

#### **MSc in International Negotiations**

Πατησίων 76, 104 34 Αθήνα. Τηλ.: 210 8203197 / Fax: 210 8203634 76, Patission Street, Athens 104 34 Greece. Tel.: (+30) 210 8203197 / Fax: (+30) 210 8203634 E-mail: pkonstantinou@aueb.gr / www.aueb.gr

# **Negotiations and International Organizations**

Course Leaders: Assistant Professor Professor

Panagiotis Konstantinou Dimitrios Bourantonis

Office: 5<sup>th</sup> floor, Antoniadou Building, 4<sup>th</sup> floor, Derigni Building,

 Tel:
 +30 210 8203197
 +30 210 8203366

 E-mail:
 pkonstantinou@aueb.gr
 bouranto@aueb.gr

**Sessions:**  $8 \times 3$  hours each

**Course Assessment:** Final Written Examination (100%)

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

The main objective of this course is to provide an overview of international and regional economic and security organizations (e.g. IMF, WTO, World Bank, UN, African Union, NATO), describe their operations and the negotiations within them. The aim is to familiarize students with the nature and procedures, techniques and methods of negotiations taking place in international organizations. Negotiations within these organizations will be analysed in order to understand the dynamics of their operations and the extent of their involvement and influence in the international negotiating environment.

Upon successful completion of the course students will be able to:

- Identify the procedures of the negotiations taking place in international organizations.
- Discuss the actors and negotiation practices in major international organizations.
- Discuss the dynamics evolving as a result of negotiations in international organizations.
- Analyse the role of the UN, African Union, NATO, IMF, WTO, World Bank.

### **MAIN TOPICS**

- Introduction to Negotiations (Interdependence & Conflict) and Distributive/Integrative Bargaining in an International Context
  - Dixit and Nalebuff (1991) Ch. 1-4, 8, 11
  - Dixit, Skeath, and Reiley Jr., (2014) Ch. 1-5, 14, 17 (\*\*\* more technical)
  - Lewicki, Barry, and Saunders (2016) Ch. 1-4, 10, 11,12
  - Lewicki, Barry, and Saunders (2014) Ch. 1-4, 13, 16, 20
  - > Odell (2010, 2013)
- Some Economics Background: Balance of Payments/Current Account/Trade Balance: Why do we care? Trade Policy Tools; Historical Background to IMF, World Bank and WTO; (c) The WTO
  - ➤ Krueger (1999), Irwin (1995), Steinberg, R. H. (2003), Hathaway (1998), Goldstein and McGuire (2004), Jawara and Kwa (2004), Dixit and Nalebuff (1991)
  - Krugman, Melitz, Obstfeld (2018)
    - o Chapter 2. World Trade: An Overview
    - o Chapter 9. The Instruments of Trade Policy
    - O Chapter 10 The Political Economy of Trade Policy
    - Chapter 13 National Income Accounting and the Balance of Payments
  - ➤ <u>Understanding the WTO</u> and from there <u>Principles of the Trading System</u>, <u>The GATT Years</u>, and The Uruguay Round
  - Then <u>Tariffs: more bindings and closer to zero</u>, <u>Anti-dumping</u>, <u>subsidies</u>, <u>safeguards: contingencies</u>, <u>etc.</u> and <u>Non-tariff barriers: red tape</u>, <u>etc.</u>
- Negotiating a WTO; Negotiating in the WTO: (a) The Dispute Settlement Mechanism; (b) Technical Barriers to Trade
  - Daugbjerg and Kay (2013), Schott and Jung (2019), Moon (2006), Odell (2015), Dixit and Nalebuff (1991), Rocha and The (2011), WTO (2011)
- The World Bank (Global Development, Alleviating Poverty): The five institutions of WB; Negotiating in the WB: The Dispute Settlement Mechanisms
  - https://www.worldbank.org/en/who-we-are
  - https://www.worldbank.org/en/about
  - https://www.worldbank.org/en/what-we-do
  - ➤ ICSID (2021) Background Paper on Investment Mediation. Available at: <a href="https://icsid.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/publications/Background\_Paper\_on\_Investment\_Mediation.pdf">https://icsid.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/publications/Background\_Paper\_on\_Investment\_Mediation.pdf</a>
  - ➤ ICSID (2021) Overview of Investment Treaty Clauses. Available at: <a href="https://icsid.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/publications/Overview\_Mediation\_i">https://icsid.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/publications/Overview\_Mediation\_i</a> n Treaties.pdf
  - ➤ MIGA (2015) Dispute Resolution and Claims. Available at: <a href="https://www.miga.org/sites/default/files/archive/Documents/Dispute\_Resolution\_and\_Claims.pdf">https://www.miga.org/sites/default/files/archive/Documents/Dispute\_Resolution\_and\_Claims.pdf</a>

