

Randall Stone
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<http://www.sas.rochester.edu/psc/stone/>
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Purpose of the course: This is an undergraduate course intended to introduce students to the wide range of international institutions that structure international relations. The course conducts a survey of the field, focusing on recent developments in the theory of international organization, and covering a range of substantive issue areas.

Course Requirements: It is essential to complete the required reading. There will be a take-home midterm exam due at 5:00 pm on March 3 and a take-home final exam due at 5:00 pm on May 4. In addition, there will be ten debates during the term, which will require some independent research, and each student is required to participate in at least two. In the spirit of international organization, the winners of the debates will be determined by vote. Attendance at class sessions is mandatory, and students are expected to be prepared to discuss the readings assigned for the day.

Grading: 50% final exam, 30% midterm exam, 10% debate participation, and 10% class participation. Completing all of the written work is required to successfully complete the course. Each student is allowed to miss two class sessions for personal reasons, no questions asked; however, missing more results in a penalty of one grade, and missing more than four (1/6 of the course) results in a failing grade.

Writing Credit Requirements for Political Science: In addition to the regular requirements, students registered for **INTR/PSCI 268W** write a term paper (approx. 20 pages) that uses primary sources and/or data to make a theoretical argument. A draft is due at 5:00 pm on March 17, and the final paper is due at 5:00 pm on April 28. Grading for W students will be as follows: 30% final, 30% term paper, 20% midterm exam, 10% debate participation, and 10% class participation.

Readings: All articles are posted on BlackBoard under “Course Materials.” “Course Readings” is a .zip file that will download all of the readings at once, but may be slow; “International Organization Readings 2023” is a folder that will allow you to browse and download articles one-at-a-time. The readings are also available from the library at <https://www.library.rochester.edu/>, from Cambridge at <https://www.cambridge.org/core>, on **JSTOR** or from my web site (<http://www.rochester.edu/college/psc/stone/> for my papers), in case BlackBoard goes down. The following books are assigned in whole or substantial part and are not online. They have been ordered at the bookstore, and are recommended for purchase:

- Hurd, Ian. *International Organizations: Politics, Law and Practice* (4rd Ed.). (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2020). Chapter numbers have changed since the previous edition.
- Keohane, Robert O. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1984).
- Simmons, Beth A. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Stone, Randall W. *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Policies and Resources

College Credit Hour Policy: This course follows the College credit hour policy for a four-credit (standard) course. The course meets twice per week for 75 minutes each. In addition, each student will be responsible for participation in at least two in-class debates, which will require substantial independent research. The course requires significant reading of academic papers and monographs, which are assigned for discussion during specific class meetings. Students are strongly encouraged to attend office hours, which will be held for two hours each week and by appointment at other times. The total time commitment for the course should average twelve hours per week.

Course Learning Outcomes: Students should leave the course with substantive knowledge about a variety of international organizations, a grasp of the key literature and debates, and an ability to articulate original, critical arguments. The specific criteria for evaluating exams are attached at the end of the syllabus for reference.

Academic Honesty Policy: All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester's Academic Honesty Policy. More information is available at: www.rochester.edu/college/honesty. Special policies for this course: students are encouraged to study collaboratively and form discussion groups; collaboration is encouraged in preparation for in-class debates; students writing W papers are encouraged to solicit feedback from fellow students, friends, the College Writing, Speaking and Argument Program, and other sources on their papers. Papers and exams must be entirely the student's own work, however. **Plagiarism** is specifically prohibited:

- In the context of **exams**, plagiarism consists of using any text that you have not written. You will be specifically rewarded for citing the origin of any ideas that you borrow from the course readings (see rubric at the end of the syllabus.) Please do not use direct quotes, and use simplified (author, date) citations. The exams are take-home, open-book essays, and you are welcome to consult the internet. However, you are not permitted to consult with anyone about your essay between the time that you open the exam and the time that you submit your answers.
- In the context of **research (W) papers**, plagiarism consists of 1) presenting another's work as your own; or 2) using text from any source without proper attribution (quotation marks and a citation); or 3) using an idea from a particular source without proper attribution, even if rephrased in your own words. Think of citations as the links that keep inter-generational conversations alive, and plagiarism as a form of intellectual theft that severs the links.

