



Professor Virginia Haufler

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Pronouns: She/Her/Hers

Drop-in visiting hours: Tues 3:30-4:30pm, Wed 4:30-5:30pm

Available by appointment—virtual or in-person

Course Description

A diversity of international organizations now governs all areas of international life—from trade and finance to climate and human rights. Can these organizations help us meet the grand challenges of our time? To answer this, we look at related questions: Why do states give up sovereignty to act collectively? Do international organizations have power independently of states? How do international non-governmental organizations participate in governance?

We begin the semester by exploring the role of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) in the liberal international order that dominated the post-WWII era. We analyze IGOs in terms of power, legitimacy, and design and explore how they function in different policy arenas. Then we look at the role of non-state actors as “global governors,” including both NGOs and corporations.

This is an upper-level GVPT course. Requirements are GVPT200 and junior standing.

Learning Outcomes

1. Demonstrate understanding of key political science concepts, questions, and theoretical approaches regarding global governance and international organizations.
2. Master the specific history and functions of major international organizations and the challenges they confront.
3. Be able to compare and contrast different theoretical and empirical approaches and critically analyze and evaluate them.
4. Develop your own position on major debates about international organizations.

Required Resources

- Book (rent/use ebook): **International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance, 3rd edition** by Margaret P. Karns, Karen A. Mingst, Kendall W. Stiles
- Course Website: <https://elms.umd.edu/>
- Social annotation of readings with Perusall: <https://www.perusall.com/>
- ChatGPT3.5 (free version)

Special Notice!

I am working to organize a visit by our class to IOs in Washington, DC. This will be an opportunity for you to talk to people who are involved in running the organizations we are studying this semester. More information will be forthcoming. The trip will be optional.

Course Requirements/Assignments

Detailed descriptions and due dates are at ELMS>Assignments

Mid-term Exam (in-class): 70 points

Final Exam (in-class): 90 points

Participation (in-class) 20 points

Perusall Social Annotation: 30 points

Solving Global Problems: 60 points

Project: 40

Final Grade Cutoffs									
+	97%	+	87%	+	77%	+	67%	+	
A	93%	B	83%	C	73%	D	63%	F	<60.0%
-	90%	-	80%	-	70%	-	60%	-	

Campus Policies

Campus policies relating to courses can be found [here](#). Campus policies reflect our commitment to:

- Student and instructor good conduct
- Accessibility, accommodations, and non-discrimination for all students
- Grades, program policies, and appeals processes

Course-Specific Policies

Academic Integrity

All work you submit should meet the highest academic standards of integrity, acknowledging all others you used in your work by citing original creators (authors). This includes reporting the use of AI such as Chatbot as a tool to assist you in your work. Learn what constitutes plagiarism and cheating, and how to use the latest technological aids appropriately.

AI-Usage

AI is changing how you can get work done. It can be a great help but has limitations, including that it might undermine your own ability to think and learn. The best approach is to learn its limits, be transparent about your use of it, and use it responsibly. When you use AI for classwork you should let me know and submit your prompts and explain your own contributions.

Names/Pronouns and Self-Identifications

Let me know if you have a preference regarding how you are addressed or described. It is up to you to decide how much you wish to disclose of your personal information.

Participation/ Classroom Discussion

Attendance means you show up. Participation is when you contribute to class discussion and in-class activities. The more you participate the more you will get out of the class. Note: the social annotation assignments described below may be a more comfortable way for you to speak up and engage with the course.

I look forward to discussing and debating the politics of international organizations. I do not necessarily agree with all the arguments that we will discuss but each one provides information and perspective that deepens our understanding of IOs. I encourage respectful discussion and disagreement. Please let me know immediately if you experience any unacceptable interactions.

Social Annotation

Some but not all course material will be provided via the Perusall platform. This allows groups within the class to engage with the material and with each other through online comments. I encourage you to express support or disagreement with the material or with each other. But your comments must be thoughtful, relevant, and respectful.

