

CALVIN COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLS 309: International Organizations and Law

Fall Semester, 2009

[A] Monday & Wednesday, 1:30 p.m. – 2:45 p.m.

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Hours: Monday & Friday, 8:30 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course provides an introduction to the study of international organizations and international law. It introduces basic theoretical concepts and applies them to intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), customary law, and treaty law. Topics include multilateralism, collective action, bargaining, enforcement, delegation, legitimacy, and accountability.

The course consists of three parts. *Part I* introduces basic concepts and theories of cooperation through international organizations and law. *Part II* develops these concepts by examining the institutions comprising the post-World War II international order. *Part III* considers the future of global governance by briefly examining issues of human rights and the environment as well as the changing nature of state sovereignty.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

The course readings and writing assignments are intended to achieve three objectives. Firstly, they are intended to introduce students to basic concepts and theories of cooperation through international organizations and law. Secondly, they are intended to provide students with a basic understanding of the structure of the post-World War II international order and the means by which it functions. Thirdly, they are intended to assist students in developing analytical skills such that they can provide thoughtful and coherent arguments in oral and written form. The first and second objectives are necessary for careers or continued study in the fields of international relations and international law, while the third is essential to the idea of a liberal arts education. All three help to equip students for work as agents of redemption and renewal within the world. *SOLI DEO GLORIA.*

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Students must complete all assigned readings before each class period and be active and engaged participants throughout the semester. The instructor will circulate a seating chart for students to sign, which will be used throughout the semester to record attendance and to facilitate classroom interaction.

There will be three writing assignments of five to eight double-spaced pages in length, which will be due on the dates listed below. In addition to the writing assignments, there will be a midterm examination and a final examination.

COURSE GRADES

Course grades will be based on the course objectives listed above, as determined by students' class participation and engagement, writing assignments, and examinations.

Class Participation and Engagement

Class participation and engagement will be weighted as 20% of the final course grade. This is a real course at a real college, and as such you will be expected to read all of the assigned readings before class, with your participation and engagement attesting to how carefully you have read them. You will not necessarily be expected to agree with the readings, your fellow students, or the instructor, but you will be expected to be engaged participants, so as to learn from the lecture and discussion each day. In doing so, you will become part of an ongoing conversation.

Your participation and engagement grade will be based on your contribution to that conversation. More than simply engaging in classroom “chatter”, making a meaningful contribution to the conversation will require that you arrive in class (and/or come to office hours) prepared to give an account of what you understand from the course readings and discussion and what you do not understand. Learning requires preparation; there is no excuse for having nothing to say. If necessary, the instructor will call upon students who do not participate in class or demonstrate engagement with the course material in other ways. There will also be several short homework assignments, which will be available online from [KnightVision](#) and due on the dates noted below.

Ideally, students would be so motivated by the intensity of the readings and the perspicacity of the instructor that attendance would not need to be required. But because these are not ideal times, attendance will be included in assessing class participation and engagement. Every student will be allowed two unexcused absences (i.e. one full week), after which a penalty of 5% per day will be deducted from the final course grade. Please see the instructor as soon as possible if you know in advance of an absence due to an extracurricular activity or other excusable reason (at the instructor’s discretion). Most absences will not be excused, so plan accordingly.

Writing Assignments

Each of the three writing assignments will be weighted as 15% of the final course grade, for a total of 45%. The instructor will distribute the writing assignments in advance, as well as a guide to analytical writing. Students should consult the writing guide as a way of avoiding basic mistakes.

Papers will be due on the dates listed below. Students must submit both printed and electronic versions of all papers. Printed and electronic versions must match exactly. The papers must be submitted as MS Word documents [ver. 97–2003] in a serif font (such as **Times New Roman**) of size 11 or 12 with 1” margins on all sides. The filename of the electronic version should include the name of the student submitting it.

Grades will be based on analytical rigor, writing skill and factual correctness, and will be determined as follows.

