Professor Louis W. Pauly
Email: louis.pauly@utoronto.ca
Office hours: Sign up on Quercus
Office: Sid Smith, 3060

TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS III:
International Organization
POL466H1S / POL2207HS
Winter/Spring 2024
Wednesday 1:00pm - 3:00pm, TF103 (Teefy Hall, St. Mike's)

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 launched a novel effort to organize and govern a peaceful and prosperous world. In fact, some of its evolving mandate developed from past initiatives and were passed on to the United Nations after World War II. Since then, there has been an explosion in the number, scope, and complexity of international institutions, only some of which are treaty-based. Lately, many informal governing arrangements have developed, some with restricted memberships, loose bureaucratic structures, and evolving linkages with policy-oriented non-governmental organizations.

Whatever their specific form, IOs now play critical roles in a wide range of policy arenas. How should we understand the historical context within which post-war IOs evolved? Why have international institutions proliferated and expanded since the mid-20th century? How do they shape the contemporary global system? Why do states only sometimes conduct foreign policy through IOs? Why do some IOs evolve and adapt over time, while others resist change? What are the principal advantages and pathologies of important IOs, and what do they portend for the future? This course introduces and explores such questions across a now-vast historical, theoretical, and empirical research terrain.

PREREQUISITE: POL208H1/POL208Y1/POL209H5/POLB80H3

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this course, all students should have an understanding of the roles of IOs in contemporary international relations and the major theories developed to explain their development. They should have well-informed views on important debates about their functions, effectiveness, and legitimacy. Students will learn to approach major questions about their roles and their politicization from a rigorous analytical perspective. The course aims to provide each student with direct experience in applied research, developing focused arguments supported by reliable information obtained from primary and secondary sources.

FORMAT AND REQUIREMENTS: One two-hour seminar per week.

Course readings are listed below. Copies will be posted on our Quercus site or accessible via the UofT Library System. Students are required to complete the readings prior to the scheduled class time. Discussion and debate focused on those readings comprise the core of the course. Attendance and adequate preparation are therefore mandatory.

A list of related books is also presented below. Early in the semester, each student will be assigned one book and will be expected to submit a short book-review on our Quercus site. We will also discuss the books in class.

By the end of the semester, each student will also complete a research paper. The papers of graduate students will take the form of a research grant proposal focused on a specific organization and a related theoretical and/or policy problem. (It will typically set out a research puzzle, provide an overview of existing and relevant literature, describe working hypotheses, present preliminary empirical (qualitative or quantitative) evidence, and outline a plausible plan to complete the project. The papers of undergraduate students may follow that same form or take the form of an essay addressing how a specific IO has been designed to manage a particular global problem, how it has adapted (or not) over time, and why it is succeeding or failing in its mission.

EVALUATION AND GRADING

Participation (30%): Seminar attendance and active participation in class discussions focused on the weekly readings are essential.

Book Review: (20%): 1000-1500 words, submitted on-line by 11:59PM on February 8, 2023.

Research Paper Outline (10%): 500 words (including main references), submitted on-line by 11:59PM on March 7, 2023.

Research Paper (40%): 3000-4000 words (including references), submitted on-line by 11:59PM on April 8, 2023. During weeks 9-11, students will make brief presentations on their work in progress. Between March 27 and April 2, students will have a final meeting with the instructor in-person to discuss the completion of their papers.

ABSENCES, LATE SUBMISSIONS, AND ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Seminars will not be recorded. Participation in person is required, except in the case of illness. Absences or late assignments should be cleared with the instructor beforehand. When there is no consultation and prior approval, a standard 5% reduction in the assignment grade will be assessed for each late day. Vital information on accommodations as well as on matters of academic integrity is provided below.

Marked with an asterisk below are those articles undergraduates are expected to read in preparation for our weekly seminar discussions; they are also encouraged to read (or at least peruse) every article listed. Graduate students are expected to read and be prepared to discuss every article listed.

Recommended for an accessible and comprehensive overview of IO theory and practice is Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson, eds., 2018. *International Organizations and Global Governance*, 2nd edition, London and New York: Routledge. For more detailed introductions to specific IOs and the relationship between international organization and international law, see Ian Hurd, 2020. *International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice*, 4th edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Also recommended is Margaret P. Karns, Karen A. Mingst, and Kendall Stiles, 2015. *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*, 3rd edition, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

COURSE SCHEDULE:

Week 1 (January 10): Introduction

*Bob Reinalda, 2019. "The History of International Organization(s)," in the *Oxford Research Encyclopedias: International Studies*, 1-25.

Madeleine Herren, 2014. "Towards a Global History of International Organization," in *Networking the International System*, edited by Madeleine Herren, Basel: Springer.

