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Preface

More Teaching About International Organization: Selected Syllabi is the third in a series of syllabi compilations published by The Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS). This publication is intended to be useful in the fields of international organization and law, peace and security, human rights and humanitarian action, sustainable development, and international relations more generally. Approximately thirty undergraduate and graduate syllabi appear in this collection, which were selected from a much larger pool that resulted from contacting the membership of ACUNS. They largely represent contributions from political scientists and international lawyers, our main constituents, but the content in many cases cuts across a variety of disciplines. I thus hope that they will be useful as well to other teachers.

This collection is by no means a complete representation of the issues being taught in the field of international organization. It is rather my judgment about a useful sampling of what is being taught, as well as an illustration of the literature in the field. I am grateful to the contributors to this volume who were kind enough to share their syllabi with us as well as to others whose submissions could not be included because of limitations of space. In this regard, I am pleased to announce that this is the final printed version of the syllabi compilation. In the future, we plan to make these syllabi and others available on-line. This will be part of the ACUNS World Wide Web page that permits low-cost and continuous updating. For additional information, the home page can be accessed at the following URL:

<http://www.netspace.org/acuns/>

Finally let me express my gratitude to both Jennifer Patrick and Melissa Phillips who worked tirelessly to streamline and format this publication. Without them, this would have remained yet another pile in my office.

As always, your comments and suggestions are welcome.

Thomas G. Weiss
Executive Director



I

The United Nations: International Organization Perspectives



◆ INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ◆

Chadwick F. Alger

Political Science 759
The Ohio State University
Fall Quarter 1993 • 2 Sessions per Week

A. SEMINAR DESCRIPTION

The purpose of this seminar is to enable participants to acquire a comprehensive overview of international governmental organizations (IGOs) and international non-governmental (non-profit) organizations (INGOs). Primary attention will be devoted to global organizations, particularly the United Nations system.

Readings and Seminar discussions are organized around six topics:

- I. **Historical Context**, focused on the League of Nations and the 19th century roots of the League. (What are the historical roots of the UN system? What is the significance of these roots for the present functioning and future potential of the UN system?)
- II. **Institutions/Political Process**. The legal framework and institutional structure of the entire UN system of some 30 organizations. The political process includes not only decision-making in public bodies, but also the broader political process which is inclusive of non-governmental organizations and the wider public. (What are the similarities and differences with institutions and political processes of states? How are the two linked?)
- III. **Assessments of the Field**, placing present study and research on international organizations in the context of past efforts and future needs. (What are the strengths and weaknesses and future potential of this field of study? What are the comparative strengths and weaknesses of major textbooks such as Bennett, Jacobson, Riggs and Plano, and Soroos?)
- IV. **Analytic Approaches**, including functionalism, integration, regimes, global policy, organizational theory, and epistemic communities. (Which analytic approaches are most helpful in assessing the present activities and future potential of organizations coping with specific problems?)
- V. **Problems/Strategies/Regimes/Networks**, assessing the activities, achievements, and failures of international organizations focusing on specific problems: collective security, peacekeeping, peaceful settlement, disarmament/arms control, self-determination, human rights, economic development, refugees, trade, labor, food, population, health, communication, ecosystem, and oceans. (What are the similarities and differences in approaches to different problems? How are success and failure in coping with different problems linked?)
- VI. **Conclusions/Future**. Overall, how successful has the UN system been in coping with a growing array of global problems? What is the potential for the future and how should it be utilized? How successful have scholars been in developing research and teaching which offers penetrating insight on the UN system and other international organizations? How successful have scholars been in developing knowledge which illuminates future potential and how it might be employed toward more effective coping with global problems?

B. TERM PAPER

Each seminar participant will write a paper that describes and evaluates the activities, achievements, failures, and future potential of international organizations with respect to a specific global problem. The paper will include the following:

1. Historical context that indicates how and when the problem was placed on the agendas of international organizations and how approaches to the problem have evolved.
2. Evaluation and application of theories/analytic approaches covered in the readings.
3. The focus should be on the UN *system* but include other relevant IGOs and INGOs.
4. What are the major causes of conflicts and alignments in these conflicts?

5. In assessing achievements and failures, comparison should be made to experience with other problems.
6. The paper should conclude with an assessment for the future, including concrete proposals for future policies and strategies.

C. RESPONSIBILITIES OF SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS

1. Attend all sessions of seminar.
2. Read assignments before they are discussed.
3. Contribute to discussions of readings.
4. Report on readings.
5. Assume special responsibility for seminar session focusing on topic of your term paper, including supplementing assigned readings.

D. GRADING

Paper	40 Percent
Final Exam	40 Percent
Class Participation	20 Percent

I. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Session 1

Chadwick F. Alger, "The United Nations in Historical Perspective," chapter 1 in Chadwick F. Alger, Gene Lyons, and John Trent, eds., *The United Nations and Policies of Members States* (Tokyo: UN University Press, forthcoming).

Inis L. Claude Jr., "The Development of International Organizations in the Nineteenth Century," in *Swords into Plowshares*, 4th ed. (1971), pp. 21-56.

A. LeRoy Bennett, "A Great Experiment—The League of Nations," pp. 22-39 and "The Covenant of the League of Nations," pp. 425-434 in *International Organization*, 5th ed. (1991).

Martin David Dubin, "Transgovernmental Process in the League of Nations," in *International Organization* 37, no. 3 (1983), pp. 482-493.

A. LeRoy Bennett, "The Genesis of the United Nations," pp. 40-51 and "The Charter of the United Nations," pp. 435-461.

II. INSTITUTIONS/POLITICAL PROCESSES

Session 2 Legal Framework/Institutional Structure

Robert E. Riggs and Jack C. Plano, "Legal Framework, Institutional Structures, and Financial Realities," in *The United Nations: International Organizations and World Politics*, 2nd ed. (1994), pp. 17-42.

H. Jacobson, "The Powers, Functions, and Structures of International Organizations," in *Networks of Interdependence: International Organizations and the Global Political System*, 2nd ed. (1984), pp. 77-83.

Douglas Williams, "The Specialized Agency System: History and Political Background," pp. 1-15; "The Constitutions of the Agencies and Their Consequences for the UN System," pp. 16-25; and "The Operations of the UN System," pp. 26-46 in *The Specialized Agencies and the United Nations* (1987).

Session 3 Political Process

Riggs and Plano, "The UN Political Process," pp. 43-76.

H. Jacobson, "The Participants in Decision Making: Their Influence and Interactions," pp. 99-132.

Marvin Soroos, "The Policy Process: Actors, Procedures and Arenas," pp. 75-119 and "The Response: Global Policies and Implementation," pp. 120-160 in *Beyond Sovereignty: The Challenge of Global Policy* (1986).

Miguel Marin-Bosch, "How Nations Vote in the General Assembly of the United Nations," *International Organization* 21, no. 4 (1987), pp. 705-724.

Brian W. Tomlin, "Measurement Validation: Lessons from the Use and Misuse of UN General Assembly Roll-Call Votes," *International Organization* 39, no. 1 (1985), pp. 189-206.

Session 4 Secretariat

Riggs and Plano, "Politics and the UN Secretariat," pp. 77-97.

Robert S. Jordan, "'Truly' International Bureaucracies: Real or Imagined?," in Finkelstein, *Politics in the United Nations System* (1988), pp. 424-445.

Lawrence S. Finkelstein, "The Political Role of the Director-General of UNESCO," in Finkelstein, pp. 385-423.

See Also:

Michael G. Schechter, "The Political Roles of Recent World Bank Presidents," in Finkelstein, pp. 350-384.

Session 5 Non-Governmental Organizations

A. LeRoy Bennett, "Transnational Relations and International Organizations," pp. 250-270.

Martin Ennals, "Relations between the United Nations and Non-Governmental Organizations," (London: Director General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, 1986).

Thomas Kerbs, "Third World Organizational Development: A Comparison of NGO Strategies," (Genève, Suisse: Institut Henry-Dunant, 1986).

Chadwick F. Alger, "Citizens and the UN System in a Changing World," in Robert Cox and Yoshikazu Sakomoto, eds., *Changing Global Structure* (Tokyo: UN University Press, forthcoming).

Public Opinion

Chadwick F. Alger, "U.S. Public Opinion on the U.N.: A Mandate for Multilateral Foreign Policy?" (1993).

III. ASSESSMENTS OF THE FIELD

Session 6

Friedrich Kratochwil and John G. Ruggie, "International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State," *International Organization* 40, no. 4 (1986), pp. 753-776.

J. Martin Rochester, "The Rise and Fall of International Organization as a Field Study," *International Organization* 40, no. 4 (1986), pp. 777-814.

IV. ANALYTIC APPROACHES

Session 7

Lawrence Finkelstein, "Comparative Politics in the UN System," pp. 446-483.

Marvin S. Soroos, "Introduction: Global Policy in an Interdependent World," pp. 3-32 and "The Agenda: The Problems that Confront Humanity," pp. 33-74 in *Beyond Sovereignty: The Challenge of Global Policy* (1986).

Gayl D. Ness and Steven R. Brechin, "Bridging the Gap: International Organizations as Organizations," *International Organization* 42, no. 2 (1988), pp. 245-274.

Christer Jönsson, "Interorganization Theory and International Organization," *International Studies Quarterly* 30, no. 1 (1986), pp. 39-57.

Session 8

Chadwick F. Alger, "Functionalism and Integration," *International Social Science Journal* XXIX, no. 1 (1977), pp. 73-93.

Stephan Haggard and Beth A. Simmons, "Theories of International Regimes," *International Organization* 41, no. 3, (Summer 1987), pp. 491-517.

Session 9

Johan Galtung, "The Non-Territorial System," in *The True Worlds* (1980), pp. 305-340.

Ernst B. Haas, *When Knowledge Is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 1-15, 51-96, 156-175.

Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 1-35.

V. PROBLEMS/STRATEGIES/REGIMES/NETWORKS

Session 10 Collective Security

Riggs and Plano, "Security through Collective Action," pp. 98-112.

Peacekeeping

Riggs and Plano, "The Peacekeeping Alternative," pp. 112-130.

Indar Jit Rikhye, "The Future of Peacekeeping," in Indar Jit Rikhye and Kjell Skjelsbaek, *The United Nations and Peacekeeping* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), pp. 170-199.

Peaceful Settlement

Riggs and Plano, "The Settlement of International Disputes," pp. 131-158.

Disarmament/Arms Control

Riggs and Plano, "Disarmament and Arms Control," pp. 159-185.

Soroos, "Nuclear Proliferation: Preventing a Threat to World Peace," pp. 163-194.

Christer Jönsson and Staffan Bolin, "The Role of the International Atomic Energy Agency in the International Politics of Atomic Energy," in Finkelstein, pp. 303-323.

A.J.R. Groom and J.F. Guilhaudis, "UNSSODS: The Quest for Structure and Norms," in Paul Taylor and A.J.R. Groom, eds., *Global Issues in the United Nations' Framework* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

See Also:

Roger K. Smith, "Explaining the Non-Proliferation Regime: Anomalies for Contemporary International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41, no. 2 (1987), pp. 253-282.

Emmanuel Adler, "The Emergence of Cooperation: National Epistemic Communities and the International Evolution of the Ideas of Nuclear Arms Control," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 101-146.

Session 11 Self-Determination

Riggs and Plano, "The Revolution of Self-Determination," pp. 186-199.

Human Rights

Riggs and Plano, "Human Rights Rule-Making," pp. 204-212 and "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," pp. 336-341. (Also in Jacobson, pp. 450-454.)

David P. Forsythe, "The Politics of Efficacy: The United Nations and Human Rights," in Finkelstein, pp. 246-273.

Laurie S. Wiseberg, "Human Rights NGOs," (Human Rights Internet, 1990), pp. 1-46.

See Also:

Jack Donnelly, "International Human Rights: A Regime Analysis," *International Organization* 40, no. 3 (1986), pp. 599-642.

R.J. Harrison, "Women's Rights: 1975-85," in Taylor and Groom, pp. 226-244.

Gene M. Lyons, "In Search of Racial Equality: The Elimination of Racial Discrimination," in Taylor and Groom, pp. 75-115.

Ethan A. Nadelmann, "Global Prohibiting Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society," *International Organization* 44, no. 4 (1990), pp. 479-526.

Session 12 Economic Development

Javed A. Ansari, "The Nature of International Economic Organization," in *The Political Economy of International Economic Organization* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1986), pp. 3-32.

Riggs and Plano, "Promoting Economic Development," pp. 259-293.

Soroos, "Economic Development: Addressing the Needs of the World's Poor," pp. 195-226.

Chadwick F. Alger, "Grassroots Perspectives on Global Policies for Development," *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 2 (May 1990), pp. 155-168.

Majid Rahnema, "Under the Banner of Development," *Development* 1-2 (1986), pp. 37-46.

See Also:

Robert W. Gregg, "The Politics of International Economic Cooperation and Development," in Finkelstein, pp. 106-147.

Refugees

Leon Gordenker, "The United Nations and Refugees," in Finkelstein, pp. 274-302.

Session 13 Trade

Riggs and Plano, "Managing International Trade and Finance," pp. 236-258.

Ronald I. Meltzer, "The Deterioration of the GATT Framework in International Trade Relations," in Finkelstein, pp. 148-174.

Kathryn Sikkink, "Codes of Conduct for Transnational Corporations: The Case of the WHO/UNICEF Code," *International Organization* 40, no. 4 (1986), pp. 815-840.

Mark W. Zacher, "Trade Gaps, Analytical Gaps: Regime Analysis and International Commodity Trade Regulation," *International Organization* 41, no. 2 (1987), pp. 173-202.

See Also:

William J. Drake and Kalypso Nicolaidis, "Ideas, Interests, and Institutionalization: 'Trade in Services' and the Uruguay Round," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 37-100.

Robert Ramsay, "UNCTAD's Failures: The Rich Get Richer," *International Organization* 38, no. 2 (1984), pp. 387-397.

Labor

Loms Emmerij, "The International Labour Organization as a Development Agency," in Jeffrey Harrod and Nico J. Schrijver, eds., *The UN Under Attack* (Aldershot, Netherlands: Gower, 1988), pp. 111-122.

Session 14 Food

Donald J. Puchala, "The Road to Rome: The Production and Distribution of Food," in Taylor and Groom, pp. 177-204.

Wouter Tims, "The Multilateral Approach to Food Security," in Harrod and Schrijver, pp. 94-110.

See Also:

Raymond F. Hopkins, "Reform in the International Food Aid Regime: The Role of Consensual Knowledge," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 225-264.

Population

Paul Taylor, "Population: Coming to Terms with People," in Taylor and Groom, pp. 148-176.

Health

Karen A. Mingst, "The United States and the World Health Organization," in Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst, eds., *The United States and Multilateral Institutions* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), pp. 205-230.

Session 15 Communications

Soroos, "Telecommunications: Managing a Technological Revolution," pp. 323-249.

Peter F. Cowhey, "The International Telecommunications Regimes for High Technology," *International Organization* 44, no. 2 (1990), pp. 169-200.

George A. Coddling Jr., "Three Times Forty: The ITU in a Time of Change," in Finkelstein, pp. 324-349.

Clare Wells, "Introduction: Concepts of 'Politicization,'" pp. 1-23; "The Contemporary Information Debate," pp. 81-113; and "Conclusions: Politicization in Context," pp. 183-191 in *The UN, UNESCO, and the Politics of Knowledge* (London: Macmillan, 1987).

See Also:

Christer Jönsson, *International Aviation and the Politics of Regime Change* (London: Frances Pinter, 1987).

Roger A. Coate, *Unilateralism, Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy, The United States in and out of UNESCO* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988).

Session 16 Ecosystem

Soroos, "Pollution: Keeping House on a Planetary Scale," pp. 294-322.

Donald J. Puchala, "The United Nations and Ecosystem Issues: Institutionalizing the Global Interest," in Finkelstein, pp. 214-245.

Oran R. Young, "The Politics of International Regime Formation: Managing Natural Resources and the Environment," *International Organization* 43, no. 3 (1989), pp. 349-376.

See Also:

Peter M. Haas, "Banning Chlorofluorocarbons: Epistemic Community Efforts to Protect Stratospheric Ozone," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 187-224.

Peter M. Haas, "Do Regimes Matter: Epistemic Communities and Mediterranean Pollution Control," *International Organization* 43, no. 3 (1989), pp. 378-403.

M.J. Peterson, "Whalers, Cetologists, Environmentalists, and the International Management of Whaling," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 187-224.

Session 17 Oceans

Soroos, "Ocean Resources: Negotiating a New Law of the Sea," pp. 261-293.

Robert L. Friedheim, "Value Allocation and North-South Conflict in the Third United Nations Law of the Sea Conference," in Finkelstein, pp. 175-213.

"Abbreviated Table of Contents," UN Convention on Law of the Sea.

A.O. Adede, "The Basic Structure of the Disputes Settlement Part of the Law of the Sea Convention," *Ocean Development and International Law Journal* 11, no. 1-2 (1982), pp. 125-148.

Council on Ocean Law, *Ocean Policy News* 10 (February and April 1993), extracts.

Clyde Sanger, "Future Directions," *Ordering the Oceans: The Making of the Law of the Sea* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 194-211.

VI. CONCLUSIONS/FUTURE

Session 18

Toshiki Mogami, "The United Nations as an Unfinished Revolution," *Alternatives* XV (1990), pp. 177-197.

United Nations Association of the USA, "A U.N. Revitalized: A Compilation of UNA-USA Recommendations on Strengthening the Role of the United Nations in Peacemaking, Peacekeeping and Conflict Prevention" (New York, 1992).

D.B. Steele, "The Case for Global Economic Management and UN System Reform," *International Organization* 39, no. 3 (1985), pp. 561-578.

Marc Nerfin, "The Future of the United Nations System," in Richard A. Falk, Samuel S. Kim, and Saul H. Mendlovitz, *The United Nations and a Just World Order* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 519-534.

Galtung, "World Organization," pp. 341-392 and "Individual Activation," pp. 393-425.

Haas, "Can Better Organizations be Designed?," pp. 177-212.

BOOKS ON RESERVE

Most of the readings can be found in the books listed below. They also include much additional material useful for papers.

Houshang Ameri, *Politics and Process in the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations* (London: Gower, 1982).

Javed A. Ansari, *The Political Economy of International Economic Organization* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1986).

A. LeRoy Bennett, *International Organizations*, 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991).

G.R. Berridge and A. Jennings, eds., *Diplomacy at the UN* (London: Macmillan, 1985).

Inis L. Claude Jr., *Swords into Plowshares*, 4th ed. (1971).

Robert W. Cox and Harold K. Jacobson, *The Anatomy of Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).

William Evan, *Knowledge and Power in Global Society* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981).

Lawrence Finkelstein, *Politics in the United Nations System* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988).

Johan Galtung, *The True Worlds* (New York: Free Press, 1980).

Ernst B. Haas, *When Knowledge Is Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

Jeffrey Harrod and Nico J. Schrijver, eds., *The UN Under Attack* (Aldershot, Netherlands: Gower, 1988).

Martin Hill, *The United Nations System: Coordinating Its Economic and Social Work* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence: International Organizations and the Global Political System*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979).

Margaret P. Karns and Karen Mingst, eds., *The United States and Multilateral Institutions* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990).

Gerald J. Mangone, *A Short History of International Organization* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1954).

Hanna Newcombe, *Design for a Better World* (New York: University Press of America, 1983).

David Pitt and Thomas G. Weiss, *The Nature of United Nations Bureaucracies* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986).

Robert E. Riggs and Jack C. Plano, *The United Nations: International Organizations and World Politics* (Chicago: Dorsey, 1988).

Marvin S. Soroos, *Beyond Sovereignty: The Challenge of Global Policy* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1987).

Paul Taylor and A. J. R. Groom, eds., *Global Issues in the UN Framework* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

Peter Willetts, ed., *Pressure Groups in the Global System* (London: Francis Pinter, 1982).

Douglas Williams, *The Specialized Agencies of the United Nations* (London: C. Hurst, 1987).

Clare Wells, *The UN, UNESCO, and the Politics of Knowledge* (London: Macmillan, 1987).

◆ PROSEMINAR IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND INTEGRATION ◆

Harold K. Jacobson

Political Science 663
University of Michigan
Winter Term 1994 • 1 Session per Week

This course examines the role of international organizations in the contemporary global political system. It considers the historical development of international organizations, their political processes, and their activities. It explores the consequences of the growth of international organizations for the global political system. Primary attention is devoted to international governmental organizations, but international non-governmental organizations are also considered.

The responsibilities of students taking the course for credit include:

1. *Reading the assigned materials and participating in the seminar discussions.* The assigned materials include several books that provide general coverage of aspects of the field and that can be regarded as texts. These books are:

Peter R. Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations in the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

Ernst B. Haas, *Beware the Slippery Slope: Notes Toward the Definition of Justifiable Intervention*, Policy Papers in International Affairs, no. 43 (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1993).

Peter M. Haas, Robert O. Keohane, and Marc A. Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993).

Jeffrey Harrop, *The Political Economy of Integration in the European Community* (Brookfield, VT: Gower, 1989).

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Robert D. Putnam and Nicholas Bayne, *Hanging Together: Cooperation and Conflict in the Seven-Power Summits*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

These books are available for purchase in the local bookstores. In addition, they have been placed on reserve through the Library Reserve Service. Copies of articles listed as required reading may be purchased through Michigan Document Services.

Students will be expected to keep abreast of current developments in international organizations by consulting among other sources John Tessitore and Susan Woolfson, eds., *Issues Before the 48th General Assembly of the United Nations* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993).

2. *Preparing discussion guides for the second through the fourteenth sessions of the proseminar.* Each discussion guide should consist of a minimum of four questions. The questions should not occupy more than one double-spaced, typewritten page. The questions should be based on the reading for the session and should raise broad theoretical issues that could be discussed in the proseminar. The questions should be submitted no later than noon each Monday.

3. *Preparing a research design that will deal with a topic relevant to the material covered in the proseminar.* This topic should be chosen in consultation with the instructor. Students will be expected to present preliminary versions of their research designs to the seminar at a time to be scheduled by the instructor. The final version of the research designs will be due on Session 14.

Students' final course grades will be based on their class participation, discussion guides, and research design. The computation of the final course grades will be done in the following manner: Grades received for the discussion guides will be given a weight of 50 percent. The grade received for the research design will

be given a weight of 50 percent. Grades will be calculated according to the classic standard (i.e., 75% = C, 85% = B, and 95% = A). A student's final grade arrived at through mathematical computation may be increased or decreased one honor point (e.g., from B+ to A-) on the basis of the instructor's evaluation of the student's class participation.

OUTLINE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

Session 1 An Introduction to the Topic and Seminar

Session 2 Cooperation under Anarchy: Some Theoretical Issues

Required Reading:

Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), chapters 1-3, pp. 3-121.

Session 3 The Development of International Organizations

Required Reading:

Peter R. Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations in the 1990s* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), chapters 1-2, pp. 1-43.

Jeffrey Harrop, *The Political Economy of Integration in the European Community* (Brookfield, VT: Gower, 1989), introduction and chapter 1, pp. 1-20.

Harold K. Jacobson, William Reisinger, and Todd Mathers, "National Entanglements in International Governmental Organizations," *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 1 (March 1986), pp. 141-160.

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters*, chapter 4, pp. 125-256.

Sessions 4-5 Decision Making in International Organizations

Required Reading:

Peter R. Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations in the 1990s*, chapter 3, pp. 44-62.

Jeffrey Harrop, *The Political Economy of Integration in the European Community*, chapter 2, pp. 21-40.

Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence: International Organizations and the Global Political System*, 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), chapters 5-6, pp. 77-131.

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters*, chapter 5, pp. 157-200.

Sessions 6-7 International Organizations and Security

Required Reading:

Peter R. Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations in the 1990s*, chapter 4, pp. 63-99.

Doug Bandow, "Avoiding War," *Foreign Policy*, no. 89 (1992-93), pp. 156-174.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Empowering the United Nations," *Foreign Affairs* 71 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 89-102.

William J. Durch, "Building on the Sand: UN Peacekeeping in the Western Sahara," *International Security* 17 (Spring 1993), pp. 151-171.

Eric Grove, "UN Armed Forces and the Military Staff Committee: A Look Back," *International Security* 17 (Spring 1993), pp. 171-182.

Edward C. Luck, "Making Peace," *Foreign Policy*, no. 89 (1992-93), pp. 137-155.

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters*, chapters 7, 9, pp. 233-292, 327-364.

Sessions 8-10 International Organizations and the Growth and Distribution of the World Product

Required Reading:

Peter R. Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations in the 1990s*, chapter 7, pp. 131-151.

Geoffrey Garrett, "The European Community's Internal Market," *International Organization* 46 (Spring 1992), pp. 533-560.

Walter Goldstein, "E.C.: Euro-Stalling," *Foreign Policy*, no. 85 (Winter 1991-92), pp. 129-147.

Jeffrey Harrop, *The Political Economy of Integration in the European Community*, chapters 3-10, pp. 41-194.

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

Robert D. Putnam and Nicholas Bayne, *Hanging Together: Cooperation and Conflict in the Seven-Power Summits*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters*, chapters 6, 10, pp. 201-232, 365-398.

Wayne Sandholtz, "Monetary Politics and Maastricht," *International Organization* 47 (Winter 1993), pp. 1-40.

Sessions 11-12 International Organizations and Social Welfare and Human Rights

Required Reading:

Peter R. Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations in the 1990s*, chapters 5-6, pp. 100-130.

Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, "On Compliance," *International Organization* 47 (Spring 1993), pp. 175-206.

Kathryn Sikkink, "Human Rights Issue-Networks in Latin America," *International Organization* 47 (Summer 1993), pp. 411-442.

David Strang and Patricia Mei Yin Chang, "The ILO and the Welfare State," *International Organization* 47 (Spring 1993), pp. 235-262.

Session 13 International Organizations and the Environment

Required Reading:

Peter M. Haas, Robert O. Keohane, and Marc A. Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth: Sources of Effective International Environmental Protection* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993).

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters*, chapter 11, pp. 399-440.

Session 14 International Organizations and World Order

Required Reading:

Peter R. Baehr and Leon Gordenker, *The United Nations in the 1990s*, chapter 8, pp. 152-162.

Giulio M. Gallarotti, "The Limits of International Organization," *International Organization* 45 (Spring 1991), pp. 183-220.

John G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters*, chapter 12, pp. 441-474.

◆ INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION ◆

W. Andy Knight

Political Studies 142b
Bishop's University
Winter 1995 • 3 Sessions per Week

PURPOSE AND SCOPE

The primary purpose of this course is to introduce the student to the evolving nature of international organization within the broader context of changing global politics. Emphasis will be placed on the historical development of international organization (as a process) and on the structures of various international organizations, with focus on the United Nations system. Conceptual approaches to the study of international organization will also be introduced throughout the course, particularly the notions of multilateral evolution and global governance.

EVALUATION

Major term paper	25%
Presentation	25%
Final Exam - (three hours) during exam period	40%
Participation	10%
Late Penalty	10% for every week late

READING REQUIREMENTS

All students in this course are expected to purchase the required text. Recommended texts will be placed on two-hour reserve in the Library.

Required Texts:

1. Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe, and Roger A. Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).
2. J. Martin Rochester, *Waiting for the Millennium: The United Nations and the Future of World Order* (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1993).

Recommended Reading:

1. Robert Riggs and Jack Plano, *The United Nations: International Organization and World Politics*, 2nd ed. (California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1994).
2. Inis L. Claude Jr., *Swords into Plowshares*, 4th ed. (New York: Random House, 1984).

Note that each week there will be required readings which must be done prior to the actual class. Each student will be asked to introduce a specific topic in order to be evaluated on in-class presentation. The Final Exam will be based on the required readings and class lectures.

TOPICS AND READINGS

Administrative Details and Handouts

Introduction to International Organization

Required:

Rochester, chapters 1-2.

Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, pp. 1-13.

Recommended:

Riggs and Plano, pp. 1-16.

Bennett, *International Organizations*, 5th ed., chapter 1.

Claude, *Swords into Plowshares*, pp. 3-40.

Precursors of Modern International Organizations and the Evolution of IGOs and NGOs

Required:

Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, pp. 17-2.

Recommended:

Claude, *Swords into Plowshares*, pp. 21-40.

Riggs and Plano, pp. 3-11.

Bennett, *International Organizations*, pp. 22-40.

K. Skjelsback, "The Growth of International Non-Governmental Organization in the Twentieth Century," *International Organization* 25, no. 3, pp. 420-442.

The Theoretical Study of IOs

Required:

Rochester, "The Rise and Fall of International Organizations as a Field of Study," *International Organization* 40, no. 4 (1986).

Recommended:

F. Kratochwil and J. Ruggie, "International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State," *International Organization* 40, no. 4 (Autumn 1986), pp. 735-775.

Structural Differences Between the League of Nations and the UN

Required:

L. Goodrich, "From the League of Nations to the United Nations," *International Organization* 1 (1947).

W. Andy Knight, "Flawed Vision of World Order," *Compass* (March/April 1992), pp. 26-27.

Recommended:

Bennett, *International Organizations*, pp. 46-71.

The Evolution of the UN

Required:

Riggs and Plano, pp. 11-16, 17-42, 43-76, 190-199.

Recommended:

Claude, *Swords into Plowshares*, pp. 57-82.

Basic Facts about the UN (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1987), chapter 1.

Regional vs. Universal IGOs

Required:

W. Andy Knight, "Towards a Subsidiarity Model of Global Governance," [on reserve].

Riggs and Plano, pp. 259-293, pp. 200-204.

Stephen Baranyi, "Peace Missions and Subsidiarity in the Americas," [on reserve].

Recommended:

Claude, *Swords into Plowshares*, pp. 102-117.

Joseph S. Nye, "Regional Institutions," in Richard Falk and Saul Mendlovitz, *Regional Politics and World Order* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1973).

Evan Luard, *The Globalization of Politics*, pp. 163-188.

