

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Prof. Ronald Mitchell

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PS 420/520: International Organization

Goals of course

This course asks three main questions. What types of problems do governments face in the international realm? What sorts of solutions do they devise to address those problems? What determines why some of those solutions are effective and some are not? While examining these questions through the study of security, trade, human rights, environment and other international issues, it will also touch on questions regarding the roles that non-state actors play, the role of information, and the roles that norms play in international life. The course focuses on questions of the causes and effects of efforts at international organization. It is definitely NOT a course describing the United Nations system or the bureaucratic structure of other international bureaucracies. It is not a course on international organizations but on international organization. The course will study various theories purporting to explain why states succeed or fail at creating institutions for international governance and what effects, if any, those institutions have. Students will be required to address these issues from a theoretical perspective, seeking to examine and evaluate trends across a variety of different and disparate issue areas, with the goal being to improve your ability to analyze how well theories do at explaining particular patterns of facts rather than learning the facts themselves. The course will seek to show how states and non-state actors create institutions that help them surmount the obstacles that anarchy poses to achieving their goals and clarify why they so often fail.

Readings and required books

P. J. Simmons and Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, eds. 2001. Managing Global Issues: Lessons Learned. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. Referred to as MGI.

Lisa Martin and Beth Simmons, eds. 2001. International Institutions: An International Organization Reader. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Referred to as SM. [Note: these articles are all available via JSTOR at www.jstor.org if you prefer not to purchase the book. You are responsible for identifying how to download the articles, however.] Online readings: many of these readings are online. Referred to as OR.

Subscription to and daily reading of the *New York Times* is required. A relatively cheap subscription is available through the UO Bookstore or through the Electronic Edition, online. You can also read the *New York Times* online for free in a version not formatted like the paper or read it at the library. But you must read it daily!

Requirements and grading

The reading load is rather heavy in this class. If you do not plan on doing the reading prior to each class, I would suggest that you not take the course. While the class size is big, I hope to make discussion a valuable part of most class sessions. Having done the reading will be essential to classes being interesting and enlightening.

FOR UNDERGRADUATES, GRADING WILL BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

- Identify New York Times article for use in class lecture - students will be assigned particular topics to find a relevant article and post a link to it on the class website - 2% (basically, this is extra credit)
- Two treaty-related assignments (both about 3 pages in length) – 5% and 10% (15% total)
- Two in-class midterms - 20% each (40% total)
- In-class final - 40%. Will be at time and date noted in Schedule of Classes.
- Participation - 5%

FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS, GRADING WILL BE BASED ON THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

- Same as undergraduate requirements but grad students must write a research paper *instead of* a final exam.
- Research paper (20-25 pages) - 40% (see fuller description provided). Intermediate deadlines are identified in the syllabus below.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY, PLAGIARISM, FABRICATION, CHEATING, AND ACADEMIC MISCONDUCT:

- *Plagiarism and cheating:* All work submitted in this course must be your own and produced exclusively for this course. I consider enrolling in this course as your acceptance of the University Policy on Academic Dishonesty, so read it at <http://ww.uoregon.edu/~conduct/sai.htm>. Also read and understand the libraries description of plagiarism at <http://libweb.uoregon.edu/guides/plagiarism/students/>. Although ungraded, reading, understanding, and accepting these statements is definitely a requirement for the course – make absolutely sure you complete this by the end of week 1. *Neither ignorance of these policies nor the lack of an intention to cheat or plagiarize will be considered a legitimate defense.* In the past I have taken, and in the future (unfortunately) I expect to continue to take, harsh disciplinary action against those who plagiarize or cheat, including flunking the course and reporting students to the academic dishonesty committee. *If you have any questions about these policies, you should come talk to me before any issues arises.*

Online Lecture Notes

Lectures will be posted on the website as they are available, usually the night before class. You can print them out beforehand and use them to follow the lecture, simply adding your own annotations. *PLEASE NOTE: I provide these lecture notes to assist your learning BUT they do not substitute for attending class. Exams and assignments will be based on material covered in class, regardless of whether it is covered in these lecture notes or not. If you miss class, make sure to find out from someone who did attend what was actually covered.*