A	Excellent	C	Vague and unsupported
A-	Very good, with few shortcomings; or Clear, but incomplete	C-	Very unclear and confusing; or No argument
B+	Generally clear, but some gaps; or Good, though somewhat unclear	D+	Unclear and misunderstood; or Incorrect/missing citations throughout
B	Gaps in both logic and evidence	D	Very poor
B-	Multiple gaps and unclear parts	D-	Extremely poor
C+	Unclear throughout; or Wrong question	F	Insufficient effort; or Dishonesty

The instructor will not accept late papers in the absence of a medical or other substantial excuse. Students seeking to excuse a late paper must contact the instructor before the deadline and may be required to provide documentation and/or accept a grade reduction. Papers submitted electronically before the deadline will not be counted as late, provided that a printed version is submitted to the instructor’s office within 24 hours. *DIXI*.

Examinations

The mid-term and final examinations will be weighted as 10% and 25% of the final course grade, respectively. Both examinations will be comprised of short answer questions and will be given on the dates noted below. The instructor will not administer makeup exams in the absence of a medical or other substantial excuse. Students seeking to excuse a missed exam should contact the instructor as soon as possible and may be required to provide appropriate documentation. No early exams will be given, except as required for extracurricular activities.

ACADEMIC HONESTY

The student–faculty relationship is based on trust and mutual respect, which can be seriously undermined by the suspicion or reality of academic dishonesty. If you are in doubt about whether some form of assistance or use of materials constitutes academic dishonesty, please see the instructor. In general, the instructor expects that students will adhere to the following guidelines.

1. Students will not take words from any source without putting quotation marks around such words and giving credit to the source. This includes sentences and phrases, as well as significant single words, such as those that express opinion or judgment.
2. Students will not take findings or ideas from any source without giving credit to the source. In paraphrasing, students will not use words so close to those contained in the source that, if a student's work were placed next to the source, it would be obvious that the student could not have written what s/he did except by borrowing directly from the source with only superficial changes.
3. Students will organize their thoughts and ideas according to a plan of their own creation and will not simply appropriate the plan of organization contained within another source. To the extent that a student's plan of organization is based upon another source, s/he will give credit to that source.
4. Students will neither ask nor allow someone else to write, revise, or otherwise modify their work in any way, nor reuse papers submitted in other courses or written by other students.

All assignments submitted in this course will be reviewed and evaluated electronically for possible violations of these guidelines. Any violation of these guidelines and/or other rules contained within the *Student Conduct Guide* will result in an *F* for the assignment and/or other appropriate disciplinary action, at the instructor's discretion.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

The college will make reasonable accommodation for students with documented disabilities. Students seeking accommodation should notify both the instructor and Student Academic Services.

REQUIRED TEXTS

The following are required texts for this course and are available for purchase at the bookstore.

Diehl, Paul F., ed. *The Politics of Global Governance: International Organizations in an Interdependent World*. 3rd ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press, 2005.

Lipson, Charles and Benjamin J. Cohen, eds. *Theory and Structure in International Political Economy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999.

Keohane, Robert O. *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Rittberger, Volker and Bernhard Zangl. *International Organization: Polity, Politics, and Policies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Other supplemental journal articles and book sections are available [online](#) as noted in the syllabus. Access to certain websites is available only via a Calvin College internet connection. The instructor will distribute detailed instructions for finding online journal articles.

COURSE READINGS

[Please note the page numbers listed below, as only selected pages of certain articles or book sections are assigned.]

Part I: Theories of International Organization

September 9 – Anarchy, Uncertainty, and International Institutions

Simmons, Beth and Lisa Martin. 2002. "International Organizations and Institutions." In *The Handbook of International Relations*. Read pages 192-4. Available online from [KnightVision](#).

Rittberger and Zangl. "Introduction." In *International Organization*. Read pages 3-9.

