

INTERNATIONAL GOVERNANCE

Public Affairs 850
Fall 2017
Wednesday 4:00-6:00
Van Hise 155

Mark Copelovitch
Associate Professor
401 North Hall
copelovitch@wisc.edu

Office hours: Monday 1:00-2:15 or by appointment

Course overview

This is the introductory course for the Master in International Public Affairs (MIPA) program. The course is intended to provide an overview of the political economy of international governance. It focuses primarily on intergovernmental organizations (IOs), although we will frequently discuss the role of other actors in global governance (national policymakers, non-governmental organizations, other private and domestic actors) and other forms of international cooperation (treaties, informal agreements). We will examine the historical origins of individual IOs, their ostensible functions, the international and domestic political forces that influence their operations, and their effectiveness.

We will begin the course by addressing some overarching theoretical issues, so that we have a core set of analytical tools which we can apply to our study of specific IOs. We will first consider various theoretical approaches to understanding international relations, including realism, liberalism, bureaucratic politics approaches, and constructivism. We will also discuss questions of formal vs. informal cooperation and compliance with international agreements. Finally, we will cover a brief introduction to policy analysis, which will be useful both for the final policy analysis project in the course, as well as your capstone projects at the end of the second year of the MIPA program.

As we delve into specific IOs, we will begin first with the United Nations, before moving on to analyze the international financial institutions (the IMF, World Bank, and regional development banks) and international trade institutions (the World Trade Organization and regional trade agreements). We will then focus on the European Union, human rights treaties and international courts, and security institutions (NATO and the nuclear non-proliferation regime). Finally, we will discuss international efforts to address climate change, where cooperation to date is less extensive and less institutionalized.

As we examine each institution, we will keep several questions in mind, including:

- Does this international organization represent anything more than the interests of its most powerful members?
- How are the foreign policy goals of its most powerful members pursued – *or not*?
- What role do domestic politics play when countries interact with the international organizations?

- How does the pursuit of the private incentives of individuals working in IOs influence IO effectiveness?
- What ideas and norms in international politics influenced the creation of the various IOs and what impact have the IOs in turn had on international ideas and norms?
- How well has the IO achieved its stated policy objectives? If it has not, what political, economic, and social factors are most responsible for preventing its success?

Learning goals

Unlike many other La Follette courses, such as those in policy analysis and statistics, this course is more of a “context” course than a “how to” course. Students will learn how to think critically and analytically about topics in international governance, how to conceptualize puzzles in international relations, and how to think through the political, economic, and social factors influencing policymakers and other key actors involved in international organizations. Students will also develop an understanding of major current and past policy debates in various areas of international governance, including international security, international trade, international finance, development, human rights, and the environment. This knowledge is a vital prerequisite to the more advanced seminars and “how to” courses that you will take in the next two years. At the same time, this course will develop students’ concrete skills in applied research, writing, and oral communications.

Course requirements and evaluation

1. *Participation*: Students are expected to come to class having done the readings and prepared to discuss them in depth each week. Participation is a major component of the seminar and involves serious discussion of the readings and the ability to critically engage and analyze the material. **The class simply cannot function unless you come to class prepared and actively participate in discussions.** Participation will count for **20%** of your final grade.
2. *News analysis* – A short paper (maximum **4 pages**) using one of the theories, concepts, or analytical frameworks covered in Part I of the course to critically analyze a news article (of your choosing) on an international organization or key topic in global governance. The paper will be due on **October 4**. This will count for **20%** of your final grade.
3. *IO background briefing*: A short briefing paper (**maximum 5 pages**) for a newly-elected President on one of the following international organizations: the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, NATO, or the UN Security Council. Your job is to explain to her what she needs to know on her first day on the job about the the history, role, politics, and current key governance challenges and policy debates facing the selected IO. This paper will be due in class on **November 1**, and will count for **25%** of your final grade.
4. *Final policy analysis project*: The final assignment is a **15-page paper**, which will take the form of a policy memo for a policymaker analyzing a key policy issue in international public affairs. The proposal should address a policy question for a specific “client,” analyze current research on the issue, and utilize these materials to develop a set of policy recommendations. A one-page prospectus is due by **September 27**. The paper is due at the end of the semester on Monday, **December 18**. You will also give a **15-minute oral presentation** of your report on **December 13**

in class. The paper and presentation will count for **35%** of your final grade. ***You will work in groups of two or three on this final project. We will discuss more about this and the format of the project in the first weeks of class.***

Readings

All of the readings are available online via the Canvas course website or the internet.