Jean Philippe Thérien, "The Organization of American States: Restructuring Inter-American Multilateralism." [on reserve]

Functional International Organizations

Required:

Riggs and Plano, pp. 211-231.

Bennett, *International Organizations*, pp. 250-300.

Recommended:

Claude, *Swords into Plowshares*, pp. 378-408.

IOs and the Maintenance of International Security

Required:

Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, chapters 1-3.

Riggs and Plano, pp. 98-130, 131-158, 159-185.

W. Andy Knight and Mari Yamashita, "The United Nations' Contribution to the Maintenance of International Peace and Security," in David Dewitt et al., eds., *Building a New Global Order: Emerging Trends in International Security* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 284-312.

Recommended:

Claude, *Swords into Plowshares*, pp. 215-244.

Indarjit Rikhye, *The Theory and Practice of Peacekeeping* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1984), pp. 1-13.

The Role of International Law

Required:

Bennett, *International Organizations*, pp. 163-192.

Recommended:

E. McWhinney, *United Nations Law Making* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1984), pp. 42-79.

Article 2(7) and the Fiction of Sovereignty.

See Abiodun Williams, José Alvarez, Ruth Gordon, and W. Andy Knight, *Article 2(7) Revisited* (Providence: ACUNS, 1994), Reports and Papers, no. 5.

The Evolution of Human Rights Machinery

Required:

Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, pp. 155-168.

Riggs and Plano, pp. 204-211.

W. Andy Knight, "The Changing Human Rights Regime, State Sovereignty, and Article 2(7) in the Post-Cold War Era," in Williams et al., *Article 2(7) Revisited* [on reserve].

Recommended:

Bennett, *International Organizations*, pp. 351-380.

Evan Luard, *The Globalization of Politics*, pp. 98-117.

Leadership Questions and UN Secretariat Restructuring

Required:

Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, chapter 4.

Riggs and Plano, pp. 77-97.

Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers, *A World in Need of Leadership* (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1990), pp. 7-87.

Recommended:

Bennett, *International Organizations*, pp. 381-404.

Evaluating and Reforming IOs

Required:

Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, pp. 228-243.

Rosemary Righter, *Utopia Lost: The UN and World Order* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1995).

Riggs and Plano, pp. 294-302.

Bennett, *International Organizations*, pp. 405-415.

Rochester, chapters 4-6.

Robert W. Cox, "Multilateralism and World Order," *Review of International Studies* 18, no. 2 (April 1992), pp. 161-180.

Brian Urquhart, "Problems and Prospects of the United Nations," *International Journal* XLIV (Autumn 1989), pp. 803-821.

Recommended:

K.P. Saksena, *Reforming the United Nations*, pp. 105-162.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: United Nations, 1992), pp. 1-48.

Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers, *Towards a More Effective United Nations*, (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1992), pp. 1-40, 41-85.

Shijuro Ogata et al., *Financing an Effective United Nations* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1993), pp. 1-33.

Giulio M. Gallarotti, "The Limits of International Organization: Systematic Failure in the Management of International Relations," *International Organization* 45, no. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 183-220.

Final Exam Good Luck! Bonne chance!

◆ INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ◆

M.J. Peterson

Political Science 357
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Fall 1994 • 2 Sessions per Week

COURSE GOAL

This course will explore the ways in which intergovernmental organizations are used to foster cooperation among states or to further programs of regional integration. The two goals are very distinct and have different implications for intergovernmental organizations and their member states. Cooperation will be explored by examining various aspects of UN system activity while integration will be explored through examining the European Union.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Grading in the course will be based on an oral report and three forms of written work. Each student will give a five-to-ten minute oral report on one of the questions listed at the end of this syllabus. This report will be based on a short paper, which should also be submitted on the day the oral report is given. Students doing reports in the same week are encouraged to work together on research, but oral presentations and papers should be individual efforts. Students will also complete a ten-page commentary discussing an issue before either the UN or the EU and suggesting ways in which the matter could be handled better. These must be submitted no later than Session 20. A final essay, on a topic set by the instructor, will be completed during exam week. The oral report and associated paper will count for 40% of the grade, the commentary piece for 30%, and the final essay 30%.

The following books are available for purchase at the Jeffrey Amherst Bookstore's college store (in the alley behind Bonducci's on Main Street):

Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, eds., *United Nations, Divided World*, 2nd ed.

Alberta M. Sbragia, ed., *Euro-Politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the "New" European Community*.

Robert D. Hormats, "Reforming the International Monetary System," (Foreign Policy Association, *Headline Series*, no. 281).

Other materials are in the Tower Library Reserve Room.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

Session 1 International Organizations and Multilateralism

Session 2 Leagues of States and International Regimes

Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, "Introduction: The UN's Roles in International Society since 1945," in Roberts and Kingsbury, pp. 1-62.

Inis L. Claude Jr., "Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the United Nations," in Leland Goodrich and David A. Kay, *International Organization: Politics and Process*, pp. 209-22.

Session 3 Superstates and International Integration

Karl W. Deutsch, *The Analysis of International Relations*, 3rd ed., chapters 18-19.

David R. Cameron, "The 1992 Initiative: Causes and Consequences," in Sbragia, pp. 23-74.

Session 4 Agendas, Negotiations, and Votes

Robert E. Riggs and Jack C. Plano, *The United Nations: International Organization and World Politics*, chapter 3, pp. 43-76.

Inis L. Claude Jr., "The Problem of Voting," pp. 120-140 and "The Philosophy of the Veto," pp. 152-62 in *Swords into Plowshares*, 4th ed.

Session 5 Agendas, Negotiations, and Votes

B. Guy Peters, "Bureaucratic Politics and the Institutions of the European Community," in Sbragia, pp. 75-122.

Session 6 Implementation

Robert W. Cox, "The Executive Head," in Goodrich and Kay, pp. 155-80.

Maurice Bertrand, "The Historical Development of Efforts to Reform the UN," in Roberts and Kingsbury, pp. 420-36.

Session 7 Financing Implementation

Riggs and Plano, pp. 36-40.

Reread Peters, in Sbragia, pp. 93-98.

Student Reports: *UN Finances Today*

Sessions 8-9 Changing Conceptions of Maintaining Peace

Claude, "The Theory of Collective Security," in *Swords into Plowshares*, pp. 249-61.

Michael Howard, "The Historical Development of the UN's Role in International Security," in Roberts and Kingsbury, pp. 63-80.

Sally Morphet, "UN Peacekeeping and Election-Monitoring," in Roberts and Kingsbury, pp. 183-239.

Sessions 10-11 Three "Cases from Hell": Somalia, Bosnia, and Rwanda

Common Reading: Thomas G. Weiss and Jarat Chopra, *United Nations Peacekeeping: An ACUNS Teaching Text*, pp. 8-30.

Student Reports: *Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda*

Session 12 Global Financial Flows

Hormats (entire).

Session 13 Financial Flows in the EU

John T. Woolley, "Policy Credibility and European Monetary Institutions," in Sbragia, pp. 157-90.

Student Reports: *What Happened to the EMS in September 1993?*

Session 14 Economic Development in LDCs

Robert Gilpin, "Three Models of the Future," in Robert Art and Robert Jervis, eds., *International Politics*, pp. 375-95.

Kenneth Dadzie, "The UN and the Problem of Economic Development," in Roberts and Kingsbury, pp. 297-326.

Student Reports: *Restructuring UNCTAD*

Session 15 Economic Development in Western Europe

Gary Marks, "Structural Policy in the European Community," in Sbragia, pp. 191-224.

Session 16 Human Rights

Tom J. Farer and Felice Gaer, "The UN and Human Rights: At the End of the Beginning," in Roberts and Kingsbury, pp. 240-96.

Thomas Buergenthal, *International Human Rights*, chapters 3-4.

Session 17 Human Rights

Student Reports: *The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights*

Session 18 Population

Barbara Crane, "International Population Institutions: Adaptation to a Changing World Order," in Peter M. Haas, Robert O. Keohane, and Marc A. Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth*, pp. 351-93.

Student Reports: *The 1994 World Population Conference*

Session 19 The Environment

Per M. Wijkman, "Managing the Global Commons," *International Organization* 36 (1983), pp. 511-36.

Patricia M. Birnie, "The UN and the Environment," in Roberts and Kingsbury, pp. 327-83.

Session 20 Sustainable Development

UN Conference on Environment and Development, Agenda 21.

Student Reports: *Implementing Agenda 21*

Session 21 Developing Common Normative Expectations

Nagendra Singh, "The UN and the Development of International Law," in Roberts and Kingsbury, pp. 384-419.

Martin Shapiro, "The European Court of Justice," in Sbragia, pp. 123-56.

Sessions 22 The UN Role in Promoting Decolonization

Dorothy V. Jones, "The Declaratory Tradition of International Law," in Terry Nardin and David Mapel, eds., *Ethical Traditions in International Relations*.

Student Reports: *The UN and Decolonization*

Sessions 23-24 IOs, Governments, and Social Groups

Miles Kahler, "Bargaining with the IMF: Two-Level Strategies and Developing Countries," in Peter B. Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam, eds., *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, pp. 363-94.

Peter Lange, "The Politics of the Social Dimension," in Sbragia, pp. 225-56.

Sessions 25 International Organizations and the Future International System: The UN

Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence*, 2nd ed., chapter 16.

Peter Wilenski, "The Structure of the UN in the Post-Cold War Period," in Roberts and Kingsbury, pp. 437-67.

Claude, "The Problem of Regionalism."

Session 26 International Organizations and the Future International System: the EU

Alberta M. Sbragia, "Thinking about the European Future: The Uses of Comparison," in Sbragia, pp. 257-92.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDENT REPORTS**UN Finances Today**

1. Why is the UN's financial situation so difficult?
2. What could be done to improve it?

Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda

1. Who are the parties directly involved in the conflict and what are their goals?
2. Why did fighting occur?
3. What did the Security Council decide should be done?
4. Did UN member states and the parties directly involved accept this?
5. Has the action contributed to managing the conflict or resolving the underlying dispute?

What Happened to the EMS in September 1993?

1. Why did some countries have to leave the EMS in September 1993?
2. How did this experience affect plans to move on to the EMU?

The 1993 World Human Rights Conference

1. Who supported and who opposed the initial conference goals and for what reasons?
2. Why were the goals attained or not attained?

The 1994 World Population Conference

1. How was the population issue presented?
2. Who supported and who opposed the initial conference goals and for what reasons?
3. Why were the goals attained or not attained?

Restructuring UNCTAD

1. What do governments hope to accomplish by restructuring?
2. What new arrangements have been proposed?
3. Will they be adopted?

Implementing Agenda 21

1. What is the goal and who must undertake the actions needed to meet it?
2. What factors encourage and what factors discourage the needed action?
3. Select two countries and compare their likelihood of meeting the goal.

The UN and Decolonization

1. Why was General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XIV), the “Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples” adopted?
2. Did UN pressure have any effect on Portuguese decisions to grant independence to colonies in 1975?
3. Did the notion of self-determination as independence have any effect on the Nigerian civil war?

◆ THE UNITED NATIONS AND CHANGING WORLD POLITICS ◆

Thomas G. Weiss

**IR 180F-International Relations Program
Brown University
Spring 1995 • 1 Session per Week**

PURPOSE

The object of this seminar is to situate the United Nations within the context of world politics, and hence to determine the extent to which the world organization is a dependent or independent variable in international relations.

SUBJECT MATTER

The problems and prospects of the UN in the 1990s are rooted in: the Second World War from which it was born; the Cold War during which it developed norms, procedures, and programs; and the early post-Cold War era which has raised expectations about multilateralism. This seminar will focus on the history, law, administration, and politics of the UN in addressing three crucial issues: international peace and security; human rights and humanitarian relief; and sustainable development. In addition, there will also be a consideration of the activities of nongovernmental and regional organizations as they relate to the United Nations as well as American policy toward the world organization.

Familiarity with theories of international relations and with the post-World War II history will be assumed. This is an honors seminar. Students must thus be prepared to do a significant amount of reading each week and to discuss it seriously for this seminar to work successfully.

REQUIRED TEXTS

The following paperback texts will be read in their entirety, and students probably should purchase them, particularly if they are going to be doing further work in the field:

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: United Nations, 1992); *An Agenda for Development* Document A/48/935, 6 May 1994; and *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, Document A/50/60, S/1995/1, 3 January 1995.

Lori Fisler Damrosch, ed., *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993).

Robert W. Gregg, *About Face: The United States and the United Nations* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993).

Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, eds., *United Nations, Divided World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

James N. Rosenau, *The United Nations in a Turbulent World* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992).

Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe, and Roger A. Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

All students enrolled in the seminar are expected to attend every meeting and arrive punctually. Students who are unavoidably prevented from attending a particular meeting are asked to notify the instructor in advance. If it is necessary to rearrange a session or two, significant advance notice will be given.

The first three sessions and the last one of the course will be devoted to discussions of assigned readings begun with short presentations by the instructor. Students are expected to have read critically the material and participate actively, both in these sessions and in those for which students themselves will play a more important role.

In the middle of the course (sessions 4-6 and 8-12 with a break in the middle for a guest lecturer), several students (depending on the size of enrollment and preferences) per week will lead discussions bringing to

bear insights that go *beyond* the assigned reading. **Twice during the semester, each student will be expected to prepare a brief (5 minute) oral response to a controversial proposition distributed in advance.** During that week's discussion, all students with oral assignments will be expected to be particularly active, although everyone is expected to explain why he or she agrees or disagrees with responses. Beginning with the second week's session, students can sign up on a first-come-first-served basis for time slots for their two oral presentations. It would no doubt be advantageous, but not required, if the subjects chosen for these oral presentations were linked to the research paper.

The research paper is expected to be original and about 5,000 words (or 20 pages, double-spaced, and word-processed); it is due no later than the day before the final exam period begins. It would be useful to have at least a tentative outline of the research paper and schedule a discussion with the instructor by mid-semester. The assignment will be to utilize one of two essential recent policy statements by the UN Secretary-General—either *An Agenda for Peace* or *An Agenda for Development*—as the basis for supporting or challenging a particular recent response by the international community. The choice is open to students and could involve the UN's handling of one particular crisis (e.g., Somalia), an approach to a particular problem in a comparative manner (e.g., making use of regional institutions in Liberia, the former Yugoslavia, and Central America), or the adequacy of a particular intellectual concept (e.g., sustainable development). The grade on this paper will constitute 65% of the final grade for the seminar; the other 35% will be based upon the oral presentations and overall class participation. Both university grade options are available.

SEMINAR OUTLINE

Session 1 Participant Introductions and Overview of the Seminar

Session 2 International Institutions-Early Experiments

Readings:

1. Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, pp. 1-16.
2. Craig N. Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1994), passim.
3. Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence* (New York: Knopf, 1979), chapters 2-4.
4. Inis L. Claude Jr., *Swords into Plowshares* (New York: Random House, 1971), chapter 2.

Session 3 Changing World Politics

Readings:

1. Rosenau, passim.
2. Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, "Introduction: The UN's Roles in International Society since 1945," in Roberts and Kingsbury, eds., pp. 1-63.

Session 4 The Theory of UN Collective Security and the Reality of UN Security Efforts During the Cold War

Readings:

1. Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, chapters 1-2.
2. Alan James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1990), passim.
3. William Durch, *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), passim.
4. United Nations, *The Blue Helmets* (New York: United Nations, 1990), passim.

Session 5 UN Security Operations After the Cold War

Readings:

1. Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, chapter 3.
2. Durch, *The Blue Helmets*, and James, passim.
3. Brian Urquhart, "The UN and International Security after the Cold War," in Roberts and Kingsbury, eds., pp. 81-103.
4. Mohammed Ayoob, "The New-Old Disorder in the Third World," and Stephen Shenfield, "Armed Conflict in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union," in Thomas G. Weiss, ed., *The United Nations and Civil Wars* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).

Session 6 Groping Toward the 21st Century

Readings:

1. Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, chapter 4.
2. Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*, passim, and *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations*, passim.
3. Adam Roberts, "Ethnic Conflict: Threat and Challenge to the UN," in Anthony McDermott, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 1994), pp. 5-36.
4. Thomas G. Weiss, "The United Nations and Civil Wars," in *Washington Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (Autumn 1994), pp. 139-159.
5. Damrosch, chapters 1, 2, 5-6.

Session 7 The UN, Human Rights, and Humanitarian Affairs: The Theory Guest Lecturer: Jarat Chopra

Readings:

1. Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, chapter 5.
2. Jarat Chopra and Thomas G. Weiss, "Sovereignty Is No Longer Sacrosanct: Codifying Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethics and International Affairs* 6 (1992), pp. 95-117.
3. David P. Forsythe, *The Internationalization of Human Rights* (Lexington, MA: Heath, 1991), chapters 1, 7.
4. Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), passim.

Session 8 The Reality of UN Actions in the Human Rights and Humanitarian Arena

Readings:

1. Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, chapters 6-7.
2. Human Rights Watch, *The Lost Agenda: Human Rights and U.N. Field Operations* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1993), passim.
3. Larry Minear and Thomas G. Weiss, *Humanitarian Action in Times of War: A Handbook for Practitioners* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993), passim.
4. Tom J. Farer and Felice Gaer, "The UN and Human Rights: At the End of the Beginning," in Roberts and Kingsbury, eds., pp. 240-296.

Session 9 The Origins of Development and Ecodevelopment in the UN

Readings:

1. Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, chapters 8-9.
2. Kenneth Dadzie, "The UN and the Problem of Economic Development," and Patricia Birnie, "The UN and the Environment," in Roberts and Kingsbury, eds., pp. 297-383.

Session 10 Sustainable Development: Problems and Prospects

Readings:

1. Weiss, Forsythe, and Coate, chapter 10.
2. Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Development*, passim.
3. Erskine Childers with Brian Urquhart, *Renewing the United Nations System* (Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 1994).

Session 11 Regional Organizations and the UN

Readings:

1. S. Neil MacFarlane and Thomas G. Weiss, "The United Nations, Regional Organizations, and Human Security: Building Theory in Central America," *Third World Quarterly* 15 (April 1994), pp. 277-295.
2. Damrosch, chapters 3-4.

Session 12 Nongovernmental Organizations and the UN*Readings:*

1. Werner J. Feld and Robert S. Jordan, *International Organizations* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988), chapter 1.
2. Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss, "Pluralizing Global Governance: Analytical Approaches and Dimensions," chapter 1 and "NGO Participation in the International Policy Process," conclusion in "NGOs, the UN, and Global Governance," *Third World Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1995, forthcoming).
3. Peter Spiro, "New Global Communities: Nongovernmental Organizations in International Decision-Making Institutions," *Washington Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (Winter 1995), pp. 45-56.
4. Michael Edwards and David Hulme, eds., *Making a Difference: NGOs and Development in a Changing World* (London: Earthscan, 1992), chapter 1.

Session 13 The United States and the UN*Readings:*

1. Gregg, *passim*.
2. Roger A. Coate, ed., *U.S. Policy and the Future of the United Nations* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1994), *passim*.
3. Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst, eds., *The United States and Multilateral Institutions* (London: Routledge, 1990), *passim*.

II

The United Nations: International Legal Perspectives



◆ CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW ◆

Jarat Chopra

180W-International Relations Program
Brown University
Winter 1995 • 1 Session per Week

PURPOSE

This seminar course intends to introduce to students of international relations the basic principles of international law. By examining the legal mechanics of the international system, it attempts to identify challenges to the current structure of global social organization.

SUBJECT

“The role of a misconceived international law within a self-misconceived international society has been marginal, residual, and intermittent. It has been one element in the willing and acting of the state-societies as they made their fevered calculations of so-called *power* and *interest*, as they sought one advantage after another, one equilibrium after another. International law has been neither very threatening nor very useful to the politicians and the diplomats. It has seemed to be little more than a neutralized diplomacy, international relations half-set in amber, a more or less safe refuge within so much international turbulence, a set of relatively fixed points for taking political measurements, some common ground from which to launch flights of rhetoric, the modest voice of common sense in the midst of rampant unreason. It has performed the role of an old servant in a family of ancient lineage, a venerable legal adviser to great land-owners whose most treasured possession is now a colourful past, full of glory and shame. International law is the faithful friend of a family overtaken by time.”

P. Allott, *Eunomia*

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

(1) *Class Participation*: 30%

Law is a “reading” subject. It lends itself well to the seminar in which assigned readings are discussed. All students are expected to have digested assigned material prior to class and be prepared to participate with their own views based on knowledge of the subject. Attendance is mandatory.

(2) *Legal Debates*: 20%

Two students per class will introduce the material for discussion, presenting the main legal debates surrounding the subject and providing a basis for class discussion. This is not a summary of the assigned material, but the student’s assessment of the evolution of the subject. Each student will speak in turn—the second responding to the first, if possible—for no longer than ten minutes. Students are strongly advised to adhere strictly to this time limit. Marks will be docked for lengthy presentations (10 % of grade). The two students may cooperate in their presentation, but each will prepare independently and hand in a 5 page summary of opinions based on the assigned material and class discussion (10 % of grade). This will be due the following week.

(3) *Research Paper*: 50%

Each student will be responsible for a piece of written work of 20 pages on an evolving aspect of international law. Students are free to choose their topic, but must clear it with the instructor. The paper is due on the last day of classes, Session 13.

REQUIRED TEXTS

Available for purchase:

Shaw, *International Law*, 3rd ed. (1991).

Dixon and McCorquodale, *Cases and Materials on International Law* (1991).

COURSE PACKET

There is available for purchase a course packet which includes all materials listed below separate from the texts. While this material is required reading, it is not necessary to purchase the course packet since it is all available at the Rockefeller Library on reserve.

CASES

While there are *relatively* fewer cases in international law than in national law, there are nevertheless landmark decisions by the World Court which establish important obligatory principles of international behaviour. Students should be aware of the general facts of cases and relevant principles of law on which the Court has adjudicated. For further reading and research, the full cases of the PCIJ and the ICJ are available at the Rockefeller Library.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJIL - American Journal of International Law
BYBIL - British Yearbook of International Law
HILJ - Harvard International Law Journal
ICLQ - International and Comparative Law Quarterly
VaJIL - Virginia Journal of International Law
WiILJ - Wisconsin International Law Journal

SEMINAR OUTLINE

Session 1 Course Introduction

Session 2 Nature of International Law

Shaw, chapters 1-2.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 1.

Allott, "Law, Justice and the Return to Idealism," *Global Security Lectures* (1993).

Session 3 Sources of International Law

Shaw, chapter 3.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 2.

Akehurst, "The Hierarchy of the Sources of International Law," *BYBIL* 47 (1974-75), pp. 273-285.

Schachter, "United Nations Law," *AJIL* 88, no. 1 (1994), pp. 1-23.

Session 4 International Law and National Law

Shaw, chapter 4.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 4.

Morgenstern, "Judicial Practice and the Supremacy of International Law," *BYBIL* 27 (1950), pp. 42-92.

Stein, "International Law in Internal Law: Toward Internationalization of Central-Eastern European Constitutions," *AJIL* 88, no. 3 (1994), pp. 427-450.

Session 5 International Legal Personality and Recognition

Shaw, chapters 5, 7.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 5.

Crawford, "The Criteria for Statehood in International Law," *BYBIL* 48 (1976-77), pp. 93-182.

Session 6 International Human Rights Law

Shaw, chapter 6.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 6.

McCorquodale, "Self-Determination: A Human Rights Approach," *ICLQ* 43, part 4 (October 1994), pp. 857-885.

Meron, "War Crimes in Yugoslavia and the Development of International Law," *AJIL* 88, no. 1 (January 1994), pp. 78-87.

Crawford, "The ILC's Draft Statute for an International Criminal Tribunal," *AJIL* 88 (January 1994), pp. 140-152.

Session 7 Territorial Sovereignty

Shaw, chapters 8-9.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 7.

Cassese, "From Sovereignty to Co-operation: The Common Heritage of Mankind," chapter 14 in *International Law in a Divided World* (1986), pp. 376-392.

Berman, "Sovereignty in Abeyance: Self-Determination and International Law," *WillJ* 7, no. 1 (Fall 1988), pp. 51-105.

Session 8 Jurisdiction and Immunities from Jurisdiction

Shaw, chapters 11-12.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapters 8-9.

Gowlland-Debbas, "The Relationship Between the International Court of Justice and the Security Council in the Light of the *Lockerbie* Case," *AJIL* 88, no. 4 (October 1994), pp. 643-677.

Charney, "Universal International Law," *AJIL* 87, no. 4 (1993), pp. 529-551.

Session 9 State Responsibility

Shaw, chapter 13.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 11.

Allott, "State Responsibility and the Unmaking of International Law," *HILJ* 29 (1988), pp. 1-28.

Caron, "The Legitimacy of the Collective Authority of the Security Council," *AJIL* 87, no. 4 (October 1993), pp. 552-588.

Session 10 International Environmental Law

Shaw, chapter 14.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 12.

Sands, "The Environment, Community and International Law," *HILJ* 30 (1989), pp. 393-420.

Imber, "Too Many Cooks? The Post-Rio Reform of the United Nations," *International Affairs* 69, no. 1 (1993), pp. 55-70.

Baker, "Legal Protection for the Environment in Times of Armed Conflict," *VaJIL* 33 (Winter 1993), pp. 351-383.

Session 11 Pacific Settlement of Disputes

Shaw, chapter 17.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 14.

Goodrich and Hambro, *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents* (1949), part II, chapter 6, pp. 237-261.

Franck, "Legitimacy in the International System," *AJIL* 82 (1988), pp. 705-759.

Session 12 The Use of Force

Shaw, chapter 18.

Dixon and McCorquodale, chapter 13.

Goodrich and Hambro, *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents* (1949), part II, pp. 102-107 and chapter 7, pp. 262-308.

Kaikobad, "Self-Defence, Enforcement Action and the Gulf Wars, 1980-88 and 1990-91," *BYBIL* (1992), pp. 299-366.

Gardam, "Proportionality and Force in International Law," *AJIL* 87, no. 3 (July 1993), pp. 391-413.

Session 13 International Society

Shaw, chapter 19.

Allott, *Eunomia: New Order for a New World* (1990).

◆ INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ORGANIZATION ◆

Lawrence S. Finkelstein

Political Science 582
Northern Illinois University
Fall 1994 • 1 Session per Week

NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE SEMINAR

The web entangling states in the international system is unmistakably much wider and much denser in 1994 than it was when the creation of the UN in 1945 ushered in the post-World War II era. Now, in the early post-Cold War years, these entanglements, all would agree, significantly influence and constrain the states which, although they remain the primary actors in the international system, can no longer be said to monopolize it. International law and organization(s) are important institutional components of the web. They both reflect and influence the intensifying kinetics of international interactions which are accompanied by a broadening and deepening agenda of international concerns. They are artifacts of the changing state system. That is to say, states are the primary “environment” for international law and organization(s). Yet, the reverse is increasingly true: international law and organization(s) are irreversibly the “environment”¹ for states in the system. They certainly cannot ignore the environment, and it influences them, however much they may claim to be sovereign.

The seminar will begin by examining some ideas about the changing character of the international system, as a foundation for getting at the changing place of international law and organization. It will proceed to examine some basic arguments about the latter. Then, it will outline some of the contemporary “issue areas” which are the subjects of “international governance.”

Students should **be prepared to learn more than to be taught**. The primary vehicle for learning will be the major paper which is to be the central assignment of the term. Each student should focus on a topic on the international agenda. The topics may be broad or narrower, e.g.: global collective security, post-Cold War security arrangements in Europe, Northeast Asia, etc., proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, North Korea’s nuclear threat, chemical weapons control, and terrorism; demographic issues, refugees in Africa, and birth control; fisheries, whaling, and fisheries arrangements in the North Pacific; international economic justice, regionalization of trade, trade in intellectual properties, financing development-Caribbean, Andean, and Central African, etc., and economic health; human rights, the status of women, of children, genocide, and freedom of the press; equity in health programming, the AIDS pandemic; etc. The papers should examine **the roles international law and organization can henceforward play in creating or strengthening regimes to help solve the problem** selected for study. While **imagination and invention are encouraged, and will be rewarded, idiocy is to be avoided**. The analysis should **focus carefully on the probable limits of the feasible**.

The papers are due on the day of the last class meeting, but may be turned in earlier. **Late submissions will not be accepted**, in good part because tardiness is not compatible with the university’s schedule for turning in final grades for the term. **Begin thinking about and working on the paper early**.

Another vehicle for learning will be the “briefings” members of the seminars will be assigned and expected to present on the required readings, beginning on Session 2. The assignments will be rotated so that the burdens are shared as evenly as possible by members of the class. Each week, several students will be asked to take the lead in classroom discussion of the readings assigned for that day, and, that day, to turn in a written briefing for criticism and grading. Thus, each member will be called upon for several briefings during the term. (Defection will not be tolerated and will be severely penalized. Please consult the instructor well ahead

¹ The term, “environment,” is loosely employed here and is arguably incorrect. It is often used to identify the phenomena which lie beyond, and which provide the setting for, what is being studied. Here, it is argued that the environment(s) interact with the subjects, and thus become part of what is being studied. Sorting out the actors and their environments has been a perplexing problem for students of international organizations.

of time about any foreseeable scheduling difficulties so that adjustments may be made.) **All members of the group will be expected to be prepared to take part in the discussions and are not absolved from doing the reading** when they have not been assigned the briefing duty for the week.

The briefings should: comparatively highlight the purpose(s) and the approach(es) of the authors; present the arguments advanced and the methodologies employed and spell out their significance and implications; synopsise the significant supporting evidence; and critically evaluate the readings. (There is no law against resorting to additional sources as a means of strengthening the briefer's appreciation of the assigned readings.)

GRADES

	<i>Components</i>		<i>Scale</i>
Briefings	30%	95+= A+	70 = C
Attendance & Participation	20%	90 = A	60 = D
Paper	50%	80 = B	60- = F

READINGS

There is no text. There are no required book purchases. Assigned readings are, or will be placed, on reserve in the Reserve Room in Founders Memorial Library.

