INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Dartmouth College SPRING 2013 DAVID A. REZVANI

TIME AND LOCATION

Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays 12:30-1:35pm

Location: TBA

CONTACT DETAILS

Lecturer: David A. Rezvani, DPhil

Office Hours: Mondays and Fridays 2:50-4:20pm and by appointment, Silsby 304A

E-Mail: David.Rezvani@dartmouth.edu

SYNOPSIS

This course provides an introduction to structures, frameworks, and challenges of international institutions. The class will critically examine the emergence of territorially-sovereign units such as states, partially independent territories, and federations. And it will investigate problems of international injustice, world government, environmental degradation, disputes over global trade, and the rise and fall of empires. The course will also examine attempts at regional economic integration for Europe after the Second World War as well as various regimes of collective security such as the United Nations.

COURSE WORK AND GRADING

The final grade for this course will be based on a research paper abstract (worth 5%), a midterm exam (worth 20%), a research paper (worth 30%), a final exam (worth 30%), and participation (worth 15%).

- The research paper abstract is due at the beginning of class on (4/12).
- The midterm will take place on (4/19).
- Research paper presentations will take place on (5/8 and 5/10)
- A draft copy of the research paper is due on (5/8).
- The final research paper is due on (5/24).
- The final exam will take place on (6/2) at 3:00pm.

Late assignments will be marked down by one-third of a grade (i.e. from A- to B+) for every day they are late, with the exception of extraordinary reasons. Class attendance is obligatory for the course. Students are strongly encouraged to have studied the required readings beforehand and actively participate in the class. The participation grade will be a measure of the research presentations toward the end of the class and especially the readings-enriched quantity and quality of the comments made in class discussion.

The research paper. The paper should at the outset very clearly state a central argument (thesis) in reaction to material in the lecture or the readings and then draw on evidence to reinforce the thesis. Students will need to read materials that are of interest to them from both the required and suggested readings to gain ideas of possible paper topics. Students are also encouraged to obtain scholarly material outside of the required and suggested readings using sources such as Google Scholar. In response to the scholarly debates and arguments in the literature, you will agree or disagree with the information you encounter. The assignment then requires you to set forth your own ideas of how you believe policies and concepts should be formulated or reformulated. Ultimately you will need to take a position and make an argument that is clear, enriched by the readings, and backed up with evidence. Students will want to express all details, evidence, and facts only as they serve the purposes of their thesis and its supporting sub-arguments—unlike a news or book report that seeks merely to communicate facts and details. In other words, you are discouraged from providing extensive background information or summaries of other works. Instead, such details should be used as they reinforce the arguments as they are made throughout the paper. The quality of your argumentation will also be greatly strengthened by thinking of the strongest counterarguments to your thesis and refuting them. You should begin work on your research paper as early as possible in the term. Papers should be between 10-11 pages in length.

Helpful advice for creating excellent research papers is also clearly described in the Van Evera reading on Blackboard.

Before the research papers are due, you are expected to hand in **a research paper abstract** (for the due date see above). This assignment will allow you to receive feedback well before your research paper is due later in the term. This assignment needs to include the title of your research paper (which describes the topic). It will also need an abstract of 150 words or less (which articulates the central argument as well as at least one counterargument that will be refuted by your research paper). Lastly, it will need to provide a list of at least five scholarly sources that the research paper will draw on.

Research Paper Presentations. Toward the end of class, each student will need to have completed a preliminary draft of their research paper and present its key arguments and evidence in 5-7 minute presentations. As with the research papers, students are discouraged from providing background information and encouraged to instead focus on articulating the paper's key arguments as well as refuting counterarguments. Presentations can also be improved through the use of visual aids such as handouts, Power Point slides, or writing on the chalkboard. Students who use Power Point are also encouraged to come 5-10 minutes before the start of the class to set up their presentation slides on the class computer. Practicing your presentation beforehand will also assist with your delivery. All students within the class are encouraged to be an active audience and carefully assess the presenter's arguments, proffering their opinions and reactions after the talk for the presenter's response. Students can then use such feedback for further revisions before papers are due.