# • The International Monetary Fund: Roles of the IMF; Negotiating with the IMF

- ➤ Krugman, Melitz & Obstefld (2018) Chapter 19; Dixit and Nalebuff (1991)
- https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/ar/2016/eng/quota.htm
- https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2016/08/01/20/56/Extended-Fund-Facility
- https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets/Sheets/2016/08/01/20/45/Precautionary-and-Liquidity-Line
- Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund
- The dirty details: https://www.imf.org/en/About/Factsheets

## • The Structure of Negotiations in IOs (actors and processes)

Three Types of Negotiations Involving IOs. Key IOs Features that affect negotiations. Intra-Organizational negotiations, Inter-organizational negotiations, nested organizations and negotiations.

### • Negotiations in the UN

The institutional structure, the role of states – and their ability to wield influence – blocs, coalitions, bureaucracy and the exercise of formal and informal leadership in the UN.

### • The EU International Performance

From Presence to Actorness to Performance: A conceptual sojourn. International actornes: concept and criteria. Performance: concept differentiation from effectiveness. Three distinctive steps in a level analysis: the output, outcome and Impact of the EU international activities.

### **READING MATERIAL**

Daugbjerg, C, and Kay, A. (2013). A trade balance: litigation and negotiation in the World Trade Organization's dispute settlement system, *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 105-120

Bannerman, G. (2015) "The Free Trade Idea" in **Martin, L. (ed.)** The Oxford Handbook of the Political Economy of International Trade (pp. 37 – 56) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- S. Blavoukos, D. Bourantonis and I. Galariotis, 'In Quest for a Single Voice in the UN General Assembly: The Politics of Resolution 65/276', *Cooperation & Conflict* 2017(1): 1-18. <u>e-class document</u>
- S. Blavoukos, D. Bourantonis and P. Tsakonas, 'Parameters of the Chairmanship Effectiveness', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, no 1, 2006, pp. 143-170, <u>e-class document</u>

- S. Blavoukos and D. Bourantonis, *Chairing Multilateral Negotiations. The Case of the United Nations* (London, Routledge, 2011)
- D. Bourantonis, The EU in the UN, (unpublished paper in Greek)

Bown, Chad B. (2015) "Trade Policy Instruments Over Time" in Martin, L. (ed.) The Oxford Handbook of the Political Economy of International Trade (pp. 57 – 76) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caraway, Teri L., Rickard, Stephanie J. and Mark S. Anner (2012) International Negotiations and Domestic Politics: The Case of IMF Labor Market Conditionality, *International Organization* 66(1): 27-61

Chase, K. A. (2003) "Economic Interests and Regional Trading Arrangements: The Case of NAFTA," *International Organization* 57: 137-74.

Dixit, Avinash and Nalebuff, Barry (1993) *Thinking Strategically: The Competitive Edge in Business, Politics, and Everyday Life.* New York: W.W. Norton.

Dixit, Avinash, Skeath, Susan and Reiley Jr., David H. (2014) *Games of Strategy* 4<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: W. W. Norton (Chapters 14, 17)

Ethier, W. J. (1998) "The New Regionalism," *Economic Journal* 108(449): 1149-1161

Goldstein, Andrea E. and Steven M. McGuire (2004) The Political Economy of Strategic Trade Policy and the Brazil-Canada Export Subsidies Saga, *The World Economy* 27: 541-566

Hampson, Fen Osler with Michael Hart (1999) Multilateral Negotiations Lessons from Arms Control, Trade, and the Environment, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press

Hathaway, O. A. (1998) Positive Feedback: The Impact of Trade Liberalization on Industry Demands for Protection, *International Organization* 52(3):575 612

Irwin, D. A. (1995) The GATT in Historical Perspective, *American Economic Review* 85(2):323-28.