PS 420/520: International Organization

Introduction

WEEK 1: TUESDAY, JAN 10:

Introduction

No readings. First day of class

WEEK 1: THURSDAY, JAN 12:

Overview of course: Problem structures, International responses, and Institutional effects

MGI, Intro: Managing Global Issues: An Introduction, P. J. Simmons, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat

SM: Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions, Martin, Simmons

SM: Inertia and Change in the Constellation of International Governmental Organizations, Shanks, Jacobson, Kaplan

Recommended: SM: *International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State*, Kratochwil, Ruggie

The Structure of International Problems

WEEK 2: TUESDAY, JAN 17: INCENTIVE STRUCTURES #1

SM: Interests, Power, and Multilateralism, Martin

OR:

Stein, Arthur A. 1983. Coordination and collaboration: regimes in an anarchic world. In *International regimes*, edited by S. D. Krasner. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 115-140. [Online](#)

OR:

Krasner, Stephen D. 1991. Global communications and national power: life on the Pareto frontier. *World Politics* 43 (3):336-66. [Online](#)

WEEK 2: THURSDAY, JAN 19: INCENTIVE STRUCTURES #2

OR:

Rittberger, Volker, and Michael Zürn. 1990. Towards regulated anarchy in East-West relations: causes and consequences of East-West regimes. In *International regimes in East-West politics*, edited by V. Rittberger. London: Pinter. 9-63. [Online](#).

OR:

Mitchell, Ronald B., and Patricia Keilbach. 2001. Reciprocity, coercion, or exchange: symmetry, asymmetry and power in institutional design. *International Organization* 55 (4):891-917. [Online](#)

WEEK 3: TUESDAY, JAN 24: NUMBER OF ACTORS, TRANSPARENCY, CAPACITY, NORMS, AND OTHER FACTORS

OR:

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001a. The rational design of international institutions. *International Organization* 55 (4):761-799. [Online](#)

Chapter 3 "The problem of problem structure" in Young, Oran R. 1999. *Governance in world affairs*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. [Online](#).

WEEK 3: THURSDAY, JAN 26: IDENTIFYING AND COMPARING PROBLEM STRUCTURES

1st Assignment due beginning of class: "Reading and Understanding a Treaty"

Grad students only: 1st assignment PLUS one paragraph description of paper topic also due.

MGI, ch. 16: Warfare: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons, Thomas Bernauer (skim all, but focus on "Nature of the Problem" section)

MGI, ch. 6: Economics: International Trade, Vinod K. Aggarwal (skim all, but focus on "Nature of the Problem" section)

MGI, ch. 9: Global Commons: The Oceans, Antarctica, the Atmosphere, and Outer Space, Christopher C. Joyner (skim all, but focus on "Nature of the Problem" section)

International Institutions and Other Responses

WEEK 4: TUESDAY, JAN 31:

OR:

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001b. Rational design: looking back to move forward. *International Organization* 55 (4):1051-1082. [Online](#)

OR:

Betsill, Michele M., and Elisabeth Corell. 2001. NGO influence in international environmental negotiations: a framework for analysis. *Global Environmental Politics* 1 (4):65-85. [Online](#)

WEEK 4: THURSDAY, FEB 2:

Midterm Exam #1 in class

WEEK 5: TUESDAY, FEB 7:

OR: Mitchell, R.B. 1997. International control of nuclear proliferation: beyond carrots and sticks. *The Nonproliferation Review* 5:40-52.

OR:

Morrow, James D. 1994. Modeling the forms of international cooperation: distribution versus information. *International Organization* 48 (3):387-423. [Online](#)

WEEK 5: THURSDAY, FEB 9:

MGI, ch. 16: Warfare: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons, Thomas Bernauer (focus on portions after "Nature of the Problem" section)

MGI, ch. 15: Warfare: Conventional Weapons, Joanna Spear

WEEK 6: TUESDAY, FEB 14:

SM: The Politics of Dispute Settlement Design: Explaining Legalism in Regional Trade Pacts, Smith

MGI, ch. 6: Economics: International Trade, Vinod K. Aggarwal

MGI, ch. 4: Development Assistance, Catherine Gwin

WEEK 6: THURSDAY, FEB 16:

2nd Assignment due beginning of class: "Comparing Treaty Texts: Predict which SHOULD work better".