Oye, Kenneth A. "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy." *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (1985). Read pages 1 and 6-9. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

September 14 – Hegemony and International Institutions

Oye, Kenneth A. "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy." Read pages 18-20. [see above]

Stein, Arthur A. "The Hegemon's Dilemma." In *Theory and Structure in International Political Economy*. Read pages 283-8.

Snidal, Duncan. "The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory." *International Organization* 39, no. 4 (1985). Read pages 579- 82 and 587-90. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

September 16 – Hegemony and the Postwar Order ([Homework #1](#) due)

Rittberger and Zangl. "History of International Organizations." In *International Organization*. Read pages 25-32 and 37-55.

Stein, Arthur A. "The Hegemon's Dilemma." Read pages 304-14. [see above]

Ikenberry, G. John. "Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Persistence of American Postwar Order." *International Security* 23, no. 3 (1998/99). Read pages 53-9 and 67-72. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

September 21 – Institutions as Enablers of Cooperation

Oye, Kenneth A. "Explaining Cooperation under Anarchy." Read pages 9-18 and 20-2. [see above]

Keohane, Robert O. "The Demand for International Regimes." In *Theory and Structure in International Political Economy*. Read pages 147-8, 159-73.

Rittberger and Zangl. "What International Organizations Produce." In *International Organization*. Read pages 106-16.

September 23 – IGOs as Formalized Institutions ([Homework #2](#) due)

Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. "Why States Act through Formal International Organizations." In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 25-8 and 31-54.

Rittberger and Zangl. "Institutional Structure of International Organizations." In *International Organization*. Read pages 65-77.

September 28 – The Quasi-Governmental Role of NGOs

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. "Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics." In *Activists beyond Borders*. Read pages 8-26. Available online from [KnightVision](#).

Dorsey, Ellen. "The Global Women's Movement: Articulating a New Vision of Global Governance." In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 415-18 and 423-33.

Simmons, P.J. "Learning to Live with NGOs." *Foreign Policy*, no. 112 (1998). Read pages 82-8. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

September 30 – Legitimacy, Compliance, and the Functioning of International Law (Homework #3 due)

Keohane, Robert O. "International Relations and International Law: Two Optics." In *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. Read pages 117–23.

Finnemore, Martha. "Are Legal Norms Distinctive?" *International Law and Politics* 32 (2000):699–705. Available online at <http://www.law.nyu.edu/journals/ilp/issues/32/pdf/32k.pdf>.

Mitchell, Ronald B. "Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." In *Theory and Structure in International Political Economy*. Read pages 207–17 and 226–38.

October 5 – International Law and International Organizations

Abbott, et al. "The Concept of Legalization." In *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*, 132–49.

Ratner, Steven R. "International Law: The Trials of Global Norms." *Foreign Policy*, no. 110 (1998): 65–79. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Ku, Charlotte, and Paul F. Diehl. "Filling in the Gaps." *Global Governance* 12, no. 2 (2006). Read pages 161–71 and 176–8. Available online from <http://www.atypon-link.com/LRP/loi/ggov>.

October 7 – Situational Context and the Problem of Relative Gains (Homework #4 due)

Lipson, Charles. "International Cooperation in Security and Economic Affairs." *World Politics* 37, no. 1 (1984). Read pages 7–22. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Grieco, Joseph M. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation." In *Theory and Structure in International Political Economy*. Read pages 16–25.

Mearsheimer, John J. "The False Promise of International Institutions." In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 65–82 and 90–1.

October 12 – Ideological Context, Organizational Culture, and Democratic Deficit

Keohane, Robert O. "Today's Debates" and "Overcoming the Democratic Deficit." In *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. Read pages 32–6.

Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999). Read pages 707–13 and 719–25. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Nielson, Daniel L. and Michale J. Tierney. "Delegation to International Organizations." *International Organization* 57, no. 2 (2003). Read pages 245–51 and 253–60. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

October 14 – Accountability, Legitimacy, and Global Civil Society (Homework #5 due)

Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "The Club Model of Multilateral Cooperation and Problems of Democratic Legitimacy." In *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. Read pages 219–33.