All assignments will be assessed according to the quality of critical analysis, creativity, clarity, and use of theoretical and empirical support from the literature. Although you are expected to draw on the scholarly literature to enrich the arguments in your papers, the sources that you use must be properly cited to avoid the dangers of plagiarism. Plagiarism occurs when an author uses the ideas of another source without proper citations and thereby falsely makes it seem as if it is their own work. Any established citation style will be sufficient as long as it is used consistently throughout the paper. For citation styles you can examine scholarly articles and use them as a model. All papers are expected to be in scholarly format, with a bibliography, title, and thesis statement. The research paper should also have an introduction, body, and conclusion. The papers should be stapled, double-spaced, and have 1.25" margins with 12-point script. Page numbers should also be clearly noted.

If you have questions regarding your exams, assignments, or other aspects of the course, please do not hesitate to ask and/or see me at my office hours. For additional peer tutorial assistance with writing, research, and multimedia projects, students may use RWIT, the Student Center for Research, Writing, and Information Technology. To make appointments go to RWIT's appointment scheduler at http://www.dartmouth.edu/~rwit, or drop by the Center in 183 Baker-Berry Library, Level One (next to the Reference area) from 4 to 6 pm and 7 to 10 pm, Sundays through Thursdays.

COURSE TEXTS AND READINGS

Among the required material for the course are two books:

- Peter Singer, One World: The Ethics of Globalization (Yale University Press, 2002).
- Brent Nelson and Alexander Stubb, The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of Integration (3rd edition – available from Amazon.com)

These books, which are marked on the syllabus with a star symbol (*), are available for purchase at the college bookstore, Barnes and Noble, or Amazon.com. The remainder of the required readings are available on Blackboard. Students are also generally encouraged to keep up with current events, which can improve the quality of discussion and papers. Four publications are particularly good for current events information: Foreign Affairs, The Economist, The New York Times, and The Washington Post.

I. SOVEREIGN UNITS AND STRUCTURE

Introduction (3/25)

Required Readings:

No Assignment

Sovereignty, Nationalism, and the State (3/27 and 3/29)

Required Readings:

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), Ch. 10.

Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), Ch. 1.

Suggested Readings (Sovereignty):

Andreas Osiander (2001), "Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Westphalian Myth," International Organization, 55(2): 251-288.

Alan James, Sovereign Statehood: The Basis of International Society (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986).

R. B. J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Rodney Bruce Hall, *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

Jens Bartleson, A Genealogy of Sovereignty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

F.H. Hinsley. Sovereignty, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Barkin and Cronin (fn. 60); Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, eds., *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Robert O. Keohane, "Sovereignty, Interdependence, and International Institutions," in Linda B. Miller and Michael Joseph Smith *eds., Ideas and Ideals: Essays on Politics in Honor of Stanley Hoffmann* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993).

Stephen Krasner, Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Robert Jackson, ed. Sovereignty at the Millennium (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999).

Daniel Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Michael Hechter, Containing Nationalism, Oxford University Press, Ch. 1.

Julie Marie Bunck and Michael Ross Fowler (1994), "The Chunk and Basket Theories of Sovereignty," in Kenneth W. Thompson, ed., *Community, Diversity, and a New World Order: Essays in Honor of Inis L. Claude, Jr.*, Lanham: University Press of America, pp. 137-144.

Suggested Readings (Nationalism):

Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). (Especially pp. 14-45, 80-100.)

Rogers Brubaker, Nationalism Reframed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

John Hall, ed., *The State of the Nation: Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995). David Miller, *On Nationality* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Sources of Modern State Emergence (4/1 and 4/3)

Required Readings:

Roeder, Philip G. 2007. Where Nation-States Come From: Institutional Change in the Age of Nationalism. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Ch. 1.

Suggested Readings:

Charles Tilly, Coercion, Capital, and European States: AD 990-1990, (Basil Blackwell 1990), Ch. 1 & 3.

Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton Univ. Press,1994),Ch. 2 & 5 only.

Charles Tilly, "Reflections on the History of European State-Making," in Charles Tilly, *The Formation of National States In Western Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1975), 3-84.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-level Governance," American Political Science Review 97:2 (2003): 233-43.

Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970).

Gabriel A. Almond, "The Return to the State," American Political Science Review 82(3) (1988): 853-74.

Theda Skocpol, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research, in Evans, Peter R., Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3-37.