You may find it useful to purchase the following primer on policy analysis, which will be required reading for the MIPA capstone course but may prove useful to you at this point:

- Eugene Bardach. 2005. *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving*. 2nd edition. Washington: CQ Press.

Important notes/class policies

- The best way to reach me is via email at copelovitch@wisc.edu or to speak with me before/after class.
- **Attendance:** If you know that you will be absent from class for religious or other reasons that can be known in advance, please let me know. If you have to miss class due to sickness or family emergencies, please keep me informed as possible. Remember that attendance/participation is fully 20% of your grade, and unexcused/unexplained absences will be noted accordingly.
- **Grading**
 - The grade scale is as follows: 93-100 A, 88-92 AB, 83-87 B, 77-82 BC, 70-77 C, 60-69 D, <60 F
 - Re-evaluating grades (please read very carefully!): My policy is the following:
 - You have to wait for 24 hours after the assignment has been returned before issuing any complaints. You then have to draft a 1-2 page double-spaced memo outlining why you deserve a better grade. Please note that this memo has to be based entirely on the merit of your own work, i.e., it cannot be based on comparisons with the grades of other students.
 - Your grade will then be fully re-evaluated. This means that I may revise the grade downward as well as upward. So please be certain that you have a very specific and justifiable reason before asking us to make any changes – this is not a risk-free process!
 - There are no extra credit opportunities. Your grade is determined by the assignments as described in the syllabus.
- **Assignments:** The assignment schedule is set. Clear your schedules now. There will be no make-up assignments unless you can provide proper documentation that your absence is due to a) a genuine family emergency, b) illness or injury, or c) travel away from Madison for university-related (!) obligations. If an assignment is missed for a valid reason, I will give you a substitute assignment of appropriate length/deadline.
- **Late policy:** All late work will be penalized at the rate of 1/2 letter grade per day, including weekends (e.g., a “B” paper one day late will earn a “BC”). If you have conflicts with deadlines for any reason (illness, scheduling, religious holidays, or otherwise) please discuss them with me as early as possible.
- **Accommodations:** Students needing special accommodations to ensure full participation in this course should contact me as early as possible. All information will remain confidential. You also may contact the McBurney Disability Resource Center regarding questions about campus policies/services.
- **Cheating and plagiarism** are very serious offenses that will not be tolerated in the course. You will receive a zero for the assignment and a failing grade for the class, and the reason for the grade will be noted in your transcript.

PART I – THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

September 6: Introduction

- Lecture slides, “IR: Key Concepts” & “Historical Overview”
- Michael Zuern, 2012. “Globalization and Global Governance,” *Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford University Press (https://www.wzb.eu/sites/default/files/u13/globalization_and_global_governance.pdf).
- “Who Runs the World? Wrestling for Influence,” *The Economist*, July 5, 2008 (<http://www.economist.com/node/11664289>).
- William Nordhaus, 2005. “The Problem of Global Public Goods” (<http://www.econ.yale.edu/~nordhaus/homepage/PASandGPG.pdf>).
- Nahal Toosi, August 28, 2017, “Toe-print, not footprint: US to shrink presence at UN General Assembly,” *Politico* (<http://www.politico.com/story/2017/08/28/trump-united-nations-general-assembly-242101>)

September 13: Classic theories of international relations

- Lecture slides, “IR Theories: Realism” & “IR Theories: Liberalism” & “IR Theories: Social Theories”
- (*) Jeffry Frieden, David Lake, and Kenneth Schultz, 2010. “Understanding Interests, Interactions, and Institutions,” (Chapter 2), in *World Politics*, pp. 40-79.
- Stephen Walt, 1998. “One World, Many Theories.” *Foreign Policy* (<http://faculty.maxwell.syr.edu/hpschmitz/PSC124/PSC124Readings/WaltOneWorldManyTheories.pdf>).
- Nathan A. Sears, “Trump Can Learn from Morgenthau’s 6 Principles of Political Realism,” *The National Interest*, February 20, 2017 (<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/trump-can-learn-morgenthau-6-principles-political-realism-19481>).