SCHEDULE OF THE COURSE

Session 1 First meeting

Introduction to the course and its requirements. Discussion of "What is 'new' about the 'New World Order'?"

Session 2 The Westphalian State System

Read:

Robert H. Jackson and Alan James, "The Character of Independent Statehood," chapter 1 and "Continuity and Change in the State System," chapter 17 in Robert H. Jackson and Alan James, eds., *States in a Changing World: A Contemporary Analysis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 3-25, 346-367.

Stephen Krasner, "Westphalia and All That," in Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds., *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 235-264.

Paul Kennedy, "The Future of the Nation-State," chapter 7 in Kennedy, *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Random House), pp. 122-134.

Sessions 3-4 Turbulence in, and about, the System

Read:

James Rosenau, "Previewing Postinternational Politics," chapter 1 in Rosenau, *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 3-20.

Stephen Krasner, "Economic Interdependence and Independent Statehood," chapter 15 in Jackson and James, *States in a Changing World*, cited above, pp. 301-321.

Mark Zacher, "The Decaying Pillars of the Westphalian Temple: Implications for International Order and Government," in James Rosenau and Ernst-Otto Czempiel, eds., *Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 58-101.

James Rosenau, "Governance, Order, and Change in World Politics," chapter 1 in Rosenau and Czempiel, cited above, pp. 1-29.

Lawrence S. Finkelstein, "What Is International Governance?," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association (Vancouver, BC, 1991).

Joseph A. Camilleri and Jim Falk, "Current Trends and Future Possibilities," chapter 9 in Camilleri and Falk, *The End of Sovereignty? The Politics of a Shrinking and Fragmenting World*, reprint (Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar, 1993), pp. 236-257. (Original published in England, 1992.)

Sessions 5-6 Some Challenges

Read:

Paul Kennedy, "Prologue: Old Challenges and New Challenges," chapter 1 and "Preparing for the Twenty-First Century," chapter 14 in Kennedy, *Preparing for the Twenty-First Century*, cited above, pp. 3-20, 329-349.

Adam Roberts, "Ethnic Conflict: Threat and Challenge to the UN," in Anthony McDermott, ed., *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, (in the journal of) *Peacekeeping and Multinational Operations*, no. 2 (June 1994), pp. 3-36.

Janne Nolan, "The Concept of Cooperative Security," chapter 1 and Nolan et al., "The Imperatives for Cooperation," in Janne E. Nolan, ed., *Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1994), pp. 3-61.

Mihaly Simai, "New Global Priorities: An Agenda for Cooperation," chapter 14 and "The Human Dimension of Change in the Future Global Economy," chapter 15 in Mihaly Simai, *The Future of Global Governance: Managing Risk and Change in the International System* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1994), pp. 169-195.

Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases," *International Security* 19, no. 1 (Summer 1994), pp. 5-40.

Session 7 The Place of Institutions

Read:

John G. Ruggie, "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution," chapter 1 in Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 3-47.

J. Martin Rochester, "The Logic of Global Institution Building," chapter 2 in Rochester, *Waiting for the Millennium: The United Nations and the Future of World Order* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 25-51.

Neta Crawford, "A Security Regime among Democracies: Cooperation among Iroquois Nations," *International Organization* 48, no. 3 (Summer 1994), pp. 345-385.

Session 8 IR Theories and International Law

Read:

Anne-Marie Slaughter Burley, "International Law and International Relations Theory: A Dual Agenda," *American Journal of International Law* 87, no. 2 (April 1993), pp. 205-239.

Jonathan I. Charney, "Universal International Law," *American Journal of International Law* 87, no. 4 (October 1993), pp. 529-551.

Sessions 9-10 Creating and Carrying Out International Rules

Read:

Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, "On Compliance," *International Organization* 47, no. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 175-205.

John H. Jackson, "Status of Treaties in Domestic Legal Systems: A Policy Analysis," *American Journal of International Law* 86, no. 2 (April 1992), pp. 310-340.

Charles Lipson, "Why Are Some International Agreements Informal?," *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (Autumn 1991), pp. 495-538.

Oscar Schachter, "United Nations Law," *American Journal of International Law* 88, no. 1 (January 1994), pp. 1-23.

Stephen D. Krasner, "Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables," chapter 1 and "Regimes and the Limits of Realism: Regimes as Autonomous Values," chapter 5 in Krasner, ed., *International Regimes* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), pp. 1-21, 355-368. Published also as a special issue —*International Organization* 36, no. 2 (Spring 1982).

Oran Young, "The Effectiveness of International Institutions: Hard Cases and Critical Variables," chapter 6 in Rosenau and Czempiel, cited above, pp. 160-194.

Session 11 Epistemics

Read:

Ernst Haas, "Words Can Hurt You; or, Who Said What to Whom about Regimes," *International Organization* 36, no. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 207-243. Also in Krasner's edited work, *International Regimes*, cited above.

Donald Puchala, "The United Nations and Ecosystem Issues: Institutionalizing the Global Interest," chapter 7 in Lawrence S. Finkelstein, ed., *Politics in the United Nations System* (Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 214-245.

Title page, Abstracts, and Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," in Peter M. Haas, ed., *Knowledge, Power, and International Policy Coordination in International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992), introduction and pp. 1-35.

Session 12 Non-Proliferation

Read:

Peter van Ham, "Why Nations Cooperate," chapter 3 and "Incentives and Disincentives," chapter 5 in Peter van Ham, *Managing Non-Proliferation Regimes in the 1990s: Power, Politics and Policies* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993), pp. 33-50, 72-95.

Antonia Handler Chayes and Abram Chayes, "Regime Architecture: Elements and Principles," chapter 3 in Janne E. Nolan, ed., *Global Engagement: Cooperation and Security in the 21st Century*, cited above, pp. 65-130.

Session 13 No class**Session 14 The Environment**

Read:

Oran Young, "Introduction: The 'New Institutionalism' in International Relations,"; "International Environmental Governance," chapter 1; "Governance Systems and International Organizations," chapter 7; and "Governance Systems and International Legal Regimes," chapter 8 in Oran Young, *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 1-32, 163-211.

Christopher D. Stone, "'Insuring' Against Global Warming," *American Journal of International Law* 86, no. 3 (July 1992), pp. 445-488.

Session 15 Last meeting—Democracy

Read:

Thomas M. Franck, "The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance," *American Journal of International Law* 86, no. 1 (January 1992), pp. 46-91.

Frederic L. Kirgis Jr., "The Degrees of Self-Determination in the United Nations Era," *American Journal of International Law* 88, no. 2, pp. 304-310.

♦ **SELECTED PROBLEMS IN THE WORK OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS** ♦
PROBLEMS OF MONITORING COMPLIANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS

Gregory H. Fox
Thomas M. Franck
Paul C. Szasz

LO5. 3529 • New York University School of Law
Spring 1995 • 1 Session per Week

READINGS

PART A

I. INTRODUCTION: HUMAN RIGHTS BACKGROUND

The International Bill of Human Rights

1. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UN General Assembly Resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948).
2. *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (UN General Assembly Resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966).
3. *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (UN General Assembly Resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966).
4. *Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (UN General Assembly Resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966).
5. Actions of States (from Multilateral Treaties Deposited with the Secretary-General, Status as of 31 December 1993), ST/LEG/SER. E/12, herein "Status," in respect of:
 - (a) *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*
 - (b) *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)*
 - (c) *Optional Protocol to the ICCPR*
6. (a) *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (UN General Assembly Resolution 2106 A (XX) of 21 December 1965).
(b) Status of Countries
7. (a) *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (General Assembly Resolution 34/180 of 18 December 1979).
(b) Status of Countries
8. (a) *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (UN General Assembly Resolution 260 A (III) of 9 December 1948).
(b) Status of Countries
9. (a) *Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment* (UN General Assembly Resolution 39/46 adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1984).
(b) Status of Countries
10. [First] Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (A/49/36 of 11 November 1994).

**Session 1 An Overview of International Human Rights Instruments, Their Ratification,
Reservations, and Domestic Implementation**

1. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UN General Assembly Resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948); *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (UN General Assembly Resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966); *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (UN General Assembly Resolution

2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966); and *Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (UN General Assembly Resolution 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966).

2. Status of Countries for: (1) *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*; (2) *Optional Protocol*; (3) *Second Optional Protocol (Capital Punishment)*; (4) *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*; and (5) *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*.

3. Anne Bayefsky, "Making the Human Rights Treaties Work," in Henkin and Hargrove, *Human Rights: An Agenda for the Next Century* (ASIL).

4. Oscar Schachter, "The Obligation to Implement the Covenant in Domestic Law," in Henkin, *The International Bill of Rights* (1981).

5. *Implementation of Article 21 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW/C/1995/4 of 16 November 1994).

6. *SEMINAR on the experience of different countries in the implementation of international standards on human rights*, United Nations seminar (Geneva, Switzerland) 20 June-1 July 1983, ST/HR/SER.A/15, pp. i, 6-21, and Annex I, pp. 1-3.

7. *Human Rights Machinery*, United Nations Fact Sheet, no. 1.

8. *Civil and Political Rights: The Human Rights Committee*, United Nations Fact Sheet, no. 15, including Annex Model Communication.

9. Torkel Opsahl, "Instruments of Implementation of Human Rights," *Human Rights Law Journal* 10, no. 1-2, p. 13.

Session 2 The United States

1. Paul Hoffman and Nadine Strossen, "Enforcing International Human Rights Law in the United States," in Henkin and Hargrove, pp. 477-502.

2. Senate Advice and Consent to Ratification of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, Subject to Reservations, Understandings, Declarations and Proviso of 2 April 1992.

3. David P. Stewart, "United States Ratification of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: The Significance of the Reservations, Understandings and Declarations," *DePaul Law Review* 42, p. 1183.

4. *Initial Report of the United States of America to the U.N. Human Rights Committee under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, United States Department of State, July 1994.

Excerpts Include:

- Introduction
- Part Two: Specific Provisions of the Covenant
- Article 2-Equal Protection of Rights in the Covenant
- Article 6-Right to Life
- Article 7-Freedom from Torture or Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

5. United States Torture Convention:

- (a) "U.S. Signs UN Convention Against Torture," Message to the Senate on 20 May 1988.
- (b) Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Pub. L. 103-236, 103rd Congress, 2nd Session; Section 506 "Torture Convention Implementation."

6. Miscellaneous extracts from The Aspen Institute, *International Human Rights Law Update* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1994), pp. 2-3.

Session 3 State Reporting Procedures—Burundi Case Study

1. *United Nations Manual on Human Rights Reporting: Under Six Major International Human Rights Instruments*, HR/PUB/91/1 (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1991).

- (a) Philip Allston, "The Purposes of Reporting."
- (b) Cecil Bernard, "The Preparation and Drafting of a National Report."
- (c) Fausto Pocar and Cecil Bernard, "National Reports: Their Submission to Expert Bodies and Follow Up."
- (d) Laurie Wiseberg, "Human Rights Information and Documentation."

- (e) Fausto Pocar, "The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights."
- (f) Philip Allston, "The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights."
- (g) "Consolidated Guidelines for the Initial Part of the Reports of States Parties," Annex.

2. *Reporting Obligations of States Parties to the United Nations Instruments on Human Rights*, Note by the Secretary-General (A/44/98 of 3 February 1989).

3. *Human Rights Questions: Implementation of Human Rights Instruments*, Note by the Secretary-General (A/49/537 of 19 October 1994).

4. BURUNDI: Human Rights Committee's consideration of the initial report of the Republic of Burundi under the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*.

- (a) *Initial Reports of States Parties Due in 1991, Addendum: BURUNDI* (CCPR/C /68/Add. 2 of 19 November 1991).
- (b) *Core Document Forming the Initial Part of States Party Reports: BURUNDI* (HRI/CORE/1/Add. 16 of 16 October 1992).
- (c) Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under Article 40 of the Covenant: Initial Report of Burundi (CCPR/C/SR.1178 of 19 November 1992).
- (d) Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under Article 40 of the Covenant (continued): Initial Report of Burundi (continued) (CCPR/C/SR. 1182 of 24 March 1993).
- (e) Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under Article 40 of the Covenant (continued): Initial Report of Burundi (continued) (CCPR/C/SR. 1183 of 27 October 1992).
- (f) *Comments of the Human Rights Committee on Reports Submitted by States Parties under Article 40 of the Covenant*, Note by the Secretary-General (CCPR/C/79 of 2 September 1993 and CCPR/C/79/Add. 9 of 28 December 1992).

Session 4 Special Rapporteurs

A. Subject or Theme Rapporteurs

1. David Weisbrodt, "The Three Theme Special Rapporteurs of the UN Commission on Human Rights," *American Journal of International Law* 80 (1986), p. 685.
2. *Report of the Special Rapporteur, Mr. P. Kooijmans, pursuant to Commission on Human Rights Resolution 1991/38*, Commission on Human Rights (E/CN.4/1992/17), pp. ii-iii, 1-9, 16-18, 41-44, 46-48, 58, 66-69, 96, 99-107.

Excerpts Include:

- (a) Mandate and Methods of Work of the Special Rapporteur on Torture
- (b) Correspondence with Governments
- (c) Follow-Up Visits
- (d) Conclusions and Recommendations

B. Country Rapporteurs

1. Report of the Special Rapporteur (A/49/651).
2. *Human Rights Questions: Human Rights Situations and Reports of Special Rapporteurs and Representatives: Letter dated 14 September 1994 from the Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General* (A/49/394 of 19 September 1994).
3. *Human Rights Questions: Human Rights Situations and Reports of Special Rapporteurs and Representatives: Report of the Third Committee (Part IV)*, Rapporteur: Mr. Nikolai N. Lepeshko (Belarus) (A/49/610/Add. 3 of 16 December 1994).

Session 5 The Death Penalty and Human Rights

1. The Soering Case

- (a) *Soering v. United Kingdom*, European Court of Human Rights (Strasbourg), 7 July 1989 in *Human Rights Law Journal* 11, no. 3-4, p. 335.
- (b) William A. Schabas, "Soering's Legacy: The Human Rights Committee and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council Take a Walk Down Death Row," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 34 (October 1994), p. 913.

(c) Richard Lillich, "The Soering Case: Notes and Comments," *American Journal of International Law* 85 (1991), p. 128.

2.

(a) Human Rights Committee VIEW under Article 5, para. 4 of the *Optional Protocol to the ICCPR*. Victim: CHARLES CHITAT; state party: CANADA (CCPR/C/49/D/469/199 of 7 January 1994).

(b) Human Rights Committee VIEW under Article 5, para. 4 of the *Optional Protocol to the ICCPR*. Victim: JOSEPH KINDLER; state party: CANADA (CCPR/C/48/D/470/1991 of 11 November 1993).

(c) William Schabas, "Comments on *Kindler v. Canada* (Minister of Justice)," [(1991) 2 SCR 779], *American Journal of International Law* 87 (1993), p. 128.

(d) *Fierro v. Gomez*, *Daily Journal DAR* 94 (October 4, 1994), p. 15686.

3.

(a) *Elaboration of a second optional protocol to the ICCPR, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty: Report of the Secretary-General containing views expressed by Governments* (A/44/592 of 9 October 1989).

(b) *Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty* (A/RES/44/128 of 15 December 1989).

(c) *Status of Countries Ratifying the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty*.

4. Edward Sherman, "The U.S. Death Penalty Reservation to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: Exposing the Limitations of the Flexible System Governing Treaty Formation," *Texas International Law Journal* 29 (1994), p. 69.

II. INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL LAW TREATIES

Session 1

1. Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal (1989).

2. *Manual for the Implementation of the Basel Convention* (UNEP/SBC/94/1), pp. 5-28.

3. *Reporting and Transmission of Information Required under the Basel Convention: Compilation of information received, May 1992-March 1994* (UNEP/SBC/94/7), pp. 17-19, 146-155.

4. Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer.

5. Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer (as amended and adjusted), June 1990.

5a. Annex IV to Montreal Protocol.

6. Mary Ellen O'Connell, "Enforcing the New International Law of the Environment," *German Yearbook of International Law* 35 (1992), p. 293.

7. Kamen Sachariew, "Promoting Compliance with International Environmental Legal Standards: Reflections on Monitoring and Reporting Mechanisms," *Yearbook of International Environmental Law* 2 (1991), p. 31.

8. *Survey of Existing Agreements and Instruments and Its Follow Up: Report of the Secretary-General of the Conference* (A/CONF.151/PC/103 of 20 January 1992).

9. Martii Koskenniemi, "Breach of Treaty of Non-Compliance? Reflections on the Enforcement of the Montreal Protocol," *Yearbook of International Environmental Law* 3 (1992), p. 123.

Session 2 CITES

1. Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora, 1973.

1a. *Man Hing Ivory & Imports v. Deukmejian*, 702 F. 2d 760 (9th Cir. 1983).

2. Simon Lyster, "Basic Principles of International Wildlife Law," chapter 1 in *International Wildlife Law* (1985).

3. Simon Lyster, "The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora ("CITES")," chapter 12 in *International Wildlife Law* (1985).

4. Marine Mammal Protection Act (as amended)—16 USCA §1361.

5. *Earth Island Inst. v. Mosbacher*, 929 F.2d 1449 (9th Dist. Ct. 1991).
6. 55 Fed. Reg. 11921 (March 30, 1992).
7. "General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade: Dispute Settlement Panel Report on United States Restrictions on Imports of Tuna," *International Legal Materials* 30 (1991), p. 1594.
8. Joel Trachtman, "GATT Dispute Settlement Panel," *American Journal of International Law* 86 (January 1992), p. 142.
9. Robert Housman, "The Collision of the Environment and Trade: The GATT Tuna/Dolphin Decision," *Environmental Law Review* 22 (April 1992), p. 10268.
10. "GATT Panel Decision—EC/US," *International Legal Materials* 33, no. 4 (1994).

PART B

I. INTRODUCTION

Verification in All Its Aspects: Study on the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Verification, UN Document A/45/372 (1990).

II. NUCLEAR WEAPONS

A. Introduction

Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968).

Safeguards Agreement between Iraq and the IAEA (1973).

"Status of the Implementation of Major Multilateral Arms Control Agreements," as of January 1, 1994, *SIPRI Yearbook* (1994).

Paul C. Szasz, *The Law and Practices of the International Atomic Energy Agency*, Legal Series, no. 7 (1970).

Reinhard H. Rainer and Paul C. Szasz, *The Law and Practices of the International Atomic Energy Agency 1970-1980* (Supp. 1993).

IAEA Inspectors Document (GC(V)/INF/39).

B. Israeli Bombing of Iraqi Reactor

Russell, "Attack—and Fallout: Israel Blasts Iraq's Reactor and Creates a Global Shock Wave," *TIME* (June 22, 1981).

Letter from Iraq calling for a Security Council meeting, UN Document S/14509 (8 June 1981).

IAEA Board of Governors Resolution, "Military Attack on Iraqi Nuclear Research Centre and Its Implications for the Agency" (12 June 1981).

Statement of the Director-General of the IAEA to the Security Council, GC(XXV)/INF/196 (1981) (19 June 1981).

Security Council Resolution 487 (19 June 1981).

Position of Israel on why it had to act, UN Document A/36/610 (20 October 1981).

General Assembly Resolution 36/27 (13 November 1981).

Paul Lewis, "The U.N.'s Nuclear Cops Cover a Tough Bear," *The New York Times*, June 28, 1991.

A.O. Sulzberger Jr., "Ex-Inspector Asserts Iraq Planned to Use Reactor to Build A-Bombs," *The New York Times*, June 20, 1991.

Further Optional Reading:

W.T. Mallison and Sally V. Mallison, "The Israeli Aerial Attack of June 7, 1981 Upon the Iraqi Nuclear Reactor: Aggression or Self-Defense?," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 15 (1982), p. 417.

C. Post-Gulf War Controls on Iraq

1. Initial Monitoring Efforts

Security Council Resolutions 687, 699, 707, 715 (1991).

Letter from Executive Chairman of UNSCOM, UN Document S/22739 (26 June 1991).

Letter from Executive Chairman of UNSCOM, UN Document S/22743 (28 June 1991).

Statement by the President of the Security Council in response to the above letters, UN Document S/22746 (28 June 1991).

Paul Lewis, "Iraqis Fire to Bar U.N. Inspectors," *The New York Times*, June 29, 1991.

Response of Iraqi Foreign Minister to message of President of the Security Council, UN Document S/22749 (29 June 1991).

Report of the high-level mission to Iraq, UN Document S/22761 (5 July 1991).

Iraq's letters, UN Document S/22786 (13 July 1991).

Letter from the IAEA Director-General to the President of the Security Council, UN Document A/45/1037 and S/22812 (19 July 1991).

Letter from Iraqi Foreign Minister, UN Document S/22826 (24 July 1991).

2. Activity Under the Monitoring Plan

IAEA's Revised Monitoring Plan, UN Document S/22872/Rev. 1 (20 September 1991).

Iraq's protest to actions of nuclear inspection team led by IAEA inspector David Kay, UN Document S/23065 (24 September 1991).

Resolution adopted by IAEA on 20 September 1991 entitled "Iraq's Non-Compliance with Its Safeguards Obligations," UN Document A/46/509 and S/23088 (30 September 1991).

"We're Prepared to Stay Here," *Washington Post*, September 25, 1991.

Josh Friedman and Ron Howell, "Break in the Standoff?," *Newsday*, September 26, 1991.

Letter from Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq concerning the conduct and demeanor of David Kay, UN Document S/23110 (4 October 1991).

First report on the sixth on-site inspection in Iraq conducted during 22-30 September 1991, UN Document S/23122 (8 October 1991).

Letter from the Director-General of the IAEA to the Secretary-General concerning David Kay's resignation, UN Document S/24474 (August 1992).

Elaine Sciolino, "Iraq's Nuclear Program Shows the Holes in U.S. Intelligence," *The New York Times*, October 20, 1991.

"IAEA Nuclear Inspections in Iraq," *IAEA Bulletin* 34 (1992).

Report of the Secretary-General on the Status of the Implementation of the Special Commission's Monitoring Plan, UN Document S/1994/1138 (7 October 1994).

Report by the Executive Chairman of the Special Commission, UN Document S/1994/1422 (15 December 1994).

Further Optional Reading:

Lawrence D. Roberts, "The United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 and Its Aftermath: The Implications for Domestic Authority and the Need for Legitimacy," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 25 (1993), p. 593.

Bill Monahan, "Giving the Non-Proliferation Treaty Teeth: Strengthening the Special Inspection Procedures of the International Atomic Energy Agency," *Virginia Journal of International Law* 33 (1992), p. 161.

D. Proposed Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

Thomas Schmalberger, "In Pursuit of a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty," in *A Guide to the Debate in the Conference on Disarmament*, UNIDIR/91/16 (1991).

Nuclear Weapons: A Comprehensive Study, Department of Disarmament Affairs, Report of the Secretary-General (1991).

Report of the Conference on Disarmament, UN Document GAOR A/49/27 (1994).

Report—Proposed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization, pp. 40-46.

Report—Treaty Language on Verification, pp. 65-81.

Report—Inspections, pp. 92-118.

Report—Proposed International Monitoring System of the Comprehensive Test Ban Organization.

E. Satellite Monitoring

Olivier de La Baume, "French Proposal for the Establishment of an International Satellite Monitoring Agency," *University of Toledo Law Review* 16 (1985), p. 157.

Study on the French Proposal for the establishment of an International Satellite Monitoring Agency (ISMA), UN Document A/AC.206/14 (Annex).

Principles relating to the Remote Sensing of the Earth from Outer Space, UN Document A/41/65 (1986).

Further Optional Reading:

F. North Korea

Safeguards Agreement between DPRK and IAEA, INFCIRC/403 (1992).

Memorandum of DPRK Foreign Ministry of April 20, 1994, INFCIRC/442 (1994).

Letter from the Director-General of the IAEA to the Security Council concerning North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT, UN Document S/1994/1310 (18 November 1994).

Mark E. Newcomb, "Non-Proliferation, Self-Defense and the Korean Crisis," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 604 (1994), p. 603.

III. CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Chemical Weapons Convention (1993).

Verification Annex of the CWC, United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (October 1993).

David G. Gray, "Then the Dogs Died: The Fourth Amendment and Verification of the Chemical Weapons Convention," *Columbia Law Review* 94 (1994), p. 567.

Sergei Batsanov, "Practical Aspects Concerning the Implementation of the CWC," *Disarmament* 16, no. 3 (1993).

Walter Dorn and Ann Rolya, "The Organization for the Prohibition of the Chemical Weapons and the IAEA: A Comparative Overview of the CWC," *IAEA Bulletin* 3 (1993).

IV. BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

Geneva Protocol, UST 26 (1925), p. 575.

Measures to Uphold the Authority of the 1925 Geneva Protocol and to Support the Conclusion of a Chemical Weapons Convention, UN Document 42/37C (1987).

"1972 Biological Weapons Convention, Strengthening the BW Convention by CBMS," *SIPRI Yearbook* (1990).

Text of the final declarations of the first and second review conferences of the BWC, "Guidelines and Procedures for Investigation of Reports of Possible Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons," UNIDIR/91/17.

E. Geissler, "Biological and Arms Control Developments," *SIPRI Yearbook* (1994).

◆ INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ◆

Steven Ratner

LAW 379M

School of Law • The University of Texas at Austin

Fall 1994 • 3 Sessions per Week

I. OVERVIEW

The half-century since the end of World War II has witnessed the growth of numerous transnational institutions in the political, economic, social, educational, scientific, and cultural fields. This course will examine the principal legal issues concerning organizations composed of states. These include interpretation of their organic instruments, legal status and powers, membership and participation, norm-creation, dispute settlement, and enforcement of decisions. Primary consideration will be given to the evolution of powers by the United Nations, including in the realms of international peace and security, although ample discussion will take place regarding economic organizations (such as the Bretton Woods institutions) and other important groupings of states. A prior course on international law will be useful, but is not required.

II. READING MATERIALS

Frederic L. Kirgis Jr., *International Organizations in Their Legal Setting*, 2nd ed. (West, 1993).
(listed below as *International Organizations*)

Frederic L. Kirgis Jr., *International Organizations in Their Legal Setting: Selected Documents* (West, 1993).
(listed below as *Selected Documents*)

Supplementary Readings for purchase in sales office.
(listed below as *Supplementary Readings*)

In addition to the individual class assignments, you should, at some point within the first few weeks, read the entire *Charter of the United Nations*, which can be found in the Basic Documents Supplement.

*** Please try to read each class assignment in the order noted, even if it means switching from the text to the supplementary readings and back again.

On reserve for interested students:

Ian Brownlie, *Principles of Public International Law*, 4th ed. (1990).

Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, eds., *United Nations, Divided World* (1988).

III. REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

A. There will be a 3-hour open-book final examination. Details will follow.

B. Class participation is expected. If your exam result is on the borderline between two grades, your overall class participation will determine your final grade.

SYLLABUS

I. INTRODUCTION

Session 1

Case Concerning Questions of Interpretation and Application of the 1971 Montreal Convention Arising from the Aerial Incident at Lockerbie (Libya v. U.S.), Provisional Measures, 1992 ICJ 114 (April 14)—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 2 **Contrasting Images of the United Nations and International Organizations**

Selected Documents, pp. 1-10.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Report on the Work of the Organization* (September 1993)—*Supplementary Readings*.

Richard L. Armitage, "Bend the U.N. to Our Will," *The New York Times*, February 24, 1994—*Supplementary Readings*.

Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, "The U.N.'s Roles in International Society since 1945," in Roberts and Kingsbury, eds., *United Nations, Divided World* (1988)—*Supplementary Readings* (read quickly for general themes).

II. CONSTITUTIVE INSTRUMENTS AND POWERS

Session 3 Reading the *UN Charter*

UN Charter, Articles 1-2—*Selected Documents*, pp. 11-13.

International Organizations, pp. 7-13 (bottom).

Dissenting Opinion of Judge Hackworth in *Reparation for Injuries Case*—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 4 Modes of Interpretation

International Organizations, pp. 483-84.

Dissenting Opinion of Judge Alvarez in *Competence of the General Assembly for Admission Case*—*Supplementary Readings*.

McCulloch v. Maryland, 4 Wheat. (17 U.S.) 316 (1819)—*Supplementary Readings*.

III. MODES AND PROCESSES OF PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Session 5 Admission to UN Membership

UN Charter, Articles 3-4—*Selected Documents*, p. 13.

International Organizations, pp. 137-49 (middle).

Session 6 A Place for Non-State Actors?

Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, Article 1, paras. 1-4—*Selected Documents*, pp. 114-15.

Constitution of the World Health Organization, Articles 3-8—*Selected Documents*, pp. 174-5.

International Organizations, pp. 153-64 (bottom).

Session 7 Representation and Competing Claimants to Power

International Organizations, pp. 176 (bottom)-184 (bottom).

Articles of Agreement of the Asian Development Bank, Articles 1-4—*Supplementary Readings*.

Materials from *Digest of United States Practice in International Law* on Asian Development Bank and Taiwan—*Supplementary Readings*.

"Divided China in the United Nations: Time for Parallel Representation," advertisement in *The New York Times*—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 8 Paying Up: Financial Obligations of Membership

UN Charter, Articles 17, 19—*Selected Documents*, p. 16.

International Organizations, pp. 247-54 (middle).

U.S. Department of State Authorization Act for 1984 and 1985, sections 113-115—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 9 Suspension of Membership

UN Charter, Articles 4-6—*Selected Documents*, p. 13.

International Organizations, pp. 585 (middle)-597.

IV. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND DOMESTIC LAW

Session 10 Immunity of Organizations

International Organizations Immunities Act, section 2—*Selected Documents*, pp. 213-14.

International Organizations, pp. 39-51 (top).

Session 11 International Civil Servants and Their Home Governments

Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations, Articles 17-23—*Selected Documents*, pp. 199-200.

International Organizations, pp. 79-83 (skim), 84-92 (top).