The Downfall of Empires and Post-Imperial State Emergence (4/5 and 4/8)

Readings:

Tilly, Charles. 1997. How Empires End. In *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building*, edited by K. Barkey and M. von Hagen. Boulder, CO, Westview.

Motyl, Alexander J. 1997. Thinking About Empire. In *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building*, edited by K. Barkey and M. von Hagen. Boulder, CO, Westview.

David A. Rezvani, "False Self-Determination by Design: The 'Sham-Federacy' Phenomenon". (Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, Chicago, 2007 [Updated 2012]).

Suggested Readings:

Spruyt, Hendrik. 2005. *Ending Empire: Contested Sovereignty and Territorial Partition*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, For assigned readings see Blackboard.

Frieden, Jeffrey 1994, "International Investment and Colonial Control: A New Interpretation," *International Organization* 48(4): 559-593.

Doyle, Michael. Empires (See especially, pp. 19-47, 123-138, and 339-349.)

Keene, Edward. Beyond the Anarchical Society, pp. 60-96.

Keyder, Caglar, "The Ottoman Empire," in Karen Barkey and Mark Von Hagen, eds., *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building*, pp. 30-44.

Von Hagen, Mark, "The Russian Empire," in Karen Barkey and Mark Von Hagen, eds., *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building*, pp. 58-72.

Strang, David. 1991. "Anomaly and Commonplace in European Political Expansion: Realist and Institutional Accounts," *International Organization* 45: 145-162.

Lake, David A. "The Rise, Fall, and Future of the Russian Empire" in Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds., The End of Empire? The Transformation of the USSR in Comparative Perspective, pp. 30-62.

Kahler, Miles. "Empires, Neo-Empires, and Political Change: The British and French Experience" in Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, eds., *The End of Empire? The Transformation of the USSR in Comparative Perspective*, pp. 286-312.

International Structure and Neo-Medievalism (4/10 and 4/12) ****Research Paper Abstract Due 4/12***

- Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (New York: Columbia University Press,* 1977), Ch. 1-2, 254-276.
- David A. Rezvani, "System Amendment and Unit Diversification: The Emergence of "Federacy" in International Politics." (Working Paper, Harvard University, March 2006), 1-31.

Suggested Readings:

- Gilpin, Robert. 1981. War and Change in World Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 39-42. Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. Theory of International Politics (New York: Random House,), Ch. 5.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. 1989. International Structure and International Transformation: Space, Time, and Method, in Ernest-Otto Czempiel and James N. Rosenau, eds., *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 21-35.
- Ruggie, John Gerard. 1993. Territoriality and beyond: problematizing modernity in international relations. *International Organization* 47 (1).
- Wendt, Alexander and Raymond Duvall. 1989. Institutions and International Order, in Ernst Czempiel and James Rosenau, eds., *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 51-73.
- Dessler, David. 1989. What's at Stake in the Agent-Structure Debate? International Organization 43(3): 441-73.

Suggested Readings (Neo-Medievalism):

- J. Samuel Barkin and Bruce Cronin, "The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations," *International Organization* 48 (1) (1994), 107-130.
- Phillip Cerny, "Neomedievalism, civil war and the new security dilemma: globalization as durable disorder," *Civil Wars* 1 (1) (1998), 36-64.
- Ronald Deibert, "Exorcismus Theoriae: Pragmatism, Metaphors and the Return of the Medieval in IR Theory," European Journal of International Relations 3 (2) (1997), 167-192.
- Ronnie Lipschutz, "Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society," *Millennium, Journal of International Studies* 21 (3) (1992), 389-420.
- Ole Wæver, "Europe, State and Nation in the New Middle Ages," in Jaap de Wilde and Håkan Wiberg ed., Organized Anarchy in Europe: The Role of Intergovernmental Organization (London and New York: Tauris, 1996), 107-128.
- Ole Wæver, "After Neo-Medievalism: Imperial Metaphors for European Security," in Peter Burgess ed., *Cultural Politics and Political Culture in Postmodern Europe* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1997), 321-363.
- Jan Zielonka, "How Enlarged Borders will Reshape the European Union," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 39 (3) (2001), 507-536.

