studies. The number of presentations depends on how many students will be enrolled, so that the instructor will adjust it after the first week.

#### **Individual Exceptions**

In the interest of fairness to all students, no individual exceptions to the rules stated in this syllabus will be granted in principle.

#### **Course Readings**

All sessions will be conducted in the combined fashion of instructor's lecture, students' presentation, and class discussions which invite all students enrolled in this course. Both lecture and presentations will be provided by PPTs.

#### WEEK 1 (3/7): INTRODUCTION AND COURSE OUTLINE

Powell, Robert, "Review: Anarchy in International Relations Theory: The Neorealist-Neoliberal Debate," *International Organization* 48(2), 1994.

## [PART I] THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

## WEEK 2 (3/14): THE THEORETICAL ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

#### **Required Readings:**

- Abbot, Kenneth and Ducan Snidal, "Why States Act through Formal Organizations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, 1998.
- Mearsheimer, John, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19(3), 1994/1995.
- Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations," International Organization 53, 1999.

#### **Recommended Readings:**

- Grant, Ruth W. and Robert O. Keohane, "Accountability and Abuses of Power in World Politics," *American Political Science Review* 99(1), 2005.
- Downs, George W., David M. Rocke and Peter N. Barsoom, "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50(3), 1996.

## WEEK 3 (3/21): FAILURE AND REFORMS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

### **Required Readings:**

- Voeten, Eric, "Why No UN Security Council Reform? Lessons for and from Institutionalist Theory," in Dimitris Bourantonis, Kostas Ifantis, and Panayotis Tsakonas (eds.), *Multilateralism and Security Institutions in the Era of Globalization* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).
- Voeten, Eric, "Some Comments on UN Charter Reform," in Ernesto Zedillo (ed), *Reforming the United Nations for Peace and Security Proceedings of a Workshop to Analyze the Report of High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change* (New Haven: Yale Center for the Study of Globalization, 2005).
- Rueda-Sabater, Enrique, Vijaya Ramachandran, and Robin Kraft, "A Fresh Look at Global Governance: Exploring Objectives Criteria for Representation," Working

Paper 160, Center for Global Development, 2009.

https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1421065\_file\_Rueda\_Sabater\_Ramachan dran\_Kraft\_Global\_Governance.pdf

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Weiss, Thomas G., "Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and Actual Challenges," *Third World Quarterly* 21(5), 2000.

- Buira, Ariel (ed), *Reforming the Governance of the IMF and World Bank* (London: Anthem Press, 2006).
- Woods, Ngaire, *Governing the Global Economy: Strengthening Multilateral Institutions* (New York: International Peace Institute, 2008).

#### WEEK 4 (3/28): THE UNITED NATIONS SYTEM

#### **Required Readings:**

- Mingst, Karen A., Margaret P. Karns, and Alynna J. Lyon, *The United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2022), Ch, 2, 3, 9.
- Weiss, Thomas G., "The Illusion of UN Security Council Reform," *The Washington Quarterly* 26(4), 2003.
- Vreeland, James Raymond and Axel Dreher, *The Political Economy of the United Nations Security Council: Money and Influence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), Ch. 1, 7.

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Claude, Inis L., Swords into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization (New York: Random House, 1971).

Vreeland and Dreher, The Political Economy of the United Nations Security Council, Ch. 5.

Thakur, Ramesh, *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), Part I, IV.

## WEEK 5 (4/4): BRETTON WOODS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: WORLD BANK, IMF, AND WTO

#### **Required Readings:**

- Buira, Ariel (ed), *Reforming the Governance of the IMF and World Bank* (London: Anthem Press, 2006), Ch, 2, 3, 4, 5.
- Woods, Ngaire, "Making the IMF and the World Bank More Accountable," *International Affairs* 77(1), 2001.
- IMF, Reform of Quota and Voice in the International Monetary Fund—Report of the Executive Board to the Board of Governors (Washington, D.C.: IMF, 2008). <u>https://www.imf.org/external/np/pp/eng/2008/032108.pdf</u>
- Peet, Richard, *Unholy Trinity: The IMF, World Bank and WTO* (London: Zed Books, 2009), Ch. 6.

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Vreeland, James Raymond, *The International Monetary Fund: Politics of Conditional Lending* (New York: Routledge, 2007), Ch. 1, 6.

Thacker, Strom C., "The High Politics of IMF Lending," World Politics 52(1), 1999.

# WEEK 6 (4/11): REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS?

### **Required Readings:**

- Lim, Daniel Yew Mao and James Raymond Vreeland, "Regional Organizations and International Politics: Japanese Influence over the Asian Development Bank and the UN Security Council," *World Politics* 65(1), 2013.
- Pevehouse, John C., *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Ch. 2.
- Kilby, Christopher, "Donor Influence in Multilateral Development Banks: The Case of the Asian Development Bank," *Review of International Organizations* 1(2), 2006.

### **Recommended Readings:**

Vinokurov, Evgeny and Alexander Libman, *Re-Evaluating Regional Organizations: Behind the Smokescreen of Official Mandates* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017).

# WEEK 7 (4/18): GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY AS INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS?