Session 12 The United Nations in the United States (I)

UN Headquarters Agreement, sections 8-13, 21—*Selected Documents*, pp. 204-05, 209.

International Organizations, pp. 104 (bottom)-113 (middle).

Applicability of the Obligation to Arbitrate Under Section 21 of the United Nations Headquarters Agreement of 26 June 1947, Advisory Opinion, 1988 ICJ 12 (April 26)—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 13 The United Nations in the United States (II)

U.S. Reservation to the UN Headquarters Agreement—*Selected Documents*, p. 211.

International Organizations, pp. 113 (middle)-121 (bottom).

V. THE PROCESS OF NORM CREATION BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Session 14 Norm Creation through Treaties: The International Labour Organisation

Statute of the International Court of Justice, Article 38—*Selected Documents*, p. 45.

ILO Constitution, Articles 4(1), 19(1), 19(5), 19(6)—*Selected Documents*, pp. 116, 122-23.

International Organizations, pp. 276-84, 291-94 (middle).

Session 15 Norm Creation through Administrative Action: The International Monetary Fund

Articles of Agreement of the IMF, Articles I, IV(1), IV(3), XXVII—*Selected Documents*, pp. 145-48, 161-62.

International Organizations, pp. 295 (top)-302 (top).

Session 16 Norm Creation through Administrative Action: The International Civil Aviation Organization

Convention on Civil Aviation, Articles 3, 5, 37, 38—*Selected Documents*, pp. 92-94, 99-100.

International Organizations, pp. 302-315 (middle).

Session 17 Norm Creation through Resolutions: The UN General Assembly

UN Charter, Articles 10-11—*Selected Documents*, p. 14.

International Organizations, pp. 341 (middle)-345 (top), 351 (middle)-357 (top).

Texas Overseas Petroleum Company v. Libyan Arab Republic—Supplementary Readings.

VI. DISPUTE SETTLEMENT THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Session 18 International Civil Aviation Organization

Convention on Civil Aviation, Articles 54(i)-(n), 55(c)&(e), 84, 89—*Selected Documents*, p. 104-05, 109-111.

International Organizations, pp. 469-79 (top).

Session 19 United Nations—International Court of Justice (I)

Statute of the International Court of Justice, Article 36—*Selected Documents*, pp. 44-45.

Case Concerning Military and Paramilitary Activities in and against Nicaragua (Nic. v. U.S), Provisional Measures, 1984 ICJ 169, and *Jurisdiction and Admissibility*, 1984 ICJ 392, and Statement of U.S. Department of State Legal Adviser—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 20 United Nations—International Court of Justice (II)

Nuclear Test Cases (Australia v. France), 1974 ICJ 253—*Supplementary Readings*.

Case Concerning United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran (U.S. v. Iran), 1979 ICJ 7—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 21 Inter-American Commission on Human Rights

American Convention on Human Rights, Articles 1, 2, 41-47—*Selected Documents*, pp. 305-06, 315-18.

International Organizations, pp. 981 (middle)-993 (top).

**Session 22 The General Assembly, Security Council, and World Court in Action:
Namibia (I)**

International Organizations, pp. 485-91, 380 (bottom)-385 (bottom).

**Session 23 The General Assembly, Security Council, and World Court in Action:
Namibia (II)**

International Organizations, pp. 492-505 (middle), 512 (middle)-515 (middle).

VII. ENFORCEMENT OF DECISIONS

Session 24 The International Atomic Energy Agency: Technical Assistance

International Organizations, pp. 581 (middle)-583 (bottom).

Session 25 The Bretton Woods Institutions: Financial Assistance

International Organizations, pp. 564 (bottom)-575.

Session 26 UN Security Council Sanctions: Rhodesia

UN Charter, Articles 2(7), 25, 39-41, 50—*Selected Documents*, pp. 12-13, 18, 20-23.

International Organizations, pp. 620 (top)-635 (middle).

Session 27 UN Security Council Sanctions: Iraq (I)

International Organizations, pp. 642 (middle)-646.

UN Charter Articles 42-49—*Selected Documents*, pp. 21-22.

International Organizations, pp. 650 (middle)-659 (top).

Session 28 UN Security Council Sanctions: Iraq (II)

International Organizations, pp. 669 (top)-679 (bottom), 682 (middle)-684 (bottom).

Session 29 UN Security Council Sanctions: Yugoslavia

International Organizations, pp. 689-92 (middle).

Case Concerning Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Yugoslavia), *Provisional Measures*, 1992 ICJ 3 (April 8)—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 30 UN Security Council Sanctions: Libya

International Organizations, pp. 701 (bottom)-706 (bottom).

Case Concerning Questions of Interpretation and Application of the 1971 Montreal Convention Arising from the Aerial Incident at Lockerbie (Libya v. U.S.), *Provisional Measures*, 1992 ICJ 114 (April 14)—*Supplementary Readings* from Session 1.

Dissenting Opinion of Judge Weeramantry—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 31 Non-Governmental Organizations

Materials to be distributed.

VIII. UN EXECUTIVE ACTION IN THE FIELD OF PEACE AND SECURITY

Session 32 The Peacekeeping Paradigm: The United Nations Emergency Force in the Sinai (I)

UN Charter, Chapter VI—*Selected Documents*, pp. 19-20.

International Organizations, pp. 716-21 (middle), 731 (bottom)-739 (middle).

Session 33 The Peacekeeping Paradigm: The United Nations Emergency Force in the Sinai (II)

International Organizations, pp. 741 (middle)-745 (top), 764 (bottom)-773.

Session 34 Complicating the Situation: The United Nations Operation in the Congo (I)

International Organizations, pp. 745-56 (bottom).

Session 35 Complicating the Situation: The United Nations Operation in the Congo (II)

UN Charter, Articles 10-12, 17, 24, 43—*Selected Documents*, pp. 14-17, 21.

International Organizations, pp. 756-64 (bottom).

Session 36 Peacekeeping Transformed: UN Election-Monitoring

International Organizations, pp. 814 (top)-830 (top).

Session 37 Peacekeeping Transformed: The United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

Steven Ratner, "The United Nations in Cambodia: A Model for Resolution of Internal Conflicts?" in Lori Fisler Damrosch, ed., *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts* (1993)—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 38 Peace Enforcement: Iraq—and Haiti (?)

UN Charter, Articles 39-43, 51—*Selected Documents*, pp. 20-21, 23.

International Organizations, pp. 662-669 (top).

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti, 15 July 1994—*Supplementary Readings*.

UN Security Council Resolution 940—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 39 Humanitarian Intervention: Somalia

International Organizations, pp. 875-81.

Report of the Secretary-General on Proposed UN Operation in Somalia, 3 March 1993—*Supplementary Readings*.

UN Security Council Resolutions 837, 885—*Supplementary Readings*.

Session 40 Action by Regional Organizations: Liberia

David Wippman, "Enforcing the Peace: ECOWAS and the Liberian Civil War," in Lori Fisler Damrosch, ed., *Enforcing Restraint—Supplementary Readings*.

Session 41 Conclusion

◆ PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW ◆

Linda C. Reif

Law 465:A1

Faculty of Law • University of Alberta
September 1994 • 1 Session per Week

I. COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

This course is intended to provide a general introduction to the system of public international law, the sources of public international law, its guiding principles, and the major international organizations operating on the international level. Particular reference will be made to the interpretation and application of public international law in Canada and to the examination of situations affecting Canada in which public international law is applied to resolve the issue.

In addition, we will discuss some contemporary problems as they relate to international law. These will include the situation in the former Yugoslavia, the Gulf War, the North American Free Trade Agreement, international protection of the environment, and international protection of human rights.

The course areas to be addressed are as follows:

- (a) The Nature and Sources of International Law
- (b) International Legal Persons
- (c) Application of International Law in Domestic Law Systems (with emphasis on its application in Canadian law)
- (d) International Dispute Settlement Mechanisms
- (e) Inter-State Relations: Recognition, State Immunity
- (f) Nationality
- (g) State Jurisdiction over Persons
- (h) Limitation of the Use of Force
- (i) International Protection of Human Rights
- (j) International Protection of the Environment

II. COURSE MATERIALS

Required Texts:

H. Kindred et al., *International Law Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied in Canada*, 5th ed. (Emond Montgomery Publications Ltd., 1993) and *Documentary Supplement*.

Texts Recommended for Further Reading:

I. Brownlie, *Principles of Public International Law*, 4th ed. (Oxford University Press, 1990).

S.A. Williams and A.L.C. De Mestral, *An Introduction to International Law - Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Butterworths, 1987).

L.C. Green, *International Law: A Canadian Perspective*, (from CED (Ont.) 3d.), 2nd ed. (The Carswell Co. Ltd., 1988).

M. Akehurst, *A Modern Introduction to International Law*, 6th ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1987).

D.J. Harris, *Cases and Materials on International Law*, 4th ed. (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1991).

Yearbooks and Periodicals:

There are many periodicals and yearbooks that cover public international law. A selection is listed as follows:

The Canadian Yearbook of International Law

The British Yearbook of International Law

American Journal of International Law

International Legal Materials

Harvard Journal of International Law

International and Comparative Law Quarterly

III. COURSE EVALUATION

You have the option of:

1. Submission of a written paper on a topic related to public international law. The paper will be worth 100% of the final grade.

The body of the typed paper must be approximately 30 pages in length including footnotes or endnotes, with a bibliography in addition. The topic for the paper should be discussed with the instructor before the end of the first month of classes. The paper must be submitted by noon of the last day of classes in the term, together with a completed "Written Work Declaration."

OR

2. Submission of a final, written exam worth 100% of the final grade. The exam will be open-book; you may bring Kindred et al., *International Law Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied in Canada*, the *Documentary Supplement*, your class notes, and any class handouts into the examination room with you.

All references below are to Kindred et al., *International Law Chiefly as Interpreted and Applied in Canada*, 5th ed. and *Documentary Supplement*.

I. INTRODUCTION

Reading: "Introduction to International Law," chapter 1.

- (a) Definition and Concepts of Public International Law
- (b) Historical Background and Major Themes in the 20th Century
- (c) Canada's Role as a State
- (d) Effectiveness of Public International Law
- (e) Jurisprudence and Perspectives

II. SOURCES OF PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW

Reading: "Creation and Ascertainment of International Law," chapter 3.

A. Introduction

- (a) Articles 38, 59 of the Statute of the ICJ
- (b) Hierarchy of Sources:
English Channel Arbitration (1977), 18 ILM 397; *Military Activities in and against Nicaragua, Nicaragua v. U.S.A.*, [1986] ICJ Rep. 14.

B. Article 38(1)(a)—International Conventions—Treaties

- (a) Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (VC)
- (b) Contrast with the Unilateral Declaration:
Nuclear Tests cases, [1974] ICJ Rep. 253
- (c) Contrast with a Memorandum of Understanding
- (d) Canadian Treaty Practice
- (e) Treaty Making and Ratification (with application to Canadian system)
- (f) Treaty Publication and Registration

-
- (g) Entry into Force
 - (h) Reservations
 - (i) Legal Effects of Treaties: VC Articles 26-27, 30
 - (j) Interpretation of Treaties
 - (k) Operation of Treaties: Conflict with *jus cogens*, VC Articles 53, 64

C. Article 38(1)(b)—International Custom

- (a) General Customary International Law:
The Steamship Lotus, France v. Turkey (1927), PCIJ, Ser. A., no. 10;
North Sea Continental Shelf cases, *West Germany v. Denmark and v. Netherlands*, [1969] ICJ Rep. 3;
Military Activities in and against Nicaragua, Nicaragua v. U.S.A., [1986] ICJ Rep. 14.
- (b) Treaties as Evidence of Customary Law:
North Sea Continental Shelf cases, *supra*;
Continental Shelf, Libya v. Malta case, [1985] ICJ Rep. 13;
Nicaragua v. U.S.A., *supra*.
- (c) Regional or Special Customary Law:
Right of Passage over Indian Territory Case, [1960] ICJ Rep. 6;
Asylum case, Colombia v. Peru, [1950] ICJ Rep. 266.
- (d) *Jus Cogens*

D. Article 38(1)(c)—General Principles of Law

- (a) *International Status of S.W. Africa* case, *Ad. op.*, [1950] ICJ Rep. 128;
- (b) Contrast Article 38(1)(c) with Article 38(2) *Ex Aequo Et Bono*:
Diversion of Water from the Meuse case, *Netherlands v. Belgium* (1937), PCIJ Ser. A/B, no. 70;
North Sea Continental Shelf cases, *supra*;
Tunisia v. Libya, [1982] ICJ Rep. 19;
Gulf of Maine case, *Canada v. U.S.A.*, [1984] ICJ Rep. 246.

E. Article 38(1)(d)—Subsidiary Means for the Determination of Rules of Law

F. Law Making through International Organizations

- (a) United Nations—International Law Commission—codification and progressive development of law;
- (b) United Nations—Legal Effect of Security Council Resolutions:
Namibia case, [1971] ICJ Rep. 16.
- (c) United Nations—Legal Effect of General Assembly Resolutions:
Texaco v. Libya Arb. Award (1977), 53 ILR 389;
Nicaragua v. U.S.A., *supra*.
- (d) International Codes of Conduct

III. SUBJECTS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW—INTERNATIONAL LEGAL PERSONS

Reading: “International Legal Persons,” chapter 2.

A. States and Statehood

- (a) Definition of Statehood:
Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States, 1933 (1936), 165 LNTS 19.
- (b) Independence:
Austro-German Customs Union case, *Ad. op.*, (1931), PCIJ Ser. A/B, no. 41, 45, 57.

(c) Sovereignty and Equality:

Island of Palmas case (1928), 2 RIAA 829;

The Steamship Lotus, *supra*;

UN Charter, Articles 1-2;

Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (1970), UN General Assembly Resolution 2625 (XXV), 25 UN GAOR Supp. (No. 28) 121, (“Friendly Relations Declaration”).

B. Types of States

(a) Federal States

(b) Canada

(c) European Union

C. Other Legal Persons

(a) International Organizations:

Definition;

The United Nations—UN Charter and UN System;

Reparations case, *Ad. op.*, [1949] ICJ 174;

Status of International Organizations in Domestic Legal Systems.

(b) Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

(c) Corporations

(d) Self-Determination of Peoples:

(i) Individuals

(ii) People Seeking Self-Determination:

UN Charter, Articles 1(2), 55, 56, 73;

Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Territories and Peoples (1960), UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV), 15 UN GAOR, Supp. (No. 16) 66;

Friendly Relations Declaration, *supra*;

Namibia case, *supra*;

Western Sahara case, *Ad. op.*, [1975] ICJ Rep. 12;

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (1966), Annex to UN General Assembly Resolution 2200;

Canadian Government position on Self-Determination (1983);

Protection of Human Rights, *infra*.

(iii) Middle East—Palestinian Question; Indigenous Peoples

(e) Individuals

D. State Succession

(a) Changes of Government and State Continuity—Tinoco Arbitration (1923)

(b) Succession to Rights and Obligations

**IV. APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN DOMESTIC LEGAL SYSTEMS
(FOCUSING ON NATIONAL APPLICATION IN CANADA)**

Reading: “Application of International Law,” chapter 4.

A. Introduction—National Application

Theories of Monism and Dualism

Adoption/Incorporation vs. Transformation

Constitution Act, 1867, ss. 91, 92 (92A) and 132 and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

B. Customary International Law—Canada

Foreign Legations case, [1943] SCR 208;

Saint John v. Fraser-Brace Overseas Corp., [1958] SCR 263;

Re Newfoundland Continental Shelf, [1984] 1 SCR 86;

Gordon v. R. in Right of Canada, [1980] 5 WWR 668 (BCSC), *aff'd* [1980] 6 WWR 519 (BCCA);

Power to Legislate Contrary to International Law—see Vanek, Macdonald and LaForest articles.

C. Treaties—Canada

(a) Treaty-Making Power:

Federal Position

Quebec Position

(b) Treaty Implementation:

Labour Conventions case, [1937] AC 326 (JCPC);

MacDonald v. Vapour Canada Ltd. (1976), 66 DLR (3d) 1 (SCC);

Schneider v. The Queen (1982), NR 91 (SCC);

R. v. Crown Zellerbach Canada Ltd., [1988] 1 SCR 401.

(c) Conflicts between Treaties and Statutes

(d) Treaty Interpretation:

Schavernoeh v. Foreign Claims Commission (1982), 136 DLR (3d) 447 (SCC);

Re Regina and Palacios (1984), 45 OR (2d) 269 (CA);

National Corn Growers Ass'n v. Canada (Canadian Import Tribunal), [1990] 2 SCR 1324;

Ref. Re Public Service Employee Relations Act (Alta.), [1987] 1 SCR 313; 51 Alta. LR (2d) 977 (SCC), *per* Dickson C.J.C. *dissenting*;

R. v. Oakes, [1986] 1 SCR 103;

Slaight Communications Inc. v. Davidson, [1989] 1 SCR 1038.

(e) Impact of Unimplemented Treaties:

Capital Cities Comm'ns Inc. v. C.R.T.C. (1978), 81 DLR (3d) 609 (SCC);

National Corn Growers case, *supra*;

Charter cases and international human rights treaties.

(f) Agreements with Indigenous Peoples

R. v. Sioui, [1990] 1 SCR 1025.

(g) Influence of International Law on Canadian Law

(h) Comparative Approaches to National Application

V. APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW BY INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE SETTLEMENT MECHANISMS

Reading: “Application of International Law,” chapter 4, pp. 217-246.

A. The World Court—ICJ

Judges of the Court

Parties Before the Court—Contentious Cases and Advisory Opinions

Jurisdiction of the Court

Article 36(2) of the Statute of ICJ—“Optional Clause”—Declarations Recognizing Jurisdiction under Article 36(2)

Decisions of the Court

Significance of the Court

B. Other Methods for Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

UN Charter Methods

Negotiation

Good Offices

Commissions of Inquiry

Mediation

Conciliation

Arbitration

Other Judicial Tribunals

VI. INTER-STATE RELATIONS

Reading: "Inter-State Relations," chapter 5.

A. Recognition

(a) Generally:

Recognition of States and Governments;

Theories of Recognition;

Approaches to Recognition of Governments;

Canadian Practice of Recognition;

UN Membership;

Disintegration of Yugoslavia.

(b) International Effects of Recognition:

Charter of the OAS, Articles 12-13;

Tinoco Arbitration (G.B. v. Costa Rica) (1923), 1 RIAA 375.

(c) National Effects of Recognition:

Executive Certificates;

Luther v. Sagor, [1921] 3 KB 532 (CA);

Hesperides Hotels Ltd. v. Aegean Turkish Holidays Ltd., [1978] 1 QB 205 (CA).

B. State Immunity

(a) From Absolute Immunity to the Doctrine of Restrictive Immunity:

(i) USA

The Schooner Exchange v. M'Faddon, 11 US 116 (1812);

1952 Tate Letter;

Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976, 28 USC 1602-1611;

(ii) UK

Trendtex Trading Corp. Ltd. v. Central Bank of Nigeria, [1977] 1 QB 529 (CA);

Io Congreso del Partido, [1983] 1 AC 244 (HL);

State Immunity Act, 1978, Stats. UK 1978, c. 33;

(iii) Canada

Congo v. Venne, [1971] SCR 997;

State Immunity Act, RSC 1985, c. S-18, as am.;

U.S.A. v. Public Service Alliance of Canada (1992), 91 DLR (4th) 449 (SCC).

VII. NATIONALITY

Reading: "Nationality," chapter 7, pp. 383-389; 399-412.

A. Individuals

Nottebohm case, Liechtenstein v. Guatemala, [1955] ICJ Rep. 4.

B. Corporations

Barcelona Traction Co. case, Belgium v. Spain, [1970] ICJ Rep. 3;

ELSI case, U.S. v. Italy, [1989] ICJ Rep. 15.

VIII. STATE JURISDICTION OVER PERSONS

Reading: "State Jurisdiction over Persons," chapter 8, pp. 423-440.

A. Generally

Scope of Jurisdiction—Civil or Criminal Cases;

S.S. Lotus, France v. Turkey (1927), PCIJ Ser. A., no. 10;

Bases of Jurisdiction: (1) Territorial, (2) Nationality, (3) Passive Personality, (4) Protective, (5) Universal, (6) By Agreement;

Libman v. The Queen, [1985] 2 SCR 178;

Criminal Code provisions on jurisdiction.

IX. PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Reading: "Protection of Human Rights," chapter 10.

A. Introduction—Development of International Human Rights

B. Universal Norms

UN Charter;

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, UN General Assembly Resolution 217 (III), 3 UN GAOR Supp. (no. 13) 71 (1948);

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Annex to UN General Assembly Resolution 2200A, 21 UN GAOR, Supp. (no. 16) 49 (1966);

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Annex to UN General Assembly Resolution 2200A, 21 UN GAOR, Supp. (no. 16) 52 (1966);

UN Petition System: First Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Annex to UN General Assembly Resolution 2200A, 21 UN GAOR, Supp. (no. 16) 59 (1966) and UN Human Rights Committee Reports;

ECOSOC Resolution 1503 Procedure;

Specific UN Conventions on Human Rights;

1993 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action.

C. Regional Norms

European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) Eur. TS, no. 5; and Protocols;

European Petition System;

Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE);

American Convention on Human Rights, 1969, OAS Treaty S., no. 36 (1978);

African Charter of Human Rights and Peoples' Rights, 1981, OAU Document CAB/LEG/67/3/Rev. 5 (1986).

D. Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

E. Collective Rights

ICCPR, Articles 1, 27; *ICESCR*, Article 1, *supra*;

Quebec Language Law case (UN Human Rights Committee, 1993);

African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights (1992), 31 *ILM* 59;

Lovelace case (UN Human Rights Committee, 1981);

Mi'kmaq case (UN Human Rights Committee, 1990 & 1992);

ILO Convention, no. 169—Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention.

X. PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Reading: "Protection of the Environment," chapter 12, pp. 745-791; 804-819.

A. General Principles

Trail Smelter Arbitration (U.S.A. v. Canada) (1931-41), 3 *RIAA* 1905;

Corfu Channel case (Merits), [1949] *ICJ Rep.* 4;

Lake Lanoux Arbitration (1957), 12 *RIAA* 281;

Stockholm Declaration on the Human Environment (1972), UN Document A/CONF. 48/14;

World Charter for Nature (1982), UN General Assembly Resolution 37/7;

Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (June 1992).

B. Contemporary Developments—Innovative Approaches

NGOs and the Environment

Debt-for-Nature Swaps

Sustainable Development

Intergenerational Equity

Human Rights and the Environment

The Precautionary Approach or Principle

1992 UNCED

C. International Protection of the Air and Atmosphere

1979 ECE Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution and Protocols Thereto;

Canada—U.S. Air Quality Agreement (1991), *Can. TS*, no. 3;

Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, 1985 (1987), 26 *ILM* 1516, in force September 22, 1988;

Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete The Ozone Layer, 1987 (1987), 26 *ILM* 1541, in force January 1, 1989; with Adjustments and Amendments;

Protection of Global Climate—General Assembly Resolutions and other material;

1992 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.

D. International Protection of Wildlife, Habitat and Our Natural Heritage

Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO Convention) (1976), *Can. TS*, no. 45;

Convention on Wetlands of International Importance Especially as Waterfowl Habitat (Ramsar Convention) (1981), *Can. TS*, no. 9;

Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) (1975), *Can. TS*, no. 32;

Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals (Bonn Convention) (1980), 19 *ILM* 15;

1992 Convention on Biological Diversity;

1992 Statement of Principles on Forestry Conservation.

XI. LIMITATION OF THE USE OF FORCE

Reading: "Limitation of the Use of Force," chapter 11, pp. 823-886.

A. Prohibition of the Use of Force

General Treaty for the Renunciation of War, 1928 (1929) Can. TS, no. 7;
UN Charter, Articles 2(3), (4), (7);
Friendly Relations Declaration, *supra*;
Charter of the OAS (1948) 119 UNTS 48 as am., Articles 18-21;
Definition of Aggression, UN General Assembly Resolution 3314 (XXIX) (1974);
Nicaragua case, *supra*.

B. Justifications for the Use of Force

- (a) Self-Defence:
 - UN Charter*, Article 51;
 - The Caroline*, *U.K. v. U.S.A.* (1837) 2 Moore 409;
 - Nuremberg War Crimes Trials (1947);
 - Nicaragua case*;
 - Selected events.
- (b) Self-Defence of Nationals:
 - The Entebbe Raid and other events.
- (c) Humanitarian Intervention:
 - History;
 - UN and the Kurdish situation—UN Security Council Resolution 688 (1991).
- (d) Invitation
- (e) Collective Measures Pursuant to the *UN Charter*:
 - UN Charter*, Articles 2(7), 24, 25, 39-51 (Chapter VII);
 - General Assembly Uniting for Peace Resolution, UN General Assembly Resolution 377A(v) (1951);
 - Security Council Measures against Iraq;
 - Security Council Powers over State-Sponsored Terrorism;
 - Peacekeeping Role of the UN;
 - Situation in the former Yugoslavia and other contemporary developments.

III

International Peace and Security



◆ UN-SPONSORED MILITARY OPERATIONS ◆

Donald C.F. Daniel
Bradd C. Hayes

WE 523
U.S. Naval War College
Winter 1994 • 1 Session per Week

COURSE DESCRIPTION

- a. There has been an upsurge over the last few years in UN sponsorship of military operations. This course explores the problems and issues associated with such operations as well as recommended and implemented solutions. The course places these operations in the context of the UN's evolving role in the maintenance of peace and security.
- b. The course examines the history of collective security (including both the League of Nations' and United Nations' successes and failures) in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, UN peacekeeping and enforcement in theory and cases, practical military issues surrounding the conduct of international military operations, and U.S. policy options regarding participation in future UN-sponsored operations.
- c. The course will follow a seminar format of lectures, presentations, and discussion. In addition to participating in classroom discussions based on common readings, students will be required to write a paper exploring practical military issues or U.S. policy options. The course will also include, if at all possible, a trip to United Nations headquarters in New York.

SESSION FOCUS AND REQUIRED READINGS

The ten class periods will focus on the following issues:

Session 1 **Collective Security Prior to 1945**

Alan James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), pp. 23-42, 75-78, 145-147.

James Avery Joyce, *Broken Star: The Story of the League of Nations, 1919-1939* (Swansea: Christopher Davies, 1978), pp. 21-65.

Session 2 **The United Nations and the Prevention and Resolution of Conflicts**

William J. Durch and Barry M. Blechman, *Keeping the Peace: The United Nations in the Emerging World Order* (Washington, DC: The Henry L. Stimson Center, 1992), pp. 9-22.

Shijuro Ogata, Paul Volcker et al., *Financing an Effective United Nations* (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1993), pp. 1-14.

Indarjit Rikhye, Michael Harbottle, and Bjørn Egge, *The Thin Blue Line* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp. 19-46.

Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peace-keeping (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1985), pp. 1-10.

United Nations Charter (New York: United Nations, 1945).

Session 3 **Overview of Peacekeeping and Enforcement in Theory and Practice** **Guest: Mr. Christopher Coleman**

Qualifications: Director of the Policy and Analysis Branch for the United Nations Department of Peace-keeping Operations.

William J. Durch, *The United Nations and Collective Security* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1993), pp. 1-31.

Durch and Blechman, *Keeping the Peace*, pp. 23-48.

F.T. Liu, *United Nations Peacekeeping: Management and Operations* (New York: International Peace Academy, 1990), pp. 3-35.

John Mackinlay and Jarat Chopra, "Second Generation Multinational Operations," *Washington Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1992), pp. 113-129.

Ogata and Volcker, *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-21.

Indar Jit Rikhye, *The Theory and Practice of Peacekeeping* (1984), pp. 1-12.

Session 4 Practical Military Issues: General Considerations and Ground Forces Concerns

Guest: Col. David Harries, Canadian Armed Forces

Qualifications: Director of the Center for National Security Studies and participant in several UN operations.

Charles M. Ayers, *Peacekeeping: Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures* (VA: Army-Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict, Langley Air Force Base), pp. 1-76.

Durch and Blechman, *Keeping the Peace*, pp. 77-86.

Gordon W. Rudd, *Operation Provide Comfort: A Template for Humanitarian Intervention* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1993), pp. 1-29.

Session 5 Practical Military Issues: Sea-based and JTF Concerns

Jeffrey I. Sands, *Blue Hulls: Multinational Naval Cooperation and the United States* (Alexandria: Center for Naval Analyses, 1992), pp. 1-89.

Derek Boothby, "Sailing Under New Colors," *Proceedings* (July 1992), pp. 48-50.

Jeremy Ginifer, "Towards a Concept of UN Maritime Operations," *Arms Control*, (December 1992), pp. 1-32.

Joseph P. Hoar, "A CINC's Perspective," *Joint Forces Quarterly* (Autumn 1993), pp. 56-63.

Session 6 Issues of Command and Coordination

Guest: Major General Indar Jit Rikhye (retired)

Qualifications: Retired Indian Major General with a distinguished career in peacekeeping. Currently with the United States Institute of Peace.

Readings will be provided by the instructors.

Session 7 The Culture of Peacekeeping

Guest: Brigadier General Christian Clausen, Austrian Army

Qualifications: Austrian Defense Military and Air Attaché in Washington and participant in past United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Readings will be provided by the instructors.

Session 8 Pertinent Case Studies

Readings will be provided by the instructors.

Session 9 U.S. Peace Operations Policy

Guest: Col. Bill Clontz, USA

Qualifications: United States Military Representative to the United Nations Military Staff Committee.

PDD-25 ("The Clinton Administration's Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations").

Donald Daniel, *US Perspectives on Peacekeeping: Putting PDD-25 in Context*, Research Memorandum 3-94 (Newport: Strategic Research Department, 1994).

Session 10 Visit to UN Headquarters in New York

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: United Nations, 1992), pp. 1-24.

Durch and Blechman, *Keeping the Peace*, pp. 87-108.

Edward C. Luck, "Making Peace," *Foreign Policy*, no. 89 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 137-155.