Week 2 (January 17): Interpreting Historical Trends

*Mark Mazower, 2006. "An international civilization? Empire, internationalism and the crisis of the mid-twentieth century," *International Affairs*, 82/3, 553–566.

*Andrea Orzoff, 2016. "Interwar Democracy and the League of Nations," in *The Oxford Handbook of European History, 1914-1945*, edited by Nicolas Doumanis, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 261-281.

*Madeleine Herren, 2017. "International Organizations, 1865-1945," in *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*, edited by Jacob Katz Cogan et al., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 91-112.

*Jon C.W. Pevehouse and Inken von Borzyskowski, 2017. "International Organizations in World Politics," in *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*, edited by Jacob Katz Cogan et al., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-32.

Leo Gross, 1947. "The Charter of the United Nations and the Lodge Reservations," *American Journal of International Law*, 41/3, 531-554.

Louis W. Pauly, 1996. "The League of Nations and the Foreshadowing of the International Monetary Fund," *Essays in International Finance*, no. 201, Princeton University, International Finance Section, 1-47.

Week 3 (January 24): International Institutions in the Field of International Relations

*David Mitrany, 1948. "The Functional Approach to World Organization, *International Affairs* 24/3, 350-363.

*Inis L. Claude, Jr., 1966. Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the United Nations," *International Organization*, 20/3, 367-379.

*Harold K. Jacobson, 2000. "International Institutions and System Transformation," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 3, 149-166.

*Robert O. Keohane, 1982. "The Demand for International Regimes," *International Organization*, 36/2, 325-355.

Inis L. Claude, Jr., 1969. "The Collectivist Theme in International Relations," *International Journal*, 24/ 4, 639- 656.

Robert W. Cox, 1977. Labor and Hegemony, *International Organization*, 31/3, 385-424.

Ernst B. Haas, 1980. "Why Collaborate?: Issue-Linkage and International Regimes," *World Politics*, 32/3, 357-405.

Week 4 (January 31): Liberal Institutionalism and Rationalism in the Study of International Institutions

*Lisa Martin, 1992. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism," *International Organization* 46 (4), 765-792.

*Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons, 1998. "Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions." *International Organization* 52(4), 729-57

*Erik Voeten, 2019. "Making Sense of the Design of International Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22, 147-63.

* Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, 1998. "Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (1), 3-32.

James Fearon, 1998. "Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation," *International Organization* 52 (2), 269-305.

Week 5 (February 7): Critiques of the Liberal/Rationalist Mainstream

*Susan Strange, 1982. "Cave! hic dragones: a critique of regime analysis," *International Organization*, 36/2, 479-496.

*John Mearsheimer, 1994/5. "The False Promise of International Institutions" *International Security* 19 (3): 5-49.

*Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53 (4), 699-732.

*Emilie Hafner-Burton and Christina J. Schneider, 2019. "The Dark Side of Cooperation: International Organizations and National Corruption." *International Studies Quarterly* 63/4, 1108–1121.

Alastair Iain Johnston, 2001. "Treating International Institutions as Social Environments," *International Studies Quarterly* 45/4, 487-515.

Orfeo Fioretos, 2017. "Institutions and Time in International Relations" in *International Politics and Institutions in Time*. Oxford University Press.

Book Review Due: February 8

Week 6 (February 14): Examining the Foundations of IOs

*Dries Lesage, 2013. "The architecture of international monetary and financial governance," in *Routledge Handbook of International Organization*, edited by Bob Reinalda, Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 486-498.

*James Raymond Vreeland and Axel Dreher, 2014. *The Political Economy of the United Nations Security Council*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 5.

*Paul Novosad and Eric Werker, 2019. "Who runs the international system? Nationality and leadership in the United Nations Secretariat." *The Review of International Organizations* 14/1, 1-33.

*Heidi Hardt and Stéfanie von Hlatky, 2020. "NATO's About-Face: Adaptation to Gender Mainstreaming in an Alliance Setting." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5/1, 136-159.

Phillip Y. Lipscy and Haillie Na-Kyung Lee, 2019. "The IMF as a Biased Global Insurance Mechanism: Asymmetrical Moral Hazard, Reserve Accumulation, and Financial Crises." *International Organization* 73 (1), 35-64.

Reading Week, No Class (February 21)

Week 7 (February 28): International Organizations and Domestic Politics

*Liliana Botcheva and Lisa Martin, 2001. "Institutional Effects on State Behavior: Convergence and Divergence," *International Studies Quarterly* 45/1, 1-26

*Songying Fang and Erica Owen, 2011. "International Institutions and Credible Commitment of Non-democracies." *Review of International Organizations* 6, 141-162.

*Todd Allee and Paul Huth, 2006. "Legitimizing Dispute Settlement: International Legal Rulings and Domestic Political Cover." *American Political Science Review* 100 (2), 219-234.