Academic Support Services: Services are available from the College [Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning](https://www.rochester.edu/college/cetl/) (<https://www.rochester.edu/college/cetl/>) and the [Writing, Speaking and Argument Program](https://writing.rochester.edu/) (<https://writing.rochester.edu/>).

Disability Resources: I am committed to fostering an inclusive learning environment and accommodating the needs of any student with a documented disability. Students seeking an accommodation, or simply wondering whether their circumstances warrant one, are encouraged to contact the [Office of Disability Resources](https://www.rochester.edu/college/disability/) (<https://www.rochester.edu/college/disability/>). Trained staff can evaluate your needs and offer resources and solutions that you may not be aware of. For example, students with special needs are routinely provided with appropriate venues and formats for exams, which are proctored by the Office of Disability Resources.

Incomplete Policy: Incompletes will not ordinarily be offered except in case of a medical emergency. See the College policy on incompletes [here](https://www.rochester.edu/college/CCAS/handbook/Incompletes.html) (<https://www.rochester.edu/college/CCAS/handbook/Incompletes.html>).

Satisfactory/Fail Policy: Students have the option of electing that their grade be reported on their transcript as S/F, unless they register for IR 268W or PSC 268W. All of the usual course requirements apply. College policies are found [here](https://www.rochester.edu/college/ccas/handbook/satisfactory-fail-option.html) (<https://www.rochester.edu/college/ccas/handbook/satisfactory-fail-option.html>).

Withdrawal Policy: The College policy on dropping/withdrawing from courses is available [here](https://www.rochester.edu/college/ccas/handbook/drop-courses.html) (<https://www.rochester.edu/college/ccas/handbook/drop-courses.html>).

Course Outline:

Jan. 12: International Organization and IR Theory (lecture)

Jan. 17: The Demand for International Organization

Keohane, Robert O. 1984. *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press), Chpt. 4.

Vaubel, Roland. 1986. A Public Choice Approach to International Organization. *Public Choice* 51: 39-57.

Hurd, Ian. 2020. *International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice*, Chpt. 1.

Jan. 19: A Model of International Organization

Stone, Randall W. *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Chapters 1-3.

Jan. 24: The UN Security Council

Debate: Syria

Hurd, Chpt. 4.

Fang, Songying. 2008. The Informational Role of International Institutions and Domestic Politics. *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (2): 304-21.

Voeten, Eric. 2005. The Political Origins of the UN Security Council's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force. *International Organization* 59 (3) (Fall): 527-57.

Jan. 26: Vote Buying in the UN

Hurd, Chpt. 3.

Kuziemko, Ilyana and Eric Werker. 2006. How Much Is a Seat on the Security Council Worth? Foreign Aid and Bribery at the United Nations. *Journal of Political Economy* 114 (4): 905-30.

Alexander, Dan, and Bryan Rooney. 2019. Vote Buying by the United States in the United Nations. *International Studies Quarterly* 63(1): 168-176.

Jan. 31: Power and International Cooperation

Debate: Keynes v. White

Keohane, 1984. Chpts 3, 8.

Feb. 2: International Institutions and Cooperation

Keohane, 1984. Chpts. 5-6.

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson and Duncan Snidal. 2001. The Rational Design of International Institutions. *International Organization* 55 (4) (Autumn): 761-799.

Feb. 7: Trade Disputes

Debate: WTO case

Davis, Christina L., and Sarah Blodgett Bermeo. 2009. Who Files? Developing Country Participation in GATT/WTO Adjudication. *The Journal of Politics* 71 (3) (July): 1033–1049.

Johns, Leslie and Krzysztof J. Pelc. 2018. Free Riding on Enforcement in the World Trade Organization. *Journal of Politics* 80 (3): 873-889.

Hurd, Chpt. 5.

Feb. 9: The Evolution of the World Trading System

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

Davis, Christina. 2004. International Institutions and Issue Linkage: Building Support for Agricultural Trade Liberalization. *American Political Science Review* 98 (1) (February): 153-69.

Feb. 14: Power and International Bargaining

Debate: The Doha Round

Stone, 2011. *Controlling Institutions*, Chpt. 5.

Carnegie, Allison. 2014. States Held Hostage: Political Hold-Up Problems and the Effects of International Institutions. *American Political Science Review* 108 (1): 54-70.