Brian Urquhart, "The United Nations in 1992: Problems and Opportunities," *International Affairs* (April 1992), pp. 311-319.

Thomas G. Weiss, "New Challenges for UN Military Operations: Implementing an Agenda for Peace," *Washington Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 51-66.

ELECTIVE TEXTBOOKS, SELECTED READING, AND OTHER COURSE MATERIAL REQUIREMENTS

TEXTBOOKS TO BE ISSUED TO STUDENTS:

William J. Durch and Barry M. Blechman, *Keeping the Peace: The United Nations in the Emerging World Order* (Washington, DC: The Henry L. Stimson Center, March 1992).

Jeffrey I. Sands, *Blue Hulls: Multinational Naval Cooperation and the United States* (Alexandria: Center for Naval Analyses, 1992).

Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peace-keeping (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, October 1985).

REQUIRED SELECTED READING CITATIONS

Charles M. Ayers, *Peacekeeping: Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures* (VA: Army-Air Force Center for Low Intensity Conflict, Langley Air Force Base).

Doug Bandow, "Avoiding War," *Foreign Policy*, no. 89 (Winter 1992-93).

Derek Boothby, "Sailing Under New Colors," *Proceedings* (July 1992), pp. 48-50.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: United Nations, 1992).

PDD-25, ("The Clinton Administration's Policy on Reforming Multilateral Peace Operations").

William J. Durch, *The United Nations and Collective Security* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1993).

Jeremy Ginifer, "Towards a Concept of UN Maritime Operations," *Arms Control* (December 1992).

Joseph P. Hoar, "A CINC's Perspective," *Joint Forces Quarterly* (Autumn 1993), pp. 56-63.

Edward C. Luck, "Making Peace," *Foreign Policy*, no. 89 (Winter 1992-93).

Lewis MacKenzie, "Military Realities of UN Peacekeeping Operations," *RUSI Journal* (February 1993).

John Mackinlay and Jarat Chopra, "Second Generation Multinational Operations," *Washington Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1992).

Gordon W. Rudd, *Operation Provide Comfort: A Template for Humanitarian Intervention* (Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 1993).

Bruce Russett and James S. Sutterlin, "The U.N. in a New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1991).

United Nations Charter

Brian Urquhart, "The United Nations in 1992: Problems and Opportunities," *International Affairs* 68, no. 2 (April 1992).

Thomas G. Weiss, "New Challenges for UN Military Operations: Implementing an Agenda for Peace," *Washington Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1993).

SUPPLEMENTARY READINGS

James M. Boyd, *United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations: A Military and Political Appraisal* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971).

Haim Bresheeth and Nira Yuval-Davis, eds., *The Gulf War and the New World Order* (London: Zed Books, 1991).

Helena Cobban, *The Making of Modern Lebanon* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985).

Harvey A. De Weerd, *The Korean War: Political Limitations* (Santa Monica: RAND, 1960).

Richard N. Gardner and Joseph P. Lorenz, *Post-Gulf War Challenges to the UN Collective Security System: Two Views on the Issue of Collective Security* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1992).

House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, *The Cambodian Peace Agreement* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992).

House Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, *U.N. Role in the Persian Gulf and Iraqi Compliance with U.N. Resolutions* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992).

Jeffrey Laurenti, *Partners for Peace: Strengthening Collective Security for the 21st Century* (New York: UNA-USA, 1992).

William H. Lewis, ed., *The Future Security Roles of the United Nations* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1992).

William H. Lewis, ed., *The Security Roles of the United Nations* (Washington, DC: National Defense University, 1991).

John Mackinlay, *The Peacekeepers* (Unwin Hyman, 1989).

Joseph S. Nye Jr. and Roger K. Smith, *After the Storm: Lessons From the Gulf War* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1992).

Indar Jit Rikhye, ed., *The UN and Peacekeeping—The Lessons of 40 Years of Experience* (1990).

Nadim Shehadi and Dana Haffar Mills, *Lebanon: A History of Conflict and Consensus* (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 1992).

Steven L. Spiegel, ed., *Conflict Management in the Middle East* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

Thomas G. Weiss and Jarat Chopra, *United Nations Peacekeeping: An ACUNS Teaching Text* (Providence: ACUNS, 1992).

Henry Wiseman, ed., *Peacekeeping* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1983).

Mark W. Zacher, *International Conflicts and Collective Security, 1946-77* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1979).

◆ UNITED NATIONS REFORM ◆

Michael W. Doyle

401C

Woodrow Wilson School • Princeton University

Fall Term 1994 • 1 Session per Week

The UN has never been more actively employed. At the present time there are 17 ongoing peacekeeping operations, more than half of the total of 33 mounted since 1948. Of those 33, 20 have been started up just since 1988. If we look at the number of soldiers under UN control, this too has increased dramatically. In 1987, the UN controlled fewer than 10,000 UN troops and military observers. As of April 1994, this number had increased to over 70,000. There is a new sense of competency in the United Nations. Where before it was a victim of the stalemate of the Cold War, now the United Nations functions very much according to the plan of the original *UN Charter* of 1945. It has become what it was meant to be.

All that said, the United Nations still faces a crisis that reflects both its new success and its continuing limitations. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali notes a crisis of “over-credibility.” The UN is being asked to be world policeman lacking capacity, authority, and resources. First, its methods of raising military forces are cumbersome and it lacks an operational doctrine for when to intervene. Second, despite (or because of) the new effectiveness of the Security Council, many members perceive crucial decisions in peace and security as illegitimate exercises of great power privilege. Third, many members, including permanent members, have not paid up their assessments and others who do pay complain that the budgetary system is chaotic.

As we look at these three problems together, some see a need for a reform of the United Nations as it approaches its fiftieth anniversary in 1995. It seems time to reconsider how to meet its chief mandate: to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. We need to ask what strategies, authority, and resources are needed for a renewal. None of these areas stands on its own. Indeed, the need for a general review may reflect the interdependence of these three.

First, there is a clear need for a review of peace and security, both of UN doctrine and capacities. When should the United Nations get involved? How should the United Nations get involved? Should it be only on the basis of the consent of all the parties, as written under Chapter VI of the Charter, or are there some crises, international or domestic, of sufficient moment that the UN should consider, under Chapter VII, enforcing a solution not agreed to by the contending parties? Here is a doctrinal gap in peace and security that now hamstringing UN action.

With what forces should the UN operate? Should it continue to rely on the “Sheriff’s Posse” of hastily recruited peacekeeping battalions? Or, should states now be prepared to consider a standby force or even a standing volunteer force?

Second, we may need a reconsideration of how the UN itself is governed. In the view of some states, the Security Council has exceeded its bounds. The Security Council, to be optimally effective, must be both acceptably representative and institutionally competent. There should be, they argue, an improvement in working procedures to provide maximum consultation consistent with decisiveness. Should there be more fundamental reform dealing with membership and composition of the Security Council itself? The last reform was in 1965 when the membership of the Security Council was raised from 11 to 15. But there have been massive changes in the political and economic hierarchies of the global system since then. Should not the Security Council membership adjust?

Should not the General Assembly be strengthened as well? Are its decisions made on an informed basis? Here, too, representativeness is an issue. Should only states be represented? Might it be time to consider whether others—regional organizations, some nongovernmental organizations or even popularly elected representatives—should have a right to participate as speaking members, either voting or nonvoting?

Third, having touched upon peace and security doctrine and questions of constitutional sovereignty, we then get to a third issue, material resources, how the UN is financed. The UN faces a continuing budget deficit that makes it difficult for it to fulfill its mandate in peace and security and to conduct its business in a regular

way, despite the U.S.'s effort to clear up some of its backlog. Seen from the viewpoint of world public order, this problem is less a matter of fiscal crisis, a bankruptcy, and much more a solvency crisis. The UN's regular assessed budget in 1992 was \$1.14 billion. This was about the size of the budget of New York City's Fire Department. Peacekeeping expenditures in 1992 came to \$1.37 billion, less than New York City's Police Department. In 1993 these expenses rose to \$4.2 billion. But the question may not be how much the UN spends, but what international peace and security is worth.

I would like to have the conference divide itself up to explore the content of each of these three areas of reform, as well as their mutual interdependence. Will Security Council reform improve the budget and enable the UN to make better decisions in peace and security? Will better decisions in peace and security save the organization money, thereby improving its legitimacy in the eyes of its current critics? How will reforms in security, authority, and finances support or retard each other?

Writing a report on the Reform of the UN for the Fiftieth Anniversary, the conference will, I hope, take this task as a challenge to stretch the envelope of possibilities, taking a considerable step beyond what was practical yesterday but keeping short of what can only be visionary today.

SESSION I

Introduction: The Structure and Purposes of the UN

Inis L. Claude Jr., *Swords into Plowshares*, 4th ed., chapters 1-4, 7-9, 11-12, 14, 18-19. (Background for those of you not familiar with purposes and history of the UN.)

Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, eds., *United Nations, Divided World*, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 1993), chapters 1-3, 12-13.

Bruce Russett and James S. Sutterlin, "The UN in a New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* 70 (Spring 1991).

United Nations Association, *A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 49th General Assembly* (1994). (Useful collection of debates on current issues).

Research Background

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◆ INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING ◆

Alan James

Department of International Relations • Keele University
First Semester 1994-95 • 1 Session per Week

The idea that the world as a whole has a responsibility for the maintenance of peace is one of the most notable characteristics of the twentieth century. This was the chief reason for the establishment of both the League of Nations and the United Nations. And although the UN has ranged far beyond that agenda, it has always done what it can to contribute to international peace and security—generally by way of what became known as ‘peacekeeping.’

In the last half-decade, this activity has had a remarkably high international profile. The object of this module is to analyse the nature of peacekeeping and place it in its political context (and hence to understand why its fortunes have changed so dramatically). This will be done via case studies of most of the leading peacekeeping operations.

SYLLABUS

1. The emergence and development of peacekeeping

Earlier cases

2. Egypt-Israel, 1956-1967
3. Egypt-Israel, 1973-
4. The Congo, 1960-1964
5. Cyprus, 1964-
6. Lebanon, 1978-

Recent cases

7. Namibia, 1989-1990
8. Cambodia, 1992-1993
9. Somalia, 1992-
10. Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-

PROCEDURE

At each meeting one student will give a substantial paper on the case-of-the-day, and a second student will read an answer to an examination-type question on that case.

The *paper* should outline the background to the case, give the essential facts about it, and analyse the role played in it by the peacekeeping force. Thus in effect the paper will be a mini-lecture.

The *answer* should be of the form and length which you hope to write in the examination which comes at the end of the module.

Each student will volunteer to prepare one paper and one answer. Given the numbers on the course it is likely that at each seminar more than one student will have prepared a paper and an answer. In that event some form of random selection process (made at the seminar in question) will determine who is to make the presentations. Any student who by the end of the module has not presented both a paper and an answer will be asked to submit the ‘missing’ piece of work for assessment.

Some part of the seminar-performance mark (10%) will be given on the basis of these presentations.

You are reminded that the examination provides 50% of your mark for the module. You will be required to answer two questions out of a total of perhaps ten. The questions will be of the sort which have been answered in the seminars.

The balance of your mark (40%) comes from the assessed essay, which must approach (and must not exceed) 2,500 words. It must be handed in not later than Week 8—the first of the module's two reading weeks.

The assessed essay may be written on a theme on which a seminar presentation has been or is going to be prepared. However, to obtain a coverage of the subject which should result in a student having a comfortable examination, there is much to be said for writing the assessed essay on a third theme.

READING

All students should read the opening and concluding chapters of Professor James' *Peacekeeping in International Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1990) and his article on "The Problems of Internal Peacekeeping," in *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 5, no. 1 (March 1994).

The relevant chapters in *Peacekeeping and International Politics* should also be used as starting points for the study of any particular case. Beyond that, use the lists of 'further reading' to be found at the end of each chapter; and then follow up fruitful-looking references to be found in each item of further reading.

The relevant chapters in William J. Durch, ed., *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993) will also provide useful starting points. There are extensive notes at the end of each chapter, which will provide further leads. However, so far as Cambodia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Somalia are concerned, the book only deals (and very briefly) with their origins and early days, breaking off in mid-1992.

A book which takes the story of these three operations up to early 1993 is Lori Fisler Damrosch, ed., *Enforcing Restraint* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1993).

For these later operations, therefore, it will be necessary for students to delve into academic journals, news periodicals, and even newspapers. Quite a lot is now appearing in the journals, but the articles so far tend to be of a general rather than a case-specific nature—so that students will have to dig selectively into a number of such articles. In this connection it should be noted that two new journals are to appear in 1994, both called *International Peacekeeping*—one being published in the UK and the other in the Netherlands.

Informative starting points on the very recent operations are the *UN Chronicle* (which appears quarterly) and *Keesings Contemporary Archives* (a new section of which appears every fortnight). But it must be emphasised that these two sources provide nothing more than factual raw material. The same is true of *The Blue Helmets*, 2nd ed. (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1990) and another UN publication, *United Nations Peacekeeping* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1993). This can probably be obtained, and probably free of charge, from the UN Information Centre, 20 Buckingham Gate, London, SW1E 6LB. Little credit will be obtained by a student who simply retails the factual information they contain.

Professor James will give further advice and share his bibliographical discoveries as the course proceeds. He will also, on request, make available very detailed bibliographies on the earlier peacekeeping operations.

EXAMINATION-TYPE QUESTIONS

These questions can be seen as constituting a mock examination paper.

Egypt-Israel, 1956-67

'The manner of UNEF I's departure undid all the good it had done.' Discuss.

Egypt-Israel, 1973-

'UNEF II did well during 1973-79; but in the event the tasks which were scheduled for it by the 1979 Peace Treaty have been done even better by the MFO.' Elucidate and comment.

The Congo, 1960-1964

'Very necessary; but not peacekeeping.' Discuss this verdict on the UN's activities in Katanga.

Cyprus, 1964-

'The Turkish invasion and occupation of Northern Cyprus has brutally revealed the limitations of international peacekeeping.' Discuss.

Lebanon, 1978-

'For its activities in Lebanon since 1978, the UN does not deserve more than a moderate lower second.' Discuss.

Namibia, 1989-1990

'The crucial development regarding Namibia was South Africa's decision to go; the plan for UNTAG and its eventual implementation were largely irrelevant.' Discuss.

Cambodia, 1992-1993

What are the chief factors which have influenced the UN's peacekeeping experience in Cambodia?

Somalia, 1992-

With reference to Somalia, consider the proposition that 'Peacekeeping needs the support of the major powers. But that support can also be destructive of peacekeeping.'

Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-

'What is needed in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not peacekeeping but enforcement.' Do you agree?

ASSESSED-ESSAY TITLES

1. Has peacekeeping changed in any essential way since 1988?
2. How big a contribution did UNEF I make to the maintenance of peace between Egypt and Israel?
3. What factors explain the success of peacekeeping on the Egyptian-Israeli front since 1973?
4. Why was the Congo operation so controversial?
5. How justifiable is the criticism that the UN Force in Cyprus has done little more than aggravate the dispute?
6. Why has the UN Force in southern Lebanon had such a hard time?
7. What contribution did the UN peacekeeping mission in Namibia make to the solution of the problem?
8. Is the UN mission in Cambodia to be judged a success or a failure?
9. What problems have peacekeepers faced in Somalia?
10. Is Bosnia-Herzegovina a suitable context for peacekeeping?

◆ UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING: CASE STUDIES ◆

Stephen P. Marks

U6558

School of International and Public Affairs • Columbia University

Fall 1994 • 1 Session per Week

BACKGROUND

United Nations peacekeeping operations have become the most visible element of the United Nations in the 1990s and have placed the world organization in center stage of international affairs. This course examines, through case studies, the political and practical issues of recent and current peacekeeping operations that reflect the changing role of the United Nations in international affairs.

Often heralded as hopeful signs of an invigorated United Nations, United Nations peacekeeping operations have not always functioned in practice according to the carefully negotiated agreements that established them. The experience gained deserves careful scrutiny to understand whether and to what extent the United Nations has adapted to new realities of international relations and has contributed, through these operations, to international security and political stability where it has been deployed.

SCOPE OF THE COURSE

Students taking the course will learn about the different peace-related actions of the United Nations, the inner workings of the peace operations and the political context which determine the options open to the United Nations. The term “peacekeeping” as used in the course title is an abbreviation for a broad range of United Nations operations relating to peace and security. The range of UN action is illustrated by the seven recent or ongoing case studies on which the course will focus. One relates to “peace-enforcement” or collective action to restore peace and security following aggression in violation of the Charter, as well as humanitarian protection and human rights monitoring (Iraq); another to “peacekeeping” and “peacemaking” through deployment of protection forces and a diplomatic conference (former Yugoslavia); two involve collective enforcement action for humanitarian purposes in Africa (Somalia and Rwanda); another relates to peacekeeping and peace building in the context of the restoration of an elected head of state and monitoring of human rights and UN sanctions (Haiti); and two others are large-scale peacekeeping operations to maintain peace, coupled with peace-building functions (Cambodia and El Salvador).

Other current and recent situations, such as those in Angola, Liberia, Mozambique, several former Soviet republics and the Western Sahara, raise similar and other issues of the role of the UN in international peace and security. Time does not allow for detailed treatment of these cases. However, students may use one or more of these other situations as the focus of their paper.

Many problems cut across the UN operations we will examine, including the following:

- (1) respective roles of the Security Council, the Secretary-General, the General Assembly and other UN organs;
- (2) financing and allocating resources;
- (3) obtaining commitments from contributing governments;
- (4) command and control, including rules applicable to the conduct of UN forces;
- (5) the role of Special Representatives of the Secretary-General;
- (6) provision and protection of humanitarian relief;
- (7) relations with other UN agencies, the ICRC, and NGOs;
- (8) monitoring and running of free and fair elections;

-
- (9) training, education, and institution-building for post-UN functioning of the state and civil society; and
 - (10) human rights monitoring, investigation, and accountability, including criminal responsibility.

You should keep these and other common issues in mind as you study each case in order to develop a comparative analysis of operations.

OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

The aim of the course is to provide a deeper understanding of the political and practical dimensions of UN operations for students who may eventually participate in such missions and for students interested in careers in international peace and security, international organizations, humanitarian action, human rights and international law. The disciplines of political science, international law, public administration, and international relations are all relevant.

REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Students will have required and suggested readings for each session and will be expected to participate in *classroom discussion* around themes listed in the outline of each session.

Students will be required to write a *term paper* (of 25 pages or less) which will count for 70% of their grade. While effective use of UN documents, events data, secondary literature, and interviews will be important in the preparation of papers, a premium will be placed on the quality of the analysis and the reflection on policy options.

In addition, each student will make one brief *oral presentation* to be discussed critically by other students, the guests, and the instructor. To the extent possible, guest speakers directly involved in the operations under review will be invited to class to provide first-hand accounts. The oral presentation may relate to the topic of the term paper or to any other topic, subject to agreement by the instructor.

On two occasions (Session 4 and Session 8) each student will submit a *comparative analysis*, in the form of a two-to-three page memo. The purpose of this exercise is to focus on issues that cut across two or more case studies in a way that could be used by decision makers in the planning or conduct of an operation. For example, you could choose one of the 10 problems listed above (such as command and control) and discuss in concise terms how the matter was dealt with in several peacekeeping operations (such as Somalia and Cambodia) and conclude by suggesting a preferred approach for the future.

Oral presentations, comparative analyses memos, and class participation will count for the remaining 30% of the grade.

READINGS

There is considerable literature on the role and practice of the United Nations in pre-1989 peacekeeping operations. It is useful to be familiar with that experience as institutional memory has affected decision-making in recent operations, even if the political context and legal basis have changed. Therefore, students should read William Durch, ed., *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping: Case Studies and Comparative Analysis* (St. Martin's Press, 1993), which is required for the course. You might also wish to consult other general works, such as: United Nations, *The Blue Helmets: A Review of United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2nd ed. (1990); Indar Rikhye, Michael Harbottle, and Bjørn Egge, *The Thin Blue Line: International Peacekeeping and Its Future* (Yale University Press, 1974); and Alan James, *Peacekeeping in International Politics* (St. Martin's, 1991). Some comments that anticipate operations covered in this course are found in United Nations University and International Peace Academy, *The United Nations Peace-keeping Operations: Recent Experiences and Future Prospects* (United Nations University, 1992).

Very little published material is available on the case studies covered by this course. The basic text establishing the framework for post Cold War peace-related action by the UN is the Secretary-General's study, *An Agenda for Peace*, which is required for this course. The principal source for five of the seven case studies of this course is Lori Fisler Damrosch, ed., *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts* (Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993), referred to below as "Damrosch," which is also required reading for the course.

In addition, a useful overview of operations may be found in a briefing book by Jeffrey Laurenti for the United Nations Association of the United States of America, called *The Common Defense: Peace and Security in a Changing World* (1992, 57 pp., out of print). An invaluable overview of each past and present UN

peacekeeping operation is found in *United Nations Peacekeeping* (May 1993) and *Peace-keeping Information Notes, 1993: Update 2*, published by the Department of Public Information, which all students should acquire. Check for updated versions. Another background summary of each operation is found in United Nations Association of the United States of America, *A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 48th General Assembly of the United Nations* (University Press of America, 1993), cited below as “*A Global Agenda*.”

A critical review of the Salvador, Cambodia, Former Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Iraq operations from the human rights perspective is found in Human Rights Watch, *The Lost Agenda: Human Rights and U.N. Field Operations* (June 1993), cited below as “*The Lost Agenda*,” also required for the course.

The legal dimensions of several cases to be studied are raised in Henkin, Pugh, Schachter, and Smit, chapter 11, section 3 in *International Law Cases and Materials*, 3rd ed. (West Publishing Co., 1993), pp. 962-1014; and in Kirgis, chapter 5, *International Organizations in Their Legal Setting*, 2nd ed. (West Publishing Co., 1993). A particularly useful overview of the legal issues is found in Schachter “Collective Security Redux,” chapter XVII in *International Law in Theory and Practice* (Nijhoff, 1991), pp. 389-417.

Scholarly and journalistic reviews of particular operations may be found in the journals cited in the bibliography. It must be stressed that these bibliographical references are preliminary and that the field is evolving rapidly. Students are encouraged to use the library’s indexes to periodical literature and electronically-retrievable events data to be current on the operations still on-going. You are encouraged to subscribe to *Peacekeeping Monitor*, published by the Center for Peacekeeping Studies, PO Box 21381, Washington, DC 20009 (phone/fax 202-667-7071).

To summarize, the required reading for the course is “Durch,” “Damrosch,” *An Agenda for Peace*, and *The Lost Agenda*. Most of the other materials are reproduced in a collection of readings that will be made available in the bookstore to supplement these works.

SCHEDULE OF SESSIONS

Session 1 Conceptual and Historical Framework of UN Operations

Outline

- A. The peacekeeping role of the UN
 1. The framework of the Charter
 2. Peacekeeping past
 - a. Peace observation missions (Greece, Palestine, Indonesia, Kashmir, Lebanon)
 - b. Force level peacekeeping operations (Middle East, Congo, Cyprus)
 - c. Peace enforcement and uniting for peace (Korea)
 3. Peacekeeping present
 - a. Resolution 678 and conjuring of a “New World Order”
 - b. The Secretary-General’s “Agenda for Peace”
 - c. Proliferation of operations and diversity of mandates
- B. The new challenges in international affairs calling for possible UN action
 1. Shifting aspirations regarding state sovereignty
 2. Shifting power relations
 3. Failed states and humanitarian emergencies
 4. Armed conflicts, international law and *realpolitik*

Readings:

Durch, pp. 1-75.

A Global Agenda, pp. 1-6, 281-293.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace* (New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, June 1992), 53 pp.

_____, “Empowering the United Nations,” *Foreign Affairs* 71, no. 5 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 89–102.

F.T. Liu, *United Nations Peacekeeping: Management and Operations* (International Peace Academy, 1990), 44 pp.

Adam Roberts, “The United Nations and International Security,” *Survival: The IISS Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 3-30.

John G. Ruggie, "The United Nations: Stuck in a Fog Between Peacekeeping and Enforcement," in *Peacekeeping: The Way Ahead?* (Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1993), pp. 1-11.

"Panel discussion: Peacekeeping and Peace Making," *Yale International Law Journal* 18, no. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 415-437 [Views by W. Michael Reisman, Theodor Sorensen, Lori Fisler Damrosch, and Edward A. Perkins.]

Brian Urquhart, "The UN and International Security after the Cold War," in Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, eds., *United Nations, Divided World*, 2nd ed. (1993), pp. 81-103.

Session 2 Analysis of *An Agenda for Peace*

**Guest speaker: Dr. Tapio Kanninen, Secretary, Working Group on *An Agenda for Peace*,
Department of Political Affairs, United Nations**

The session will focus on the conceptual framework of UN peacekeeping, in particular, the background and reactions to the Secretary-General's report following the 1992 Summit Meeting of the Security Council called *An Agenda for Peace*. The topic will be introduced by the guest speaker. In addition to the text of *An Agenda for Peace*, you should read David Cox, "Exploring *An Agenda for Peace*: Issues Arising from the Report of the Secretary-General," *Aurora Papers* 20 (Canadian Centre for Global Security, 1993).

Session 3 Peace Enforcement and Humanitarian Protection: Case Study of Iraq

Guest speaker: TBA

Outline

A. Aggression and response: Operation Desert Storm

1. The invasion of Kuwait and response of the Security Council
2. Resolution 678 and the use of force
3. The role of the coalition in Operation Desert Storm

B. The UN in the aftermath of the Gulf War

1. Security dimension
 - a. UN Special Commission on weapons of mass destruction under Resolution 687
 - b. Impounding of Iraqi assets under Resolution 778
 - c. UNIKOM and UNSCOM
 - d. IAEA monitoring under Resolution 715
 - e. Return of Kuwait property
2. Human rights dimensions
 - a. Protection of Kurds and Shi'ites under Resolution 688 and the creation of safe havens
 - b. The role of UN security guards
 - c. The van der Stoep mission and proposal of field monitors
3. Accountability of Iraq under international criminal law
 - a. Iraqi accountability for war crimes and genocide
 - b. UN accountability for breaches of humanitarian law

C. Current developments

Readings:

Damrosch, pp. 77-118.

A Global Agenda, pp. 41-48, 233-234.

The Lost Agenda, pp. 135-173.

John Mackinlay and Jarat Chopra, "Second Generation Multinational Operations," *Washington Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1992), pp. 113-129.

Michael Mandelbaum, "The Reluctance to Intervene," *Foreign Policy*, no. 95 (Summer 1994), pp. 3-18.

Larry Minear and Thomas G. Weiss, "Groping and Coping in the Gulf Crisis: Discerning the Shape of the New Humanitarian Order," *World Policy Journal* IX, no. 4 (Fall/Winter 1992), pp. 755-777.

Oscar Schachter, "United Nations Law in the Gulf Conflict," *American Journal of International Law* 85 (1991), pp. 452-463.

Jarat Chopra and Thomas G. Weiss, "Sovereignty Is No Longer Sacrosanct: Codifying Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethics & International Affairs* 6 (1992), pp. 95-117.

Lori Fisler Damrosch and David J. Scheffer, *Law and Force in the New International Order*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), especially Abram Chayes, "The Use of Force in the Persian Gulf," pp. 3-12; Oscar Schachter, "Authorized Use of Force by the United Nations," pp. 65-93; and Nikolai B. Krylov, "International Peacekeeping and Enforcement Actions After the Cold War," pp. 94-100.

Middle East Watch, *Needless Deaths in the Gulf War: Civilian Casualties During the Air Campaign and Violations of the Laws of War* (Human Rights Watch, November 1991).

Middle East Watch, *Genocide in Iraq: The Anfal Campaign Against the Kurds* (Human Rights Watch, July 1993).

United Nations, *United Nations Security Council Resolutions Relating to the Situation Between Iraq and Kuwait* (New York: Department of Public Information, December 1991), 37 pp.

_____, *United Nations Special Commission* (New York: Department of Public Information, May 1993), 7 pp.

Session 4 Iraq (continued)

First comparative analysis memo due

**Guest speaker: Ian Johnstone, International Peace Academy,
author of *Aftermath of the Gulf War: An Assessment of UN Action***

Student presentations

Session 5 Peacekeeping and Peace-building Combined (I): Case Study of El Salvador

Outline

A. The Esquipulus II Agreement and regional commitments to peace

1. The Mexico City Peace Agreement
2. Creation and mandate of ONUSAL

B. Special actions by Commissions and responses to them

1. Commission on the Consolidation of Peace (COPAZ)
2. Ad Hoc Commission on the Purification of the Armed Forces
3. The Commission on the Truth

C. The elections of 1994

D. Is ONUSAL a model for the future?

Readings:

Durch, pp. 463-465.

A Global Agenda, pp. 87-101.

The Lost Agenda, pp. 13-35.

Alvaro de Soto and Graciana del Castillo, "Obstacles to Peacebuilding," *Foreign Policy*, no. 94 (Winter 1993), pp. 69-83.

_____, *Post-Conflict Peace-Building in El Salvador: Strains on the United Nations System* (August 1993), 35 pp., manuscript on reserve.

Americas Watch, *El Salvador: Peace and Human Rights: Successes and Shortcomings of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL)* (Human Rights Watch, September 1992), 25 pp.

_____, *El Salvador: Accountability and Human Rights: The Report of the United Nations Commission on the Truth for El Salvador* (Human Rights Watch, August 1993), 38 pp.

United Nations, *El Salvador Agreements: The Path to Peace* (New York: Department of Public Information, May 1992), 148 pp.

Session 6 El Salvador (continued)

**Guest speaker: Alvaro de Soto, Assistant Secretary-General and Senior Political Adviser
to the Secretary-General**

Student presentations

Session 7 Peacekeeping and Peace-Building Combined (II): Case Study of Cambodia

Outline

A. The mandate of UNTAC

1. Issues before the Paris conference
2. The seven components

B. Conduct of operations

1. Military aspects (disarmament, demobilization, demining)
2. Repatriation and rehabilitation
3. The elusive question of control
4. Registration of voters, polling and counting: Free and fair?
5. Human rights investigation, corrective action, and education
6. The Constituent Assembly, Provisional Government, and constitution drafting

C. Assessment of the outcome

Readings:

Durch, pp. 465-467.

