

# IO

## International Organization

**Steven Weber**

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

**Andrew Bennett, Joseph Leggold, and Danny Unger**

Burden-sharing in the Persian Gulf War

**Detlef Sprinz and Tapani Vaahtoranta**

International Environmental Policy

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Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty

**Laurie M. Johnson Bagby**

The Use and Abuse of Thucydides

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# International Organization

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## Articles

- Origins of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development *Steven Weber* 1
- Burden-sharing in the Persian Gulf War *Andrew Bennett, Joseph Leggold, and Danny Unger* 39
- The interest-based explanation of international environmental policy *Detlef Sprinz and Tapani Vaahtoranta* 77
- The state and the nation: changing norms and the rules of sovereignty in international relations *J. Samuel Barkin and Bruce Cronin* 107
- The use and abuse of Thucydides in international relations *Laurie M. Johnson Bagby* 131

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## Contributors

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**Laurie M. Johnson Bagby** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas.

**J. Samuel Barkin** is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at Columbia University, New York City.

**Andrew Bennett** is Assistant Professor of Government at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

**Bruce Cronin** is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science at Columbia University, New York City.

**Joseph Leggold** is Assistant Professor of International Affairs and Government at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

**Detlef Sprinz** is Senior Fellow in the Global Change & Social Systems Research Unit, Potsdam Institute for Research on Climate Change Impact (PIK), Germany, and was formerly Visiting Scholar at The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

**Danny Unger** is Assistant Professor of Government at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.

**Tapani Vahtoranta** is Director of the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, Helsinki.

**Steven Weber** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley.

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# Abstracts

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## **Origins of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development**

by Steven Weber

In post-cold war Europe, the persistence of old international institutions and the development of new ones provide a testing ground for theoretical debates about the sources and consequences of international institutions. This article examines the origins of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), which was created in 1990 to foster a transition in Central and Eastern European states toward market economies and democratic political systems. To improve on standard accounts of the origin of international institutions, I draw from organization theory to introduce a distinction between “technical” and “institutional” environments for organizations and develop expectations about how new institutions could arise and operate differently in each. EBRD looks like an institution developing in an institutional environment; that is, an environment that supports networks of organizations which share elements of legitimacy, even if organizations are not efficient in an economic or productive sense or in relation to the parochial preferences of states. The early history of EBRD provides some support for the argument that an institutional environment has been established in Europe and has survived both the end of the cold war and the passage of a hegemonic distribution of power.

## **Burden-sharing in the Persian Gulf War**

by Andrew Bennett, Joseph Leggold, and Danny Unger

The end of the cold war has heightened the importance of burden-sharing within ad hoc collective security coalitions. Operation Desert Storm represents an important case of such a coalition. Although a large literature examines the disparate size of allied states’ collective action problems in regard to their alliance contributions, little effort has been made to assess other explanations for contributions. This article evaluates that hypothesis and four additional hypotheses that help to explain not only the amount but also the kind and timing of the burdens borne by members of the Desert Storm coalition: two external hypotheses—balance of threat and alliance dependence—and two internal hypotheses—state autonomy and domestic politics plus bureaucratic politics. Structured, focused case studies of policy processes in Britain, Egypt, France, Germany, Japan, and the United States are used to evaluate the hypotheses. We find that external pressures, especially alliance dependence, explain political leaders’ incentives to contribute to alliances, while internal constraints account better for their ability to contribute and for the form those contributions take. Our integrated model



accounts for four polar types of contribution outcomes, with an emphasis on the importance of alliance dependence in producing them.

### **The interest-based explanation of international environmental policy**

by Detlef Sprinz and Tapani Vahtoranta

While scholars and politicians alike pay increasing attention to international environmental problems, we still lack theories that explain why some states support strict international environmental regulation and why other countries are reluctant to do so. The interest-based explanation of governmental support for international environmental regulation provides a partial answer to this research question. We suggest classifying countries as “pushers,” “draggers,” “intermediates,” or “bystanders” in international environmental negotiations on the basis of a country’s ecological vulnerability and the costs of abatement. We assess the theoretical expectations and performance of countries in a comparative case study of the negotiations leading to the 1987 Montreal Protocol (stratospheric ozone layer) and to the 1985 Helsinki Protocol (“acid rain” in Europe).

### **The state and the nation: changing norms and the rules of sovereignty in international relations**

by J. Samuel Barkin and Bruce Cronin

There is a historical tension between state sovereignty, which stresses the link between sovereign authority and a defined territory, and national sovereignty, which emphasizes a link between sovereignty and a defined population. These fundamentally differ in the source of their legitimation, thereby altering the environment through which states interact. Should the state emphasis predominate, international borders will be seen as territorially determined. Should the nationalist emphasis predominate, the international community will see states as tied to specifically defined populations and as territorially malleable. The legitimacy of the nation-state in a particular era is determined largely by the principles around which the winning coalition unites during a great war. These principles cannot be objectively deduced from the nature of the states or the structure of the system, but must be induced from two variables: the political dynamics of the coalition-building process and the intersubjective consensus among coalition members as to the war’s cause. Consequently, sovereignty should be viewed as a variable rather than as a constant.

### **The use and abuse of Thucydides in international relations**

by Laurie M. Johnson Bagby

Thucydides’ role as father of realist and neorealist theory in international relations is often misperceived. Careful examination of key episodes and commentary from Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War* shows that Thucydides offers an alternative conception of the roles of national character, individual character, political rhetoric, and morality, than that of either realism or neorealism. This can be seen by sketching a picture of Thucydidean scholarship in international relations and then providing some examples from current international relations scholarship that in some ways approximate that picture. Thucydides’ *History* can provide a useful guide for “layering” different theories and perspectives in the analysis of international relations, a practice that may make such analysis more meaningful and useful, especially for practitioners.