*Jon Pevehouse, 2020. "The COVID-19 Pandemic, International Cooperation, and Populism," *International Organization*, on-line supplement, 1-22.

Laurence R. Helfer and Erik Voeten. 2014. "International Courts as Agents of Legal Change: Evidence from LGBT Rights in Europe." *International Organization* 68(1), 77-110.

Research Outline Due: March 7.

Week 8 (March 6): IOs, Legitimacy, and the Politics of Information

*Alexander Thompson, 2006. "Coercion through IOs: The Security Council and the Logic of Information Transmission." *International Organization* 60/1, 1-34.

*Tana Johnson, 2015. "Information revelation and structural supremacy: The World Trade Organization's incorporation of environmental policy." *The Review of International Organizations* 10/2, 207-229.

*Judith G. Kelley and Beth A. Simmons, 2014. "Politics by Number: Indicators as Social Pressure in International Relations." *American Journal of Political Science* 59/1, 55-70.

*Ian Hurd, 2002. "Legitimacy, Power, and the Symbolic Life of the UN Security Council," *Global Governance*, 8, 35-51.

Jens Steffek, 2015. "The output legitimacy of international organizations and the global public interest," *International Theory*, 7/2, 263–293.

Allison Carnegie and Austin Carson. 2018. "The Spotlight's Harsh Glare: Rethinking Publicity and International Order." *International Organization* 72/3, 627-57.

Week 9 (March 13): Regime Complexity and Informality

*Kal Raustiala and David Victor, 2004. "The Regime Complex for Plant Genetic Resources," *International Organization* 58/2, 277-309.

*Karen J. Alter and Sophie Meunier, 2009. "The Politics of International Regime Complexity," *Perspectives on Politics* 7 (1), 13-24.

*Kenneth W. Abbott and Duncan Snidal, 2010. "International regulation without international government: Improving IO performance through orchestration." *The Review of International Organizations* 5/3, 315-344.

*C. Randall Henning and Tyler Pratt, "Hierarchy and differentiation in international regime complexes: A theoretical framework for comparative research," *Review of International Political Economy*, 2023.

*Charles B. Roger and Sam S. Rowan, 2022. "Analyzing international organizations: How the concepts we use affect the answers we get," *Review of International Organizations*, 17, 597–625.

Kenneth W. Abbott, Jessica F. Green, and Robert O. Keohane, 2016. "Organizational Ecology and Institutional Change in Global Governance," *International Organization* 70/2.

Kenneth W. Abbott & Benjamin Faude, 2022. "Hybrid institutional complexes in global governance," *Review of International Organizations*, 17, 263–291.

Week 10 (March 20): Contestation and Renegotiation in IOs

*Julia C. Morse and Robert O. Keohane, 2014. "Contested Multilateralism." *Review of International Organizations* 9, 385-412.

*Joseph Jupille, Walter Mattli, and Duncan Snidal, 2013. *Institutional Choice and Global Commerce*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2.

*Phillip Y. Lipscy, 2015. "Explaining Institutional Change: Policy Areas, Outside Options, and the Bretton Woods Institutions." *American Journal of Political Science* 59/2, 341-356.

*Michael Zürn, 2018. "Contested Global Governance," *Global Policy*, 9/1, 138-145.

J. Lawrence Broz, Zhiwen Zhang, and Gaoyang Wang, 2020. "Explaining Foreign Support for China's Global Economic Leadership." *International Organization* 74 (3), 417-452.

Week 11 (March 27): IO Membership, Death, Withdrawal, Adaptation

*Christina Davis and Tyler Pratt, "The Forces of Attraction: How Security Interests Shape Membership in Economic Institutions," *Review of International Organizations* 2021.

*Mette Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, 2018. "Death of international organizations. The organizational ecology of intergovernmental organizations, 1815-2015." *Review of International Organizations*

*Inken von Borzyskowski and Felicity Vabulas, 2019. "Hello, Goodbye: When do States Withdraw from International Organizations?," *The Review of International Organizations*

*Julia Gray, 2018. "Life, Death, or Zombie? The Vitality of International Organizations." *International Studies Quarterly* 62/1, 1-13.

Week 12: Research meetings

Final Research Paper Due: April 8 by 11:59PM.

BOOKS FOR REVIEW

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

Gülay Caglar, Elisabeth Prügl, and Susanne Zwingel, eds., 2013. *Feminist strategies in international governance*. London: Routledge.

Inis L. Claude Jr, 1971. *Swords into Ploughshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*, 4th ed., New York: Random House.

Patricia Clavin, 2013. *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920-1946*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Robert W. Cox with Timothy Sinclair, 1996. *Approaches to World Order*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Christine Davis, *Discriminatory Clubs: The Geopolitics of International Organizations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023.

Orfeo Fioretos, ed., 2017. *International Politics and Institutions in Time*, Oxford: oxford University Press.

