

POL 347
International Organization
Davidson College

Dr. Ken Menkhaus
Office: Chambers 207
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Fall Semester 2003
Chambers 2130
T-Th 11:30-12:45



SYLLABUS

POL 347 is an upper-level course devoted to the analysis of contemporary international organizations and to the international transactions, issues, and crises they are intended to manage. It is structured around some of the most significant issues confronting the international community, and includes a short review of important concepts and theories of relevance to international organization.

The broad question which serves as the foundation of the course is this: how does a world organized politically around sovereign states cope with transactions and threats which are increasingly trans-national in nature? We will be taking a close look at how effectively the international community has devised organizations, rules and regulations, and practices to manage the complexity of issues such as global finance, the internet, health threats, collective security, transnational crime, terrorism, and economic development. In some cases, the structures and procedures we have in place are reasonably well-suited to manage transnational problems; in other cases, as you will see, structures of global governance are poorly adapted to the rapid changes of transnational politics and exchange.

The course will combine lecture and seminar formats, with an emphasis on class discussion based on course readings and current events. Active, constructive participation by all students is essential to make the class a success.

Students are reminded that strict adherence to the honor code is a critical component of the Davidson experience; this includes a responsibility to understand and avoid plagiarism. Ignorance of plagiarism is not an acceptable excuse!

Evaluation:

<i>review #1:</i>	25%
<i>review #2:</i>	25%
<i>final exam:</i>	25%
<i>policy paper:</i>	25%

Numerical grades will be translated into letter grades as follows:

93-100 A
90-92 A-
87-89 B+
83-86 B
80-82 B- etc

Research paper: One 10-14 page policy analysis will be required of each student. Instructions are provided in an appendix to this syllabus.

Reviews: Reviews will typically consist of a combination of short-answer and essay questions. Some are in-class, some take-home, or a combination of both.

Class participation: Active participation in class discussions will be rewarded informally in the determination of the final grade. Students who contribute most meaningfully to class discussion may be rewarded with an increase of a half-letter grade. For example, an active participant with an average of 89 may be “bumped up” to an A- from a B+.

Required Reading:

Karen Mingst and Margaret Karns, *The United Nations in the Post-Cold War Era*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.

Love, Maryann Cusimano, ed. *Beyond Sovereignty: Issues for a Global Agenda*. 2nd Edition. Belmont CA: Wadsworth, 2003.

Diehl, Paul, ed. *The Politics of Global Governance*. 2nd Edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000.

In addition, numerous required readings have been placed on electronic reserve at the library. The New York Times is a required text – read it daily! Subscriptions to the NY Times can be acquired at the bookstore. You will be expected to stay abreast of current events throughout the semester.

There are also numerous excellent websites carrying news and reports on international

organizations. You will be provided a list and are expected to follow them.

Office Hours:

Monday: 9:30-10:30 am

Tuesday: 2:30-3:30 pm

Wednesday: 11:00am-12:00pm

Thursday: 2:30-3:30pm

Friday: 9:30-10:30am

And by appointment. I will place a sign-up sheet on my door; please schedule your own meeting with me on that sheet to insure I will be available for you at that time.

COURSE OUTLINE

SECTION I: THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION: AN OVERVIEW

Tuesday, August 26 – Introduction to the Course: Inventory of Issues and Actors

Thursday, August 28 – Competing perspectives on international organization and interdependence

Read: Mingst and Karns, *The United Nations in the Post-Cold War Era*, pp. 1-15; Paul Diehl, ed., *The Politics of Global Governance*, “Introduction to Part 1,” Abbott and Snidal, “Why States Act Through Formal International Organizations” and Cupitt, Whitlock, and Whitlock, “The (Im)mortality of International Governmental Organizations.”

