

# 84313/84613 – International Organizations and International Law

Instructor: Daniel Hansen

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Class time: 3pm to 4:20pm, Tuesdays and Thursdays

Grad Section time: Thursdays, 04:30 to 5:20

Class Location: PH 225B

Office hours: Tuesdays, 12:30 to 2:30, or flexibly by appointment

Office: Baker Hall 335A

## Course Description and Objectives:

We live in a world which is increasingly internationalized, both via the increased development of explicit international organizations in addition to the use of international treaties in order to shape world affairs. These institutions affect both economic and security related aspects of our world. Yet, in the wake of the US financial crisis and with the onset of the Trump Administration, whether these institutions are effective or even desirable are renewed questions of interest. This course seeks to directly engage with these issues of central importance.

We begin with a brief review of the classical theoretical dispositions on the importance of International Organizations, addressing the skeptical and the positive perspectives. From there, we will examine seminal academic articles which expound on these logics and seek to understand how IOs and International Law (IL) influence (or don't influence!) the policy issues they are designed to address. We examine questions such as: has the GATT/WTO impacted international trade? If so, who benefits? Do human rights treaties reduce government oppression of civilians, or might they make it worse? We also explore how international organizations *might* impact the onset of international conflict, foster democratization and political development, in addition to *why* treaties and organizations are design the ways they are and how this informs our understanding of issues of global climate governance (such as the Paris Accord).

This course will be heavily discussion based, requiring students to have *thoroughly* read the assigned readings and come to class ready to contribute substantially to class discussions. We will engage with many statistical articles, and as such a key objective of the course is to help students develop comfort (if not deep understanding) with statistical analyses such that students are able to meaningfully critique such work.

In totality, then, this course will teach students (a) the logic of why IOs and IL might impact world affairs (b) the evidence for such propositions (c) develop critical thinking skills, including how you might improve on existing research (d) develop a basic familiarity with statistical evidence presented in academic work.

## Required books & tools

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in International Political Economy*. Princeton University Press. ISBN: 9780691122489

Simmons, B. (2009). *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Also required:** Acquire (purchase) a 6-month Stata license, available from the Stata website. The statistical software will enable students to conduct the replication analysis project, and allow me to provide assistance to students as they work on these replications. Students may *request* permission to use the free R statistical software package, but I will only permit this for students who have demonstrable familiarity with it.

The grading scale for this course will be as follows:

A = 90 to 100%

B = 80 to 89%

C = 70 to 79%

D = 60 to 69%

R = 59% and below

Percentages will be rounded to the nearest percentage. For Masters students, the +/- system will be used. A (-) sign will be attached from 90 to 92%; 93 to 96% is neutral, and 97% and greater earns a (+). The same scale will apply for all grade levels.

## Assignments

### Overall Participation

The class will be largely *discussion and participation* based, and as such it is vital that students come to class having deeply read the assigned readings. If you arrive having only skimmed the readings, you will not be able to contribute to the class discussion, and your grade will suffer. As part of this component of the grade, there will be *discussion leader duties* assigned for each class day. Each undergraduate student will have two class periods for which they are a discussion leader, while grad students will each have three such days. The collective groups of discussion leaders on any given day must email me a list of discussion questions / topics that you find most germane to that day's readings. Apart from the discussion leaders, there is an *individual participation* grade.

**Important to note** is that not all articles which appear for a specific day are assigned to the entire class. I use a color-coding scheme (outlined below) to help you identify the reading load for any given day. As a general rule, if it is *normal black color OR purple color, then it is required for all participants*. Blue colored articles are NOT required for all, but only for specific presenters, and

therefore only the presenter must read the article and give the presentation. Red pertains only for the graduate students.

## Presentations

### *Individual*

There will also be individual presentations given by each student. Undergraduate students will each give a presentation on an assigned reading for the day, noted by a color-coded scheme below. These will be articles colored in blue.