Ernst B. Haas, 1990. *When Knowledge Is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

C. Randall Henning, 2017. *Tangled Governance: International Regime Complexity, The Troika, and the Euro Crisis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

G. John Ikenberry, 2001. *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars,* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Robert Keohane. 1984. *After Hegemony*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tana Johnson, 2014. *Organizational Progeny: Why Governments Are Losing Control over the Proliferating Structures of Global Governance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillip Lipscy, 2018. *Renegotiating the World Order: Institutional Change in International Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Craig Murphy, 1994. *International organization and industrial change: global governance since 1850*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Charles B. Roger, 2020. *The Origins of Informality: Why the Legal Foundations of Global Governance are Shifting, and Why It Matters*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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

John G. Ruggie, 1998. *Constructing the World Polity*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Jens Steffek, 2021. *International Organization as Technocratic Utopia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Randall W. Stone, 2011. *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy*, Cambridge University Press.

Alexander Thompson, 2010. *Channels of Power: The UN Security Council and U.S. Statecraft in Iraq,* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Michael Zürn, 2018. *A Theory of Global Governance: Authority, Legitimacy, and Contestation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is essential to the pursuit of learning and scholarship in a university, and to ensuring that a degree from the University of Toronto is a strong signal of each student's individual academic achievement. As a result, the University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences include, but are not limited to:

In papers and assignments:
- Using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement.
- Submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor in all relevant courses
- Making up sources or facts
- Obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment

On tests and exams:
- Using or possessing unauthorized aids
- Looking at someone else's answers during an exam or test
- Misrepresenting your identity In academic work:
- Falsifying institutional documents or grades
- Falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the *Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters*. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, please reach out to the instructor.

Plagiarism

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible

plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (https://uoft.me/pdt-faq).

Generative AI technology is difficult to avoid, and its pedagogical implications are being widely debated. The fact that it is currently being used by some for less than noble purposes is already clear. The use of generative AI technology for the final composition of work submitted to meet the requirements of this course is strictly prohibited and will be considered a violation of the Code by the instructor. The text of all component parts of essays, including footnotes, should be drafted and edited without assistance. The use of generative AI technology remains difficult to hide. Why risk receiving a grade of zero on an assignment? Why prevent yourself from developing skills that will help you succeed in your future life? Do your own learning.

Equity, Diversity and Inclusion

The University of Toronto is committed to equity, human rights and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all members of our community can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another's differences. U of T does not condone discrimination or harassment against any persons or communities.

Students with Disabilities or Accommodation Requirements

The University provides academic accommodations for students with disabilities in accordance with the terms of the Ontario Human Rights Code. This occurs through a collaborative process that acknowledges a collective obligation to develop an accessible learning environment that both meets the needs of students and preserves the essential academic requirements of the University's courses and programs.

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. If you have a disability that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the Accessibility Services office: Accessibility Services on the St. George campus

Health and Mental Health Issues

It is not uncommon for university students to experience a range of health and mental health issues that may result in barriers to achieving their academic goals. The University of Toronto offers a wide range of services that may be of assistance. You are encouraged to seek out these resources early and often.

On Campus: Your college Registrar's Office, and / or Dean of Students' Office Student Life - http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca

Health and Wellness Centre - http://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/hwc

Off-Campus: Good2Talk - a post-secondary (24/7) helpline (1-866-925-5454).

Family Care Responsibilities

The University of Toronto strives to provide a family-friendly environment. You may wish to inform me if you are a student with family responsibilities. If you are a student parent or have family responsibilities, you also may wish to visit the Family Care Office website: familycare.utoronto.ca.

Religious Accommodations

The University provides reasonable accommodation of the needs of students who observe religious holy days other than those already accommodated by ordinary scheduling and statutory holidays. Students have a responsibility to alert members of the teaching staff in a timely fashion to upcoming religious observances and anticipated absences and instructors will make every reasonable effort to avoid scheduling tests, examinations or other compulsory activities at these times.

Please reach out to the instructor as early as possible to communicate any anticipated absences related to religious observances, and to discuss any possible related implications for course work.

Specific Medical Circumstances

For 2022 S-term, a Verification of Illness (also known as a "doctor's note") is temporarily not required. Students who are absent from academic participation for any reason (e.g., COVID, cold, flu and other illness or injury, family situation) and who require consideration for missed academic work should report their absence through the online absence declaration. The declaration is available on ACORN under the Profile and Settings menu. Students should also advise their instructor of their absence in advance.

If an absence extends beyond 14 consecutive days, or if you have a non-medical personal situation preventing you from completing your academic work, you should connect with your College Registrar. They can provide advice and assistance reaching out to instructors on your behalf. If you get a concussion, break your hand, or suffer some other acute injury, you should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible.