HSPS Tripos 2019-20

Pol 3 - International Organization

Paper Convener: Giovanni Mantilla

Lecturers:
Core:
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Streams:
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Aims

POL 3 (International Organization) aims to expand students’ knowledge and understanding of co-operation and conflict in the global system as introduced in POL 2. It does so by focusing on co-ordinated attempts to address global problems, on the many forms such co-ordination takes, and the role of power in these processes.

The course has the following objectives:

- to develop students’ understanding of the main theoretical approaches to the study of co-operation and conflict in international politics.
- to provide students with a basic grasp of the core purposes and functions of global governance institutions and actors (such as the United Nations, World Trade Organization and World Bank, and various non-state actors, such as Non-Governmental Organizations and private regulatory organizations).

Paper Description

How can international organizations (IOs) help to address the range of global security, economic, human rights and other problems we face today? How is power exercised over, within and by IOs? The course will analyze the major international institutions with the purposes of (a) developing students’ understanding of how the current system of global governance has evolved, (b) encouraging students to consider whether and how current patterns of international co-operation solve problems, and (c) inviting students to assess the extent to which these processes entrench or reduce power differentials in world politics.

At the theoretical level, the course will introduce students to competing perspectives on IOs, variously conceived as functional instruments of states in general and/or great powers in particular, or culturally empowered bureaucratic actors with interests and agency of their own.

At the empirical level, the course will explore how co-operation problems in areas of international security, trade and finance, international law and human rights are addressed by states, IOs and other international actors, including NGOs and private actors.
Course Structure

The paper is divided into three main parts. Lectures and supervisions in the first survey major theoretical and conceptual debates in International Relations relating to processes of international organization. It begins by examining the demand for institutionalized co-operation in world politics, before analyzing how co-operation is possible under anarchy. Next, it introduces the major theoretical approaches to the study of international institutions.

The second part focuses on practices of institutionalized co-operation among states and non-state actors in different areas of global politics, from international security and arms control, to human rights, international law, trade, and financial regulation. This section of the paper further develops and applies the theories and concepts already introduced.

The third part consists of thematic streams that encourage students to explore more specific aspects of contemporary international governance in greater depth. Each stream consists of five or six lectures and two small-group seminars. One stream, taught by Maja Spanu examines international organizations in history with reference to international hierarchy and equality. A second stream, led by Ian Shields, will consider the role of non-state actors in global politics. A third stream will be offered with the topic to be confirmed, but likely on the politics of international human rights and justice. Students will choose ONE stream. A brief description of each stream along with a list of lecture topics and readings can be found towards the end of this paper guide.

Learning Aims

POL 3 aims to help students develop a theoretical as well as practical understanding of the major institutions that govern contemporary global affairs, the nature of the problems these institutions strive to solve, and the causes and consequences of the strategies adopted to address these problems. After completing the course, students should be able to articulate the leading theoretical explanations within the field of International Relations for why international organizations and other actors involved in global governance exist, how they operate, and how they influence the behaviour of both states and non-state actors. Come exam time, students should be able to apply a range of theoretical arguments to analyze cases of international co-operation and conflict.

Teaching and Assessment

Students will attend a total of 25 or 26 lectures (depending on which track they choose) + one revision lecture for the course as a whole. In addition, they will have two group seminars, and four supervisions plus one revision supervision over the course of the academic year.

Supervisions are designed to allow in-depth discussion of the major themes and topics introduced in lectures in a small group setting. Students will submit a 2000-3000 words essay in advance of each supervision. The list of questions for each of the four supervisions can be found at the end of this course guide. Supervisors are free to either assign an essay question for you, or give you freedom to choose. The supervisions will take place around weeks 3, 5 and 8 in Michaelmas term and week 2 in Lent term, with the revision supervision in Easter.

The seminars will support the specialized streams, and are designed to help students grasp and reflect upon the broader themes introduced in the lectures and assigned readings for each track and relate those to the knowledge they have acquired in the core part of the course (lectures 1-20). This will in turn help prepare students for the final exam, which will feature questions that invite students to draw on knowledge gained throughout the course as a whole.
(as opposed to focusing on distinct weekly topics) in answering thematic questions. Seminars will be taught primarily through structured debate and discussion. There is no essay requirement for the seminars, but students may be asked to prepare ahead of seminars to discuss specific themes or questions.

**Preparation for Lectures and Seminars**

In order to get the most out of the paper, students are strongly encouraged to come fully prepared to lectures, having completed the required readings for each lecture. The lectures and readings are designed to compliment each other. A list of supplementary readings is provided for each lecture topic to enable students to broaden and deepen their knowledge of individual topics.

Recording lectures is not allowed without written permission in advance from the convenor.