Graduate students will give two presentations, some of which will fall in the extra class segment specific to the graduate section, which are colored in red. Undergrad students can happily ignore those. Grad students will also present the assigned green articles, but undergraduate students will not need to read these either. Purple colored articles identify articles everyone needs to read, but grad students will give the presentation.

**Criteria:** Presentations should be very thorough. Explain the point of the article – who are they responding to? What is the previous literature or arguments they are engaging? What is the NEW theory they are advancing, and what is the logic? What evidence do they bring to bear? What is their research strategy and findings? Show any evidence. Offer some basic critique, although the class discussion will pick up from there.

### *Replication Project Presentation*

Each student will identify an article, either assigned or not assigned in class, and attempt a replication of the papers findings. It will thus require you to use data and try to replicate their results. However, you will do what I can a “replication plus” project, wherein I not only ask you to replicate a papers’ findings, but in a very basic way try to help the class visualize the results. This could mean you produce a regional breakdown, analyze changes over time, illustrate specific countries, etc. It will vary depending on the specifics of the paper. It will require each student to obtain a temporary Stata license, which will more easily permit me to assist you with any difficulties you are having. As needed, we can also devote some class time to this.

### WSJ Presentations

Each student will also give a presentation on a Wall Street Journal article. Each student will identify one for themselves, but seek permission for me on the choice of article. Discuss background material for understanding of the article, then discuss the articles main points, and list one or two good points of discussion. Try to select articles on IOs or IL, but I will consider broader foreign policy based articles. This isn’t meant to generate much stress, but facilitate a discussion of on-going, real-world events, so we can see how these issues are playing out as the class unfolds.

## Essays

There will also be essay based exams, a *midterm and a final exam*. The midterm essay/exam will be a prompt which invites you to discuss some recent real world events and analyze them in relation to some of the readings we have done. The final exam will ask for a more thorough analysis of some of the course readings.

Additionally, each student will need to submit 10 **one-page (single-spaced) response essays** to the days' readings. It is up to the student to decide when they will submit these, but they must declare at the start of the semester when they will submit these, and 10 must be submitted through the semester for full points. Essentially, discuss something you found important for that days' readings. It needs clearly show some understanding of the article. Aside from that, give some critical response to one of these points. It could be virtually anything – a positive or negative reaction, discuss a shortcoming, etc.

A breakdown of these course requirements, and the grade points associated with each item, is here:

1. *Essays – 37%*
  - a. *Midterm essay (10%)*
  - b. *Final exam essay (20%)*
  - c. *1 page response essays (7%)*
    - i. *Which day at the discretion of the student, due BEFORE class begins*
    - ii. *Student must declare in advance which days they will submit these essays*
    - iii. *Need 10 total for the semester for full points*
    - iv. *1.5 sentence spacing*
    - v. *If you are submitting a main analytical essay, you don't need to also submit a one-page response essay*
2. *Participation – 32%*
  - a. *Discussion leader responsibilities (20%)*
    - i. *Everyone will have two days of discussion leader responsibilities, and each day will have two appointed discussion leaders. Thus, you will have a partner for each day.*
    - ii. *E-mail me a list of what you consider are important discussion points prior to the start of class (one master list)*
  - b. *Regular participation points (12%)*
    - i. *Ask questions, offer comments or critiques, offer opinions, literally just contribute to the discussion in any way*
3. *Presentations – 30%*
  - a. *Individual article presentations (11%)*
    - i. *Grad students will have two articles (class readings) on which to give presentations (which include presentations given in the extra 50 minute section, in addition to a few main class articles*
    - ii. *Undergraduate students will each have one presentation to give*
    - iii. *These articles for these presentations will as a general rule NOT be required reading for the entire class.*
  - b. *Replication project presentation (15%)*
  - c. *WSJ presentations (5%)*

Reading scheme – very important!!