September 20: What is the role of international organizations and do they matter?

- Lecture slides: “International Organizations”
- Kenneth Abbott and Duncan Snidal, 1998. “Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(1): 3-32. <http://www.u.arizona.edu/~volgy/AbbottSnidal1998WhyStatesUseFormal.pdf>

- Jana von Stein, 2017. "Compliance with International Law," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. <http://www.janavonstein.org/uploads/4/6/1/9/46194525/isa-compendium-update.pdf>.
- (*) Michael N. Barnett and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations", *International Organization* 53(4): 699-732.
- John Van Oudenaren, 2003. "What is Multilateral?" *Hoover Institution Policy Review* 117 (<http://www.hoover.org/research/what-multilateral>).

September 27: Introduction to public policy analysis

- (*) David L. Weimer and Aidan R. Vining. 2005. *Policy Analysis: Concepts and Practice*. Chapters 1-3, pp. 1-53. [e-reserves]
- (*) Juliet Musso, Robert Biller, and Robert Myrtle, "Tradecraft: Professional Writing as Problem Solving." [e-reserves]
- (*) "Professional Writing: The Policy Memorandum."
- See MIPA capstone projects: <http://www.lafollette.wisc.edu/research-public-service/service-learning-courses/workshops-in-public-affairs>

October 4: NO CLASS, FIRST PAPER DUE

PART II – INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS & KEY ISSUES IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

October 11: The United Nations and collective security

- Lecture slides, "The UN System"
- Somini Sengupta, "Why the UN Can't Solve the World's Problems," *New York Times*, July 26, 2014. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/27/sunday-review/why-the-un-cant-solve-the-worlds-problems.html>
- James Vreeland and Axel Dreher, 2014. *The Political Economy of the United Nations Security Council: Money and Influence*. Chapters 1 and 7.
- Page Fortna, "Enough With the Pessimism About Peacekeeping," *Political Violence at a Glance*, (<http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2015/09/24/enough-with-the-pessimism-about-peacekeeping/>)

October 18: The International Monetary Fund

- Lecture slides, “International Financial Relations” & “The IMF”
- (*) James Vreeland, *The International Monetary Fund: Politics of Conditional Lending*, Chs. 1-3 (5-72).
- Ashoka Mody, April 9, 2016, “Saving the IMF” (<https://www.project-syndicate.org/onpoint/saving-the-imf-by-ashoka-mody-2016-04?barrier=true>).

October 25: The World Bank and the regional development banks

- Lecture slides, “International Development I, II, and III”
- Steven Radelet, “Once More Into the Breach: Does Foreign Aid Work?” (https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2017/05/08/once-more-into-the-breach-does-foreign-aid-work/?utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook&utm_campaign=global).
- Hongying Wang, 2016, “New Multilateral Development Banks: Opportunities and Challenges for Global Governance,” (http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/Discussion_Paper_Wang_MDBs_OR.pdf).
- Ngaire Woods, 2016, “How to Save the World Bank,” *Project Syndicate* (<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/saving-the-world-bank-by-ngaire-woods-2016-01>).

November 1: The World Trade Organization and regional trade agreements

SECOND PAPER DUE IN CLASS

- Lecture slides: “IPE and International Trade I & II”
- Chad Bown: “Mega-Regional Trade Agreements and the Future of the WTO” (<https://piie.com/system/files/documents/bown201609cfr.pdf>).
- Chad Bown: “The US filed a WTO dispute to save jobs – by increasing Chinese imports. Here’s why” (<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/07/26/the-u-s-filed-a-wto-dispute-to-save-jobs-by-increasing-imports-from-china-heres-why-the-wto-helps-u-s-companies/>).
- Motoko Rich, “TPP, The Trade Deal Trump Killed, Is Back in Talks Without the US,” *New York Times*, July 14, 2017 (https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/14/business/trans-pacific-partnership-trade-japan-china-globalization.html?_r=0).

- Chad Bown, “November 21, 2016, “The Truth About Trade Agreements – and Why We Need Them,” PBS Newshour, (<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/making-sense/column-truth-trade-agreements-need/>).

November 8: The European Union

- Lecture slides: “The European Union”
- (*) Desmond Dinan: “How did we get here?” In: Bomberg, Peterson, and Corbett, “The European Union: How Does it Work (3rd Edition, 2012)” Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 23-43.
- Madeleine Hosli, 2005. “The Euro: A Concise Introduction to European Monetary Integration” (<https://www.rienner.com/uploads/47d95e10497ed.pdf>).
- Mark Copelovitch, Jeffrey Frieden, and Stefanie Walter. “Four Lessons from the Euro Crisis – and Why the Future of the Euro Remains Uncertain.” London School of Economics EUROPP blog, October 7, 2016 (<http://bit.ly/2dVrTK3>).
- Julia Gray, Christian Jensen, and Jonathan Slapin, “No, Britain Won’t Get a Better Deal Now. Here’s Why Brexit Will Be Very Costly for Both the UK and the EU,” *Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/06/28/no-britain-wont-get-a-better-deal-now-heres-why-brexit-will-be-very-costly-for-both-the-u-k-and-the-e-u/?utm_term=.80a2042ccab5).
- Adam Twardoski, July 27, 2016 “Poland, Not Brexit, Is the Real Threat to Europe’s Unity,” *The National Interest* (<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/poland-not-brexit-the-real-threat-europes-unity-17154>).

November 14: Human rights institutions: the UN system and international courts

Guest lecture: Jon Pevehouse, Political Science

- Lecture slides: “International Law and Human Rights”
- Amartya Sen, “The Power of a Declaration,” *The New Republic*, February 4, 2009, (<http://www.tnr.com/article/books/the-power-declaration>).
- Terrence Chapman and Stephen Chaudoin, “People Like the ICC – As Long As It Targets People in Other Countries,” *Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/01/20/people-like-the-international-criminal-court-as-long-as-it-targets-other-problems-in-other-countries/?utm_term=.cca592ad2037).
- Courtenay Conrad and Emily Ritter, “A Trump Moratorium on International Treaties Could Roll Back Human Rights Here at Home,” *The Monkey Cage/Washington Post*

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/03/01/a-trump-moratorium-on-international-treaties-could-roll-back-human-rights-here-at-home/?utm_term=.76a06c3fe476).

November 22: NO CLASS (PRE-THANKSGIVING)

November 29: Environmental governance: climate change

Guest lecture: Ankur Desai, Atmospheric and Oceanic Sciences

- Christian Flachsland, Robert Marschinski, and Ottmar Edenhofer, “Global Trading Versus Linking: Architectures for International Emissions Trading,” *Energy Policy* 2009 (http://www.pik-potsdam.de/members/edenh/publications-1/flachsland_2009_energy_policy).
- Johannes Urpelainen, “Here’s What Political Science Can Tell Us About the Paris Climate Deal,” *Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/12/14/heres-what-political-science-can-tell-us-about-the-paris-climate-deal/?utm_term=.b652b5b83eec).
- Joshua Busby, “Trump Says Goodbye to the Paris Agreement: Here’s What That Means,” *Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/06/01/trump-says-goodbye-to-the-paris-climate-agreement-heres-what-that-means/?utm_term=.efb475a40123).

December 6: Security institutions: NATO and the nuclear non-proliferation regime

- Lecture slides: “Nuclear weapons and WMD”
- Jordan Becker and Edmund Malesky, “Yes, NATO is sharing the defense burden: here’s what we found,” *Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/12/09/yes-nato-is-sharing-the-defense-burden-heres-what-we-found/?utm_term=.ad399e2cf37e).
- James Goldgeier, “Trump Isn’t a Huge Fan of NATO: But His Complaints are Off Target,” *Monkey Cage/Washington Post* (https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/05/24/trump-is-not-a-huge-fan-of-nato-his-main-complaints-are-off-target-however/?utm_term=.8fd20407ffdb).
- “The Iran deal explained” (<http://www.vox.com/2015/7/15/8969563/iran-deal-explained-video>)
- Vipin Narang, “How North Korea Shocked the Nuclear Experts,” *Politico*, August 26, 2017 (<http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/08/26/north-korea-nuclear-tests-shock-experts-215533>)

December 13: Policy memo “client” presentations

- Policy memo presentations – background readings to be distributed in advance by presenters