MGI, ch. 11: Human Rights, Dinah L. Shelton

MGI, ch. 12: Labor Rights, Brian Langille

The Effects of International Institutions

WEEK 7: TUESDAY, FEB 21:

Grad students only: Five page draft of final paper due.

SM: On Compliance, Chayes, Chayes

SM: Is the Good News About Compliance Good News About Cooperation?, Downs, Rocke, Barsoom

OR:

Tallberg, Jonas. 2002. Paths to compliance: enforcement, management, and the European Union. *International Organization* 56 (3):609-643. [Online](#)

Recommended: SM: *The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations*, Barnett, Finnemore

WEEK 7: THURSDAY, FEB 23:

Midterm Exam #2 in class

WEEK 8: TUESDAY, FEB 28:

OR:

Duffield, John S. 1992. International regimes and alliance behavior: explaining NATO conventional force levels. *International Organization* 46 (4):819-856. [Online](#)

MGI, ch. 14: Violence: Intrastate Conflict, Timothy D. Sisk

WEEK 8: THURSDAY, MAR 2:

SM: Who Are the "Masters of the Treaty"? European Governments and the European Court of Justice, Alter
SM: The Legalization of International Monetary Affairs, Simmons

WEEK 9: TUESDAY, MAR 7:

OR:

Neumayer, Eric. 2005. Do international human rights treaties improve respect for human rights? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (6):1-29. [Online](#)

SM: International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations' Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy, Finnemore

WEEK 9: THURSDAY, MAR 9:

SM: Regime Design Matters: Intentional Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance, Mitchell

MGI, ch. 7: Environment: Nature Conservation, Peter H. Sand

MGI, ch. 8: Environment: Pollution, Peter M. Haas

OR:

Nielson, Daniel L., and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. Delegation to international organizations: agency theory and World Bank environmental reform. *International Organization* 57 (2):241-276. [Online](#)

Recommended: OR: Re-scan:

Mitchell, Ronald B., and Patricia Keilbach. 2001. Reciprocity, coercion, or exchange: symmetry, asymmetry and power in institutional design. International Organization 55 (4):891-917. [Online](#)

Conclusions

WEEK 10: TUESDAY, MAR 14:

SM: The Limits of International Organization, Gallarotti

WEEK 10: THURSDAY, MAR 16:

FINAL PAPER (grads) DUE at beginning of class. NO LATE PAPERS ACCEPTED!

MGI, ch. 17: From Agenda to Accord, P. J. Simmons, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat

MGI, ch. 18: From Accord to Action, P. J. Simmons, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat

FINAL exam will be in class on the date and at the time marked in the Schedule of classes!!!! 8:00am Tuesday March 21st.

PS 420/520: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION
PROF. RONALD MITCHELL

Two Treaty Assignments

To help you understand how international organization actually works, you will have to complete two assignments examining treaties on one of the four main issue areas covered in the course: international security, international political economy, social welfare and human rights, or environmental protection (communication/corruption will not be covered in this assignment). Treaties (also known as conventions, agreements, accords, protocols, or amendments) are agreements that countries sign with the intention of legally binding themselves to take the actions laid down in the agreement. At the time you do your first assignment, you choose which of these four issue areas you want to work on. You do NOT get to choose which treaties to examine – only which issue area. *For each issue area, you must study the assigned treaties.* All the necessary material for this assignment (texts of treaties, data on treaties, etc.) will be available on the course website.

