

Government 333

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Wesleyan University

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W,F 11:00-12:20
Room Science 109

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I. Course Description

Nations have increasingly attempted to manage their interdependence collectively through the use of international organizations. This course represents a systematic study of these organizations: their structures, impact, successes, and failures. Emphasis will be placed on analyzing competing theories of international organization and evaluating current scholarship on the performance of these institutions in today's most important international issue-areas: security, economic efficiency, economic development, food aid, human rights, and the environment. In addition, the class will participate in several simulated diplomatic bargaining sessions on current international issues.

II. Assignments

The final grade will be based on three research papers on topics to be handed out during the semester and participation. Weights and due dates are as follow:

Individual Participation	20%	
Class Participation	10%	
Responsibility	20%	
First Paper	10%	Due by Feb 16
Second Paper	20%	Due by April 20
Final Paper	20%	Due during final exam period

The format of the course will be principally discussion. Discussion questions will be available on the syllabus. The questions will also serve as good study guides. Participation will be evaluated based on the quantity and quality of comments, and familiarity with the readings. There will be a grade for the entire class and also a grade for each individual. Responsibility encompasses all aspects of participation in the course: attendance, timeliness in giving in assignments and coming to class, corresponding in a timely manner, supporting an equitable load in group projects, and all other expectations related to the responsible execution of duties connected to this course.

Groups of students will present plans for solving all of the major global problems presented in Section 2. A to G. If you are not presenting on a particular problem, you should still have a two-page memo mapping out your own plan for solving the problem.

III. Readings

All readings on this syllabus are required, unless stated otherwise. The readings are on reserve at the Olin Library Reserve Room and are also on electronic reserve. The following books will serve as texts for the course, and are recommended for purchase at the Broad Street bookstore:

Lawrence Ziring, Robert Riggs and Jack Plano, The United Nations, 4th Edition

Michael Oldstone, Viruses, Plagues and History

IV. International Organization as a Force for Peace and Stability

International organization (IO) is a fairly recent phenomenon. The last 100 years have seen the growth of international governmental organizations (IGOs) and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) from very few to over 600 and 6,000 respectively. Much debate has gone on over the origins and nature of this new means of managing interdependence among nations. But even more attention has gravitated around the issue of the effects of international organization. A cursory reading of the daily press will show that the world is far from a federated system of nations being governed by powerful organizations like the UN. We see that issues are much discussed in these international fora, but the resolutions (which themselves are never ubiquitous) are never binding in an absolute legal sense. We also see that the laws and norms of these organizations are rarely enforced. These circumstances lead many (both cynics and non-cynics) to conclude that international organization is not a central player in international politics. And when it does make an impact, it is at a very low level of salience (i.e., IOs are given more power over less politicized issues such as transportation and communication).

This view is compelling, but hardly unproblematic. It assumes that the impact of an actor is proportional to its involvement in a situation and its ability to influence other actors in that same situation. However, in international politics, as in social relations in general, this is not the case. Sometimes very small functions can generate great influence over outcomes. How many wars has the discussion which has gone on in the UN prevented? How many revolutions has the economic aid of the IMF and World Bank prevented? Considering the fact that many international crises are ignited by very small incidents (e.g., the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand), very small functions which are normally played by IOs may very well generate a disproportionate impact on international relations. Hence, in this case, small might very well carry a big impact (e.g., "for want of a horse, my kingdom was lost").

This is an important consideration when judging the effectiveness of IO in solving the principal problems of international relations. Each function which is intended to stabilize some set of relations must be carefully scrutinized independently of its scope and direct impact. Of central importance is the idea of preventive maintenance, or what we can call "solving international problems by the back door." Peace can be preserved by direct and indirect means. A direct means might be a collective security system where a group of nations rises up against any perceived aggressor. An indirect means may be the avoidance of war by improving the economic conditions of poorer countries (e.g., providing them with the resources they would otherwise be forced to take by war). No complete judgement of the success of international organization in specific issue-areas is possible without a sensitivity to all the complex effects. Sometimes, such a judgement might be facilitated by indulging in counter-factuals: e.g., how would this event have turned out differently without U.N. intervention? There are many issues on the world diplomatic agenda,

and all of them are being influenced by international organizations. This creates both a complex and challenging array of cases for those interested in understanding international organization.

V. Course Outline

Introductory Class
(Jan 21)

1. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

A. Theoretical Traditions of International Politics (Sept 14)

How would you describe the two scholarly traditions of Realism and Idealism. Is the Realist concept of power seeking an appropriate way to look at the world today? How would you say each traditions views international organizations? Which tradition, in your opinion most accurately explains the existence and impact of international organizations?