Feb. 16: Institutions for International Finance

Stone, 2011. *Controlling Institutions*, Chpts. 4, 7-9.

Hurd, Chpt. 6.

Feb. 21: The World Bank

Debate: Argentina

Nielson, Daniel L. and Michael J. Tierney. 2003. Delegation to International Organizations: Agency Theory and World Bank Environmental Reform. *International Organization* 57 (2) (Spring): 241-76.

Kersting, E., and Kilby, C. 2021. Do Domestic Politics Shape U.S. Influence in the World Bank? *Review of International Organizations* 16 (1): 29–58.

Feb. 23: Informal Influence and the World Bank

Morrison, Kevin M. 2013. Membership no longer has its privileges: The declining informal influence of Board members on IDA lending. *Review of International Organizations* 8 (2): 291-312.

Malik, Rabia, and Randall W. Stone. 2018. "Corporate Influence in World Bank Lending." *Journal of Politics* 80 (1) (January): 103-18.

Feb. 28: Debt and Structural Adjustment

Debate: ECB

Bulow, Jeremy, and Kenneth Rogoff. 1989. A Constant Recontracting Model of Sovereign Debt. *Journal of Political Economy* 97 (1) (Feb.): 155-178.

Stone, Controlling Institutions, Chpt. 6

Mar. 2: European Integration

Schneider, Gerald and Lars-Erik Cederman. 1994. The Change of Tide in Political Cooperation: A Limited Information Model of European Integration. *International Organization* 48 (4) (Autumn): 633-62.

Henning, C. Randall. 1998. Systemic Conflict and Monetary Integration in Europe. *International Organization* 52 (3) (Summer): 537-74.

Mar. 3: Midterm Exam due 5:00 pm

Spring Break, March 6-10

Mar. 14: EMU and the Euro Crisis

Debate: Greece

Schneider, Christina J., and Branislav L. Slantchev. 2018. ["The Domestic Politics of International Cooperation: Germany and the European Debt Crisis."](#) *International Organization* 72 (1): 1-31.

Walter, Stefanie, Elias Dinas, Ignacio Jurado, and Nikitas Konstantinidis (2018). Noncooperation by popular vote: Expectations, foreign intervention, and the vote in the 2015 Greek bailout referendum. *International Organization* 72 (4).

Mar. 16: EU Expansion

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke, Peter N. Barsoom. 1998. Managing the Evolution of Multilateralism. *International Organization* 52 (2) (Spring): 397-419.

Schneider, Christina J. 2007. Enlargement Processes and Distributional Conflicts: The Politics of Discriminatory Membership in the European Union. *Public Choice*, Vol. 132, No. 1/2 (July): 85-102.

Mar. 21: The EU as a Political System

Debate: Negotiating Brexit

Kleine, Mareike. 2013. Knowing Your Limits: Informal Governance and Judgment in the European Union. *Review of International Organizations* 8 (2): 245-264.

Owen, Erica and Stefanie Walter. 2017. Open Economy Politics and Brexit. *Review of International Political Economy* 24(2): 179-202.

Hurd, Chpt. 11.

Mar. 23: International Law and Human Rights

Simmons, Beth A. 2009. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Chapters 1-2.

Mar. 28: International Law and Human Rights

Simmons, Beth A. 2009. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Chapters 3-5.

Mar. 30: UN Conventions

Simmons, Beth A. 2009. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Chapters 6-end.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie. Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement Problem. *International Organization* 62 (Fall 2008): 689-716.

Apr. 4: International Courts

Debate: ICC v. Israel on the Second Gaza War, 2014

Hurd, Chpt 10.

Carrubba, Clifford J., Matthew Gabel and Charles R. Hankla. 2008. Judicial Behavior under Political Constraints: Evidence from the European Court of Justice. *American Political Science Review* 102 (4): 435-452.

Kelley, Judith. 2007. Who Keeps International Commitments and Why? The International Criminal Court and Bilateral Non-surrender Agreements. *American Political Science Review* 101.3 (August): 573-589.