Wapner, Paul. "Politics beyond the State." *World Politics* 47, no. 3 (1995). Read pages 311–15, 320–6, and 336–40. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Simmons, P.J. "Learning to Live with NGOs." Read pages 88–95. [see above]

October 19 – Radical Activism, Marketization, and Problems of Implementation

Mallaby, Sebastian. "NGOs: Fighting Poverty, Hurting the Poor." *Foreign Policy*, no. 144 (2004): 50–8. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Natsios, Andrew S. "NGOs and the UN System in Complex Humanitarian Emergencies" In *The Politics of Global Governance*, 381–96.

Cooley, Alexander and James Ron. "The NGO Scramble." *International Security* 27, no. 1 (2002). Read pages 9–18 and 25–39. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

October 21 – MID-TERM EXAMINATION

Part II: The Post-World War II International Order

October 26 – The United Nations: Sovereignty Costs, Collective Security, and World Order

- Rittberger and Zangl. "Activities of International Organizations: Security." In *International Organization*. Read pages 123–44.
- Westra, Joel H. "The Functioning of the UN Charter" and "The UN Charter and Legal Argumentation." In *International Law and the Use of Armed Force*. Read pages 1–7 and 10–17. Available online from [KnightVision](#).
- Miller, Lynn H. "The Idea and the Reality of Collective Security." In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 197–217.
- [WRITING ASSIGNMENT #1 DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CLASS PERIOD.]

October 28 – ACADEMIC ADVISING

November 2 – The United Nations: Peacekeeping, Financing, and the Problem of Adaptability

- Diehl, Paul F. "Theoretical and Policy Concerns for 21st Century Peacekeeping." In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 242–60.
- Mendez, Ruben P. "Financing the United Nations and the International Public Sector." In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 165–79.
- Luck, Edward C. "Reforming the United Nations: Lessons from a History of Progress." In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 445–50, 456–8, 474–7.

November 4 – NATO: Multilateralism and Collective Action (Homework #6 due)

- North Atlantic Treaty Organization. *NATO in the 21st Century*. Brussels: NATO Public Diplomacy Division. Read pages 1–11. Available online at http://www.nato.int/docu/21-cent/21st_eng.pdf.
- Martin, Lisa L. "Interests, Power, and Multilateralism." In *Theory and Structure in International Political Economy*. Read pages 315–18, 327–30, and 333–7.
- Weber, Steve. "Shaping the Postwar Balance of Power." *International Organization* 46, no. 3 (1992). Read pages 633–57 and 669–77. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

November 9 – NATO: Collective Action and the Problem of Adaptability

- North Atlantic Treaty Organization. *NATO in the 21st Century*. Read pages 12–23. [see above]
- Wallander, Celeste A. and Robert O. Keohane. "Risk, Threat, and Security Institutions." In *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. Read pages 90–9 and 104–9.
- Lepgold, Joseph. "NATO's Post-Cold War Collective Action Problem." *International Security* 23, no. 1 (1998). Read pages 80–99. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

November 11 – The EU: Multilateralism and Regional Integration

- Armstrong et al. "The European Community, 1945–69" In *International Organisation in World Politics*. Read pages 141–53. Available online [KnightVision](#).
- European Commission. "How is the EU Organized?" Available online at http://europa.eu/abc/panorama/howorganised/index_en.htm.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Helen V. Milner. "The New Wave of Regionalism." In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 330–42 and 348–52.