**KEY** to note is that, the reading list at a glance appears daunting, but not all articles are required for the full class. I have color-coded the readings as follows:

**Undergraduates:**

**black** = all students must read.

**Purple** = all students must read. Purple denotes an article I have chosen to be given in class as a presentation.

**Presenters only:**

**Blue** = this is a presentation article only for the assigned presenter to read.

**Graduate students:**

**Red** = only grad students must read, and this article will be covered in the extra section.

**Green** = only two articles are green – these will be given as a presentation in the main class, specifically by grad students.

***Take care of yourself.*** *Do your best to maintain a healthy lifestyle this semester by eating well, exercising, avoiding drugs and alcohol, getting enough sleep, and taking some time to relax. This will help you achieve your goals and cope with stress.*

*All of us benefit from support during times of struggle. You are not alone. There are many helpful resources available on campus, and an important part of the college experience is learning how to ask for help. Asking for support sooner rather than later is often helpful.*

*If you or anyone you know experiences any academic stress, difficult life events, or feelings of anxiety or depression, we strongly encourage you to seek support. Counseling and Psychological Services (CaPS) is here to help. Call 412-268-2922 and visit their website at <http://www.cmu.edu/counseling/>. Consider reaching out to a trusted friend, faculty member, or family member for help in getting connected to support services.*

If you or someone you know is feeling suicidal or is in danger of self-harm, call for help immediately, day or night:

**CaPS: 412-268-2922**

**Re:solve Crisis Network: 888-796-8226**

**If the situation is life threatening, call the police:**

**On campus: CMU Police: 412-268-2323**

**Off campus: 911**

If you have questions about this or your coursework, please let me know.

## Reading Schedule

### **Week 1.A     15-Jan – Intro Day**

### **Week 1.B     17-Jan – Realism and IR theory**

William C. Wohlforth, “Realism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Christian Reus-Smigh and Duncan Snidal, eds., New York: OUP, 2008.

Arthur A. Stein, “Neoliberal Institutionalism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of International Relations*. New York: OUP, 2009.

### **Week 2.A     22-Jan — Institutional theory**

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in International Political Economy*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-6.

### **Week 2.B     24-Jan — Institutional theory, part 2**

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in International Political Economy*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 8

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in International Political Economy*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 9

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

John J. Mearsheimer. 1994. “The False Promise of International Institutions.” *International Security* 19(3): 5-37.

### **Week 3.A:     29-Jan — Institutions and Trade**

Joanne Gowa and Soo Yeon Kim. An exclusive country club: The effects of the gatt on trade, 1950-94. *World Politics*, 57(4):453–478, July 2005

Todd L. Allee and Jamie E. Scalera. The divergent effects of joining international organizations: Trade gains and the rigors of wto accession. *International Organization*, 66(2):243–276, 201

Goldstein, J., Rivers, D., & Tomz, M. (2007). *Institutions in International Relations: Understanding the Effects of the GATT and the WTO on World Trade*. *International Organization*, 61(1), 37-67.

### **Week 3.B     31-Jan — Institutions and Trade 2.0**

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

Meinen, Philipp, and Horst Raff. 2018. "International Trade and Retail Market Performance and Structure: Theory and Empirical Evidence." *Journal of International Economics* 115: 99–114.

Mansfield, Edward D., and Eric Reinhardt. 2008. "International Institutions and the Volatility of International Trade." *International Organization* 62(4): 621–52.

#### **Week 4.A     5-Feb   — Globalization**

Drezner, D. W. (2014). *The System Worked: Global Economic Governance during the Great Recession*. *World Politics* 66(1), 123-164.

Dreher, Axel. (2006). Does globalization affect growth? Evidence from a new index of globalization, *Applied Economics*, 38:10, 1091-1110

Colantone, I. and Stanig, P. (2018), The Trade Origins of Economic Nationalism: Import Competition and Voting Behavior in Western Europe. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62: 936-953.