### **Required Readings:**

- Lewis, David, *Non-Governmental Organizations and Development* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), ch. 1.
- Deacon, Bob, Global Social Policy & Governance, ch. 5.
- Charnovitz, Steve, "Accountability of Non-Governmental Organizations in Global Governance," in Lisa Jordan and Peter Van Tuijl (eds.), *NGO Accountability: Politics, Principles and Innovations* (London: Earthscan, 2007).
- Bebbington, Anthony and Roger Riddell, "The Direct Funding of Southern NGOs by Donors: New Agendas and Old Problems," *Journal of International Development* 7(6), 1995.
- Scholte, Jan Aart, "Civil Society and Democratically Accountable Global Governance," in David Held and Mathias Koenig-Archibugi (eds.), *Global Governance and Public Accountability* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

#### **Recommended Readings:**

- Bano, Masooda, "Dangerous Correlations: Aid's Impact on NGOs' Performance and Ability to Mobilize Members in Pakistan," *World Development* 36(11), 2008.
- Farrington, John, David Lewis, S. Satish and Aurea Miclat-Teves (eds.), Non-Governmental Organizations and the State in Asia: Rethinking Roles in Sustainable Agricultural Development (London: Routledge, 1993), ch. 2.

## WEEK 8 (4/25): MID-TERM EXAMINATION

# [PART II] PRACTICAL PERSPECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

## WEEK 9 (5/2): INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

## **Required Readings:**

- Hollyer, James R. and B. Peter Rosendoff, "Why Do Authoritarian Regimes Sign the Convention Against Torture? Signaling, Domestic Politics and Non-Compliance," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 6, 2011.
- Keith, Linda Camp, "The United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: Does It Make a Difference in Human Rights Behaviour?" *Journal of Peace Research* 36, 1999.
- Wotipka, C. M. and Kiyo Tsutsui, "Global Human Rights and State Sovereignty: Nation-States' Ratifications of International Human Rights Treaties, 1965-2001," *Sociological Forum* 23(4), 2008.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie Marie and Kiyo Tsutsui, "Justice Lost! The Failure of International Human Rights Law to Matter Where Needed Most," *Journal of Peace Research* 44(4), 2007.

### **Recommended Readings:**

- Vreeland, James Paymond, "Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture," *International Organization* 62(1), 2008.
- Lebovic, James and Eric Voeten, "The Politics of Shame: The Condemnation of Country Human Rights Practices in the UNHRC," *International Studies Quarterly* 50(4), 2006.
- Neumayer, Eric, "Do International Human Rights Treaties Improve Respect for Human Rights?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(6), 2005.
- Goodliffe, Jay and Darren Hawkins, "Explaining Commitment: States and the Convention against Torture," *Journal of Politics* 68(2), 2006.
- Hathaway, Oona A., "Do Human Rights Treaties Make a Difference?" *The Yale Law Journal* 111(8), 2002.

# WEEK 10 (5/9): INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

## **Required Readings:**

- Woods, Ngaire, "Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Development Assistance," *International Affairs* 84(6), 2008.
- Andersen, Thomas Barnebeck, Henrik Hansen, and Thomas Markussen, "US Politics and World Bank IDA-lending," *Journal of Development Studies* 42(5), 2006.
- Uvin, Peter, *Human Rights and Development* (Bloomfield, Kumarian Press, 2004), ch. 1, 2, 6.

## **Recommended Readings:**

Sen, Amartya, Development as Freedom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Pogge, Thomas (ed.), *Freedom from Poverty as a Human Right* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), ch, 2. 8.

## WEEK 11 (5/16): INTERNATOINAL ORGANIZATIONS AND ECONOMIC STATECRAFT

#### **Required Readings:**

- Busch, Marc L., "Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and Dispute Settlement in International Trade," *International Organization* 61(4), 2007.
- Busch, Marc L. and Eric Reinhardt, "Developing Countries and GATT/WTO Dispute Settlement," *Journal of World Trade* 37(4), 2003.
- McGillivray, Fiona, "Democratizing the World Trade Organization," Hoover Institution Policy Paper No. 105, 2000.

#### **Recommended Readings:**

- Minkler, Lanse (ed.), *The State of Economic and Social Human Rights: A Global Overview* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), ch. 12.
- Pelc, Krzysztof J., "Constraining Coercion? Legitimacy and its Role in US Trade Policy, 1975-2000," *International Organization* 64(1), 2010.
- Busch, Marc L. and Eric Reinhardt, "Three's a Crowd: Third Parties and WTO Dispute Settlement," *World Politics* 58(3), 2006.

# WEEK 12 (5/23): INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND DEMOCRACY PROMOTION

#### **Required Readings:**

- Pevehouse, John C., "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization," *International Organization* 56(3), 2002.
- Alcaniz, Isabella, "Democratization and Multilateral Security," *World Politics* 64(2), 2012.

Bearce, David H. and Stacy Bondanella, "Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization and Member-State Interest Convergence," *International Organization* 61(4), 2007.

#### **Recommended Readings:**

- Pevehouse, John C., *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink, "International Norm Dynamics, and Political Change," *International Organization* 52(4), 1998.

# WEEK 13 (5/30): INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CLIMATE CHANGE

#### **Required Readings:**

Biniaz, Susan, "Common But Differentiated Responsibilities: Punctuation and 30 Other

Ways Negotiations Have Resolved Issues in the International Climate Change Regime," *Michigan Journal of Environmental & Administrative Law* 6(1), 2016.

- Gupta, Joyeeta, *The History of Global Climate Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), Ch. 8, 9.
- Rajamani, Lavanya, "Ambition and Differentiation in the 2015 Paris Agreement: Interpretative Possibilities and Underlying Politics," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 65(2), 2016.

### **Recommended Readings:**

Gupta, The History of Global Climate Governance, Part 2.

## WEEK 14 (6/6): NATIONAL MEMORIAL DAY (NO CLASS)

#### WEEK15 (6/13): FINAL EXAMINATION