Tuesday, September 2 –
reading:

Thursday, September 4 – Explaining cooperation in a world of conflict -- “regime theory”
read: Diehl, ch. 3, 4; Robert Keohane, “Cooperation and International Regimes,” pp. 436-49; Paul Kennedy, “Introduction to the Rise and Fall of the Great Powers,” pp. 471-80, in Stiles and Akaha, eds., International Political Economy: A Reader (reading packet).

Tuesday, September 9 -- Globalization and sovereignty — the state of the debate
read: Cusimano, ch.1, and pp. 231-249; Robert Reich, The Work of Nations excerpts (reading packet); other reading in reading packet.

SECTION II: THE EVOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Thursday, September 11 – The establishment of the UN; Basic features of the UN system
read: Mingst and Karns, pp. 20-64, 157-75; Diehl, ch. 6.

Tuesday, September 16 -- The UN during the Cold War
read: Cusimano, pp. 221-231; Meisler, excerpts (reading packet).

Thursday, September 18 -- Problems and Prospects for the UN in the Post-Cold War Era
read: “Mid-Life Crisis: The UN at 50” collected articles (reading packet); Cusimano, ch. 11.

Tuesday, September 23— **Guest speaker**

The Debate over Reforming the UN

read: Mingst and Karns, pp. 139-56; Diehl, ch.7, 19. William Branigan and Keith Richburg, “The UN Empire: Polished Image, Tarnished Reality,” Washington Post four part series (Sept 20-23 1992) (reading packet). Brian Urquhart, “For a UN Volunteer Military Force,” NY Review of Books (June 10, 1993), and responses (reading packet); Helms, “Saving the UN,” Foreign Affairs (Fall 1996) pp. 2-8 (reading packet).

Thursday, September 25 -- **Review #1** (in class)

SECTION III: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL PEACE OPERATIONS AND HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

Tuesday, September 30 — “Complex Emergencies:” The Transition from Traditional Peacekeeping and Humanitarianism to Peace Enforcement and Humanitarian Interventionism
read: Mingst and Karns, pp. 65-105; Diehl, ch. 9, 10, 16; Boutros-Ghali, An Agenda for Peace (reading packet).

Thursday, October 2 — Signs of Success: Sudan, Cambodia, Namibia, Mozambique, and the Gulf War

read: Meisler, pp. 257-77 (reading packet); Overseas Development Council, “Humanitarian Intervention in a New World Order” (1992) (reading packet); Michael Doyle and N. Suntharalingam, “The UN in Cambodia: Lessons for Complex Peacekeeping,” International Peacekeeping 1, 2 (Summer 1994) pp. 117-147 (reading packet).

Tuesday, October 7 — Limits of Humanitarian Interventionism: Somalia (UNOSOM)
read: Meisler, pp. 294-311 (reading packet); Clarke and Herbst, “Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention” Foreign Affairs (1996) (reading packet).

Thursday, October 9 -- Post-UNOSOM Interventions and non-Interventions, from Rwanda to Kosovo

read: reading packet

Tuesday, October 14 – Fall Break

Current UN Peace Operations and Lessons Learned about Humanitarian Intervention
read: reading packet.

Thursday, October 16 — Innovations in Aid to War-Torn Societies — a briefing on the UN’s War Torn Societies Project

read: reading packet

SECTION IV: THE CONVERGENCE OF SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT, AND SOCIAL ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Tuesday, October 21 -- Managing New Global Security Threats; Transnational Crime
read: Menkhaus (reading packet); Cusimano, ch. 2, 5.

Thursday, October 23 — Transnational Terrorism

read: Cusimano ch. 3, 4

Tuesday, October 28 – Transnational Health Issues

read: Cusimano, ch. 7; reading packet material.

Thursday, October 30 – Managing Refugee Crises and Global Migration

read: Cusimano, ch. 6; reading packet

Tuesday, November 4 — The Global Human Rights Movement — case study of an international regime and of the rise of NGOs in the global fora

read: Diehl, ch. 14, 18; reading packet; Scheffer, “International Judicial Intervention,’ Foreign Affairs (1996) (reading packet).