**Assessment**

Assessment will be by written examination in Easter Term. Students will be given three (3) hours to answer two (2) questions. Questions will be thematic, being designed to encourage students to draw on and combine their knowledge of several lecture topics. A list of exam questions from the 2018/2019 exam is supplied at the end of this paper guide.

**Readings**

Below you will find a list of preparatory readings, grouped into two categories. The first category contains a couple of classic texts which can be considered foundational in the field of IO. Many later works build on and reference these classic texts, and it will therefore be a good idea for you to familiarize yourself with these as this will help you build a base of knowledge that will enable you absorb the weekly readings more effectively. The second category is general textbooks on International Organization that you may wish to consult to gain a basic understanding of what types of IOs are out there and how they operate.

The weekly readings consist predominantly of journal articles and book chapters, which will generally be available electronically from the University Library’s e-journal resources or e-books provisions.

**BACKGROUND TEXTS**


**RECOMMENDED TEXTBOOKS**


**1. International Organization before International Organizations? (JCS)**

*Thursday 10 October 2019, 11:00-12:00*


**Further Reading**


**2. Achieving Co-operation under Anarchy: The Role of Institutions (GM)**

*Tuesday 15 October 2019, 11:00-12:00*


**Further Reading**


**3. US Hegemony and World Order (JCS)**

**Thursday 17 October 2019, 11:00-12:00**


**Further Reading**


4. Achieving Co-operation under Anarchy: The Role of Power
(GM)

Tuesday 22 October 2019, 11:00-12:00


Further Reading


5. Rational Institutionalism (GM)

Thursday 24 October 2019, 11:00-12:00


Further Reading


6. Whose Global Economy? (JCS)

Tuesday 29 October 2019, 11:00-12:00


Further Reading


7. **Constructivist Perspectives on International Institutions** (GM)

*Thursday 31 October 2019, 11:00-12:00*


**Further Reading**


8. **Making Poverty History? Development and Foreign Aid** (JCS)
Tuesday 5 November 2019, 11:00-12:00


**Further Reading**


9. From Crisis to Crisis: Regulating Global Finance (JCS)

Thursday 7 November 2019, 11:00-12:00


**Further Reading:**


*Tuesday 12 November 2019, 11:00-12:00*


**Further Reading**


11. International Law (ICS)

**Thursday 14 November 2019, 11:00-12:00**


**Further Reading**


12. Taming Violence in World Politics: The Laws of War

**Tuesday 19 November 2019, 11:00-12:00**


**Further Reading**


13. The Politics of International Peace Keeping (GM)

*Thursday 21 November 2017, 11:00-12:00*


**Further Reading**


14. Corporations and Global Governance (JCS)

*Tuesday 26 November 2019, 11:00-12:00*


**Further Readings**


15. Transnational Crime and Policing the Globe (JCS)

*Thursday 28 November 2019, 11:00-12:00*


**Further Reading**


**16. NGOs and Civil Society in Global Governance (GM)**

*Tuesday 3 December 2019, 11:00-12:00*

Keck, Margaret and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Cornell University Press), Chapters 1 and 3.


**Further Reading**


**Lent Term**

17. Outside In: International Sources of Domestic Policies (JCS)

*Thursday 16 January 2020, 11:00-12:00*


**Further Reading**


Tuesday 21 January 2020, 11:00-12:00


Further Reading


- Some key readings on Compliance


- Human Rights Compliance


*Thursday 23 January 2020, 11:00-12:00*


**Recommended Readings:**


20. From Global Governance to World Government? (ICS)

*Tuesday 28 January 2020, 11:00-12:00*


**Further Reading**


** There follows a separate lecture/reading list for each of the three specialized stream, which will comprise lectures 21-26. Each stream will also feature two seminars. Students can ONLY follow seminars for ONE stream **

**Stream 1**

**International Organisations in history: between hierarchy and equality**

Taught by Dr. Maja Spanu

**Brief Description**

This module investigates the formation, production and reproduction of old and new forms of hierarchy that characterise international organisations.

Even though empires have formally ended and sovereign equality now constitutes a core principle of the international system, different types of hierarchies characterise the everyday functioning of international organisations. As the case of the P5 at the Security Council attests, differences in members’ power and authority create uneven membership arrangements. Old standards of civilisation, of racial and ethnic superiority have been formally discarded after World War II yet new ordering criteria have been adopted by international organisations to evaluate states whether through lenses of economic development, rule of law, respect of human rights and democratic advancement. These new and old logics of hierarchy reveal that despite inclusive principles and practices, governance of international organisations can be both hierarchical and exclusive.