Communication

Reach me through the course website on ELMS, email me directly at vhaufler@umd.edu, see me one-on-one in person during my drop-in hours or make an appointment for a virtual meeting. Or even (gasp!) call me at 301-405-4122. I may not respond immediately if it is not urgent, and you are welcome to contact me again to remind me. Let me know if you need clarification about course requirements, help with an assignment, or if you have personal problems that are affecting your performance in this course. I would so appreciate it if you just wanted to chat about current events! I will communicate with you primarily through ELMS—be sure to read notifications and check the website regularly!

Resources & Accommodations

Accessibility and Disability Services

Please let me know immediately whether you need any accommodations regarding course material, requirements, or participation. The [Accessibility & Disability Service \(ADS\)](#) provides reasonable accommodations to qualified individuals to provide equal access to services, programs and activities. Email the ADS office at adsfrontdesk@umd.edu if you have any questions.

Basic Needs Security

Food and housing are basic needs that must be met for anyone to make the most of their classes. If you need food or housing, you can find resources at [UMD's Division of Student Affairs website](#). The [Campus Pantry](#) provides emergency food aid to all who are in need.

Perusall

While all the material for the course is required (unless noted otherwise), I have selected one thing each week for you to comment on collectively. We will use the Perusall platform (<https://www.perusall.com/>) for these assignments. Perusall helps you **learn faster** and **remember more** by sharing your questions and comments with other students directly on the readings. You can get questions answered and share your own knowledge with other people in the class. It also helps me understand what I need to explain in more detail, where I should focus my attention in class, and what further information I need to provide.

Go to [Perusall](#) and register as a student. Use code **HAUFLER-NBDQU** to access this course. Once there, you will see weekly assignments. For each one, simply start reading and when you see a key concept, idea, perspective, or anything at all that you think is important—highlight it. You can then put your question or comment relating to the highlighted part in the chat box on the right. You are required to (1) make thoughtful comments/ questions on the readings; and (2) engage with other students by responding to their comments/ questions. Perusall provides an introductory overview and extensive support so you don't get lost. You can respond to threads started by others, upvote excellent comments or questions, and respond directly to someone using @ and their name. The class is divided into smaller groups in Perusall to make this more manageable, so you will only see the comments and questions of a subset of the class.

Course Schedule

Aug 28: Can International Organizations Meet the Grand Challenges of Our Time?

What is the role of international organizations in world politics? What are they for?
Global problems and cross-border solutions: Yemeni oil leak example
Sovereignty, authority, cooperation—broad definition of international organizations
Introductions and preface to the course
Review the basics of IOs at [World101](#) especially Chs.1-5

Aug 30: The Long History of International Organization

Who creates intergovernmental organizations and why? What is the long history of changes in the organization of world affairs?
--Craig Murphy, "Global Governance over the Long Haul," 2pp

Sept 4: LABOR DAY—NO CLASS

PART ONE: THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Sept 6: Who are the Global Governors?

What do we mean by "global governance"? What are different governance functions? Who has authority and legitimacy to perform those functions? Who are the global governors?
--Avant, et al, "Who Governs the Globe?" Ch. 1 draft, 22pp

Sept 11: What are the Modes of Governance?

What are different ways that global governance is organized? How do we define hierarchy, networks, and market as modes of governance?
Barnett, et al, "Introduction—Modes of Governance," pp.1-27 only

Sept 13: What is the Relationship between States and IGOs?

Who creates IGOs and why? What shapes IGO behavior and unintended impacts?
--Abbott/Snidal, "Why States Act through Formal Organizations" 30pp

Sept. 18: How does Delegation Shape Incentives?

How does the delegation of authority to IGOs shape the behavior of participants? How much autonomy do IGOs have? What are potential unintended consequences?
--Hawkins, et al, "Delegation under Anarchy" Ch1 draft pp.1-33

PART TWO: IGOs and Peace

Sept 20: What is the history of IGOs prior to WWII?