Thursday, November 6 — Environmental Management

read: Cusimano, ch. 8; Diehl, ch. 17; Mingst and Karns, pp. 126-36.

Review #2: take-home exam — handed out in class April 6, due in class April 11.

SECTION V: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES

Tuesday, November 11 -- Third World Development -- The State of the Art and the State of Global Institutions

read: Mingst and Karns, ch. 5.

Thursday, November 13 — The Bretton Woods Institutions and Their Future

read: Diehl, ch 12: reading packet.

Tuesday, November 18 – **no class**

Decision-Making and Power in Economic Development Organizations — and Their Challengers
read: Diehl, ch. 11, 15; reading packet

Thursday, November 20 – The Battle in Seattle — the Case of the World Trade Organization
read: reading packet

Tuesday, November 25

Thursday, November 27 — Thanksgiving holiday

Multinational Corporations as Global Actors
read: Cusimano, ch. 10; reading packet

SECTION VI: EMERGING TRANSNATIONAL ACTORS AND ISSUES IN THE NEW CENTURY

Tuesday, December 2 — Diasporas; Religious, Cultural, and Civic Transnational Links
reading: reading packet; Spiro, “New Global Communities. . .” (1995) (reading packet).

Note: policy papers due in class

Thursday December 4 –The Telecommunications Revolution, Labor, and the Global Financial System
read: reading packet

Tuesday, December 9 – The Future of the State and International Organization in the 21st Century
read: reading packet

final exams: December 12-18

Part I: Theories of International Organization

Tuesday, August 22 – Course Introduction -- Inventory of Global Issues and Actors

Thursday, August 24 – Competing Perspectives on International Organization and Interdependence

Read:

Tuesday, August 29 – Explaining Cooperation in a World of Conflict – Regime Theories

Read: Robert Keohane, “Cooperation and International Regimes,” pp. 436-49 (reading packet); and, keep reading Friedman.

Thursday, August 31 – The Debate over Globalization, Sovereignty, and International Organizations – class discussion of the Friedman book

Read: Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, pp1-326.

Tuesday, September 5 – The Globalization Debate, continued

Read: Friedman, pp. 327-475.

Part II: The Evolution of the United Nations

Thursday, September 7 – The Establishment of the UN; Basic Features of the UN system

Read: Mingst and Karns, ch. 2, 3, and Appendix (Charter of the UN).

Tuesday, September 12 – The UN Security Council and Secretariat

Read: Mingst and Karns, ch 4, and Shawcross, pp. 214-241, pp.332-356.

Thursday, September 14 – Problems and Challenges Facing the UN in the Post Cold War Era

Read: (reading packet)

Tuesday, September 19 – The Debate Over Reforming the UN

Read: Mingst and Karns, ch. 6, and (reading packet)

Proposed research topic turned in today

Part III: Int'l Organization and the Case of the Global Environment

Note: From September 24 through 27, the Dean Rusk- Bank of America Conference on “International Conservation in the New Millenium” will be held at Davidson College. This event will bring in a number of top experts and practitioners from international organizations. You will be expected to attend as many of the panels and presentations as possible; the conference is an excellent opportunity for our class. More details will be provided as the conference nears.

Thursday, September 21 – Background: The Rise of Global Environmental Problems and the International Response

Read: Mingst and Karns, pp. 126-135; Porter and Brown, ch. 1, 2.

Tuesday, September 26 – The Rise of Global Environmental Regimes – How and Why?

Read: Porter and Brown, ch.3

Thursday, September 28 – Global Environmental Regimes – How Effective?

Read: Porter and Brown, ch. 4-5

Tuesday, October 3 – The Global Environment and International Organization into the New Millenium

Discussion of conference proceedings

Thursday, October 5 – **Review #1 – in-class**

Take-home essay question handed out; due in class on Thursday, October 12.