Margalit, Yotam. (2012) Lost in Globalization: International Economic Integration and the Sources of Popular Discontent. *International Studies Quarterly*.

Douglas A. Irwin. The truth about trade: What critics get wrong about the global economy. *Foreign Affairs*, 95(4), 2016

#### **Week 4.B     7-Feb**

Julia Gray. 2009. "International Organization as Seal of Approval: European Union Accession and Investor Risk." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 931-949.

Mosley, L., & Uno, S. (2007). Racing to the Bottom or Climbing to the Top? Economic Globalization and Collective Labor Rights. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(8), 923–948.

Büthe, T., & Milner, H. V. (2014). Foreign direct investment and institutional diversity in trade agreements: Credibility, commitment, and economic flows in the developing world, 1971-2007. *World Politics*, 66(1), 88-122.

#### **Week 5.A     12-Feb — Compliance under IO's and IL**

George W. Downes, David M. Rocke and Peter Barsoom. 1996. Is the good news about compliance good news about cooperation?. *International Organization*, 50(3): 379-406.

Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes. 1993. "On Compliance." *International Organization* 47(2): 175-202.

Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Paul Hensel. 2007. "International Institutions and Compliance with Agreements." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 721-737.

#### **Week 5.B     14-Feb — Compliance part deux**

Simmons, Beth. 2000. "International Law and State Behavior: Commitment and Compliance in International Monetary Affairs." *American Political Science Review* 94(4): 819-835.

(only presenters read):

Jan Von Stein. 2005. "Do Treaties Constrain or Screen? Selection Bias and Treaty Compliance." *American Political Science Review* 99(4): 611-622.

Beth Simmons and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2005. "The Constraining Power of International Treaties." *American Political Science Review* 99(4): 623-631.

Ronald Mitchell. 1994. "Regime Design Matters: International Oil Pollution and Treaty Compliance." *International Organization* 48(3): 425-458.

Ashley Leeds and Burcu Savun. 2007. "Terminating Alliances: Why Do States Abrogate Treaties?" *Journal of Politics* 69(4).

Andrew Kerner. 2009 "Why Should I Believe You: The Sources of Credibility in Bilateral Investment Treaties and Their Effects" *International Studies Quarterly*. 53(1):73- 102.

Background reference:

Bruce Wilson; *Compliance by WTO Members with Adverse WTO Dispute Settlement Rulings: The Record to Date*, *Journal of International Economic Law*, Volume 10, Issue 2, 1 June 2007, Pages 397–403

#### **Week 6.A 19-Feb — Domestic Politics**

Dai, Xinyan. 2005 "Why Comply? The Domestic Constituency Mechanism." *International Organization* 59(2): 363-398.

Edward Mansfield, Helen V. Milner and B. Peter Rosendorff. 2002. "Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements." *International Organization* 56(3): 477- 513

Mansfield, Milner, & Pevehouse (2007). Vetoing Co-operation: The Impact of Veto Players on Preferential Trading Arrangements. *British Journal of Political Science*, 37(3), 403-432.

#### **Week 6.B 21-Feb — Domestic Politics part two**

Ashley Leeds. 1999. "Domestic Political Institutions, Credible Commitments and International Cooperation." *American Journal of Political Science* 43(4): 979-1002.

Yon Lupu. 2013. Best Evidence: The Role of Information in Domestic Judicial Enforcement of Human Rights Agreements." *International Organization* 67(3): 469-503

Amanda M. Murdie, David R. Davis. 2012. Shaming and Blaming: Using Events Data to Assess the Impact of Human Rights INGOs. *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 56, Issue 1, 1, Pages 1–16

#### **Week 7.A 26-Feb — International Law**

Michael Tomz. 2007. "The Effect of International Law on Preferences and Beliefs." Manuscript, Stanford University

Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal. 2000. "Hard and Soft Law in International Governance." *International Organization* 54 (3): 421-56.

