

**Locating
the
Proper
Authorities**

**Locating
the
Proper
Authorities**

**The Interaction of Domestic
and International Institutions**

Daniel W. Drezner, Editor

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

Ann Arbor

Copyright © by the University of Michigan 2003
All rights reserved
Published in the United States of America by
The University of Michigan Press
Manufactured in the United States of America
⊗ Printed on acid-free paper

2006 2005 2004 2003 4 3 2 1

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system,
or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, or
otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher.

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Locating the proper authorities : the interaction of domestic and
international institutions / Daniel W. Drezner, editor.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-472-11289-9 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. International relations—Congresses. 2. Comparative government—
Congresses. 3. International relations—Public opinion—Congresses.

I. Drezner, Daniel W.

JZ43 .L63 2002

327.1—dc21

2002032034

Contents

Acknowledgments	vii
Introduction: The Interaction of Domestic and International Institutions Daniel W. Drezner	1
Part 1. Contracting	
Democratization, Credible Commitments, and Joining International Organizations Jon C. Pevehouse	25
Giving the Unrecognized Their Due: Regional Actors, International Institutions, and Multilateral Economic Cooperation in Northeast Asia Jean-Marc F. Blanchard	49
Part 2. Coercion	
Tying Hands without a Rope: Rational Domestic Response to International Institutional Constraints Eric Reinhardt	77
Tying Hands and Washing Hands: The U.S. Congress and Multilateral Humanitarian Intervention Kenneth A. Schultz	105

Part 3. Persuasion

The Social Effects of International Institutions on Domestic (Foreign Policy) Actors Alastair Iain Johnston	145
International Commitments and Domestic Politics: Institutions and Actors at Two Levels Duncan Snidal and Alexander Thompson	197
References	231
Contributors	265
Index	267

Acknowledgments

The idea for this book started with the observation that Robert Putnam's pathbreaking work on two-level games has led to an unbalanced development in research about the interaction between domestic and international institutions. A great deal of work has built on Putnam to show how domestic politics can constrain the ability of states to cooperate internationally. However, there has been much less work on the flip side of Putnam's argument—that foreign policy leaders can use international institutions as a means of circumventing or co-opting domestic opposition.

From this idea came a three-day conference in Boulder, Colorado, in June 1999 entitled "The Interaction of Domestic and International Institutions," where eight papers were presented and the larger points debated. Six of these papers, thoroughly revised, along with Duncan Snidal and Alexander Thompson's concluding chapter, make up the present volume.

From the origins of the idea for the book to its publication, the contributors and I have accumulated several debts. Steve Chan was instrumental in turning my idea into a tangible conference proposal. Funding for the 1999 conference was provided by grants from the University of Colorado at Boulder's Council on Research and Creative Work and its Institute for International Relations. Jana Murphy and Nicole Wittenstein made sure that the trains ran on time at the conference, which allowed the contributors to focus on the larger themes. The contributors were fortunate to have an able corps of discussants—Steve Chan, Kathryn Hochstetler, Helen Milner, and Dimitris Stevis. Their advice proved indispensable in our later revisions. Two other participants presented papers but later withdrew from the project because of other obligations. We are grateful to Delia Boylan and Stephen D. Krasner, whose papers and critiques were both constructive and stimulating.

In the process of turning the conference papers into this edited volume, the contributors are grateful to Jeremy Shine, political science editor at the University of Michigan Press. Jeremy's tenacity and

patience proved most valuable during the review process. The two anonymous reviewers for the Press provided excellent suggestions for revisions. Kevin Rennells was instrumental in converting this book from bytes to pages. I am also grateful to Bonnie Weir for her vital contributions at the final stages of publication.

Everyone mentioned here is absolved from any errors contained in this book. This includes the two computers that I used to compose and compile this work: the Compaq Deskpro, serial number 6731BPM5Q888, and the Dell Inspiron 3500, serial number 24969312A. These machines were kind enough not to crash.

From this project's inception, I received a steady drumbeat of advice from my colleagues and peers on the mechanics of this project. The content of this advice was remarkably uniform: edited volumes serve little purpose but to act as a constant drain on the editor's time and resources. In response, I took on a much more ambitious project. The first day of the conference was also my first day as a dog parent. For not chewing up anything related to this project, this book is dedicated to Chester Drezner, a very sweet three-year-old beagle.