Tuesday, October 10 – **Fall Break**

Part IV: Collective Security, International Peacekeeping, and Humanitarian Intervention

Thursday, October 12 – “Complex Emergencies;” The Transition from Traditional Peacekeeping and Humanitarianism to Peace Enforcement and Humanitarian Interventionism

read: Mingst and Karns, ch. 4; Shawcross, prologue and ch.1.

Tuesday, October 17 – A Primer on UN Peace Operations; How They Work, What They Entail

Read: (reading packet)

Draft bibliography and one-page draft summary of research findings due in class

Thursday, October 19 – Case Studies of “First Generation” Interventions, from Operation Lifeline Sudan to Desert Storm to Cambodia

Read: Shawcross, ch. 2, 3, 4, 12.

Tuesday, October 24 – Case Studies of Failed Interventions – Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia

Read: Shawcross, ch. 5, 6, 10.

Thursday, October 26 – The New UN Peace Operations – Congo, Sierra Leone, East Timor, Kosovo

Read: Shawcross, ch. 7; pp. 242-248 of ch. 8; ch.10-11, 14..

Tuesday, October 31 – Assessing the Future of UN Peace Operations and Humanitarian Intervention

Read: Shawcross, epilogue; and reading packet.

Part V: Int'l Organization and Economic and Development Issues

Thursday, November 2 – International Organization and Financial Assistance for Development

Read: Mingst and Karns, ch. 5.

Tuesday, November 7 – International Organization and Technology Transfer/Foreign Direct Investment

Read: (reading packet)

Thursday, November 9 – International Organization and Delivery of Basic Development Services

Read: (reading packet)

Tuesday, November 14 – International Organization and the Framing of Development Strategies

Read: (reading packet)

Part VI: International Organizations and the New Transnational Actors and Issues

Thursday, November 16 – Transnational Crime and Terrorism

Read: (reading packet)

Tuesday, November 21 – Global Health Threats

Read: (reading packet)

Thursday, November 23 – **Thanksgiving**, no class

Tuesday, November 28 – Global Population Movements and Refugees

Read: lecture and discussion only

Research paper due in class

Thursday, November 30 – Diasporas, Religious, and Civic Transnational Links

Read: (reading packet)

Tuesday, December 5 – Conclusion -- Int'l Organization into the New Millennium

Read: (reading packet)

Semester ends

Thursday, December 7 -- Reading day

December 8-14 – **Examination period**

Appendix A Research Paper – General Guidelines

Menkhaus
Fall 2000

When writing your paper, please keep the following guidelines in mind:

- Deadlines are noted in the syllabus and are not negotiable except in the event of serious illness or family crisis. The paper must be handed in *in class*. Late papers will not be accepted; you will receive an F for the exercise. Please conduct research and write drafts well in advance of the deadline. And be sure to save copies of your paper on multiple diskettes, to avoid problems of computer malfunctions. Computer problems will not constitute a valid excuse for late papers.
- All papers are to be typewritten, with standard fonts and margins. When papers have length limitations, please respect those limits -- if your paper exceeds the limit by a half a page, edit your paper to reduce it accordingly.
- Proofread your paper carefully before handing it in, both for content and style. Grammar, spelling, paragraph structure, proper word usage, and correct use of thesis sentences all affect the evaluation of the paper.
- Clarity is an especially important value -- make sure that your main ideas are clearly presented, that your line of reasoning is readily apparent, and that your theses are backed by convincing evidence. Don't let good ideas sink beneath the weight of vague, unclear, or sloppy writing.
- Whenever you draw on another written work for ideas or wording, be sure to cite that source properly. Sources must be cited if you owe an intellectual debt to that source for any of the following: (1) wording (if you directly quote, you must cite **and** place the phrase or sentence in quotations;¹ (2) ideas (such as explanations or theories which are not common knowledge); and (3) specific data which is not common knowledge. Be sure that your citations are consistent, accurate, and complete. Incomplete citations (those missing page numbers or dates, etc) are unacceptable. If using internet sites, provide full http: website addresses. *You are held fully responsible for understanding and avoiding plagiarism.* When in doubt, play it safe and cite.
- When conducting research for this paper, you **must** use secondary sources such as academic or policy journals and books. Recently, growing numbers of students have begun to rely solely on data and articles pulled from websites. If you do this, you will receive an "F" for the paper. As valuable as journalistic news stories can be, they are typically strong on description and weak on analysis; and web sites can often be biased or unreliable in ways that are not always obvious to the newcomer. Journal articles are carefully read and screened by experts in the field before being published, and hence possess somewhat more reliability. They also allow you to tap into the expertise of people who have spent far longer working on the topic than you have. In order to access journal articles, however, you must go to the library – you can't get (recent) journal