Global Governance? (4/15 and 4/17)

Readings:

Tamir, Yael . "Who's Afraid of the Global State".

Mearsheimer, John J., "The False Promise of International Institutions" International Security 19 (3): 5-49.

Suggested Readings:

Inis L. Claude, Swords into Plow Shares, 4th ed. (McGraw Hill, 1956/1984), pp. 1-82.

Walter Dorn, The League Covenant and the UN Charter: A Side-By-Side (Full Text) Comparison, Available at: http://www.rmc.ca/academic/gradrech/UNCharter-LeagueCov.doc

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, "On Compliance." *International Organization* 47 (1993), pp. 175-205.

- Andrew Moravcsik, "A New Statecraft? Supranational Entrepreneurs and International Cooperation." *International Organization* 53 (1999), pp. 267-306.
- Cheryl Shanks, Harold Jacobson, and Jeffrey Kaplan, "Inertia and Change in the Constellation of International Governmental Organizations, 1981-1992." *International Organization* 50 (1996), pp. 593-628.
- George Downs, David Rocke, and Peter Barsoom, "Is the Good News about Compliance Good News about Cooperation?" *International Organization* 50 (1996), pp. 379-406.
- George Downs, David Rocke, and Peter Barsoom, "Managing the Evolution of Multilateralism." *International Organization* 52 (1998), pp. 397-420.
- James March and Johan Olsen, "The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders." *International Organization* 52 (1998), pp. 943-969.
- Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organization." *International Organization* 53 (1999), pp. 699-732.

Midterm Exam (4/19)

II. GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Forging Stability out of Chaos and the Emergence of the European Union (4/22 and 4/24)

Required Readings:

Dinan, Desmond. 2005. *An Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration*, 3rd edition, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, Introduction and Chapter 1.

- * Robert Schuman, "The Schuman Declaration," in Brent Nelson and Alexander Stubbs, *Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration.*
- * Winston Churchill, "A Tragedy of Europe," in Brent Nelson and Alexander Stubbs, *Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*.
- Alan C. Lamborn and Joseph Lepgold, *World Politics into the 21st Century: Unique Contexts, Enduring Patterns* (Prentice-Hall, 2003), pp. 112-119.

Krugman, Paul. 2011. "Can Europe be Saved?" The New York Times, January 12.

Suggested Readings:

Europa Website "Europe in 12 Lessons" http://europa.eu.int/abc/12lessons/index_en.htm

McCormick, J. Understanding the European Union. (2nd edition) Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2002.

A. Stone Sweet and T. Burnell 'Constructing a Supranational Constitution: Dispute Resolution and Governance in the European Community' *American political Science Review* (92) 1998 63-81

Cini, M (ed.) European Union Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Bromley, S. (ed.) Governing the European Union. London: Sage, 2001.

Wallace, H. & Wallace, W. *Policy-Making in the European Union*. (4th edition) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Richardson, J. (ed.) *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*. (2nd edition) London: Routledge, 2001 G. Mancini 'The Making of a Constitution for Europe' *Common Market Law Review* (26) 1989

Nugent N., The Government and Politics of the European Union, 4th edition, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.

Dinan D., Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration, 2nd edition, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.

Arter, D. The Politics of European Integration in the Twentieth Century (1993)

Duff, A., Pinder, J. & Pryce, R. (eds.), *Maastricht and Beyond: Building the European Union*, London: Routledge, 1994.

Causes of European Integration (4/26 and 4/29)

Required Readings:

- * Ernst B. Haas, "The Uniting of Europe," in Nelson and Stubbs.
- * Gary Marks, and Liesbet Hooghe, "Multi-level Governance in the European Union" in Nelson and Stubbs.
- * Andrew Moravsik, "The Choice for Europe" in Nelson and Stubbs.

Suggested Readings:

Rosamond, Ben. Theories of European Integration (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), Ch. 4 and 6.

Wiener, Antje and Diez, Thomas (eds) (2003), *European Integration Theory: Past, Present and Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Nelsen, B. & Stubb, B. (eds). *European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995.

George, Stephen. & Bache, Ian. *Politics in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, Part I. Tranholm-Mikkelsen J 1991, 'Neofunctionalism: obstinate or obsolete? A reappraisal in the light of the new dynamism of the European Community,' *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20 (1), pp. 11-25.