Damrosch, pp. 241-273.

A Global Agenda, pp. 110-111.

The Lost Agenda, pp. 37-74.

Yasushi Akashi, "To Build a New Country: The Task of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia," *Harvard International Review* XV, no. 2 (Winter 1993), p. 34 ff.

_____, "UNTAC in Cambodia: Lessons for U.N. Peace Keeping," Rostov Lecture in Asian Affairs, manuscript on reserve.

Steven R. Ratner, "The Cambodia Settlement Agreements," *American Journal of International Law* 87 (1993), pp. 1-41.

Frederick Z. Brown, *Rebuilding Cambodia* (John Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute, 1993).

Nayan Chanda, "Land Erosion: Cambodians Question Status of Country's Borders," *Far East Economic Review* (September 3, 1992), p. 16 ff.

Stephen J. Solarz, "Cambodia and the International Community," *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1990), p. 99 ff.

Michael Doyle and Nishkala Suntharalingam, *The UN in Cambodia: Lessons for Complex Peacekeeping* (International Peace Academy, 1993), manuscript, 36 pp.

United Nations, *United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia* (New York: Department of Public Information, March 1993), 14 pp.

_____, *Agreements on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Cambodia Conflict, Paris 23 October 1991* (New York: Department of Public Information, June 1992), 49 pp.

Session 8 Cambodia (continued) Guest speaker: Michael Doyle, Vice-President, International Peace Academy

Second memo due

Student presentations

Session 9 Restoration of Democracy and Human Rights Monitoring: Case Study of Haiti

Outline

A. UN action to establish and sustain democracy

1. The role of the UN in election monitoring
2. The Santiago Declaration and its post coup application by the OAS
3. The impact of sanctions

B. OAS and UN peacemaking efforts

1. OAS efforts at negotiation
2. General Assembly action under Resolution 47/20
3. Dante Caputo's efforts as Special Envoy of both the UN and the OAS
4. The Governor's Island accord and the imposition of new sanctions

C. Human rights monitoring by the UN and the OAS

1. The OAS high-level mission and observer mission
2. Investigation by the UN Commission on Human Rights
3. The International Civilian Mission to Haiti

D. Current developments

Readings:

Damrosch, pp. 119-156.

A Global Agenda, pp. 101-111.

Ian Martin, "Haiti: Mangled Multilateralism," *Foreign Policy*, no. 95 (Summer 1994), pp. 72-89.

Thomas M. Franck, "Intervention Against Illegitimate Regimes."

Ved Nanda, "Tragedies in Northern Iraq, Liberia, Yugoslavia, and Haiti."

Morton H. Halperin, "Guaranteeing Democracy," *Foreign Policy*, no. 91 (Summer 1993), pp. 105-122.

United Nations, *Crisis in Haiti: Seeking a Political Solution* (New York: Department of Public Information, August 1993), 7 pp.

Americas Watch and National Coalition for Haitian Refugees, *Silencing a People: The Destruction of Civil Society in Haiti* (Human Rights Watch, February 1993), 136 pp.

**Session 10 Humanitarian Protection, Peacekeeping and Peacemaking:
Case Study of Former Yugoslavia**

Outline

- A. Self-determination and ethnic cleansing in the post-Cold War: sources of the humanitarian crisis and Charter principles
- B. The role of regional organizations
 1. The International Conference on Former Yugoslavia and EC monitoring
 2. The CSCE
- C. The complex mandate role of UNPROFOR
 1. Protection of humanitarian aid and convoys (UNHCR, armed escorting, air-drops, etc.)
 2. Protection of populations (safe areas, protected villages, UNCIVPOL monitoring of police, monitoring no-fly zones, etc.)
 3. Support for human rights investigation (Special Rapporteur of the Commission, Commission of Experts on War Crimes)
 4. Deployment in Macedonia to prevent conflict (Resolution 795)
- D. Sanctions under Chapter VII
 1. Arms embargo under Resolution 713
 2. Sanctions under Resolution 757 and work of the Sanctions Committee
 3. Reinforcing sanctions under Resolution 787 and 820
- E. UN action to hold the parties accountable
 1. Emergency session of the Commission on Human Rights and appointment of the Special Rapporteur
 2. Security Council Appointment of the Commission of Experts to examine Evidence of War Crimes, under Resolution 780
 3. Establishment of the ad hoc international criminal court under Resolution 827

F. Current developments

Readings:

Durch, pp. 468-471.

Damrosch, pp. 27-76.

A Global Agenda, pp. 6-41.

The Lost Agenda, pp. 75-105.

Rosalyn Higgins, "The New United Nations and Former Yugoslavia," *International Affairs* 69, no. 3 (July 1993), p. 473 ff.

Marc Weller, "The International Response to the Dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," *American Journal of International Law* 86, pp. 569-607.

Theodor Meron, "The Case for War Crimes Trials in Yugoslavia," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 122-135.

Helsinki Watch, *War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, volume I (Human Rights Watch, August 1992), 359 pp.; volume II (Human Rights Watch, April 1993), 422 pp.

Session 11 Former Yugoslavia (continued)
Guest speaker: TBA

Student presentations

Session 12 Humanitarian Relief with Enforcement Action: Case Studies of Somalia and Rwanda
Guest speaker: TBS

Outline

A. Humanitarian crisis and cease-fire

1. Deployment of UNOSOM

2. Humanitarian relief and the role of the USG for Humanitarian Affairs

B. Enforcement action under Resolution 794 and deployment of UNTAF

1. UN role in Addis Ababa meeting and Agreements of 8 January 1993

2. Chapter VII enforcement action by UNOSOM II and the trauma of 5 June 1993

3. Investigation, arrest, and detention under Resolution 837

C. Current developments in Rwanda

Readings:

Durch, pp. 471-473.

Damrosch, pp. 205-240.

A Global Agenda, pp. 76-87.

The Lost Agenda, pp. 107-134.

Africa Watch, *Somalia: A Fight to the Death? Leaving Civilians at the Mercy of Terror and Starvation* (Human Rights Watch, February 1992), 29 pp.

_____, *Somalia: Beyond the Warlords: The Need for a Verdict on Human Rights Abuses* (Human Rights Watch, March 1993), 29 pp.

Jonathan Stevenson, "Hope Restored in Somalia?," *Foreign Affairs* 91 (Summer 1993), pp. 138-154.

Gerald B. Helman and Steven R. Ratner, "Saving Failed States," *Foreign Policy*, no. 89 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 3-20.

Samuel M. Makinda, *Seeking Peace from Chaos: Humanitarian Intervention in Somalia* (International Peace Academy, 1993).

Jeffrey Clark, "Debacle in Somalia," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 1 (1992-93), pp. 109-123.

Session 13 Common Problems and Future Prospects
Guest Speaker: Sir Brian Urquhart, former Under-Secretary-General
for Special Political Affairs

Outline

- A. When and how UN action is called for
 - 1. Situations in which the UN is called on to intervene
 - a. Breaches of the peace
 - b. Humanitarian emergencies
 - c. Resolution of internal conflicts
 - d. Ethnic and religious strife
 - 2. Types of UN action – implementing *An Agenda for Peace*
 - a. Humanitarian
 - b. Preventive diplomacy
 - c. Peace-making
 - d. Peacekeeping
 - e. Peace-building
 - f. A standing force
- B. Management and administration of operations
 - 1. Internal structures and coordination (role of the SR, command and control)
 - 2. External relations and coordination (other UN agencies, contributing governments, regional organizations, ICRC, NGOs)
 - 3. Issues of impartiality and neutrality
- C. The future of UN action in the peace and security field

Readings:

Damrosch, pp. 274-315.

Indarjit Rikhye, *The Future of Peacekeeping* (International Peace Academy, 1989), 36 pp.

Thomas G. Weiss, "New Challenges for UN Military Operations: Implementing an Agenda for Peace," *Washington Quarterly* 16 (Winter 1993), p. 51 ff.

Ernest W. Lefver, "Reining in the U.N.," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 17-20.

Brian Urquhart, "A U.N. Volunteer Force," *New York Review of Books*, June 10, 1993; reactions by Hon. Lee Hamilton, Gareth Evans, Field Marshal Lord Carver, and Stanley Hoffman in "A UN Volunteer Military Force—Four Views" (*Id.*, June 24, 1993, pp. 58-60); and by Robert Oakley, McGeorge Bundy, Sadruddin Aga Khan, and Olusengun Obasanjo in "A UN Volunteer Force—The Prospects" (*Id.*, July 15, 1993, pp. 52-56).

Paul F. Diehl, "Institutional Alternatives to Traditional U.N. Peacekeeping: An Assessment of Regional and Multilateral Options," *Armed Forces and Society* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1993), pp. 209-230.

F. T. Liu, *United Nations Peacekeeping and the Non-Use of Force* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992), 48 pp.

Lawrence Martin, "Peacekeeping as a Growth Industry," *The National Interest* (Summer 1993), pp. 3-11.

James N. Rosenau, *The United Nations in a Turbulent World* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992), 88 pp.

Bruce Russett and James S. Sutterlin, "The U.N. in a New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1991), pp. 69-83.

◆ THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ◆

Bruce Russett
James Sutterlin

Political Science 184b/663b
Program in UN Studies • Yale University
Spring 1995 • 1 Session per Week

Required for purchase:

Inis L. Claude Jr., *Swords into Plowshares*, 4th ed.

UNDP, *Human Development Report*.

Roger Fisher and William Ury, *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement without Giving In*.

James Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Security* (xeroxed proofs to be distributed).

Xeroxed packet of materials are available; some additional materials will be distributed in class.

Course requirements include active participation in class discussion and a term paper of approximately 25-30 pages, *due no later than the last day of class*. You must consult about this paper with at least one, and preferably **both**, of the instructors. Every student also will be expected to make a 10-minute presentation to start discussion in one class, and to turn in a two-page summary of that presentation. Grades will be determined mainly by the term paper, with some adjustment for the two-page statement and class contribution.

Session 1 The United Nations in Its Contemporary Setting

Read after class:

Inis L. Claude Jr., *Swords into Plowshares*, 4th ed., chapters 2-6, and appendix II (*UN Charter*)—preamble and chapters I-V.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*.

James Sutterlin, "Looking Backwards at Tomorrow: Conditions Surrounding the Birth of the UN."

Session 2 Collective Security and the Security Council

Claude, *Swords*, chapters 8, 12.

Boutros-Ghali, "Implementation of the Recommendations Contained in *An Agenda for Peace*."

James Sutterlin, "The Once and Future Security Council," manuscript.

Session 3 The Secretary-General: The Political Role

Claude, *Swords*, chapter 9.

Dag Hammarskjöld, "The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact."

James Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance*, chapter 8.

The class will adjourn early for a demonstration of electronically-accessible information and other facilities of the Library's UN Scholar's Workstation.

Session 4 Sovereignty: Westphalia Revisited in an Era of Interdependence

Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society*, pp. 3-52.

Oscar Schachter, "Sovereignty and Threats to Peace," in Thomas G. Weiss, ed., *Collective Security in a Changing World*.

Bruce Russett, "Renewing Sovereignty," manuscript.

Laura Reed and Carl Kaysen, eds., *Emerging Norms of Justified Intervention*, pp. 37-62, 91-114.

John Vasquez, *The War Puzzle*, pp. 263-91.

Session 5 Peacebuilding and Human Security

UNDP, *Human Development Report, 1994*, chapters 1, 2, 4.

General Assembly report on reform of ECOSOC.

Eva Bertram, "Reinventing Governments: The Promise and Perils of UN Peacebuilding," manuscript.

Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance*, chapter 5.

Gil Loescher, "The UN, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and the Global Refugee Problem," in Roger Coate, ed., *U.S. Policy and the Future of the UN*.

Session 6 Negotiation: Approaches and Resources

Claude, *Swords*, chapter 11, *UN Charter*, Chapter VI.

Gareth Evans, *Cooperating for Peace*, chapter 5.

Roger Fisher and William Ury, *Getting to Yes*.

William Zartman, "Negotiations and Prenegotiations in Ethnic Conflict," chapter 29 in Joseph V. Montville, ed., *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*.

Session 7 Conflict Resolution and Preventive Diplomacy

Hugh Miall, "Peaceful Settlement of Post-1945 Conflicts," in Rupesinghe and Kuroda, eds., *Early Warning and Conflict Resolution*.

Lawrence Freedman and Virginia Gamba-Stonehouse, *Signals of War: The Falklands Conflict of 1982*, chapter 18.

Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance*, chapter 2.

Student report on Michael Lund, *Preventive Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy*, manuscript.

Session 8 Peacekeeping

Sutterlin, *The United Nations and the Maintenance*, chapters 3-4.

Brian Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld*, chapters 6-8, 15, 16, 21.

William Durch, ed., *The Evolution of UN Peacekeeping*, pp. 1-73.

Jonathan Dean, "Peacekeeping and U.S. National Security," manuscript.

Session 9 Peace Enforcement and Collective Security

Thomas Risse-Kappen, "American Hegemony, Minilateralism, or Multilateral Norms? The Re-emergence of the U.N. in World Politics," manuscript.

Isabelle Grunberg, "Hegemony, Self-Interest, and Collective Security," manuscript.

Andrew Bennett and Joseph Lepgold, "Reinventing Collective Security after the Cold War and the Gulf War," *Political Science Quarterly* 108, no. 2 (Summer 1993).

Barry Blechman, "The Military Dimension of Collective Security," in Roger Coate, ed., *U.S. Policy and the Future of the UN*.

Richard Betts, "Delusions of Impartiality," *Foreign Affairs* 73, no. 6 (November/December 1994).

Ramses Amer, "The United Nations' Reactions to Foreign Military Interventions," *Journal of Peace Research* 31, no. 4 (November 1994).

Session 10 Peace Enforcement and Humanitarian Intervention

Jean Krasno, "A United Nations Rapid-Deployment Permanent Force: Cost Analysis," manuscript.

Charles William Maynes, "Containing Ethnic Conflict," *Foreign Policy*, no. 90 (Spring 1993).

UN Documents on Somalia and Bosnia.

Gerald Helman and Steven Ratner, "Saving Failed States," *Foreign Policy*, no. 89 (Winter 1992-93).

David Rieff, "The Illusions of Peacekeeping," *World Policy Journal* 11, no. 3 (Fall 1994).

Bruce Berkowitz, "Rules of Engagement for UN Peacekeepers in Bosnia," *Orbis* 38, no. 4 (Fall 1994).

Peter Wallensteen and Karin Axell, "Conflict Resolution and the End of the Cold War," *Journal of Peace Research* 31, no. 3 (August 1994).

Lori Fisler Damrosch, ed., *Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts*, chapter 7 by Damrosch on economic sanctions.

Session 11 Disarmament

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *New Dimensions of Arms Regulation and Disarmament in the Post-Cold War Era*.
UNIDIR, *From Versailles to Baghdad: Post-War Armament Control of Defeated States*, pp. 137-57, 249-56.
Security Council Resolution on North Korea.

David Mutimer, ed., *Control But Verify: Verification and the New Non-Proliferation Agenda*, pp. 3-38.

Leonard Spector, "Repentant Nuclear Proliferants," *Foreign Policy*, no. 88 (Fall 1992).

UN publications on disarmament, to be distributed.

Session 12 Building Peace: Democracy and Human Rights

United Nations, *The International Bill of Human Rights*.

Bruce Russett, "Peace among Democracies," *Scientific American* (November 1993).

Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, pp. 31-46, 85-108, 164-92, 270-79.

Ted Robert Gurr, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*, pp. 89-122.

Tom Farer and Felice Gaer, "The UN and Human Rights: At the End of the Beginning," in Adam Roberts and Benedict Kingsbury, eds., *United Nations, Divided World*, 2nd ed.

Steven Poe and Neal Tate, "Repression of Human Rights to Personal Integrity in the 1980s: A Global Analysis," *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 4 (December 1994).

Zara Arat, *Democracy and Human Rights in Developing Countries*, pp. 1-60.

Session 13 Financing the UN

John Tessitore and Susan Woolfson, eds., *A Global Agenda: Issues Before the 49th General Assembly*, pp. 301-22.

Ruben Mendez, *International Public Finance: A New Perspective on Global Relations*, pp. 213-60.

Ogata-Volcker Report, *Financing the United Nations*.



IV

Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs



◆ IMPLEMENTING INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS ◆

Jack Donnelly

INTS 4952

The Graduate School of International Studies • University of Denver
Spring 1994 • 1 Session per Week

This course focuses on international mechanisms for implementing internationally recognized human rights. I will assume that you have had an introductory course in human rights and that you are generally familiar with basic theoretical issues and the substance of international human rights norms. (This material is briefly reviewed in the readings for Week 1.) Our focus will be on the strengths and weaknesses of differing multilateral and bilateral implementation mechanisms. National means of implementation, however, will not be considered. This is a course on the international politics of human rights.

Grades will be based primarily on a research paper, on a topic of your choice, due at the end of the quarter. Class participation (quality not quantity) may affect the final grade by as much as half a letter grade.

The following books have been ordered and should be purchased by most students:

Richard Claude and Burns Weston, eds., *Human Rights and the World Community*, 2nd ed.

Jack Donnelly, *International Human Rights*

Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*

David Forsythe, *The Internationalization of Human Rights*

Iain Guest, *Behind the Disappearances*

Hurst Hannum, ed., *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*, 2nd ed.

Robert Matthews and Cranford Pratt, *Human Rights in Canadian Foreign Policy*

Henry Shue, *Basic Rights*

Readings follow, by week. All listed readings are required.

Session 1 Introduction and Review

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

International Human Rights Covenants

Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*, chapter 1.

Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, pp. 5-34.

Jack Donnelly and Rhoda E. Howard, "Assessing National Human Rights Performance: A Theoretical Framework," *Human Rights Quarterly* 10 (May 1988), pp. 214-48.

R. J. Vincent, "The Idea of Rights in International Ethics," in Terry Nardin and David R. Mapel, eds., *Traditions of International Ethics*.

Fouad Ajami, "Human Rights and World Order Politics," in Richard Falk, Samuel S. Kim, and Saul H. Mendlovitz, eds., *Toward a Just World Order*.

Shue, *Basic Rights*, chapters 1-3.

Hannum, *Guide*, chapters 1-2.

Session 2 The Problem of Cultural Relativism

In implementing internationally recognized human rights, what sorts of allowances should be made for differences in culture and political systems? The first three (sets of) readings make the case for a relativist approach to international human rights. The readings from Donnelly and Howard argue for a largely universalistic approach. The readings from An-Na'im argue for a different sort of universalism, emphasizing cross cultural consensus.

Adamantia Pollis, "Liberal, Socialist, and Third World Perspectives on Human Rights," in Peter Schwab and Adamantia Pollis, eds., *Toward a Human Rights Framework*.

Any three of the following articles: Abdul Aziz Said, "Precept and Practice of Human Rights in Islam," *Universal Human Rights* 1, no. 1, (1979), pp. 63-80. Asmarom Legesse, "Human Rights in African Political Culture," Shao-chuan Leng, "Human Rights in Chinese Political Culture," and Ralph Buultjens, "Human Rights in Indian Political Culture," in Kenneth W. Thompson, ed., *The Moral Imperatives of Human Rights: A World Survey*. Josiah A. M. Cobbah, "African Values and the Human Rights Debate: An African Perspective," *Human Rights Quarterly* 9 (August 1987), pp. 309-31; and Yougindra Khushalani, "Human Rights in Asia and Africa," *Human Rights Law Journal* 4 (1983), pp. 403-442.

Alison Dundes Renteln, "The Unanswered Challenge of Relativism and the Consequences for Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 7 (November 1985), pp. 514-40.

Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights*, chapters 3-4, 6, 9-10.

Rhoda E. Howard, "Evaluating Human Rights in Africa: Some Problems of Implicit Comparisons," *Human Rights Quarterly* 6 (May 1984), pp. 160-79.

Rhoda E. Howard, "The Full-Belly Thesis: Should Economic Rights Take Priority over Civil and Political Rights?," *Human Rights Quarterly* 5 (November 1983), pp. 467-90.

Rhoda E. Howard, "Women's Rights in English-Speaking Sub-Saharan Africa," in Claude E. Welch Jr. and Ronald I. Meltzer, eds., *Human Rights and Development in Africa*.

Abdullahi A. An-Na'im, "Religious Minorities under Islamic Law and the Limits of Cultural Relativism," *Human Rights Quarterly* 9 (February 1987), pp. 1-18.

Abdullahi A. An-Na'im, *Human Rights in Cross-Cultural Perspectives*.

Session 3 International Law and Organization (I): The UN System

What impact have multilateral implementation procedures had on the human rights practices of states? Readings this week focus on the UN system, including the Commission on Human Rights, General Assembly, and selected functional bodies.

Farer, reading 16 in Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*.

David P. Forsythe, "The Politics of Efficacy: The United Nations and Human Rights," in Lawrence Finkelstein, ed., *Politics in the United Nations System*.

Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, pp. 57-81.

Hannum, *Guide*, chapters 3-4, 6, 10.

Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights*, pp. 223-228, 250-258.

Session 4 International Law and Organization (II): Regional Organizations

How have regional human rights organizations influenced the practices of their member states? What are the relative strengths and weaknesses of regional as opposed to global approaches? What explains the dramatic differences between regions? Special attention will be paid to Europe and the Americas.

Hannum, *Guide*, chapters 7-9.

Weston, Lukes, and Hnatt, reading 17 in Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*.

Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, pp. 82-97.

Forsythe, *Internationalization*, chapter 4.

Session 5 Human Rights and Foreign Policy (I): Overview

What are the relative strengths and weaknesses of bilateral (as opposed to multilateral) implementation procedures? What place should human rights objectives have in national foreign policies? How can international human rights concerns be reconciled with the principle of nonintervention?

Luard, reading 20 in Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*.

Stanley Hoffmann, "Reaching for the Most Difficult: Human Rights as a Foreign Policy Goal," *Daedalus* 112 (Fall 1983), pp. 19-49.

Hans Morgenthau, "Human Rights and Foreign Policy."

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars*, chapters 4, 6.

Jerome Slater and Terry Nardin, "Nonintervention and Human Rights," *Journal of Politics* 48 (February 1986), pp. 86-96.

Donnelly, reading 21 in Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*.

Shue, *Basic Rights*, chapters 4-6.

Wiseberg, reading 25 in Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*.

Snow, Stover, and Hannibal, reading 26 in Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*.

Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights*, pp. 259-269.

Session 6 Human Rights and Foreign Policy (II): The United States

The United States has been both a leader in international action on behalf of human rights and a leader in international action violating human rights—often at the same time. What explains this schizophrenic behavior?

Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, pp. 99-125.

Forsythe, *Internationalization*, chapter 5.

Tracy Strong, "Taking the Rank with What Is Ours," in Paula R. Newburg, ed., *The Politics of Human Rights*.

David Weissbrodt, "The Influence of Interest Groups on the Development of United States Human Rights Policies," and Richard Falk, "Ideological Patterns in the United States Human Rights Debate: 1945-78," in Natalie Kaufman Hevener, ed., *The Dynamics of Human Rights in U.S. Foreign Policy*.

Forsythe, reading 22 in Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*.

Claude, reading 23 in Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*.

Stephen B. Cohen, "Conditioning U.S. Security Assistance on Human Rights Practices," *American Journal of International Law* 76 (April 1982), pp. 246-79.

David Carleton and Michael Stohl, "The Foreign Policy of Human Rights: Rhetoric and Reality from Jimmy Carter to Ronald Reagan: A Critique and Reappraisal," *Human Rights Quarterly* 7 (May 1985), pp. 205-29.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, "Dictatorships and Double Standards," *Commentary* 68 (November 1979), pp. 34-45.

Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights*, pp. 229-241.

Shue, *Basic Rights*, chapter 7.

David P. Forsythe, "U.S. Economic Assistance and Human Rights: Why the Emperor Has (Almost) No Clothes," and Michael Stohl, David Carleton, Mark Gibney, and Geoffrey Martin, "U.S. Foreign Policy, Human Rights and Multilateral Assistance," in David P. Forsythe, ed., *Human Rights and Development*.

Edwin S. Maynard, "The Bureaucracy and Implementation of U.S. Human Rights Policy," *Human Rights Quarterly* 11 (May 1989), pp. 175-248.

Lowell W. Livezey, "U.S. Religious Organizations and the International Human Rights Movement," *Human Rights Quarterly* 11 (February 1989), pp. 14-81.

Session 7 Human Rights and Foreign Policy (III): Other Western Countries

Other western countries have at times adopted somewhat different international human rights policies from those of the United States. What explains these differences? How profound are they? Our focus will be on the so-called "like-minded countries" of Canada, the Netherlands, and Norway.

Matthews and Pratt, *Human Rights*, chapters 1-6, 11, 14-15.

Jan Egeland, *Impotent Superpower, Potent Small State*.

Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, pp. 125-132.

Kathryn Sikkink, "The Power of Principled Ideas," in Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds., *Ideas and Foreign Policy*.

Peter R. Baehr, "Concern for Development Aid and Fundamental Human Rights: The Dilemma as Faced by the Netherlands," *Human Rights Quarterly* 4 (February 1982), pp. 39-52.

Peter R. Baehr, "Human Rights, Development, and Dutch Foreign Policy," and Wolfgang S. Heinz, "The Federal Republic of Germany: Human Rights and Development," in Forsythe, ed., *Human Rights and Development*.

Session 8 Case Studies (I): The Southern Cone of South America

Using the case of bureaucratic-authoritarian military dictatorships in the Southern Cone (especially Argentina) in the 1970s and 1980s, we will try to pull together some of the differing strands of analysis pursued so far.

Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, chapter 3.

Guest, *Behind the Disappearances*, parts II-V.

Session 9 Case Studies (II)

A second case study, chosen on the basis of class interests, will be examined this week.

Session 10 Human Rights in the New World Order

What changes in international human rights policies can we expect following the demise of the Cold War? Is the rhetoric of a new world order more than rhetoric? What place do internationally recognized human rights have in this new order? What changes are occurring in bilateral and multilateral implementation mechanisms?

David P. Forsythe, "Human Rights in a Post-Cold War World," *Fletcher Forum* 15 (Summer 1991), pp. 55-70.

Jarat Chopra and Thomas G. Weiss, "Sovereignty Is No Longer Sacrosanct: Codifying Humanitarian Intervention," *Ethics and International Affairs* 6 (1992), pp. 95-117.

Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, chapter 6.

Michael W. Doyle, "An International Liberal Community," in Graham Allison and Gregory Treverton, eds., *Rethinking America's Security*.

"Special Issue: Humane Intervention," *International Journal* (Autumn 1993).

Orentlicher, reading 24 in Claude and Weston, *Human Rights*.

"Democracy and the New World Order," Symposium in *Ethics and International Affairs* 6 (1992).

David P. Forsythe, *Human Rights and Peace*, pp. 152-167.

◆ INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS ◆

David P. Forsythe

Political Science 470
University of Nebraska
Spring 1993 • 2 Sessions per Week

I. THE COURSE

This course is an advanced survey of internationally recognized human rights. It focuses on the making and implementation of those rights across state borders. The first part of the course addresses particular rights whether civil-political or socio-economic, and whether individual or collective. The second part of the course addresses means of implementation—e.g., intergovernmental organizations, transnational organizations, and state foreign policies.

Students are expected to do the reading when assigned and to come to class prepared to discuss the reading. The instructor, reluctantly but on the basis of much experience, reserves the right to modify the syllabus in order to add pop quizzes on the reading if students are repeatedly unprepared.

II. REQUIRED READING

The following are available at the Nebraska and University bookstores:

Claude and Weston, *Human Rights in the World Community*

Forsythe, *The Internationalization of Human Rights*

Halperin et al., *Self-Determination in the New World Order*

Lauren, *Power and Prejudice*

Weschler, *A Miracle, A Universe*

III. COURSE REQUIREMENTS

3 book reviews, as scheduled, 3-4 pages, 5% each

1 research prospectus, 10%

1 mid-term exam, 20%

1 research paper, 25%

1 final exam, 30%

Book reviews are to be in proper form with proper spelling, word-processed, double-spaced; 2-4 pages; as scheduled.

Mid-term exam is to be taken in blue book with dark ink. Name on outside only; 5 point penalty if instructions are not followed. Comprehensive to that time; essay.

Discuss topic of prospectus with instructor. Use form attached to syllabus. The prospectus is to get you started in time to do a good job, and to provide you some feedback from the instructor.

Research paper must be in proper form with proper spelling, word-processed, double-spaced, about 12 pages. The object of the paper is to get you to think about an aspect of human rights in depth. Lay out an important question, then answer it with creative or independent thought.

Final exam, as scheduled by the University. Blue book with dark ink. Name on outside only; 5 point penalty if instructions not followed. Comprehensive; essay.

At the request of the Dean of Arts and Sciences, this note is included on plagiarism: to plagiarize is to “take and pass off as one’s own [the ideas, writings, etc. of another]” (Webster’s College Dictionary). If you use the exact words of another, they must be put in quotes and attributed. If you use the approximate words, or ideas, of another, they must be attributed. Almost every semester I assign a penalty for inadvertent

plagiarism. All too frequently I give an F in the course for intentional plagiarism. I have also turned over cases of denied plagiarism to the Dean of Students for further disciplinary action. Be careful about plagiarism; it will not be tolerated.