¹ Beware of the practice of excessive paraphrasing – that is, lifting a sentence or sentences from another source, changing a word or two, and not placing the sentence in quotation marks, thereby giving the reader the misleading impression that the wording is your own when in fact it has been taken from another author. This is a form of plagiarism, or misrepresentation of someone else's work as your own, *even if you provide a citation at the end of the sentence.*

articles on the web, except for a small group of new “on-line” journals.

- For citations, you must use parenthetical citations as follows (Ortmayer 1998:3). That is, place the author’s last name followed by the year of publication, colon, and page number. If you are referring to an article or publication with no author (for instance, a news article from the AP website), then use the first two or three words of the title instead, as follows (“Senate Approves” 2000: 4). If your author has written more than one pieces in the same year, give each one a letter after the date, as follows (Ortmayer 1998b:3).
- The bibliography or “Works Cited” at the end of your paper must follow a style which corresponds to the parenthetical citations:

Ortmayer, Louis. (1998a). “The Banana Dispute Between the US and Europe.” *The Journal of Banana Research*, vol. 3, no.2, pp. 1-27.

That is, be sure the date of publication immediately follows the author’s name so that it is easy to identify parenthetical citations. And be sure to include all data necessary to find the passage quickly. If it is a website source, provide the full web address as well:

“Sierra Leone Crisis Deepens.” (1999). *ReliefWeb* (August 4), p.2.

<http://www.reliefweb.int/index/html/sierraleone/august4>

- Use footnotes for situations when you wish to make a substantive remark outside the body of the text (see the footnote in the page above, for example), or to provide a citation which requires a commentary.

Appendix B Pol 347 Research Paper Assignment

Select an “international regime” of your choice (subject to my restrictions and approval) and produce a 10-12 (double-spaced) page analysis of that regime. The analysis should include the following:

- Brief background on the nature of the problem or issue the regime is intended to manage
- Explanation of the rise of the regime itself. How and why did nations come to agree to work cooperatively on that issue?
- Assessment of the current strengths and weaknesses of the regime. How effective is it? How enforceable? Are there “free riders,” cheaters, or veto coalitions, and if so how are they handled?
- How are US interests affected by the regime? Does the US fully support it? Do we support it despite the fact that it does not always serve our immediate interests? Do we oppose it, and if so why?
- Analyze the trend-line you expect this regime to follow. Do you expect the regime to strengthen and become codified as conventional international law and behavior, and if so why? Do you have concerns that this regime may be in jeopardy of erosion or collapse, and if so why? Does this regime have the potential for “spillover” into cooperation on related issues?
- What lessons can we learn about international organization and cooperation in general from this case study?