November 16 – The EU: Delegation and Supranational Agency

- Armstrong et al. "The European Community, 1970–85" and "The European Community, 1985–92." In *International Organisation in World Politics*. Read pages 162–72 and 176–88. Available online [KnightVision](#).
- Pollack, Mark A. "Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Community." *International Organization* 51, no. 1 (1997). Read pages 102–11 and 113–21. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

November 18 – The WTO: Bargaining and Enforcement (Homework #7 due)

Rittberger and Zangl. “Activities of International Organizations: Global Trade Relations (WTO).” In *International Organization*. Read pages 146–53.

Fearon, James D. “Bargaining, Enforcement, and International Cooperation.” *International Organization* 52, no. 2 (1998). Read pages 269–71, 284–90, and 296–9. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Steinberg, Richard H. “In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO.” *International Organization* 56, no. 2 (2002). Read pages 339–63. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

November 23– The WTO: Legalization and Dispute Settlement

World Trade Organization. “Settling Disputes.” In *Understanding the WTO*. Read pages 55–9. Available online at http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/understanding_e.pdf

Keohane, et al. “Legalized Dispute Resolution: Interstate and Transnational.” In *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. Read pages 154–63 and 179–82.

Iada, Keisuke. “Is WTO Dispute Settlement Effective?” In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 315–27.

November 25 – The IMF: Transaction Costs and Information (Homework #8 due)

Rittberger and Zangl. “Activities of International Organizations: Global Financial Relations (IMF).” In *International Organization*. Read pages 159–67.

Cohen, Benjamin J. “Balance-of-payments Financing: Evolution of a Regime.” *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (1982). Read pages 459–75. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Ruggie, John G. “Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order.” In *Theory and Structure in International Political Economy*. Read pages 259–64, 270–1, and 278–9.

November 30 – The IMF, the World Bank, and the Problem of Adaptability

Rittberger and Zangl. “Activities of International Organizations: Disparities in Development (World Bank Group).” In *International Organization*. Read pages 171–8.

Krueger, Anne O. “Whither the World Bank and the IMF?” *Journal of Economic Literature* 36 (1998). Read pages 1982–90 and 2004–15. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Armijo, Leslie Elliott. “The Political Geography of World Financial Reform: Who Wants What and Why?” In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 275–86.

Part III: The Future of Global Governance

December 2 – Governing the Global Commons

Rittberger and Zangl. “Activities of International Organizations: The Environment.” In *International Organization*. Read pages 159–67.

Hardin, Garrett. “The Tragedy of the Commons.” *Science* 162, no. 3859 (1968). Read pages 1244–6. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

Najam, Adil. “The Case against a New Environmental Organization.” In *The Politics of Global Governance*. Read pages 398–411.

[WRITING ASSIGNMENT #2 DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE CLASS PERIOD.]

December 7 – Human Rights, Universal Jurisdiction, and Harmonization

Rittberger and Zangl. “Activities of International Organizations: Human Rights.” In *International Organization*. Read pages 193–203.

International Criminal Court. “Structure of the Court,” “Jurisdiction and Admissibility,” and “How the Court Works.” Available online at <http://www.icc-cpi.int/about/>.

Bridge, John W. “The Case for an International Court of Criminal Justice.” *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 13, no. 4 (1964). Read pages 1260–73. Available online from [JSTOR](#).

December 9 – Sovereignty, Legitimacy, and Accountability: An Ongoing Debate (Homework #9 due)

Krasner, Stephen D. “Sovereignty and Its Discontents.” In *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Read pages 11–25. Available online from [KnightVision](#).

Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. “Legitimate Global Governance and Undemocratic Legitimacy.” In *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Read pages 166–73. Available online from [KnightVision](#).

Keohane, Robert. “Democracy, Legitimacy, and Accountability”, “Desirable Institutions for a Partially Globalized World”, and “Institutional Design: Bringing Ideals and Realities Together.” In *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*. Read pages 233–40, 247–50 and 260–7.

December 16 – FINAL EXAMINATION [9:00 a.m. – 12:00 p.m.]

[WRITING ASSIGNMENT #3 DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EXAM PERIOD.]

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