IV. COURSE FORMAT

Week	Session #	Subject Matter
1	1	INTRODUCTION: GETTING STARTED
	2	What are Human Rights? Claude and Weston, chapter 1.
2	3	Universalism and Cultural Relativism Forsythe, chapter 1; Claude and Weston, chapter 3.
	4	Human Rights and the State System Forsythe, chapter 2; Claude and Weston, chapters 2, 4.
3	5	SPECIFIC RIGHTS: CIVIL RIGHTS Claude and Weston, chapter 6; Lauren, passim.
	6	Civil Rights: Torture/Discrimination Claude and Weston, chapters 5, 7; Lauren, passim.
4	7	Civil Rights: Persecution/Refugees Claude and Weston, chapter 8; Lauren, passim.
	8	Civil Rights: Slavery Book review due; Lauren, start of class.
5	9	Political Rights Handout-photocopy.
	10	Political Rights Handout-photocopy.
6	11	Socio-economic Rights Claude and Weston, chapters 10-11.
	12	Socio-economic Rights Start Halperin.
7	13	Collective Rights: ? Claude and Weston, chapters 12, 14-15.
	14	Collective Rights: Self-Determination Book review due; Halperin, start of class.
8	15	Review
	16	Mid-term
9	17	INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: THE UN Forsythe, chapter 3; think re: research paper.
	18	The UN Claude and Weston, chapter 16.
10	19	The Council of Europe Claude and Weston, chapter 17.
	20	The OAS Forsythe, chapter 4.

Week	Session #	Subject Matter
11	21	The CSCE Claude and Weston, chapter 18.
	22	Summary of IGOs Research prospectus due; Claude and Weston, chapter 19.
12	23	TRANSNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS/MOVEMENTS Claude and Weston, chapter 25; Weschler, passim.
	24	The ICRC Forsythe, chapter 6; Weschler, passim.
13	25	MNCs Claude and Weston, chapter 27; Weschler, passim.
	26	Persons, Rights, Revolution Book review due; Claude and Weston, chapter 28; Weschler, start of class.
14	27	UNITED STATES POLICY Claude and Weston, chapter 24; Forsythe, chapter 5.
	28	The Congress Claude and Weston, chapter 22.
15	29	The Courts Claude and Weston, chapter 23.
	30	The U.S. and Humanitarian Intervention Claude and Weston, chapter 21.
16	31	CONCLUSIONS Forsythe, chapter 7.
	32	Research papers due.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

All work due when scheduled unless you are ill and have written evidence from your doctor, or unless there is a death in the immediate family and you have a printed obituary.

Incompletes and withdrawals given only in accordance with University rules.

PS 870-GRADUATE COURSE

Students in 870 should do all the reading in 470. You are not responsible for the 470 book reviews, prospectus, or mid-term.

In addition, graduate students should read the following five books, in this order:

Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*

Howard, *Human Rights in Commonwealth Africa*

Kaufman, *Human Rights Treaties and the Senate*

Forsythe, ed., *Human Rights and Development*

Jabine and Claude, eds., *Human Rights and Statistics*

For each, you should write a book review of 4-6 pages. The best reviews will be broad and comparative, linking the book to other literature. These reviews, worth 5% each, **must** be completed by the date of the undergraduate mid-term. For edited books, you do not need to cover all chapters in your review. Pick out some major themes and concentrate on those.

Research and write one paper, ca. 20 pages, with the form and content of a journal article; 30% of the final grade; due before the last exam day. Any journal style is acceptable—e.g., *ISQ*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Orbis*, *World Politics*, *American Journal of International Law*, etc. After the undergraduate mid-term, you should consult with the instructor about topics, method, etc.

Take a final exam, 3 hours, covering all material assigned during the term; 30% of final grade. You are urged to take the exam on a personal computer.

Be prepared for, and participate in, class. Graduate students are expected to be better than undergraduates. Thus, do not come to class unprepared, sitting passively; 15% of final grade. The process is simple: participation with knowledge of the literature is an A, other participation is a B, mere attendance is a C, and frequent absences merit a D.

◆ INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW ◆

Hurst Hannum

LAW 209

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy • Tufts University
Fall 1994 • 2 Sessions per Week

REVISED SYLLABUS

This is an introductory survey course on international human rights law and procedures, which will include detailed consideration of global, regional, and national mechanisms for the protection of human rights. There are two required texts:

Richard B. Lillich and Hurst Hannum, *International Human Rights: Problems Of Law, Policy, and Practice*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1995) [listed below as "Coursebook"] and *Documentary Supplement* [photocopied manuscript, to be purchased and distributed in three packets during the semester].

Hurst Hannum, ed., *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992) [listed below as "Guide"].

There also will be a selection of required photocopied readings (in addition to the Lillich/Hannum and Hannum texts), designated by numbers below. A copy of these readings will be on reserve in Ginn Library, or they may be purchased for individual use.

One additional book, which provides a political/journalistic account of attempts to address human rights issues in the United Nations, is highly recommended:

Iain Guest, *Behind the Disappearances: Argentina's Dirty War Against Human Rights and The United Nations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

Discussion is an essential element of the course. It is expected that assigned materials will be read prior to class, and participation in class will contribute to the final grade. Students will be required either to make one **oral presentation** during the semester **or** to write one **short paper** on an assigned topic.

There will be an eight-hour **take-home final examination** at the end of the semester. The exam will require the student to write a memorandum on the relevant human rights issues raised by a given fact situation, including substantive and procedural aspects. *No special arrangements for taking the exam will be made, and you are advised to make your holiday travel plans accordingly.*

Grades will be based on the following criteria: 60% on the final examination, 20% on the oral presentation or short paper, and 20% on class participation.

READING ASSIGNMENTS

Session 1 Introduction to course; what is international human rights law?

Readings:

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 15-21.

1. Amnesty International Report 1994 Summary.

Session 2 Human rights and international law; the binding effect of international norms

Reading:

Guide, chapter 1.

Session 3 Continuation of Session 2 discussion

Readings:

UN Charter, excerpts, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 1-10.

Coursebook, problem I.

Session 4 The development of international human rights through the international treaty-making process

Readings:

Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocols, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 32-56.

Coursebook, problem III, pp. 187-205, 227-314.

Guide, chapter 3.

2. Markus Schmidt, "Individual Human Rights Complaints Procedures Based on United Nations Treaties and the Need for Reform," *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 41 (1992), p. 645.

Session 5 Continuation of Session 4 discussion

Reading:

3. Hurst Hannum and Dana D. Fischer, eds., *U.S. Ratification of the International Covenants on Human Rights* (1993), pp. 27-33, 269-77.

Session 6 Economic, social, and cultural rights

Readings:

Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 22-32.

Coursebook, problem III, pp. 205-17.

4. Excerpts from Reports of the Committee on Economic and Social Rights, including General Comments, nos. 1-4, and Guidelines regarding state reporting obligations.

Guide, chapter 10.

Recommended:

Philip Alston and Gerard Quinn, "The Nature and Scope of State Parties' Obligations Under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 9 (May 1987), pp. 156-229.

Session 7 Defining human rights through means other than treaties: the Standard Minimum Rules and other criminal justice norms

Readings:

Coursebook, problem IV, pp. 316-68.

Guide, chapter 11.

Session 8 Continuation of Session 7 discussion; rights of minorities and indigenous peoples

Readings:

Coursebook, problem IV, pp. 368-94.

5. Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (June 1990), especially paras. 30-40.7.

6. Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as adopted by the UN Sub-Commission Working Group on Indigenous Populations, UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/29 (1993).

Session 9 Continuation of Session 8 discussion; self-determination and "third generation" rights

Readings:

Coursebook, problem III, pp. 218-26.

7. Philip Alston, "Making Space for New Human Rights: The Case of the Right to Development," *Harvard Human Rights Yearbook* 1 (1988), p. 3.

Session 10 Issues of cultural relativity: are human rights universal?

Readings:

8. Frank Newman and David Weissbrodt, *International Human Rights* (1990), pp. 307-57.

9. Rhoda E. Howard, "Cultural Absolutism and the Nostalgia for Community," *Human Rights Quarterly* 15 (1993), pp. 315-38.

Session 11 Continuation of Session 10 discussion; introduction to UN procedures to enforce human rights norms

Readings:

10. "Human Rights: The Bangkok Declaration," *International Documents Review* (12 April 1993).

11. Vienna Declaration adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights on 25 June 1993, UN Document A/CONF.157/23.

Review provisions of Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Session 12 Protecting human rights through the United Nations I: individual petitions under Resolution 1503 and UN action under Resolution 1235

Readings:

ECOSOC Resolution 1235 and 1503 and Sub-Commission Resolution 1 (XXIV), *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 94-98.

Coursebook, problem V, pp. 395-449.

Guide, chapter 4.

Recommended:

Iain Guest, *Behind the Disappearances*.

Session 13 Protecting human rights through the United Nations II: the "theme procedures" and other initiatives

Readings:

Coursebook, problem V, pp. 449-66.

Recommended:

Theo van Boven, "The Role of the United Nations Secretariat in the Area of Human Rights," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 24 (1991), p. 69.

Session 14 International Labour Organisation and UNESCO

Readings:

UNESCO Executive Board Decision 104 EX/Decision 3.3, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 99-103.

Guide, chapters 5-6.

12. Report of the ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (1992), excerpts.

Session 15 Fact-finding by governmental and nongovernmental organizations

Readings:

Coursebook, problem VI.

Guide, chapter 2.

Assignment of short paper topic (for those not making an oral presentation)—due no later than Session 19.

Session 16 Regional arrangements I: Europe

Readings:

European Convention on Human Rights, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 104-28.

Coursebook, problem IX.

Guide, chapter 8.

Session 17 Regional arrangements II: the inter-American system

Readings:

Materials on the inter-American system, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 129-82.

Coursebook, problem X.

Guide, chapter 7.

Session 18 Regional arrangements III: Africa and other possibilities

Readings:

African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 183-98.

Guide, chapter 9.

Session 19 Enforcing human rights norms: economic sanctions

Readings:

Coursebook, problem VII.

Deadline for midterm papers.

Session 20 The use of force to protect human rights; Bangladesh and humanitarian intervention

Reading:

Coursebook, problem VIII.

Session 21 Continuation of Session 20 discussion

Session 22 Respect for human rights in states of emergency, civil strife, and armed conflict

Readings:

Coursebook, problem XI.

1949 Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, common article 3, *Documentary Supplement*, p. 199.

Protocol II to the 1949 Geneva Convention, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 200-09.

Session 23 Continuation of Session 22 discussion

Session 24 Proposals for an international criminal court

Readings:

Coursebook, problem XII.

Statute of the International Tribunal on the Former Yugoslavia, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 210-24.

Session 25 Human rights and foreign policy

Readings:

Coursebook, problem XIII.

Sections 502B and 116b of the Foreign Assistance Act, *Documentary Supplement*, pp. 225-30.

Session 26 Continuation of Session 25 discussion; conclusions

◆ GENOCIDE ◆

Rhoda E. Howard

Sociology 770

The Theme School on International Justice and Human Rights

McMaster University

Fall 1994 • 1 Session per Week

COURSE SUMMARY

This year's course will focus on the sociology of genocide. The sociology of genocide is a new field, so far taught in very few North American universities, although the American Sociological Association is starting a major initiative to promote the sociology both of genocide and of human rights.

Genocide is deliberate mass murder of a social group, usually by a state. Since WWII, it is estimated (Rummel) that twice as many people have been killed by genocide as by war; in the entire twentieth century, it is estimated that 36 million people died as a result of war as compared to 119 million as a result of genocide. Genocide is thus a regular social phenomenon and a massive social problem that is, nevertheless, very rarely the object of social scientists' attention.

This course will focus on some of the theoretical issues underlying the study of genocide. These include such concerns as:

- theoretical definitions of genocide
- nationalism and genocide
- minority groups and genocide
- social causes of fascism
- modernity and the capacity for genocide
- genocide versus state terror
- the capacity for evil
- humanitarian intervention and the role of bystanders
- the capacity for altruism

The cases used to study genocide will be the Nazi genocides, the Turkish genocide of the Armenians, Stalinist genocides and state terror, state terror in Argentina, and genocide in Cambodia. It will be assumed that students have sufficient information about these cases to follow the course; or that they will familiarize themselves with the cases by use of supplemental readings.

TEXTS

The following three texts have been ordered by the bookstore.

Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cornell, 1989).

Helen Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective* (Sage, 1993).

Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil* (Cambridge, 1989).

In addition, the bookstore has ordered copies of an undergraduate textbook recommended for information on specific cases of genocide.

Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn, *History and Sociology of Genocide* (Yale, 1990).

Readings will be taken from these textbooks and from items on reserve in the Innis Library (listed below). Textbooks are also on reserve.

REQUIREMENTS

The following requirements are subject to modification after discussion with the class.

Term Paper

Each student will be obliged to submit a term paper of 35-40 pages on a theoretical issue reflecting the subject matter of the course and using, *inter alia*, the readings assigned to the course, where appropriate.

As part of the purpose of this course is to train students in preparing for publication, papers must be presented in as professional a manner as possible. This means that, *inter alia*, students will be graded on writing and style, and on accuracy and completeness of footnotes and bibliography, as well as on originality, quality and logic of argument, and quality of research.

There will be three stages of submission:

- a. proposal: 10% of final grade (instructions will be given in class); due date: Week 4.
Unsatisfactory proposals will be returned to be reworked and regraded.
- b. draft paper (*optional*); due date: Week 10.
- c. final paper: 60% of final grade; due date: Week 13.

Class Participation: 30%

The success of a graduate seminar depends on the participation of students. Students are therefore expected to attend class unless ill or otherwise prevented from doing so. For each seminar, students are expected to have done the assigned readings ahead of time and to have reviewed them before class in order that they remember them. Class participation will be graded in two parts:

- a. general discussion: 10%
- b. presentation of term paper: 20%

For presentations of term papers, students will be expected to make available to the professor and their classmates about 50 pages of reading material 2 weeks before the presentation. The professor must be given her own copy; arrangements may be made for fellow students to share copies.

Examinations and Other Forms of Evaluation

There is no examination in this course. However, the professor reserves the right to impose an examination if students do not participate actively, thoroughly, and critically in class discussions or if student attendance is sporadic. She also reserves the right to require other written work such as precis of the assigned readings.

Please Note

- N.B.
- a. No extensions without medical certificate or letter from the student's graduate advisor or a counsellor indicating extraordinary circumstances.
 - b. Last-minute computer or printer breakdowns will not be accepted as excuses for handing in assignments late.
 - c. Faxed assignments are not acceptable.
 - d. Disabled students must make the instructor aware of their disability in writing by Week 3 of the course.
 - e. *By virtue of their being registered as students at McMaster University, and by virtue of their already holding an undergraduate degree, all students will be deemed to understand the rules regarding plagiarism and academic dishonesty.* The onus is on any student not understanding such rules to consult the professor about them.

SCHEDULE

The following schedule lists required readings and assignments for each week. This outline is provided for students' guidance, but there may be occasional changes. Textbook readings are designated Bauman, Fein, or Staub. All other assigned readings are on reserve (see reserve list at end of outline).

The schedule will be adjusted to reflect the number of students in the class. If two entire weeks are not needed for presentations, extra readings will be assigned.

Session 1 Introduction to Genocide

"The UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide," in Chalk and Jonassohn, pp. 44-49 or Porter, ed., *Genocide and Human Rights*, pp. 307-16.

"Raphael Lemkin on Genocide," in Porter, ed., pp. 317-33.

Richard Edwards, "Contributions of the Genocide Convention to the Development of International Law," *Ohio Northern University Law Review* 8 (1981).

Session 2 Sociological Theory of Genocide

Fein, *Genocide: A Sociological Perspective*, entire volume.

Session 3 A Social-Psychological Theory of Genocide

Staub, part I, pp. 1-88.

Session 4 Social Psychology of the Holocaust

Staub, part II, pp. 91-169, "Armenians," chapter 12, pp. 173-87, and chapter 15, pp. 232-45.

Assignments: term paper proposals due.

Session 5 Sociology of the Holocaust

Bauman, chapters 1-5.

Session 6 Socialist Genocides

Staub, "Cambodia," chapter 13, pp. 188-209.

David Hawk, "Pol Pot's Cambodia: Was it Genocide?," in Charny, *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide*, pp. 51-59.

Chalk and Jonassohn, "The USSR Under Stalin," pp. 290-322.

Gouldner, "Stalinism: A Study of Internal Colonialism."

Session 7 State Terror and Genocide

Staub, "Argentina," chapter 14, pp. 210-31.

Michael Stohl and George A. Lopez, "Introduction," in Stohl and Lopez, eds., *The State as Terrorist* (1984), pp. 3-10.

David Pion-Berlin and George A. Lopez, "Of Victims and Executioners," *International Studies Quarterly* 35 (1991), pp. 63-86.

Session 8 The Capacity to Do Evil

Bauman, "Ethics of Obedience," chapter 6.

Haney, Banks, and Zimbardo, "Interpersonal Dynamics in a Simulated Prison."

John P. Sabini and Maury Silver, "Destroying the Innocent with a Clear Conscience: A Sociopsychology of the Holocaust," in Dinsdale, *Survivors, Victims and Perpetrators*, pp. 329-58.

Lifton, "Doubling: the Faustian Bargain," chapter 19 and "The Auschwitz Self," chapter 20 in *The Nazi Doctors*, pp. 418-65.

Assignments: readings for student presentations are to be made available at this class.

Session 9 Bystanders and Humanitarian Intervention

Kuper, "The Sovereign Territorial State: The Right to Genocide," chapter 9, pp. 161-85.

Michael Stohl, "Outside of a Small Circle of Friends," *Journal of Peace Research* 24, no. 2 (1987), pp. 152-66.

Marco Carynnyk, "The Famine the 'Times' Couldn't Find," *Commentary* (November 1983), pp. 32-40.

Abella and Troper, "Where They Could Not Enter," chapter 1 in *None Is Too Many*, pp. 1-37.

Assignments: readings for student presentations are to be made available at this class.

Session 10 Student Presentations

Readings: to be assigned by students.

Assignments: draft papers (optional) due.

Session 11 Student Presentations

Readings: to be assigned by students.

Session 12 Final Discussion

Staub, part IV, "Further Extensions," pp. 249-83.

Bauman, chapters 7-8, pp. 169-207.

Michael Freeman, "The Theory and Prevention of Genocide," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 6, no. 2 (1991), pp. 185-99.

Final Papers Due

LIST OF READINGS ON RESERVE

N.B. * means material from this book or article is assigned in course outline. Material not on the reading list is on reserve so that it is available for students' research. Course textbooks are also on reserve.

- *Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many* (Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1986).
- Michael Berenbaum, ed., *A Mosaic of Victims: Non-Jews Persecuted and Murdered by the Nazis* (New York: New York University Press, 1990).
- *Marco Carynnyk, "The Famine the 'Times' Couldn't Find," *Commentary* (November 1983), pp. 32-40.
- *Israel W. Charny, *Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984).
- Robert Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (University of Alberta, 1986).
- Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Reassessment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Lewis A. Coser, "The Visibility of Evil," *Journal of Social Issues* 25, no. 1 (1969), pp. 101-9.
- Vahakn N. Dadrian, "A Typology of Genocide," *International Review of Modern Sociology* 5 (1975), pp. 201-11.
- *Joel E. Dinsdale, ed., *Survivors, Victims and Perpetrators* (Hemisphere, 1980).
- *Richard Edwards, "Contributions of the Genocide Convention to the Development of International Law," *Ohio Northern University Law Review* 8 (1981).
- Helen Fein, *Accounting for Genocide: National Responses and Jewish Victimization During the Holocaust* (University of Chicago, 1979).
- Helen Fein, *Genocide Watch* (Yale, 1992).
- *Michael Freeman, "The Theory and Prevention of Genocide," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 6, no. 2 (1991), pp. 185-99.
- Sarah Gordon, *Hitler, Germans and the 'Jewish Question'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
- *Alvin W. Gouldner, "Stalinism: A Study of Internal Colonialism," *Telos* 34 (Winter 1977-78), pp. 5-48.
- Ted Robert Gurr and James R. Scarritt, "Minorities at Risk: A Global Survey," *Human Rights Quarterly* 11, no. 3, pp. 375-405.
- *Craig Haney, Curtis Banks, and Philip Zimbardo, "Interpersonal Dynamics in a Simulated Prison," *International Journal of Criminology and Penology* 1, pp. 69-97.
- Hurst Hannum, "International Law and Cambodian Genocide: The Sounds of Silence," *Human Rights Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (February 1989), pp. 82-138.
- Barbara Harry, *Genocide and Human Rights: International Legal and Political Issues* (University of Denver, Graduate School of International Affairs, 1984).
- Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-45* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).
- Irving Louis Horowitz, *Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1980).
- Everett C. Hughes, "Good People and Dirty Work," *Social Problems* 10, no. 1 (Summer 1962), pp. 3-11.
- Morton Hunt, *The Compassionate Beast: The Scientific Inquiry into Human Altruism* (New York: Anchor Books, 1991).
- Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (St. Martin's Press, 1987).

Bohdan Krawchenko, "The Man-Made Famine of 1932-33 in Soviet Ukraine," *Conflict Quarterly* 4 (Spring 1984), pp. 29-39.

*Leo Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (Penguin, 1981).

*Robert Jay Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (Basic Books, 1986).

James E. Mace, "Famine and Nationalism in Soviet Ukraine," *Problems of Communism* (May/June 1984), pp. 37-50.

Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race* (McClelland and Stewart, 1990).

Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974).

*David Pion-Berlin and George A. Lopez "Of Victims and Executioners," *International Studies Quarterly* 35 (1991), pp. 63-86.

Richard Plant, *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War against Homosexuals* (Henry Holt, 1986).

*Jack Nusan Porter, ed., *Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology* (University Press of America, 1982).

*Michael Stohl, "Outside of a Small Circle of Friends," *Journal of Peace Research* 24, no. 2 (1987), pp. 152-66.

*Michael Stohl and George A. Lopez, eds., *The State as Terrorist: The Dynamics of Governmental Violence and Repression* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984).

FILM LIST

When they took this course in 1993, some students found it useful to rent videocassettes in their spare time on the genocides they were studying. Some films viewed and/or recommended are:

The Holocaust

Europa Europa

Mephisto

The Nasty Girl

Purple Triangles (available from Dr. Howard)

Remains of the Day

Schindler's List

Ship of Fools

Shoah

Sophie's Choice

The Wannsee Conference

Triumph of the Spirit (Polish concentration camp victims)

Triumph of the Will

Armenia

The Forgotten Genocide (available from Dr. Howard)

Stalinism

The Inner Circle (Solzhenitsyn)

Stalin

Cambodia

The Killing Fields

Swimming to Cambodia

Argentina

The Official Story

Other

The Burning Times (witches)

Mississippi Masala (Asian expulsion from Uganda)

Romero (El Salvador)

◆ THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS REGIME ◆

Michael G. Schechter

MC 492: Senior Seminar in International Relations
James Madison College • Michigan State University
Spring 1994 • 2 Sessions per Week

SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE COURSE

The purpose of this seminar is to examine the sources of change in the contemporary international system. We will do so by an in-depth investigation of one particular regime, namely that of human rights. Our purposes are historical, theoretical, normative, and policy-oriented.

As a group, we shall try to answer such questions as these. What are the theoretical and legal justifications for human rights? How does a norm gain “compliance pull” (i.e., adherence by governments in an anarchical world)? Why do some norms gain greater “compliance pull” than others? Why are some rights and some groups privileged by international human rights institutions? What means are available to those who wish to effect change in an international regime, e.g., to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, sex, or religion? How can we address the tensions between the calls for universal norms and that for respecting cultural integrity? How do we cope with charges of cultural relativism and ethnocentrism?

READING REQUIREMENTS

Each student is asked to purchase the following three books. All are available in the area bookstores and all are on reserve at the main university library. All are available in paperback editions.

Ian Brownlie, ed., *Basic Documents on Human Rights*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

Richard Pierre Claude and Burns H. Weston, eds., *Human Rights in the World Community: Issues and Action*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

Jack Donnelly, *International Human Rights* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).

You are expected to read the assigned materials in advance and be prepared to discuss them at the indicated session.

This includes the questions for discussion in both the Donnelly and the Claude and Weston books, and of the “presentation papers” to be described later in this syllabus. In addition, certain “recommended readings” are listed at various places in this syllabus. These are not required, but are suggested as supplements to the required readings and should be of assistance in writing your research papers.

WRITING REQUIREMENTS AND ORAL PRESENTATION

Each member of the seminar is required to write two papers, a “presentation” paper and a research paper, and do an oral presentation. **No student can pass the seminar without turning in both of these papers and doing an oral presentation.**

Each student will be expected, **by Session 4**, to submit to the instructor, in writing, the topic for his or her research paper. Students are to choose their own topics, a case study of a particular human rights issue that interests and concerns them. Topics such as the following are appropriate. This is merely suggestive to give students ideas: child labor (as in Indonesia); capital punishment (as in the U.S.); book banning (as with Hemingway in Malawi); bride price tradition (as in Botswana); compulsory religious instruction in the public schools (as in Bolivia); torture (as in North Korea or Northern Ireland); female circumcision (as in Tanzania); re-education camps (as in Vietnam); ethnic or religious discrimination (as in Iraq); killing of “witches” (as in India); or female infanticide (as in China).

1. Presentation Paper

The “presentation paper” is intended as a brief assignment (fewer than 8 pages, word-processed/double-spaced) focusing on the origins and prevalence of the human rights issue on which the student is focusing.

Each student will be expected to provide the instructor with **three** copies of the paper at least **two days in advance of his or her class presentation**. A list of presentation dates will be made available after students have chosen their topics. One of the copies of the “presentation paper” will be read and commented upon by the instructor; the two others will be placed on reserve in the Madison College library, **where they will be read in advance of class by the students’ classmates**.

2. Oral Presentation

Each student is required to give a **thirty** minute talk in which he or she addresses the key questions of the course in relation to his or her case. For example: What theoretical and legal justifications exist for effecting change in the direction sought? What basis is there for opposing such arguments? What legal and institutional mechanisms were or are available to address the human rights issue identified? With what effectiveness and why? What light does this case shed on issues of norm creation and cultural relativism?

None of the facts presented in the “presentation papers” should be repeated during the oral presentation, as each of the student’s classmates shall have already read those facts.

At the conclusion of the presentation, each student will be expected to lead a class discussion and to respond to questions and suggestions from the student’s classmates and the instructor. This should last at least another **fifteen** minutes.

Students’ grades will be determined on the basis of the substance **and** style of their presentations as well as their ability to generate a class discussion and their responses to their colleagues’ questions and suggestions. **Students should not read their presentations**. Those doing so shall have their grades lowered.

3. Research Paper

The research paper—of at least 20 pages in length—can be thought of as a synthesis and revision of the “presentation paper” and the oral presentation. That is, students are expected to use their particular case study to address the key questions discussed, in common, at the outset of the course. Some of these are noted above. Moreover, students are expected to use the research paper as an opportunity to systematically integrate the suggestions made at the time of their presentations. (Obviously this gives an advantage to those giving their presentations earlier in the term rather than later.)

The research paper is due on or before 7:45 a.m. on the final day of class. This is true for all students no matter when they are scheduled for presentations. Severe grade sanctions will be applied to any late papers, except in the rarest of circumstances (such as hospitalization).

Throughout the entire paper process (selection of topic, hypothesis formulation, research, outlining, writing, and revisions), students are encouraged to meet with the instructor, both during office hours and during separate appointments.

CLASSROOM PARTICIPATION

This is a seminar. Accordingly, all students will be expected to be active participants and thus will be graded on their comments in class, especially in terms of providing suggestions for improvement at the end of each of their classmate’s presentations. Students whose only classroom participation is in the form of their own oral presentations should expect a 0.0 for classroom participation.

GRADE DETERMINANTS

Midterm Examination	25%
“Presentation” Paper	15%
Oral Presentation	15%
Oral Participation	15%
Research Paper	30%

HONORS CREDIT

Students wishing to receive honors credit for this course should see the instructor. Each student will be expected to supplement his or her research by writing and talking comparatively about human rights abuse and prevention. Presentations of those findings will be shared with their classmates on the last day of class beginning at 7:45 a.m. Honors credit for this course also requires that the student earn a 3.5 or better in the aforementioned, normal requirements of the course.

CALENDAR

INTRODUCTION

Session 1 The Nature and Evolution of an International Human Rights Regime

- A. Course Requirements and Format
- B. The Notion of Human Rights
- C. The Notion of an International Regime
- D. The Evolution of the International Human Rights Regime

Required Readings:

Richard Pierre Claude and Burns H. Weston, eds., *Human Rights in the World Community: Issues and Action*, 2nd ed., pp. 14-31.

Jack Donnelly, *International Human Rights*, pp. 5-17 (and related questions, pp. 169-170).

Recommended Readings:

David P. Forsythe, *The Internationalization of Human Rights*.

David P. Forsythe, *Human Rights and World Politics*.

R.J. Vincent, *Human Rights and International Relations*.

Session 2 Theories of Human Rights

Required Readings:

Donnelly, pp. 19-34.

Claude and Weston, pp. 31-42, 146-158.

Recommended Readings:

Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, part II.

Joseph Wronka, *Human Rights and Social Policy in the 21st Century*, chapter 2.

R.J. Vincent, "The Idea of Rights in International Ethics," in Terry Nardin and David R. Mapel, eds., *Traditions of International Ethics*.

Session 3 Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights

What are the origins of human rights pronounced in international instruments, and is there room for cultural relativity in human rights law?

Required Readings:

Donnelly, pp. 34-38.

Claude and Weston, pp. 42-52.

Recommended Readings:

Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice*, part III.

Frank Newman and David Weissbrodt, *International Human Rights*, chapter 8.

Isabella R. Gunning, "Arrogant Perception, World-Travelling and Multicultural Feminism: The Case of Female Genital Surgery," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 23 (Summer 1992), pp. 191-248.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW

Session 4 Genocide and Torture

Paper topic due at the beginning of class.

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 58-90.

Ian Brownlie, ed., *Basic Documents on Human Rights*, 3rd ed., pp. 31-51.

Recommended Readings:

Catharine A. MacKinnon, "Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace," in Stephen Shute and Susan Hurely, ed., *On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 1993*.