Guidelines:

- To choose an international regime, I suggest you peruse the State Department website. Go to www.state.gov. Then click policy; and then explore the wealth of information under “global affairs.” Not all are “regimes,” but you’ll get many ideas from that site. The UN website also has a store of treaties, though you need to subscribe to get full access (we can do that through the Political Science department). Check www.un.org. Click “international law;” treaties; english; sample access; UNTS; and then look at the list of treaties to get some ideas.
- In selecting a regime, you may not choose one which is very broad, like “free trade” or “global environment.” Instead, focus narrowly, so you can explore the case study in depth – for instance, “intellectual property rights” or “child labor laws” instead of free trade, and “ivory trade” or “whaling” instead of the environment. I reserve the right to block you from choosing an environmental topic which has been closely treated in the Dean Rusk/Bank of America conference.
- I will either approve or ask you to revise proposed topics. You must have my approval on a topic before researching it. This is mainly to protect you from the possibility of opting for an undoable project.
- Read through Appendix A carefully for guidelines on research, writing, and policy on plagiarism and deadlines.

Each study must also include an **Executive Summary**. Most agency and business reports have an executive summary, a one-page summation of the main findings, conclusions, and implications of the study. They are provided for readers who are too busy to read the whole report but who want to know the study's findings. They can be critically important as a result. Write your executive summary *after* you have finished the paper. Use a clear, concise and direct style. To help you decide what to place in the executive summary, ask yourself this: "if this were the only thing my reader will learn about my study, what are the most important things I'd want him or her to know?" Keep in mind that the executive summary should be almost entirely a reflection of your analysis; it should not have descriptive information in it. An executive summary would never have a bullet which reads

- "Burkina Faso has a population of 5.5 million, and has annual growth rates of 2.5%."

It might, however, have a bullet which reads

- "Very high rates of out-migration from Burkina Faso to Europe and Nigeria suggest that the country is increasingly relegated to a role of a labor reserve in the globalized economy. This provides short-term benefits – remittances, for instance, are a crucial source of family revenue -- but in the long-run is a devastating "brain-drain," robbing Burkina Faso of its most educated professionals."

In the executive summary, it is acceptable to use "bullet" format to summarize your main findings. The executive summary should not say anything new -- it should only reflect your main findings from the body of the research. It must *not* read like an introduction; be very careful not to confuse the executive summary with an introduction. Don't worry about repeating yourself -- that is expected of an executive summary. This looks easier than it really is.

Each executive summary will be distributed to the class and will be considered required reading, and will form the basis for a class discussion.

Evaluation of the paper will be based on a combination of the following:

- *thoroughness and depth of research*. (30%) You should be drawing on and citing a wide range of the very best, most reliable and up-to-date sources on country X. Under-researched papers are painfully obvious to readers. Be sure to begin your research early, and to pursue sources aggressively. A pointer: simply using the computer search engine in the library to locate articles is a HUGE mistake, as it usually identifies only a fraction of sources available. Be sure to include all sources in your bibliography, fully and correctly cited.
- *quality of analysis*. (40%) Make sure your paper goes beyond description and engages in thoughtful, careful, and critical analysis. Analysis is absolutely essential -- papers which fail to move beyond description are simply unacceptable and will receive an F.
- *quality of writing and presentation*. (30%) Write with clarity (avoid vague, elusive, or jargon-laden language); make sure that each paragraph starts with a thesis sentence, backed up by evidence, and that the entire paper is organized logically, so that ideas and arguments flow from one to the next; and take care to proofread for misspellings, grammatical errors, awkward sentences, and so on. Make sure bibliographies are complete and footnotes properly formatted. The quality of your executive summary is

included in this part of the evaluation. An excellent habit to get into is writing a first full draft of the paper well in advance of the deadline, so that you can reread it a few days later and find areas for improvement. Few policy papers and reports in the post-collegiate world are ever submitted without extensive editing and rewriting!

Deadlines:

September 19 – proposal topic handed in in class

October 17 – draft bibliography and one-page summary of findings handed in. You will not be given a direct grade for this – only a ‘check’ if it is satisfactory and some advice if appropriate. However, if the work is poor or if you fail to hand it in, you will be penalized between 2 to 5 points on the final paper.

November 28 – final paper due in class. No late papers will be accepted.