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

Pierson, Paul 1996, 'The path to European integration: a historical insitutionalist analysis', *Comparative Political Studies* 29 (2), pp. 123-163

Burley, Anne-Marie and Mattli, Walter 1993, 'Europe before the Court: A political theory of legal integration', *International Organization* 47 (1), 41-76.

United Nations Reform (5/1).

Required Readings:

Glennon, Michael L. "Why the Security Council Failed" Foreign Affairs 82 (3): 16-35.

Luck, Edward C., Anne-Marie Slaughter, Ian Hurd, "Stayin' Alive: The Rumors of the UN's Death Have Been Exaggerated" *Foreign Affairs* 82 (4): 201-205.

International Public Goods and Collective Action Problems (5/3 and 5/6).

Required Readings:

Mancur Olson, The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, 1971), pp. 1-22, 33-65.

Stephen Krasner "State Power and the Structure of the International Trading System",3 World Politics Vol. 28:3 (April 1976), pp. 317-43.

Research Paper Presentations (5/8 and 5/10)
****Draft Copy of Research Paper Due on 5/8***

International Injustice and Visions of Economic Redistribution (5/13 and 5/15)

Required Readings:

* Singer, Peter. 2002. One World, pp.1-13, 106-120, 127- 137, 144-153, 176-201.

Doyle, Michael, "One World, Many Peoples: International Justice in John Rawls's *The Law of Peoples*" *Perspectives on Politics* 4(1): 109-120.

Suggested Readings:

Rawls, John. 1999. *A theory of justice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Selections on international justice: 3-19, 52-53, 251-58, 266-268, 287-299, 331-35.

Beitz, Charles R. 1979. Political Theory and International Relations. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Singer, Peter. 1972. Famine, Affluence, and Morality. Philosophy & Public Affairs 1 (3):229-243.

Rawls, John. 1999. *The law of peoples; with, The idea of public reason revisited.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Beitz, Charles R. 2000. Rawls's Law of Peoples. Ethics 110 (4):669-696.

Buchanan, Allen. 2000. Rawls's Law of Peoples: Rules for a Vanished Westphalian World. *Ethics* 110 (4):697-721.

Pogge, Thomas. 2002. World poverty and human rights: cosmopolitan responsibilities and reforms. Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity.

Governing the Global Environment (5/17)

Required Readings:

* Singer, Peter. 2002. One World, Ch. 2.

The World Trade Organization (5/20).

Required Readings:

Jagdish Bhagwati, "After Seattle: Free Trade and the WTO," *International Affairs* Vol. 77:1 (Jan. 2001), pp. 15-29.

* Singer, Peter. 2002. One World, Ch. 3.

Suggested Readings (WTO):

Steinberg, Richard. 2002. In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the in the GATT/WTO. *International Organization* 56 (2):339-74.

Ozden, Caglar, and Eric Reinhardt. 2002. The Perversity of Preferences: GSP and Developing Countries Trade Policies, 1976-2000. *World Bank Working Papers* 2955.

Subramanian, Arvind, and Shang-Jin Wei. 2003. The WTO Promotes Trade, Strongly but Unevenly. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper* (10024).

Hoekman, Bernard. 2002. Economic Development and the WTO After Doha. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper* (2851).

Mattoo, Aaditya, and Arvind Subramanian. 2004. The WTO and the Poorest Countries: The Stark Reality. *IMF* Working Paper No. 04/81.

The International Monetary Fund (5/22).

Required Readings:

Joseph Stiglitz, "What I Learned at the World Economic Crisis," The New Republic, April 2000. Kenneth Rogoff, "The IMF Strikes Back" Foreign Policy, (Jan-Feb 2003).

GOVT 50 International Institutions

The World Bank (5/24).
****Final Research Paper Due today***

Red	uire	d Re	adin	as:

Sebastian Mallaby, "Saving the World Bank," Foreign Affairs, May/June 2005
Jessica Einhorn, "Reforming the World Bank", Foreign Affairs, January/February 2006, pp. 17-22.

Memorial Day Holiday (5/27)

Review and Reflections (5/29)

Class 15, Final Exam on (6/2) at 3:00pm (Location: Same room as regular class).