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<http://www.sas.rochester.edu/psc/stone/>
Office hours: Mondays and Wednesdays 1:30-2:30
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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 midterm exam and a final exam. In addition, there will be even 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. As this is a discussion-based course, class attendance is required. 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 five (over 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 available from the library at <https://www.library.rochester.edu/>, from Cambridge at <https://www.cambridge.org/core>, or on JSTOR. My new book, *Multinational Order*, will be posted as a pdf on Blackboard under "Course Materials" when we get to that point in the course. The following books are assigned in whole or substantial part and have been ordered at the bookstore, and they are recommended for purchase ([link here](#)):

- Hurd, Ian. *International Organizations: Politics, Law and Practice (5th Ed.)*. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2024). Chapter numbers have changed since earlier editions.
- 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.) If you are given a take-home, open-book exam, 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.
- Artificial intelligence is a useful research tool. However, any use that is made of it must be explicitly reported, and any text generated by AI (such as ChatGPT or other LLMs) must be quoted and properly attributed. Submitting text composed by AI as if it were your own is plagiarism.

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. 22: International Organization and IR Theory (lecture)

Jan. 24: No Class (PEIO)

Jan. 27: 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. 2024. *International Organizations: Politics, Law, Practice*, Chpt. 1.

Jan. 29: Power and International Cooperation

Debate: Keynes v. White

Keohane, 1984. Chpts 3, 8.

Feb. 3: 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. 5: A Model of International Organization

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

Feb. 10: Power and International Bargaining

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. 12: Institutions for International Finance

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

Hurd, Chpt. 6.

Feb. 17: 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. 19: 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. 24: 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.

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

Hurd, Chpt. 11.

Feb. 26: The Euro Crisis

Debate: Greece

Stone 2011, *Controlling Institutions*, Chpt. 6

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. 3: The World Bank

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.

Mar. 5: Midterm exam

Spring Break, March 8-16

Mar. 17: 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.

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

Mar. 19: 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. 24: International Law and Human Rights

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

Mar. 26: International Courts

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

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.

Hurd, Chpt 10.

Mar. 31: Multinational Order

Stone, 2025. *Multinational Order*, Chapters 1-3.

Apr. 2: Multinational Order

Stone, 2025. *Multinational Order*, Chapters 4-5.

Apr. 7: Multinational Order

Stone, 2025. *Multinational Order*, Chapters 6-7.

Apr. 9: Multinational Order

Stone, 2025. *Multinational Order*, Chapters 8-9.

Apr. 14: Multinational Order

Stone, 2025. *Multinational Order*, Chapters 10-11.

Apr. 16: The UN Security Council

Debate: Ukraine

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.

Apr. 21: 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. 23: 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. 28: Conclusions

Stone, 2025. *Multinational Order*, Chapters 12-13.

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

Apr. 30: No class

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

Final Exam TBD

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; you have 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 drawn from the readings?
5. *Contemporary evidence.* Does the essay support the argument with contemporary examples drawn from your reading of the press, 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.