This track investigates old and new forms of hierarchy that have characterised international organisations historically and theoretically, from the end of the 19th century until today. In unearthing the coexistence of hierarchy and equality in international governance the track will also allow for the identification of logics of continuity and change historically. Understanding past ideas and practices, looking at what predicted and unforeseen effects they produced helps comprehending current challenges that international organisations face.

This track assumes that students have an active interest in the history of the international system and in using history as a tool to elucidate current politics.

The module consists of five lectures and two accompanying seminar sessions. For each session, students are required to undertake the indicated readings. The final seminar will be structured around two different types of in-class exercises. Instructions will be circulated closer to the time.

**Lecture 1: Introductory Lecture - A World of Empires and Great Powers: international governance at the turn of the twentieth century (MS)**
Edward Keene (2002) “Order in Contemporary World Politics, Global but Divided” (Chapter 5) in *Beyond the Anarchical Society: Grotius, Colonialism and Order in World Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 120-144

Glenda Sluga (2013) “The International Turn” (Chapter 1) in *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 11-44

**Further readings:**


**Seminar 1: International Governance at the League of Nations (1919-1946): hierarchies of race, ethnicity and civilisation (MS)**


**Further readings:**


**Lecture 2: The United Nations after World War II: decolonisation and the globalisation of the nation-state (1945-1960) (MS)**


Further readings:


**Lecture 3: International Financial Institutions, Economic Governance and the Post-colonial World (MS)**


Further readings:


Prakash Sinha (1965) “Perspective of the Newly Independent States on the Binding Quality of International Law” in *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 14(1): 121-131

**Lecture 4: International Organisations, Liberalism and the Use of Force (MS)**


Further readings:

Ian Clark (2007) “Legitimacy and Consensus” (Chapter 10) in *Legitimacy in International Society*, Oxford University Press, 192-206


**Lecture 5: International Protectorates, Peacekeeping and Monitoring Operations: the UN’s liberal internationalism after the Cold War (MS)**


Further readings:


Seminar 2: Hierarchies in international governance: comparing past and present (MS)

The seminar will be structured in two parts. One part will be held in the form of a “trial” asking students to take and defend specific positions whilst debating the European Union.

The second part of the seminar will consist of a discussion on the overall themes of the course.

Instructions for the trial will be circulated closer to the time.

Reading for the debate:


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**Stream 2**

**The NGO Sector in Global Governance**

Taught by: Ian Shields

**Brief Description**

Within the international order, non-state actors—including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other private charity organizations—are playing an increasingly important role. These organizations are subject to far less regulation than state actors, but in many ways act in a state-like manner: they form alliances but are in competition with each other; they represent interest groups (as, arguably, do states) but seek to remain largely separate from state control; they can act alongside the United Nations, but are not permanently represented in either the General Assembly or the Security Council.

This series of 6 lectures and 2 seminars will explore the NGO sector and examine how it fits into the state-centric international order. After an introductory lecture exploring how NGOs have become such major players on the international stage, the lectures will then consider whether NGOs are more effective than states (by
examining the issue of Human Rights), or less effective (Development). Whether NGOs can build effective peace will be considered next, followed by a case study of NGOs in Africa before concluding with a broad review of whether NGOs are undermining or reinforcing issues of global governance. The two allied seminars will ask whether NGOs are intrinsically Western and whether NGOs bring more benefit or harm to the international order.

**Learning objectives**

- Identify the role that NGOs play within the International Order
- Explain the effectiveness of NGOs in certain areas and their limitations in others
- Compare the role of NGOs in rebuilding individual States with the efforts of bodies more officially representative of International Organizations, and identify the advantages and disadvantages of both approaches
- Identify the extent to which the NGO sector represents a new direction for the International Order itself.
- Explain why tensions exist within the broader NGO sector, and how this might limit their broader effectiveness.

This track assumes students are familiar with the basic of the NGO sector. Recommended introductory readings on the NGO sector are:


**Lecture 1. Setting the Scene: The Rise (and Rise) of the NGO**


**Further Reading**


Further Reading


(http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/NgoParticipation.aspx)

The website for Amnesty International (https://www.amnesty.org.uk) is also well-worth reading for up to date issues surrounding Human Rights from an NGO perspective.

SEMINAR 1. Are NGOs Intrinsically Western?

da Silva Themudo N., Managing the Paradox: NGOs, Resource Dependence and Organizational Independence http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/2679/

Further Reading

Henderson, S., *Importing Civil Society: Foreign Aid and the Women's Movement in Russia* https://www2.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/demokratizatsiya%20archive/08-1_Henderson.PDF

Lecture 3. A Less Effective System: NGOs and Development?