What was the relationship between "great powers" and the rest of the world? How did relationships change with the First World War? What functional organizations were created? What was the role of international law?

--Hathaway/Shapiro, "International Law and its Transformation through Outlawry of War" 18pp
--Kahler, "The Bretton Woods Moment" Ch.2 pp.77-89 only

Sept 25: What was behind the founding of the UN?

What was the impetus behind multilateralism after WWII? What is the liberal idea about intergovernmental organizations and peace? What was the role of the US?

--Pevehouse/Russett, "Democratic Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace" 31pp.

Sept 27: How does the UN work?

How was US hegemony important to the founding of the UN? Was the UN an idealistic project or one grounded in realism? How is the UN organized? What is the special role of the Security Council? How is it supposed to promote peace?

--browse website of UN and UN Charter
--CFR Staff, "The UN Security Council" 10pp
--CFR Editors, "Funding the UN" 10pp.

Oct 2: How does the UN promote peace?

Does the UN have authority to intervene militarily? What are the constraints on action? What is UN peacekeeping? How has it changed over time? Why is it hard to do?

--Williams, "The Security Council's Peacekeeping Trilemma"
--Walter, et al, "The Astonishing Success of Peacekeeping"
--Haufler, "Orchestrating peace? Civil war, conflict minerals and the United Nations Security Council"

PART THREE: GOVERNING THE WORLD ECONOMY

Oct. 4 What problems is Bretton Woods System meant to solve?

What is the meaning of "Bretton Woods"? What historical factors influenced the design? What role did the US play in establishing and maintaining the system? How were developing countries incorporated?

--Helleiner, "Forgotten Foundations of Bretton Woods" 11pp

Oct. 9 What is the purpose of the IMF?

How did the role and policies of the IMF change after its founding?

-- Masters et al, "The IMF: The World's Controversial Financial Firefighter"

Oct. 11 What is the mission of the World Bank?

What was the original purpose of the World Bank? How has it expanded and evolved? What are its partner organizations?

--Masters/Chatzky, "The World Bank Group's Role in Global Development"

Oct. 16 How did power and ideas shape the GATT/ WTO?

Why did the original proposal for a trade IGO fail? What was the GATT and how did it evolve?

What are the principles of the GATT/WTO

-- Brown, "The WTO and GATT: A Principled History" Ch.1

Oct. 18: Who benefits from world trade?

Does everyone benefit from the GATT/ WTO? Who designs the rules? Is the GATT/ WTO biased against developing countries?

--Singh, "Who is Served by Paternalism?" Ch.1 41 pp

--Gilman, "The New International Economic Order: A Reintroduction"16pp

Oct. 23 What are criticisms of the Bretton Woods system?

How does the Bretton Woods system reflect the distribution of global power? Are the international financial institutions (IFIs) autonomous of states? How does it reflect the global North/South divide?

-- *Bretton Woods at 75: Critical Perspectives* 23pp

--Morris, "Development Finance Cooperation Amidst Great Power Competition: What Role for the World Bank?" 10pp

Oct. 25 Mid-term Exam

PART FOUR: GLOBAL ISSUES AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Oct 30 How do regional organizations pool sovereignty?

Why are there regional organizations? What are their functions? What are the strengths and weaknesses of the EU internally? Will the EU become a state? Does Brexit signal the end of the EU?

--Schimmelfennig, "The Brexit Puzzle" *West European Politics* 2022

Nov 1 How does the EU relate to global governance?

Does the EU take the place of IGOs? How and what does it contribute to global governance?

-- Marx/ Westerwinter, "An Ever More Entangled Union? The European Union's Interactions with Global Governance Institutions,"

November 6 What is the international regime for human rights?

What are human rights in international law and organization? What are the constituent parts of the human rights regime? Do states comply with human rights norms and treaties? How do

international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) contribute? What is the "justice cascade"?