Art and Jervis, International Politics, pps. 2-7

Hans Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, Chapter 1

Hedley Bull, "Does Order Exist in World Politics"
in Art and Jervis, International Politics,
pps. 29-41

Michael Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs"
Philosophy and PublicAffairs (1993)

B. Determinants of the Growth and Timing of International Organization (Jan 26)

What kind of international organizations do we see in the world today (what is the difference between IGOs and INGOs)? What patterns can you identify in the historical evolution of IO (e.g., early IOs were limited in membership and had specific tasks, while later IOs had general tasks and more universal membership). Study the graph closely. Can you explain why the graph looks like it does? What does the growth, for example, of IO slow or stop during wars? Why do we see the beginning of IO in the 19th century (why don't we see IO starting in say 1400)? What factors explain the sharp increase of IO growth after 1945?

Harold Jacobson, Networks, Chapters 1, 3

C. The Structure and Functions of the U.N.: Building

World Government

Jan 28

The class will watch a documentary, "The U.N. in a Revolutionary World." The film highlights the origins of the structures and roles of the U.N.

Feb 2

We will discuss the nature and effectiveness of U.N. supranational governance in light of the documentary and the following reading:

When watching the documentary on the functions and structures of the UN, and while reading about the structure and functions of the UN in Ziring, Plano and Riggs, think about how the UN conforms to a government? Link the structure of the UN primarily to the structure of the U.S. government, and think about the similarities and the differences. How does the Secretary General serve Presidential functions? Is the UN a strong government or a weak government? In terms of world peace and stability, does it really matter whether the UN is a strong or weak government? Is the UN fine the way it is, or should we try to change it?

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,
Chapters 1- 3

D. Theories of International Organization

D.1. Functionalism (Feb 4)

In light of the Mitrany reading and Jacobson's description of functionalism, how would you describe the functionalist idea of "technical self-determination"? What is the functionalist's view of international bureaucrats (technocrats)? Are we indeed heading toward a world of technocratic international organization? What are the biggest problems you have with the functionalist view of international organization?

Harold Jacobson, Networks, Chapter 4

David Mitrany, "The Functional Alternative"
in Charles Beitz and Theodore Herman, eds.,
Peace and War

D.2. Neofunctionalism and Beyond (Feb 9)

Cox sees IOs as the "institutionalization of hegemony." How does this term characterize the Neo-Marxist view of international organization? What are the weaknesses of this view of IOs? Barnett and Cavanagh would reject the idea that nations are still the leading players in world politics. Indeed transnational forces are leading to one world, featuring an American culture. Which view or combination of views do you think is correct?

Review Jacobson, Networks, Chapter 4

Robert Cox, "The Crisis of World Order and the Problem of International Organization in the 1980s" International Journal 35 (Spring 1980)

Richard Barnett and John Cavanagh, "Homogenization of Global Culture"

2. MANAGING GLOBAL ISSUES

A. The Collective Management of International Security (Feb 11)

What are the principal activities of IO with respect to promoting security? How influential do you consider each activity to be? Which activity do you consider most important? How has the operations of UN peacekeeping changed from the early 50s and the Korean War to be present? What do you think of the effectiveness of the present style of peacekeeping? How does the UN's strong resolutions on the Gulf War fit into this pattern of evolution?

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations, Chapters 5, 6

Michael Doyle, "Peace Building" Global Governance, 13, 2007

Michael Barnett, "Bringing in the New World Order" World Politics, 49 (July 1997)

Brian Urquhart, "United Nations Peace Forces and the Changing United Nations" International Organization 17 (Spring 1963)

First paper due Feb 16

B. Managing Economic Stability

B.1. International Trade Relations (Feb 16)

Historically, international trade has been one of the most contentious issues which international organization has had to deal with. What is it about trade that makes it so difficult to cooperate? How has the GATT and World Trade Organization attempted to manage international trade (i.e., what are the principal norms of GATT and WTO)? What's wrong with GATT/WTO and the way it has managed trade? What suggestions can you make for improving the situation?