Krueger, A. O. (1999) "Are Preferential Trading Arrangements Trade-Liberalizing or Protectionist?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13: 105-124

Krugman, P., Melitz, M. & Obstefld, M. (2018) *International Economics: Theory and Policy*, 11<sup>th</sup> ed, Pearson.

Jawara, F. and A. Kwa (2004) *Behind the Scenes at the WTO: The Real World of International Trade Negotiations*, revised edition, Zed Books.

Marceddu, Maria Laura (2018) "Implementing Transparency and Public Participation in FTA Negotiations: Are the Times a-Changin'?", *Journal of International Economic Law* 21(3): 681–702

Moon, D. (2006) Equality and Inequality in the WTO Dispute Settlement (DS) System: Analysis of the GATT/WTO Dispute Data, *International Relations* 32(3): 201-228

Moravcsik, A. (1993). "Introduction: Integrating International and Domestic Theories of International Bargaining," in **Evans**, et al. Double-Edged Diplomacy: International

Bargaining and Domestic Politics (pp. 3 – 42) Berkeley: University of California Press (pp. 3-42). JX1395 D63 1993

Narlikar, A., & Van Houten, P. (2010) "Know the enemy: Uncertainty and deadlock in the WTO", In **A. Narlikar** (Ed.) *Deadlocks in Multilateral Negotiations: Causes and Solutions* (pp. 142-163) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Odell, John S. (2006) Negotiating Trade: Developing Countries in the WTO and NAFTA, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Odell, John S. (2009) "Breaking Deadlocks in International Institutional Negotiations: The WTO, Seattle, and Doha", *International Studies Quarterly* 53, 273–299

Odell, John S. (2010) "Three islands of knowledge about negotiation in international organizations", *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(5): 619-632

Odell, John S. (2013) "Negotiation and Bargaining" in **Mansbridge**, **J. and Martin**, **C. J.** (eds) *Negotiating Agreement in Politics* (pp. 144 – 182), Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.

Odell, John S. (2015) "How Should the WTO Launch and Negotiate a Future Round?", World Trade Review 14(1): 117–133

Odell, John S. and Tingley, Dustin (2013) "Negotiating Agreements in International Relations" in **Walter Carlsnaes, W., Risse, T.** and **Simmons, B.** (eds) *Handbook of International Relations* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (pp. 379 – 400), London: SAGE Publications.

Peet, Richard (2009) *Unholy Trinity: the IMF, World Bank and WTO* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, London: Zed Books.

Putnam, R. D. (1988) "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," *International Organization* 42, 427-460.

Rickard, Stephanie J. (2010) "Democratic differences: Electoral institutions and compliance with GATT/WTO agreements", *European Journal of International Relations* 16(4): 711–729

Rickard, Stephanie J., and Caraway, Terry L. (2014) "International Negotiations in the Shadow of National Elections", *International Organization* 68(3): 701-720.

Rocha, N. and The, R. (2011) Preferential trade agreements and the WTO, <a href="https://voxeu.org/article/preferential-trade-agreements-and-wto">https://voxeu.org/article/preferential-trade-agreements-and-wto</a>

Schott, J. J. and Jung, E. (2019) The WTO's Existential Crisis: How to Salvage Its Ability to Settle Trade Disputes. Washington: Peterson Institute for International Economics.

World Trade Organization (2011) World Trade Report 2011: From Co-existence to Coherence (Geneva: WTO)

C. Smith, *Politics and Processes at the United Nations. The Global Dance*, Boulder: Lynne Reinner, 2006: 19-61 <u>E-class document</u>

Steinberg, Richard H. (2003) "In the Shadow of Law or Power? Consensus-Based Bargaining and Outcomes in the GATT/WTO" *International Organization* 56(2): 339-374.

- J. Tallberg, 'The Power of the Chair: Formal Leadership in International Cooperation. *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 54, No. 1, 2010, pp. 241-265. **E-class document**
- S. Touval, 'Multilateral Negotiation: An Analytic Approach', *Negotiation Journal*, April 1989: 159-173 <u>E-class document</u>
- A. Auer and J. Racine, Multilateral Negotiations: From Strategic Considerations to Tactical Recommendations, January 2005: 1-16. <u>E-class document</u>