Assignment #1: Reading and Understanding a Treaty (length: no more than 1000 words - must be typed) - 5% of grade

Choose one of the four issue areas in the above table. Read the text of the first treaty and answer the following questions. **Do NOT analyze both treaties for your issue area yet**, only analyze the one designated for assignment #1. ***I encourage you to make these questions be the headers for the six parts of your paper.***

Membership: What countries may become a member of this treaty?

Goals: What are the objectives or goals of this treaty?

Requirements: What are the major requirements that this treaty makes of countries that become members? Although treaties often make many requirements, here you should focus on the core requirements that are the behaviors that countries commit to performing in order to achieve the objectives or goals of the treaty.

Monitoring: What provisions in the treaty, if any, deal with monitoring whether countries comply with the major requirements of the treaty?

Responses: What provisions in the treaty, if any, are intended to reward or encourage those who comply or sanction, punish, or prevent violations of the major requirements of the treaty?

Evidence of success: What evidence would we expect to see in the world if this agreement had its intended effect (i.e., "succeeded")? What should we collect data on to know whether the treaty "worked" or not?

Choose among these issue areas:	Once you choose your issue area, you must work on the treaties listed below - do NOT go out and select some other treaty to read:
International Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaty for assignment 1: 1987: Treaty Between The United States Of America And The Union Of Soviet Socialist Republics On The Elimination Of Their Intermediate-Range And Shorter-Range Missiles Also analyze this one for assignment 2: 1991: Treaty Between The United States Of America And The Union Of Soviet Socialist Republics On The Reduction And Limitation Of Strategic Offensive Arms
International Political Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaty for assignment 1: 1991: Southern Common Market (MERCOSUR) Agreement Also analyze this one for assignment 2: 1992: Framework Agreement on Enhancing ASEAN Economic Cooperation
Social Welfare and Human Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaty for assignment 1: 1979: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women Also analyze this one for assignment 2: 1989: Convention on the Rights of the Child
Environmental protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaty for assignment 1: 1985: Helsinki Protocol on the Reduction of Sulphur Emissions or their Transboundary Fluxes by at least 30 per cent Also analyze this one for assignment 2: 1988: Sofia Protocol concerning the Control of Emissions of Nitrogen Oxides or their Transboundary Fluxes

Assignment #2: Comparing Treaty Texts: Predict which SHOULD work better (length: no more than 1500 words - must be typed) - 10% of grade

READ Jacobson and Brown Weiss, Chapters 1 and 15: "A Framework for Analysis" and "Assessing the Record and Designing Strategies to Engage Countries," in Weiss and Jacobson, eds., Engaging Countries: Strengthening Compliance with International Environmental Accords (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), pp. 511-554. Two copies of book are on reserve in Knight library. This is essential reading for doing the assignments well!

For this assignment, you must use the two treaties in the table that correspond to the issue area you chose for assignment #1.

Re-read the treaty from assignment one and read the second treaty for your issue area. Examine the requirements and structure of the treaty (membership, type of requirements, monitoring, enforcement) to make a prediction of how much you expect each treaty to change the behavior of member countries. Then, write a short paper (less than 1500 words, use word-count on your computer) that compares your predictions about the two treaties' effects. Use the questions from assignment #1 to guide your thinking in writing this comparison (you should NOT simply answer these questions about the second treaty but use the questions to compare the first and second treaty as a means of predicting which you would expect to work better).

You do not need to and SHOULD NOT do any research on what effects the treaty had for this assignment. This assignment requires only that you read the treaties and make PREDICTIONS about which treaty is likely to be more effective. For example, you might argue that one treaty had better monitoring provisions than the other but had worse enforcement provisions and you think that enforcement is unlikely in international affairs anyway, so you predict that the one with better monitoring will be more effective. Or you might argue that one agreement is between European countries and the other between Southeast Asian countries and that the fact that the latter countries have fewer resources would prevent them from complying and so the latter one would be less effective.

In this assignment, you will NOT be graded on whether your prediction is accurate or not. Rather you will be graded on how thoughtful and logical your prediction about the effects of the two treaties are, and which one is more effective, based on the theoretical insights you have learned to date in the class and based on real differences between the texts of the two treaties.