Jock Finlayson and Mark Zacher, "GATT and the Regulation of Trade Barriers" International Organization 35 (Autumn 1981)

John Jackson, "The Crumbling Institutions of the Liberal Trade System" Journal of World Trade Law 12,2

J. Michael Finger, "The GATT as an International Discipline over Trade Restrictions: A Public Choice Approach" in Roland Vaubel and Thomas Willett, ed., The Political Economy of International Organizations

John Jackson, "Managing the Trading System: The World Trade Organization and the Post-Uruguay Round GATT Agenda" in Peter Kenen, ed. Managing the World Economy

B.2. International Monetary Relations

You have been presented with two quite differing assessments of the impact of the IMF on less-developed borrowing nations. On the good side, Rogoff portrays the IMF as a force for debt relief and development as it lends money and encourages responsible macroeconomic policies in borrowing nations. On the dark side: Abdalla and Payer's arguments are still quite alive today: the IMF is an institution of the evil Empire. Which view is closer to the truth? (Don't say "both" and stop thinking about it!!!) Pick one view and be prepared to defend it with hard facts.

Feb 18

The class will watch the documentary "One World, One Economy." The film explores how the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has attempted to promote economic growth and stability in Mexico, Poland, and Ghana.

Feb 23

We will discuss the film in light of the following readings:

Ismail Abdalla, "The Inadequacy and Loss of Legitimacy of the International Monetary Fund" Development Dialogue (1980)

Cheryl Payer, "The World Bank and the Small Farmers" Journal of Peace Research 16 (1979)

Graham Bird, "The IMF and Developing Countries" International Organization, 50 (Summer 1996)

Allan Meltzer, "What's Wrong with the IMF? What Would Be Better" The Independent Review (Fall) 1999

Kenneth Rogoff, "The IMF Strikes Back" Foreign Policy (January/February) 2003

C. Global Hunger and Food Aid
(Feb 25)

World hunger is one of the most pressing problems on the international agenda. How has the problem traditionally been approached by international organizations? What are the successes of these approaches? Where have these approaches failed? Do you think that world hunger is a problem of resources (insufficient agricultural development and resources like fertile land) or is it created by bad policies (for example, it is a fact that many countries experiencing problems of hunger export most of their food or grow cash crops which cannot be consumed). What kind of approach would you suggest to solve the problem of hunger?

Raymond Hopkins, "Reform in the International Food Aid Regime:
The Role of Consensual Knowledge" International Organization
46 (Winter 1992)

Foreign Policy Association, "Farmers, Food and the Global
Market" Great Decisions 1989

Frances Moore Lappe, Joseph Collins, and David Kinley,
Aid as Obstacle, Chapters 12-17,20

D. The Collective Management of Development

D.1. The Nature of Underdevelopment
(Mar 4)

How would you describe the nature of the problem of underdevelopment? Can we agree of some general definition of underdevelopment? Is under- development perfectly synonymous with poverty, or is there much more to underdevelopment? What, in your opinion, are the worst effects of poverty?

How do you explain the large income differences between first world and third world countries? Is their one explanation, or specific set of factors, that best accounts for these differences, or are they the result of a combination of many different factors which cannot be ranked in terms of their importance? Based on the prevalent causes of underdevelopment, in which direction should we move in framing solutions to the problem?

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,
Chapter 10

Ian Little, Economic Underdevelopment,
Chapters 1,2

Jagdish Bhagwati, The Economics of
Underdeveloped Countries, Chapters 1-3

D.2. Solving the Problem
(Mar 23)

The most common means of addressing underdevelopment in the third world has been international aid, i.e., the transfer of income to the governments of poor countries. What are its strong points? What are its weaknesses? What is your view of microfinance as an alternative to large-scale government-to-government transfers? How would you think of Sen's idea of development as freedom (i.e., investing in human beings to raise their capabilities)? What is your view of Nussbaum's feminist theory of development (i.e., development through equality)?

Peter Bauer and Anthony Daniels, "No Aid at All"
Cato Policy Report (November/December 1991)

Martha Nussbaum, Women and Human Development, pp. 1-110

Amartya Sen, Development As Freedom, pp. 1-53

Marguerite Robinson, The Microfinance Revolution, pp. 6-45

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,
Chapter 10

Mar 25, 30

Simulated North-South bargaining sessions in UNCTAD:
instructions and background materials will be distributed
before the first meeting

E. Confronting the Problem of International Human Rights
(Ap 1)

One of the newest issues on the international agenda has been human rights. The UN has done much in this area over the past two decades. What exactly has its main functions been? Many critics of human rights initiatives at the international level argue that they represent undue interference in national sovereignty: they see human rights as a domestic problem? Do you agree? Moreover, the UN has taken much credit for the significant reduction of human atrocities in the world over the last 50 years. Do you, in fact, agree that there is more respect for human rights in today's world than the world of the 1950s? If you do agree, has this been the result of IO or the result of changing social views on the rights of individuals in society (i.e., the Federalist process of identification)?