- Stephen Hopgood, "Challenges to the Global Human Rights Regime," 10pp
- Pallas/ Bloodgood, "New Transcalar Advocacy and Evolving Patterns of Advocacy beyond the Boomerang" Introduction
- Ruggie, "'Business and Human Rights: An Evolving Agenda"

Nov 8 What can international courts do?

What are the various international courts addressing human rights? How do they challenge sovereignty? What power do they have?

- Klobucista/Ferragamo, "The Role of the International Criminal Court" CFR
- Oumar Ba, "Contested Meanings"
- Gladstone, "An Old Legal Doctrine that puts War Criminals in the Reach of Justice," 2021

Nov 13 How do international organizations support women?

Why have IGOs adopted policies of gender mainstreaming? What is its impact on rights, development, and peace?

- Hafner Burton/ Pollack, "Gender Mainstreaming and Global Governance"
- True, "Explaining the Global Diffusion of Women, Peace and Security Agenda"

Nov 15 What is the international humanitarian regime?

How do IGOs, INGOs, and others respond to state "failure"? What is the "responsibility to protect"? Why is intervention controversial?

- Barnett, "Humanitarianism Transformed"
- Cohen et al, "The New Colonialists," *Foreign Policy* 2008
- Betts, "The Normative Terrain of the Global Refugee Regime" *Ethics and International Affairs* 2015

Nov 20 How do refugees challenge sovereignty and global governance?

Who is defined as a refugee? What is the existing refugee system? How are refugees flows impacting to re-territorialization, bordering, and sovereignty?

- Benhabib, "The End of the 1951 Convention...?"
- Kelley/Durieux, "UNHCR and Current Challenges to International Refugee Protection"

Paper is due

Nov 22 THANKSGIVING BREAK

Nov 27 How has global environmental governance evolved?

What is the trajectory of climate change negotiations? What are the IGOs, INGOs, and corporate organizations involved in climate governance?

- Maslin, et al, "A Short History of the Successes and Failures of the International Climate Change Negotiations,"

--Green, "Climate Change Governance"

--Taiwo, "To achieve racial justice we must rebuild the world – and save the planet," Interview

Nov 29 Are public and private climate initiatives complementary and sufficient?

How are private actors—both INGOs and corporations—part of climate governance? What authority, legitimacy and influence do they have? What role do public-private partnerships and multi-stakeholder initiatives play?

-- Jessica Green, "Private Standards In the Climate Regime"

-- Hayley Stevenson, "Reforming Global Climate Governance in an Age of Bullshit,"

Globalizations 2020

Dec 4 How can we govern nuclear weapons?

What kinds of problems do nuclear weapons pose for global governance? What are the strengths and weaknesses of our existing organizations? Is nuclear proliferation a problem we should worry about? What can be done about it?

--review the website of the Arms Control Association

--Bollfrass/Herzog, "The War in Ukraine and Global Nuclear Order"

--Robinson, "What is the Iran Nuclear Deal?" Council on Foreign Relations

--Sanders-Zakre, "Five Common Mistakes on the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapon"

Dec 9 Are international organizations capable of governing the digital world?

How are issues of privacy and security addressed by global governance? Which actors have influence? Is technology changing too fast to control?

-- Srivastava, "Algorithmic Governance"

--Beaumier, et al, "Global Regulations for a Digital Economy"

--Martha Finnemore and Duncan Hollis, "Constructing Norms for Global Cybersecurity"

Dec 11 What is the future of global governance?

Is the liberal international order finished? Is the US turning its back on multilateralism? Is China's rise fragmenting the international architecture?

--Patrick, "Four Contending Approaches to Multilateralism"

--Kastner, et al, "China and Global Governance"

--Acharya, "After Liberal Hegemony"

--Schake, "Putin Accidentally Revitalized the West's Liberal Order"

Final Exam TBD