Sean Murphy. 2012. "Principles of International Law", Chapter 10 (Human Rights Law) & Chapter 14 (Use of Armed Force)

### **Week 7.B     28-Feb — International Law 2.0**

Allee, T., & Peinhardt, C. (2011). Contingent Credibility: The Impact of Investment Treaty Violations on Foreign Direct Investment. *International Organization*, 65(3), 401-432.  
doi:10.1017/S0020818311000099

Prorok, Alyssa K., and Paul K. Huth. "International Law and the Consolidation of Peace Following Territorial Changes." *The Journal of Politics* 77, no. 1 (2015): 161-74.  
doi:10.1086/678529

Kucik, J., & Pelc, K. J. (2016). Do international rulings have spillover effects? *World Politics*, 68(4), 713-751.

David B Carter, Rachel L Wellhausen, Paul K Huth. 2018. "International Law, Territorial Disputes, and Foreign Direct Investment". *International Studies Quarterly*.

*Recommended:*

Steinberg, R. (2002). *In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO*. *International Organization*, 56(2), 339-374.

### **Week 8.A     5-Mar — Laws of War**

Geoffrey Wallace. 2013. International law and public attitudes toward torture: An experimental study. *International Organization* 67(1): 105-140.

Colin Kahl. 2007. "In the crossfire or the crosshairs? Norms, civilian casualties, and US conduct in Iraq" *International Security* 32(1), 7-46.

### **Week 8.B     7-Mar — Exam Day**

**Week 9.A     12-Mar     *Spring Break***

**Week 9.B     14-Mar     *Spring Break***

### **Week 10.A     19-Mar — Laws of War 2.0**

Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth, and Sarah Croco. 2006. "Covenants without the Sword". *World Politics*. 58: 339-77.

Dustin Tingley, and Michael Tomz. 2012. "How Does the UN Security Council Influence Public Opinion?" Working Paper.

Prorok, Alyssa and Appel, Benjamin. 2013. "Compliance with International Humanitarian Law: Democratic Third Parties and Civilian Targeting in Interstate War". *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Morrow, James. 2007. "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 559-572.

*Recommended:*

Paul Huth, Sarah Croco, and Ben Appel. 2011. "Law and the Use of Force in World Politics: The Varied Effects of Law on the Exercise of Military Force in Territorial Disputes." *International Studies Quarterly* 56(1): 17-31.

### **Week 10.B 21-Mar — Conflict**

Bruce Russett, John R. Oneal, and David R. Davis. 1998. "The third leg of the Kantian tripod for peace: International organizations and militarized disputes, 1950–85." *International Organization* 52(3):

Johannes Karreth (2018) The Economic Leverage of International Organizations in Interstate Disputes, *International Interactions*, 44:3, 463-490

Huth, Paul K., Sarah E. Croco, and Benjamin J. Appel. 2013. "Bringing Law to the Table: Legal Claims, Focal Points, and the Settlement of Territorial Disputes Since 1945." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 90–103.

Appel, Benjamin J. 2017. "Intergovernmental Organizations and Democratic Victory in International Crises." *The Journal of Politics*.

Beardsley, K., Cunningham, White (2017). Resolving Civil Wars before They Start: The UN Security Council and Conflict Prevention in Self-Determination Disputes. *British Journal of Political Science*, 47(3), 675-697.

*Recommended:*

Gartzke, Erik, and Quan Li. 2003. *War, Peace, and the Invisible Hand: Positive Political Externalities of Economic Globalization*. *International Studies Quarterly* 47 (4):561–86.

Johannes Karreth and Jaroslav Tir. (2013). "International Institutions and Civil war." *The Journal of Politics* 75:1, 96-109

### **Week 11.A 26-Mar — Human Rights**

Simmons, *Mobilizing for Human Rights*, Chapters 1, 3 and 4

Simmons, *Mobilizing for Human Rights*, Chapter 2

### **Week 11.B 28-Mar — Human Rights**

Simmons, *Mobilizing for Human Rights*, Chapters 5 and 7

Simmons, *Mobilizing for Human Rights*, Chapter 8

Emilie Hafner-Burton. 2005. "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression." *International Organization* 59(3): 593-629.