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations,
Chapter 9, sections on human rights

Giulio Gallarotti and Arik Preis: "Politics, International Justice and
The United States: Toward a Permanent International Criminal Court"
Australian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 53, No. 1, (1999)

F. Managing the Global Commons: Preserving Our Environment
(Ap 6)

Our global environment has traditionally been referred to as the global commons. Given that no one wants to see a deterioration in our global environment (e.g., pollution, global warming, deterioration of the ozone layer), how do you explain the fact that our environmental problems are growing? What is it about the common nature of the environment that sheds some light upon this question? Many believe the key to solving the problem lies in stronger IOs. Do you agree? Did the Earth Summit create such a solution? Another solution often espoused is to privatize the environment: i.e., giving away ownership rights to the sea, atmosphere, and space. What are the positive and negative points of this solution? (Consider the Wijkman reading closely on this point.) Solow believes that the market will eventually deliver a clean environment: we should not worry? Is this too cavalier a view? Based on all the readings, what is your preferred strategy for solving the global environmental problem?

“The Earth in the Balance” UN Chronicle 34, 2 1997

Robert Solow, “Sustainability: An Economist’s Perspective” in Robert Stavins, ed, Economics of the Environment (2000)

Per Wijkman, "Managing the Global Commons"
International Organization 36 (Summer 1982)

Peter Haas, Marc Levy, and Edward Parson, "Earth Summit
Judging its Success" Environment 34 (October 1992)

Giulio Gallarotti, “It Pays to be Green: The Managerial Incentive
Structure and Environmentally Sound Strategies” Columbia Journal of World Business
30,4 (Winter 1995)

Wilfred Beckerman and Joanna Pasek, “The Equitable International Allocation of
Tradable Carbon Emission Permits” Global Environmental Change 5,5 1995

Daniel Esty, “The Case for a Global Environmental Organization,”
Peter Kenen, ed., Managing the World Economy

Ap 8, 13
North-South Bargaining Session on the Environment:
background materials will be distributed before class

G. Managing Global Health
(Ap 15)

The greatest natural cause of premature death today, as it has been throughout history is neither war, ethnic violence, or natural disasters. The most prolific killer has been disease. If preserving human life is the most important goal among human communities, then the management of disease becomes the most important problem on Earth today. This problem falls primarily upon developing nations, whose healthcare systems remain underdeveloped. How has disease plagued human kind in the past? What are the main health problems facing the world today? Is the World Health Organization equipped to address the problems? If not, what is the answer?

Laura Gaydos and James Veney, "The Nature and Etiology of Disease" in Bruce Fried and Laura Gaydos, eds, World Health Systems, Chapter 1

Michael Oldstone, Viruses, Plagues and History, Oxford University Press, 1998

Background materials on World Health Organization in your handout packets

Brian Doherty, "Who Cares? The World Health Organization Cares More About Its Own Life Than the Lives of the Poor" Reasonline January 2002

Second paper due April 20

3. PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH PROJECTS

(Ap 20- 29)

4. THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

(May 4)

Think back on each of the issues we discussed: security, trade, monetary relations, global hunger, development, human rights, and the environment. What has been the impact of international organization on each?

Has international organization had a great or a small impact on the issue area? [Remember "It's a Wonderful Life:" small things can have very great consequences.]

What have been the successes of international organization in dealing with the issue?

What have been the failures of international organization (i.e., made things worse or failed to make any difference at all)?

What changes would you institute in managing the issues so as to make things better?

Ziring, Riggs and Plano, The United Nations, Chapter 11

Harold Jacobson, Networks, Chapter 16

FIRST PAPER

Do a profile on any international organization. Cover three major issues: 1) talk about what its major functions comprise, 2) talk about the major problems it has faced in managing relations in its specific issue-area, 3) finally, propose solutions you think to be the best for solving the problems you discussed. The paper should be six, double-spaced pages.

SECOND PAPER

Do a case study on an intervention by an international organization. Select a case in international politics in which an international organization intervened to solve a problem. Carefully assess the effects of the involvement. Identify the successes of the intervention. Identify the failures of the intervention. Based on the failures, how would you have reconstructed the intervention to improve its performance? The paper should be no more than 7, double-spaced pages.

FINAL PAPER

We have carefully analyzed how international organizations manage the most important global issues (security, trade, monetary relations, global hunger, development, human rights, and the environment). Of all these issues, which one would you say has been most successfully managed by international organization(s)? Defend your answer. Which issues would you say has been least successfully managed? Defend your answer. Finally, how would you account for those differences in success (i.e., why has one issue been better managed than the other)?

Please restrict your answer to 7 double-spaced typed pages.