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:

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<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
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<tr>
<td>Individual Participation</td>
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<td>Class Participation</td>
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<td>Responsibility</td>
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<td>Quizzes on the readings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Memos</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Paper</td>
<td>15%    Due by Feb 20</td>
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<td>Second Paper</td>
<td>15%    Due by April 22</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final Paper</td>
<td>15%    Due during final exam period</td>
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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 (please keep up with the readings as there will be occasional quizzes on 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. 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:


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 450 and 13,000 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 28)

1. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

A. Theoretical Traditions of International Politics
(Jan 30)

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"

Michael Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs”

B. Determinants of the Growth and Timing of International Organization
(Feb 4)

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?

Rittberger, *International Organization*, Chapter 3

Harold Jacobson, *Networks*, Chapters 1, 3
C. The Structure and Functions of the U.N.: Building World Government

Feb 6
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 11
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 IOs in Rittberger, think about how the UN and IOs conform to a government? Link the structure of IO primarily to the structure of the U.S. government, and think about the similarities and the differences. Do IOs represent strong government or a weak government? In terms of world peace and stability, does it really matter whether IOs are strong or weak government? Are IOs fine the way they are, or should we try to change them?

Rittberger, *International Organization*, Chapters 4-7

D. Theories of International Organization

D.1. Functionalism and Alternatives
(Feb 13)

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?

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? Barnet 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
David Mitrany, "The Functional Alternative"
Robert Cox, "The Crisis of World Order and the Problem of International Organization in the 1980s"
Richard Barnet and John Cavanagh, “Homogenization of Global Culture”
2. MANAGING GLOBAL ISSUES

A. The Collective Management of International Security
   (Feb 18)

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 the present? What do you think of the effectiveness of the present style of peacekeeping?

Rittberger, *International Organization*, Chapter 8

Michael Doyle, “Peace Building”

Michael Barnett, “Bringing in the New World Order”

Brian Urquhart, "United Nations Peace Forces and the Changing United Nations"

Assignment: Prepare a two-page documented memo with your plan for security.

First paper due Feb 20

B. Managing Economic Stability

B.1. International Trade Relations
   (Feb 20)

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"

John Jackson, "The Crumbling Institutions of the Liberal Trade System"

J. Michael Finger, "The GATT as an International Discipline over Trade Restrictions: A Public Choice Approach"

Assignment: Prepare a two-page documented memo with your plan for trade.

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? Pick one view and be prepared to defend it with hard facts.

Feb 25
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 27
We will discuss the film in light of the following readings:


Ismail Abdalla, "The Inadequacy and Loss of Legitimacy of the International Monetary Fund"

Cheryl Payer, "The World Bank and the Small Farmers"

Graham Bird, “The IMF and Developing Countries”

Allan Meltzer, “What’s Wrong with the IMF? What Would Be Better”

Kenneth Rogoff, “The IMF Strikes Back”

Assignment: Prepare a two-page documented memo with your plan for IMF reform.

C. Global Hunger and Food Aid
(Mar 4)

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?

Lester Brown, *The New Geopolitics of Food*
Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo, “More Than One Billion People Are Hungry in the World”

Raymond Hopkins, "Reform in the International Food Aid Regime”

Foreign Policy Association, "Farmers, Food and the Global Market”

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

Assignment: Prepare a two-page documented memo with your plan for food security.

D. The Collective Management of Development

D.1. The Nature of Underdevelopment

(Mar 6)

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?

Ian Little, Economic Underdevelopment, Chapters 1,2

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

D.2. Solving the Problem

(Mar 25)

Underdevelopment has long been addressed with one principal weapon: government-to-government aid. Nothing has yet shaken the solution of aid from its lofty perch. Yet, by almost all accounts, this solution has failed miserably in promoting development. More recent thinking has espoused more grass-roots solutions to the problem of poverty in the developing world. Marshaled on the rhetoric of human development (Sen), these solutions have sought to substitute visions of bottom-up development for the trickle-down strategies which underlie government-to-government aid. The goal here is to invest in social capital and infrastructure, thereby producing more capable and prosperous individuals, which in turn will galvanized local economies. Eventually, the local growth will manifest itself on a national level. On a more logistical level, the idea has latched onto microfinance as a viable champion. Through small-scale lending at the local level, the foundations for national development can be created. One interesting twist to the story is the role of women. In fact, some microfinance arrangements have been directed exclusively at groups of women with what many think have been stellar results (the Grameen Bank in India). The logic of the work of Jacobson, King and Hill on women and development suggests that the liberation of women would represent a crucial economic engine of growth for the economies of less developed nations.
Assignment: Prepare a two-page documented memo with your plan for development.

Mar 27, Ap 1
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 3)

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)?

Rittberger, International Organization, Chapters 11


Assignment: Prepare a two-page documented memo with your plan for human rights.

F. Managing the Global Commons: Preserving Our Environment
(Ap 8)

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?

Rittberger, *International Organization*, Chapters 10

Robert Solow, “Sustainability: An Economist’s Perspective”

Per Wijkman, "Managing the Global Commons"

Peter Haas, Marc Levy, and Edward Parson, "Earth Summit Judging its Success"

Giulio Gallarotti, “It Pays to be Green: The Managerial Incentive Structure and Environmentally Sound Strategies”

Wilfred Beckerman and Joanna Pasek, “The Equitable International Allocation of Tradable Carbon Emission Permits”

Daniel Esty, “The Case for a Global Environmental Organization,”

Assignment: Prepare a two-page documented memo with your environmental plan.

Ap 10.15
North-South Bargaining Session on the Environment: background materials will be distributed before class

G. Managing Global Health
(Ap 17)

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?


Brian Doherty, “Who Cares? The World Health Organization Cares More About Its Own Life Than the Lives of the Poor”
Assignment: Prepare a two-page documented memo with your plan for global health.

Second paper due April 22

3. PRESENTATIONS AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH PROJECTS
   (Ap 22-May 1)

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.