*Recommended:*

Stanton, Jessica. (2016). *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

**Week 12.A 2-Apr — Institutions and Economic Sanctions**

Dan Drezner. 2000. “Bargaining, Enforcement, and Multilateral Sanctions: When is Cooperation Counterproductive?” *International Organization* 54(1): 73-102.

Bapat & Morgan (2009) – Multilateral vs Unilateral Sanctions reconsidered. *International Studies Quarterly*.

**Week 12.B 4-Apr — MPSA Conference (Class Cancelled)**

**Week 13.A 9-Apr — Democratization**

Jon Pevehouse. 2002. “Democracy from the Outside In? International Organizations and Democratization.” *International Organization* 56(3): 519-549.

Carnegie, Allison, and Cyrus Samii. 2017. “International Institutions and Political Liberalization: Evidence from the World Bank Loans Program.” *British Journal of Political Science*: 1–23.

**Week 13.B 11-Apr — Institutional Design**

Barbara Koremenos, Charles Lipson, and Duncan Snidal. 2001. “The Rational Design of International Institutions.” *International Organization* 55(4): 761-699.

B. Peter Rosendorff and Helen Milner. 2001. “The Optimal Design of International Trade Agreements: Uncertainty and Escape.” *International Organization* 55(4): 829-857.

Jonas Tallberg, Thomas Sommerer, Theresa Squatrito, and Christer Jonsson. 2014. “Explaining the Transnational Design of International Organizations.” *International Organization* 68(4): 741-744.

Eric Reinhardt and Jeff Kucik. 2009. “Does Flexibility Promote Cooperation? An Application to the Global Trade Regime.” *International Organization* 62(3): 477-505.

**Week 14.A 16-Apr — Election Monitoring**

Susan D. Hyde, and Nikolay Marinov. 2014. “Information and Self- Enforcing Democracy: The Role of International Election Observation.” *International Organization* 68(2): 329-359.

Daniela Donno. 2010. “Who Is Punished? Regional Intergovernmental Organizations and the Enforcement of Democratic Norms.” *International Organization* 64(4): 593-625.

**Week 14.B 18-Apr — Constructivism**

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change.” *International Organization* 52(4): 887-917

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

Nuñez-Mietz, Fernando G. 2018. “Legalization and the Legitimation of the Use of Force: Revisiting Kosovo.” *International Organization* 72(3): 725–57

Bearce, D., and Stacy Bondanella. (2007). Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence. *International Organization*, 61(4), 703-733.

*Recommended:*

David Howarth and Tal Sadeh (2011) *In the vanguard of globalization: The OECD and international capital liberalization*, *Review of International Political Economy*, 18:5, 622-645

**Week 15.A 23-Apr — Environmental Politics**

Tir, Jaroslav, and Douglas M Stinnett. (2012). "Weathering Climate Change: Can Institutions Mitigate International Water Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 49, no. 1: 211-25.

Prakash, Aseem, and Matthew Potoski. (2006). "Racing to the Bottom? Trade, Environmental Governance, and ISO 14001." *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 2: 350-64.

Saikawa, E. (2013). Policy Diffusion of Emission Standards Is There a Race to the Top? *World Politics*, 65(1), 1-33.

*Recommended:*

Ni, B., Tamechika, H., Otsuki, T., & Honda, K. (2019). Does ISO14001 raise firms' awareness of environmental protection? The case of Vietnam. *Environment and Development Economics*, 24(1), 47-66.

Week 15.B 25-Apr — Presentations 1

Week 16.A 30-Apr — Presentations 2

Week 16.B 2-May — Presentations 3