Apr. 6: Hard and Soft International Law

Abbott, Kenneth W., and Duncan Snidal. 2000. Hard and Soft Law in International Governance. *International Organization* Vol. 54, No. 3, (Summer): 421-456

Koremenos, Barbara. 2013. What's Left Out and Why? Informal Provisions in Formal International Law. *Review of International Organizations* 8 (2): 137-62.

Hurd, Chpt. 9.

Apr. 11: International Indicators and Rankings

Kelley, Judith G. and Beth A. Simmons. 2015. Politics by Number: Indicators as Social Pressure in International Relations. *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (1): 55-70.

Morse, Julia C. 2019. Blacklists, Market Enforcement, and the Global Regime to Combat Terrorist Financing. *International Organization* 73 (3): 511-545.

Apr. 13: Informal IOs and Deference

Vabulas, Felicity, and Duncan Snidal. 2013. Organization without Delegation: Informal Intergovernmental Organizations (IIGOs) and the Spectrum of Intergovernmental Arrangements. *Review of International Organizations* 8(2) (June): 193-220.

Tyler Pratt. 2018. Deference and Hierarchy in International Regime Complexes. *International Organization* 72(3): 561-590.

Apr. 18: Environmental Institutions

Debate: Climate Change

Keohane, Robert O., and David G. Victor. 2011. The Regime Complex for Climate Change. *Perspectives on Politics*, 9 (1) (March): 7-24.

McLean, Elena, and Randall W. Stone. 2012. The Kyoto Protocol: Two-Level Bargaining and European Integration. *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (1) (March): 99-113.

Apr. 20: Institutional Design Revisited

Allison Carnegie and Austin Carson. 2019. The Disclosure Dilemma: Nuclear Intelligence and International Organizations. *American Journal of Political Science*.

Tana Johnson. 2013. Institutional Design and Bureaucrats' Impact on Political Control. *Journal of Politics* 75 (1): 183-197.

Apr. 25: World Order

Stone, 2011. *Controlling Institutions*, Chpt. 10.

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

Apr. 28, 5:00: Final Paper due for W students

Final Exam due at 5:00 pm on May 4.

Exam Grading

Exams will consist of identification items (IDs) and essays.

- The IDs will look like academic parenthetical citations (e.g. Stone 2011). You will be expected to recognize the citation and briefly indicate what the paper or book was about, what its main argument was, and why it was important to the subject of the course. Each ID will be graded 0 to 3 points based on the information conveyed. This is intended to be a check on your reading, but also to familiarize you with the web of citations that you will see when you read the articles, so you start to recognize the connections the authors are drawing between each other's works.
- The essays will be open-ended questions (there is not intended to be a right or wrong answer), which give you an opportunity to make original, critical arguments that draw on the readings you have done and link them to various substantive issues. You will write one essay on the midterm and two on the final, but you will always have a choice of questions.

Essay Grading Rubric

The essays are graded (0 to 3 points) on each of eight criteria, which are explained below. Total possible points: 24.

1. *Answering the question.* Does the essay answer the question adequately? Does it cover all of the issues requested?
2. *Readings.* Where appropriate, does the essay integrate readings that have been covered in the course? How well have the readings been understood?
3. *Argument.* Does the essay make a clear argument? How much independent thought does it demonstrate?
4. *Historical evidence.* Does the essay support the argument with appropriate historical examples?
5. *Contemporary evidence.* Does the essay support the argument with contemporary examples, or demonstrate an awareness of the contemporary implications of theoretical debates?
6. *Critical thinking.* Does the essay offer effective criticism of some author or point of view represented in the course (including, of course, the professor's)?
7. *Analysis.* Analysis is a matter of breaking things into their component parts and determining how they function. Does the essay go beyond an author's surface assertions (i.e., stable property rights promote economic growth, international institutions facilitate cooperation) to evaluate the logic that generates these conclusions?
8. *Synthesis.* Synthesis is a matter of putting things together in new ways. Does the essay show an appreciation of how the issues discussed are relevant to broader concerns of the course? Does it make creative connections between the arguments of different authors?

It is extremely difficult to do all of these things in 75 minutes, and even an A essay is bound to fall short somewhere. Think of the eight criteria as the recipe for an ideal essay. Still, it is useful to know what your essay does and does not do, so you know what to work on. If you use the outline above as a guide for writing essays in other courses, you will not be disappointed by the results.