Further Reading


Literacy Watch: *The Role of NGO's in Education Development* http://www.aiaer.net/ ejournal/vol24212/P2.pdf

Lecture 4. Can NGOs Build Peace Better?
Peinado, M. P., *The Role of NGOs and the Civil Society in Peace and Reconciliation Processes*  

Committee for Conflict Transformation Support, *The Role of NGOs, Local and International, in Post-war Peacebuilding*  

**Lecture 5. Case Study: NGOs and Africa**

Abdulrahman, I., & Tar, U.A., *Conflict Management and Peacebuilding in Africa: The Role of State and Non-State Agencies*  
[http://archive.londonmet.ac.uk/dass-research/metranet.londonmet.ac.uk/library/z17794_3.pdf](http://archive.londonmet.ac.uk/dass-research/metranet.londonmet.ac.uk/library/z17794_3.pdf)

Uzuegbunam, A.O., *NGOs, Conflict and Peacebuilding in Nigeria*  

**Further Reading**


The Conversation: *The Role Of NGOs In Africa: Are They A Force For Good?*  

**Lecture 6. The NGO Sector: Undermining or Reinforcing Global Governance?**


**Further Reading**


**SEMINAR 2. Do NGOs Bring More Benefit or Harm to the International Order?**


Supervision Essay Questions (**subject to updates!)

Supervision 1 Questions:

1. How does the assumption of anarchy affect the prospect of international cooperation? Compare and contrast how Realists, Liberals and Social Constructivists theorise anarchy and its consequences.

2. Select and compare two of the main theoretical approaches discussed in the lectures and readings for this course. According to these approaches, why and how do states cooperate?

3. Barnett and Duvall argue that, "Since E.H. Carr, Realists have tended to treat power as the ability of one state to use material resources to get another state to do what it otherwise would not do. The tendency of the discipline to gravitate toward realism's view of power leads, ironically, to the underestimation of the importance of power in international politics." Evaluate this argument by discussing how other forms of power influence international politics.

4. How important is US leadership for global governance? Is the US still capable of playing the role of hegemon?

5. What lessons do historical instances of solving international co-operation problems provide us with today?

Supervision 2 Questions:

6. To what extent are international organizations the answer in preventing or responding to crises like the Great Depression of the 1930s or the financial crisis from 2007?

7. Can international organizations defend and advance the interests of the poor, weak and marginalized? As a general rule, do they?

8. What explains UN Security Council decision-making on military intervention? Why do states resort to it?

9. Has the United Nations since 1945 helped reduce the incidence of violence in world politics? In what areas has it proven more or less effective and why?

10. What are the main challenges facing the global non-proliferation regime today? How can these best be addressed?

Supervision 3 Questions:

11. Would the international trading system be more or less fair if the current system of global trade governance were abolished?

12. How can governmental and non-governmental international organizations become autonomous from states? Is such autonomy good or bad?

13. Does the rise of cross-border crime represent an example of the declining power of states or the increasing scope of their authority?
14. To what extent can firms and NGOs substitute for states in addressing global problems?

15. Do international rules and international organizations undermine democracy within states?

**Supervision 4 Questions:**

16. Does human rights law make a difference to respect for human rights globally? How can be best conceptualize and observe the impact of human rights law?

17. How do the laws of war work? To what extent can we assert that they are effective in curbing violence and why?

18. Is popular legitimacy important for international organizations? If so, why? If not, why not?

19. Is international law a restraint on power politics or a creature of it? In general, how do different theories approach the operation of international law?

20. How do international courts and tribunals shape the conduct of states and non-state actors? What factors explain their relative success or failure in doing so?

**POL3 Exam Paper 2019**

1. In terms of the degree of order, to what extent is international politics more similar to politics in a classic failed state, or more like politics in stable Western democracy?

2. How might international organisations escape the control of states, and would this be a good thing?

3. Does the increasing number of inter-governmental organisations and NGOs make a world government more or less likely?

4. How might collective action problems like the prisoner’s dilemma explain global economic crises?

5. Are international organisations more of a help or a hindrance in fostering economic development in poor countries?

6. Does the spread of norms, models and rankings by international organisations mean that states will be more similar to one another than they have been historically?

7. Are states more likely or less likely to comply with Human Rights law compared to international trade law, and why?
8. Are the main theories of international relations – realism, rational institutionalism, and constructivism – irreconcilable when it comes to explaining the influence of international institutions? How might they be combined, or is combination impossible?

9. “In times of war, law falls silent”. Is this statement true in international politics?

10. If China were to become the international hegemon in the 21st century, how much difference would this make to the current system of global governance, and why?

11. To what extent are NGOs more legitimate than inter-governmental organisations, and if they were more legitimate what difference would this make to their influence in international politics?

12. Has the creation of the United Nations led to a world of greater equality?

13. To what extent does the G20 represent a more efficient and legitimate way of governing the global economy than more institutionalised inter-governmental organisations like the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, or World Trade Organization?