Louis René Beres, "After the Gulf War: Prosecuting Iraqi Crimes Under the Rules of Law," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 24, no. 3 (1991), pp. 487-503.

Hurst Hannum, "International Law and Cambodian Genocide: The Sounds of Silence," *Human Rights Quarterly* 11 (February 1989), pp. 82-138.

Session 5 Civil Rights

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 90-101.

Brownlie, pp. 125-147.

Recommended Reading:

Patrick Thornberry, *International Law and the Right of Minorities*, part IV.

Session 6 Race, Sex, and Religious Discrimination in International Law

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 101-114.

Brownlie, pp. 106-112, 148-181.

Recommended Readings:

Justin Leites, "Modernist Jurisprudence as a Vehicle for Gender Role Reform in the Islamic World," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 22 (Spring 1991), pp. 251-330.

Rebecca Cook, "International Protection of Women's Reproductive Rights," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 24 (Winter 1992), pp. 645-777.

Rebecca Cook, "Women's International Human Rights: A Bibliography," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 24 (Winter 1992), pp. 857-888.

Janice Wood Wetzel, *The World of Women: In Pursuit of Human Rights*.

Kevin Dwyer, *Arab Voices: The Human Rights Debate in the Middle East*.

Newell M. Stultz, "Evolution of the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Regime," *Human Rights Quarterly* 13 (February 1991), pp. 1-23.

Session 7 The Rights of Children and the Right to Education

Required Reading:

Brownlie, pp. 182-202, 318-324.

Recommended Readings:

Sharon K. Hom, "Female Infanticide in China: The Human Rights Specter and Thoughts Toward (An)Other Vision," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 23 (Summer 1992), pp. 249-313.

Cynthia Price Cohen, Stuart N. Hart, and Susan M. Kosloske, "The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Developing an *Information Model* to Computerize the Monitoring of Treaty Compliance," *Human Rights Quarterly* 14 (May 1992), pp. 216-231.

Kate Halvorsen, "Notes on the Realization of the Human Right to Education," *Human Rights Quarterly* 12 (August 1990), pp. 341-366.

"Symposium on the United Nations Covenant of Children's Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 12 (February 1990).

Session 8 Refugees and Migrants

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 114-124.

Brownlie, pp. 64-81, 203-240.

Recommended Readings:

Guy Goodwin-Gil, "Voluntary Repatriation: Legal and Policy Issues," in Gil Loescher and Laila Monahan, eds., *Refugees and International Relations*.

Maryellen Fullerton, "The International and National Protection of Refugees," in Hurst Hannum, ed., *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*, 2nd ed.

Session 9 Indigenous Peoples

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 124-136.

Brownlie, pp. 303-316.

Recommended Readings:

Douglas Sanders, "The United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations," *Human Rights Quarterly* 11 (August 1989), pp. 406-433.

Elizabeth A. Pearce, "Self-Determination for Native Americans: Land Rights and the Utility of Domestic and International Law," *Columbia Human Rights Law Review* 22 (Spring 1991), pp. 251-330.

S. James Anaya, "Indigenous Rights Norms in Contemporary International Law," *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law* 8, no. 2 (1992), pp. 1-39.

Session 10 Self-Determination

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 175-187.

Brownlie, pp. 28-30.

Recommended Readings:

Guyora Binder, "The Case for Self-Determination," *Stanford Journal of International Law* 28 (Fall 1991), pp. 103-138.

Hurst Hannum, *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination*.

Session 11 Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 158-167.

Brownlie, pp. 114-124, 243-302.

Recommended Reading:

Newman and Weissbrodt, *International Human Rights*, part IX.

Session 12 So-Called Third Generation Human Rights

A. Development

B. Environment

C. Peace

D. Democracy

Required Reading:

Claude and Weston, pp. 167-174, 187-209.

Recommended Readings:

Russel Laurence Barsh, "The Right to Development as a Human Right: Results of the Global Constitution," *Human Rights Quarterly* 13 (August 1991), pp. 321-338.

Dinah Shelton, "Human Rights, Environmental Rights, and the Right to Environment," *Stanford Journal of International Law* 28 (Fall 1991), pp. 103-138.

David Sheolting, "The Challenge of United Nations Monitoring of Elections on Independent Nations," *Stanford Journal of International Law* 28 (Spring 1992), pp. 371-424.

KEY ACTORS IN THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS REGIME

Session 13 The United Nations

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 227-244.

Donnelly, pp. 57-81.

Recommended Readings:

A.H. Robertson and J.G. Merrills, *Human Rights in the World: An Introduction to the Study of the International Protection of Human Rights*, 3rd ed., chapter 3.

Stephen M. Schwebel, "Human Rights in the World Court," *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, no. 5 (1991), pp. 945-970.

Theo van Boven, "The Role of the United Nations Secretariat in the Area of Human Rights," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 24 (Fall 1991), pp. 69-108.

Hurst Hannum, *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*, part II.

Session 14 International Non-Governmental Organizations

Required Reading:

Claude and Weston, pp. 372-392.

Recommended Reading:

David Forsythe, "Human Rights and the International Committee of the Red Cross," *Human Rights Quarterly* 12 (May 1990), pp. 265-289.

Session 15 Regional Actors: Europe

A. Council of Europe

B. CSCE/Helsinki Process

C. European Community

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 244-271.

Donnelly, pp. 82-90.

Recommended Readings:

A.H. Robertson and J.G. Merrills, *Human Rights in Europe: A Study of the European Convention on Human Rights*.

Kevin Boyle, "Europe: The Council of Europe, the CSCE, and the European Community," in Hannum, *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*.

Session 16 Other Regional Actors

A. OAS

B. OAU

Required Reading:

Donnelly, pp. 90-97.

Recommended Readings:

Dinah L. Shelton, "The Inter-American Human Rights System," in Hannum, *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*.

Cees Flinterman and Evelyn Ankumah, "The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights," in Hannum, *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*.

Session 17 U.S. Foreign Policy and Human Rights

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 285-354.

Donnelly, pp. 99-132.

Recommended Reading:

Newman and Weissbrodt, *International Human Rights*, chapter XI.

Session 18 Strategies for Effecting Change in the Post-Cold War Era

Required Readings:

Claude and Weston, pp. 401-409.

Donnelly, pp. 133-163.

Session 19 **Exam**

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Session 20—End of Seminar

Class Presentations (2 per day).

Final Session

7:45 a.m.-Term Papers due.

Honors Option Presentations.

V

Sustainable Development



◆ THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEVELOPMENT ◆

Thomas Biersteker

Peter Uvin

TA: Janice Goggin

Political Science 142

Brown University

Spring 1995 • 2 Sessions per Week

This course examines alternative theoretical perspectives on the most important issues involving the international political economy of North/South relations. In Part I of the course, we will consider five different theoretical approaches to the subject, beginning with the liberal-internationalist views that predominate in the U.S. and continuing with consideration of their conservative critics, as well as the views of structuralist writers, dependency theorists, classical Marxists, and poststructuralists.

In Part II of the course, we will examine the historical development of major issues, policy controversies, and strategies considered by both rich and poor states during the postwar era. We will begin with the principal international development issues of the 1950s, the terms of trade debate and the logic behind international aid efforts. Next, we will consider the promise of foreign direct investment in the 1960s and will examine the expansion and consequences of multinational corporations. We will then discuss the differentiation of the Third World through the emergence of the NICs and the success of OPEC, paralleled by the demands for a New International Economic Order. The 1980s were the decade of structural adjustment, the politics of which will be analyzed in some detail, beginning with the origins of the global debt crisis, and continuing with a discussion of the ensuing stabilization and adjustment programs, the political economy of reform, and the relationship between economic and political liberalization. Finally, in-depth attention will be paid to the issues that currently dominate the international development scene: the environment, population and family planning, hunger, grassroots organizations, etc. We will conclude with a consideration of the new international context of development, including the new organization of production.

Principal readings will be drawn primarily from the following books available at the Brown Bookstore.

REQUIRED

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *The Politics of Economic Adjustment* (Princeton University Press, 1992).

Mitchell A. Seligson and John T. Passé-Smith, *Development and Underdevelopment: The Political Economy of Inequality* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993).

Michael Todaro, *Economic Development in the Third World*, 5th ed. (Longman, 1994).

Peter Uvin, *The International Organization of Hunger* (Kegan Paul, 1994).

OPTIONAL

Stephen Krasner, *Structural Conflict* (California, 1985).

Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* (California, 1990).

These books, along with the supplemental readings listed on the syllabus with an asterisk (*), will be available from the Reserve Desk at the Rockefeller Library. A packet of the supplemental readings will also be available, if students wish to make their own individual copies for personal use.

Students taking the course for credit will be required to complete two papers of modest length, the first of 10 pages (accounting for 25% of your final grade) and the second of 15-20 pages (accounting for 45%). There will also be a take-home final exam (accounting for 30% of your final grade). In the first paper assignment, students will be asked to write a critical review of a recent book concerned with international aspects of development. Because the instructors of this course believe that an ability to express ideas clearly and succinctly is one of the most important attributes of an educated individual, this course will participate in the

peer tutoring writing program. Thus, it is imperative that all papers be completed by the assigned dates. The first draft of the first paper will be due to your peer writing tutor on Session 9. The final, revised version of the first paper will be due on Session 13.

In the second paper assignment, students will be asked to write a short research paper that puts the arguments of one of the theories or policy prescriptions to an empirical test. Students are required to use electronic sources of information for this paper; they will be trained in class in how to employ the Internet as well as Brown library's electronic search facilities. The first draft of the second paper will be due to your peer writing tutor on Session 20. The revised draft of the second paper will be due on Session 24.

The take home final exam will be handed out on the first day of the exam period, and due on the examination date that will be scheduled for the course (to be announced).

The schedule of lecture topics follows.

PART I: ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Introduction; Liberal Internationalist Views of Development and the International System
2. Liberal Internationalist Views
3. Structuralist Conceptions of Development and the International System
4. Dependency Theory and Its Classical Marxist Critics
5. Conservative Critiques of the 1980s and Neo-Mercantilism
6. Poststructural and Feminist Perspectives

PART II: INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN THE POSTWAR ERA

The 1950s

7. The Terms of Trade Controversy
8. The Politics of International Aid

The 1960s

9. The Changing Paradigms and Policies of International Aid
10. The Expansion and Economic Consequences of Multinational Corporations
11. The Social, Political, and Cultural Consequences of MNCs

The 1970s

12. Differentiation in the Third World: OPEC and the NICs
13. Economic Nationalism and the New International Economic Order
14. Using the Internet to Do IR Research

The 1980s

15. The Origins of the Global Debt Crisis
16. Balance of Payments Problems, Stabilization, and Structural Adjustment
17. The Political Economy of Economic Reform
18. Responding to the Critics: Recent Changes in Structural Adjustment

The 1990s

19. Political Conditionality and the Relationship between Political and Economic Reform
20. Sustainable Development and the Environment
21. To End Hunger and Malnutrition
22. Population and Family Planning
23. Non-Governmental Organizations in North-South Relations
24. The New International Context of Development

COURSE SYLLABUS AND CLASS OUTLINE

Session 1 Introduction to the course

PART I: ALTERNATIVE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Sessions 2-3 Liberal Internationalist Views of Development and the International System

Todaro, chapters 1-3.

Seligson and Passé-Smith, chapter 5 (Simon Kuznets), chapter 11 (McClelland), chapter 12 (Inkeles and Smith), chapter 14 (Harrisson).

*Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane, *Power and Interdependence*, chapter 1.

Session 4 Structuralist Conceptions of Development and the International System

*Dudley Seers, "The Meaning of Development," in Uphoff and Ilchman, eds., *The Political Economy of Development*, pp. 123-129.

Haggard and Kaufman, chapter 1 (Barbara Stallings).

Session 5 Dependency Frameworks and Their Marxist Critics

Seligson and Passé-Smith, chapter 16 (Dos Santos), chapter 17 (Valenzuela and Valenzuela).

*David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, chapters 8-9.

Session 6 Conservative Critiques of the 1980s and Neo-Mercantilism

Krasner, chapters 1-2.

Seligson and Passé-Smith, chapter 24 (Bates), chapter 25 (Weede), chapter 26 (Lipton).

Session 7 Poststructural and Feminist Perspectives

*Arturo Escobar, "Discourse and Power in Development: Michel Foucault and the Relevance of His Work to the Third World," *Alternatives X* (Winter 1984-85).

*Ann Tickner, "On the Fringes of the World Economy: A Feminist Perspective," in Craig Murphy and Roger Tooze, eds., *The New International Political Economy*.

Cynthia Enloe, chapter 1.

PART II: INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT ISSUES IN THE POSTWAR ERA

Session 8 The Terms of Trade Controversy

Todaro, chapter 12.

*S. Smith and J. Toye, "Three Stories about Trade and Poor Economies," *Journal of Development Studies* 15, no. 3 (1979), pp. 1-18.

Sessions 9-10 The Politics of International Aid

Todaro, chapter 15, pp. 537-549.

*Roger Riddell, *Foreign Aid Reconsidered*, chapter 9.

Uvin, chapter 5.

Sessions 11-12 The Expansion and Economic Consequences of Multinational Corporations

Todaro, chapter 15, pp. 526-537.

Enloe, chapters 2, 6.

Seligson and Passé-Smith, chapter 20 (Bornschiefer and Chase-Dunn).

*Armand Mattelart, *Transnationals and the Third World*, chapter 3.

Session 13 International Differentiation: OPEC and the NICs

*Krasner, "Oil Is the Exception," *Foreign Policy*, no. 14 (Spring 1974).

Seligson and Passé-Smith, chapter 29 (Gereffi), chapter 30 (Bello & Rosenfeld).

Todaro, chapter 14.

Session 14 Economic Nationalism and the New International Economic Order

* "Declaration and Action Programme for a New International Economic Order," in Guy Erb and Valerianna Kallab, eds., *Beyond Dependency*.

Krasner, chapter 3.

*Shaw, "Debates about Africa's Future: the Brandt, World Bank and Lagos Plan Blueprints," *Third World Quarterly* (April 1983).

Session 15 Presentation: The Use of the Internet for Political Science Research

Also, T.A. sessions on Brown Library computer-based search facilities.

Session 16 Balance of Payments Problems and The Origins of the Global Debt Crisis

Todaro, chapter 13, pp. 447-481.

Haggard and Kaufman, chapter 2 (Miles Kahler).

*Sachs, *Developing Country Debt and Economic Performance*, volume I (1989), chapter 1.

Session 17 No class

Session 18 The Political Economy of Economic Reform

Haggard and Kaufman, introduction, chapter 3 (Peter Evans), chapter 6.

Uvin, chapter 7.

*Mosley, Harrigan, and Toye, *Aid and Power*, chapter 3.

Session 19 Responding to the Critics: Recent Changes in Structural Adjustment

*UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children 1989*, chapter 2.

*World Bank, *World Development Report 1990*, overview.

*World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle*, overview.

Session 20 The Relationship between Political and Economic Reform

Haggard and Kaufman, chapter 5 (Joan Nelson), chapter 7.

*Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*, chapter 4.

Session 21 Sustainable Development and the Environment

*The Brundtland Commission, *Our Common Future*, introduction.

*World Resources Institute, extract from *World Resources 1994-95: A Guide to the Global Environment*.

Session 22 To End Hunger and Malnutrition

Uvin, chapters 2-3.

*Escudero, *The Hungry Body Politic: Structural Adjustment in Latin America*.

Session 23 Population and Family Planning

* Barbara Crane, "International Population Institutions: Adaptation to a Changing World Order," in Haas, Keohane, and Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth* (1993).

Uvin, chapter 6.

Session 24 Non-Governmental Organizations in North-South Relations

* Paul Wapner, "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics," *World Politics* (1995, forthcoming).

* Kathryn Sikkink, "Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America," *International Organization* 47, no. 3 (Summer 1993).

Session 25 The New International Context of Development

*Fred Halliday in Stallings (forthcoming).

*Barbara Stallings in Stallings (forthcoming).

◆ THE POLITICS OF THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT ◆

Daniel Deudney

Political Science 154
University of Pennsylvania
Spring 1995 • 2 Sessions per Week

DESCRIPTION

This course explores the emerging politics of global ecological decay and restoration occurring at the local, nation-state, and international levels. First, the course overviews the “planetary problematique”—the interacting roles of population, technology, and institutions in causing diverse and complex environmental problems ranging from soil erosion to ozone depletion, and the role of environmental change in shaping the fate of historical political systems. Second, the course explores key concepts of ecological politics—rights of nature, deep ecology, intergenerational ethics, global commons, and international regimes. Third, the course examines case studies of the politics of the Amazonian rain forest, oceanic whaling, stratospheric ozone depletion, African elephants, water in the Middle East, and population control.

REQUIREMENTS

There will be three tests, each covering approximately one third of the course, and each counting for 30% of the student’s grade. Student participation in sections will determine 10% of the grade.

COURSE MATERIALS

The following books have been ordered by the University Bookstore:

Christopher Stone, *The Gnat Is Older Than Man: Global Environment and the Human Agenda* (Princeton University Press, 1993).

Clive Ponting, *A Green History of the World* (Penguin, 1991).

Lipschutz and Conca, eds., *The State and Social Power in Global Environmental Politics* (Columbia, 1993).

Roderick Nash, *The Rights of Nature* (Wisconsin, 1989).

Richard Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy* (Harvard University Press, 1991).

Raymond Bonner, *At the Hand of Man: Peril & Hope for Africa’s Wildlife* (Vintage, 1993)

The remainder of the readings are in a bulk pack available from the Campus Copy Center.

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES AND READINGS

PART I

INTRODUCTION, OVERVIEW, HISTORY

Session 1 Introduction

Stone, preface and “Diagnosis: The Earth Has Cancer and the Cancer Is Man,” chapter 1 in *The Gnat Is Older*, pp. 3-32.

Ponting, “Lessons of Easter Island,” chapter 1 in *A Green History*.

Sessions 2-3 Overview of Environmental Problems

Donald Worster, “The Vulnerable Earth: Towards a Planetary History,” in Worster, ed., *The Ends of the Earth*, pp. 3-20.

R. Kates, B.L. Turner, and W. Clark, “The Great Transformation,” in Turner et al., eds., *The Earth As Transformed by Human Action* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-17.

Ponting, *A Green History*, chapters 2-4, 12, 13, 16, pp. 8-60, 240-295, 346-392.

Julian Simon, "Resources, Population, Environment: An Oversupply of False Bad News," *Science* (June 27, 1980).

Session 4 Environmental Change in Political History

Clive Ponting, "Destruction and Survival," chapter 5 in *A Green History*, pp. 68-87.

Alfred Crosby, "Ecological Imperialism: The Overseas Migration of Western Europeans as a Biological Phenomenon," in Worster, ed., *The Ends of the Earth*, pp. 103-117.

Andrew Kamarck, *The Tropics and Economic Development* (Johns Hopkins, 1976), pp. 3-21.

PART II

THE ENVIRONMENT AND POLITICS: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Session 5 Overviews of Environmental Politics

John Dryzek and Richard Lester, "Alternative Views of the Environmental Problematic," in James P. Lester, ed., *Environmental Politics and Policy: Theories and Evidence* (Duke, 1989), pp. 314-330.

Frederick Buttel, Ann Hawkins, and Alison Power, "From Limits to Growth to Global Change," *Global Environmental Change* I, no. 1 (1990), pp. 57-66.

Wendell Berry, "Out of Your Car, Off Your Horse," *The Atlantic Monthly* (February 1991), pp. 61-63.

Session 6 Culture, Religion, and the Environment

Lynn White Jr., "The Historic Roots of Our Ecological Crisis," *Science* 155 (1967), pp. 1200-1207.

Donald Hughes, *Ecology in Ancient Civilizations* (University of New Mexico Press, 1975), pp. 1-6, 20-28, 48-55, 56-67, 87-98, 141-146.

Daniel Guthrie, "Primitive Man's Relationship to Nature," in Wes Jackson, ed., *Man and the Environment* (William C. Brown Co., 1971), pp. 17-21.

Donald Worster, "John Muir and the Roots of American Environmentalism," *The Wealth of Nature* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 184-202.

Sessions 7-8 Rights of Nature, Deep Ecology, and Intergenerational Ethics

Roderick Nash, *The Rights of Nature: A History of Environmental Ethics* (Wisconsin, 1989), selections.

Stone, "The Spiritual and Moral Dimensions of the Environmental Crisis," chapter 10 in *The Gnat Is Older*, pp. 235-280.

Tim Luke, "The Dreams of Deep Ecology," *Telos*, no. 76 (Summer 1988), pp. 65-92.

Session 9 Midterm (I)

Session 10 Citizens and Movements

Robert C. Mitchell, "From Conservation to Environmental Movement: The Development of the Modern Environmental Lobbies," in Michael Lacey, ed., *Government and Environmental Politics* (Johns Hopkins, 1989), pp. 83-107.

Vandana Shiva, "People's Ecology: The Chipko Movement," *Alternatives* 11, no. 2.

Bron Taylor, "The Religion and Politics of Earth First!," *The Ecologist* 21, no. 6 (November 1992), pp. 258-266.

William Tucker, "The Politics of Aristocracy," chapter 1 in *Progress and Privilege* (Indiana, 1982), pp. 3-41.

Session 11 Knowledge and the Politics of Expertise

Alvin Weinberg, "Science and Trans-science," *Minerva* 10, no. 2 (April 1972), pp. 209-222.

Peter M. Haas, "Obtaining International Environmental Protection through Epistemic Consensus," *Millennium* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1990), pp. 347-363.

Stephen Schneider, "Mediarology," chapter 7 in *Global Warming* (Vintage, 1989), pp. 190-237.

Session 12 Scarcity, Growth, and Technology

William Ophuls, "The Politics of Scarcity," chapter 4 in *Ecology and the Politics of Scarcity* (Freeman, 1977), pp. 142-166.

Duane Elgin, *Voluntary Simplicity* (1982), pp. 1-19.

Martin Lewis, "Technophobia and Its Discontents," chapter 4 in *Green Delusions* (Duke, 1992), pp. 117-149.

Session 13 Property, Markets, Trade, and Environment

Stone, "The Economists Prescriptions," chapter 4 in *The Gnat Is Older*, pp. 122-152.

Jagdish Bhagwati, "The Case for Free Trade," *Scientific American* (November 1993), pp. 42-49.

Herman Daly, "The Perils of Free Trade," *Scientific American* (November 1993), pp. 50-57.

Gary Varner, "Environmental Law and the Eclipse of Land as Private Property," in Ferre and Hartels, eds., *Ethics and Environmental Politics* (University of Georgia, 1994), pp. 142-160.

Session 14 State, Nation, and Environment

Jesse Ribot, "Market-State Relations and Environmental Policy: Limits of State Capacity in Senegal," in Lipschutz and Conca, eds., *The State and Social Power*, pp. 24-44.

Nancy Peluso, "Coercing Conservation: The Politics of State Resource Control," in Lipschutz and Conca, eds., *The State and Social Power*, pp. 46-67.

Daniel Deudney, "Global Environmental Rescue and the Emergence of World Domestic Politics," in Lipschutz and Conca, eds., *The State and Social Power*, pp. 281-301.

Session 15 National Security and Environmental Change

Jessica Tuchman Mathews, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs* 67 (1989), pp. 162-177.

T. Homer-Dixon, "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict," *International Security* 16, no. 2 (1991), pp. 76-116.

Daniel Deudney, "The Case Against Linking Environmental Degradation and National Security," *Millennium* 19, no. 3 (Winter 1990), pp. 461-476.

Session 16 Governing the Commons

Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," in Hardin and Baden, eds., *Managing the Commons* (Freeman, 1977), pp. 16-31.

Marvin Soroos, "The International Commons: A Historical Perspective," *Environmental Review* 12, no. 1 (Spring 1988), pp. 1-22.

Stone, "Transboundary Pollution," chapter 3 and "Managing the Global Commons," chapter 4 in *The Gnat Is Older*, pp. 50-95.

Session 17 International Norms, Regimes, and Law

Karen Litfin, "Eco-regimes: Playing Tug of War with the Nation-State," Lipschutz and Conca, eds., *The State and Social Power*, pp. 94-111.

Stone, "Treaties as Antidotes," chapter 5 and "Paying the Bills," chapter 9 in *The Gnat Is Older*, pp. 96-120, 201-234.

Session 18 Midterm (II)

PART III

CASE STUDIES IN ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Sessions 19-20 The Amazonian Rainforest

Norman Myers, "The Anatomy of Environmental Action: The Case of Tropical Deforestation," in Hurrell and Kingsbury, eds., *The International Politics of the Environment*, pp. 430-454.

Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn, "The Furies Unleashed," chapter 7, "Defenders of the Amazon," chapter 8, and appendices, *The Fate of the Forest Developers, Destroyers, and Defenders of the Amazon* (HarperCollins, 1990), pp. 142-214, 241-265.

Andrew Hurrell, "Brazil and the Politics of Amazonian Deforestation," in Hurrell and Kingsbury, eds., *The International Politics of the Environment*, pp. 398-430.

Sessions 21-22 African Elephants

Raymond Bonner, *At the Hand of Man: Peril and Hope for Africa's Wildlife* (Vintage, 1993).

Sessions 23-24 Stratospheric Ozone Depletion

Richard Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy* (Harvard, 1991).

Sessions 25-26 Water in the Middle East

John Cooley, "The War Over Water," *Foreign Policy*, no. 54 (Spring 1984), pp. 3-26.

Peter Gleick, "Water and Conflict," *Occasional Paper Series of the Project on Environmental Change and Acute Conflict* (September 1992), pp. 4-27.

Miriam Lowi, "West Bank Water Resources and the Resolution of Conflict in the Middle East," *Occasional Paper Series of the Project on Environmental Change and Acute Conflict* (September 1992), pp. 29-60.

Sessions 27-28 Population Control

Vaclav Smil, "China's Environmental Morass," *Current History*, pp. 277-280.

Robey, Rutstein, and Morris, "The Fertility Decline in Developing Countries," *Scientific American* (December 1993), pp. 60-67.

Pranay Gupte, *The Crowded Earth: People and Politics of Population* (Norton, 1984), selections.

Barbara Crane, "International Population Institutions: Adaptation to a Changing World Order," in Haas, Keohane, and Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth* (The MIT Press, 1993), pp. 351-393.

◆ INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS ◆

Peter M. Haas

Political Science 794A
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Fall 1993 • 1 Session per Week

This course is designed to introduce graduate students to a variety of theoretical approaches to understanding general issues of international cooperation, as well as developing analytic and research skills in the area of international environmental issues. Most importantly, it is an effort to apply theoretical strands of thought to analyzing specific issues and policy problems, and to help train students to formulate interesting researchable topics.

Grading is based on class participation (this is a seminar); one or two (depending on class size) brief (2-3 page) summaries of recommended readings (the number of required summaries depends upon the number of enrolled students—these summaries must be circulated to all members of the class by the Monday before the reading will be discussed); and a 25-30 page research paper due at the end of the semester. Students will be required to submit a preliminary research prospectus; a bibliography and research budget; and to give a class presentation based on their research. The prospecti should also be circulated to other students in class, and will be discussed collectively. Thematic questions to guide seminar discussion will be handed out at the session preceding the week's readings. Material will be handed out in class about choosing research topics and on drafting a prospectus.

Readings are available at Copy Cat Printers in Amherst. The following books are required reading, and have been ordered by the Jeffery Amherst College Store in Amherst.

Richard E. Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

Ernst B. Haas, *When Knowledge Is Power* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

Paul C. Stern, Oran R. Young, and Daniel Druckman, *Global Environmental Change* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1992).

P. Haas, R. Keohane, and M. Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1993).

World Resources Institute, *Greenhouse Warming* (Washington, DC: World Resources Institute, 1991).

Leiv Lunde, *Science or Politics in the Global Greenhouse? A Study of the Development Towards Scientific Consensus on Climate Change* (Oslo: The Fridtjof Nansen Institute, 1991).

Robert O. Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

Don Hinrichsen, *Our Common Seas: Coasts in Crisis* (London: Earthscan Publications, 1990).

Students may wish to subscribe to ECONET—the best electronic source of current international environmental information. For subscription information contact the Institute for Global Communications, ph. 415 923-0900.

SCHEDULE

I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Session 1 Introduction to the Study of International Environmental Politics

The following readings are literature surveys of the study of international environmental issues from a social science perspective.

Dennis Pirages, "The Ecological Perspective and the Social Sciences," *International Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (September 1983), pp. 243-256.

Kenneth Dahlberg, "Contextual Analysis," *International Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (September 1983), pp. 257-266.

Kenneth Boulding, "On Dennis Pirages' 'The Ecological Perspective and the Social Sciences'", *International Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (September 1983), pp. 267-269.

Session 2 Environmental History and Intellectual Histories of Changes in Attitude towards the Environment

The defining characteristics of international environmental problems include their complexity, long-term consequences, potentially global scale, and uncertainty surrounding their causes and effects. Although the first significant international responses did not occur until the 1970s, global environmental risks are the consequence of transformations in modern society which occurred in the 19th century. The following readings discuss some of the causes of environmental problems and the evolution of collective responses.

Kates, Turner, and Clark, "The Great Transformation," in Turner et al., eds., *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action*.

William C. Clark, "Sustainable Development of the Biosphere," and J.F. Richards, "World Environmental History and Economic Development," in Clark and Munn, eds., *Sustainable Development of the Biosphere*, pp. 5-73.

Hayward R. Alker and Peter M. Haas, "The Rise of Global Ecopolitics," in Nazli Choucri, ed., *Global Accord*.

James Gustave Speth, "Environmental Pollution: A Long-Term Perspective," in *Earth '88 Changing Geographic Perspectives* (National Geographic Society, 1988).

Lynton Caldwell, *International Environmental Policy*, pp. 21-93.

Recommended Readings: These historical readings, which are essentially environmentally based, can be supplemented with accounts from economic and political history. Clive Ponting, *A Green History of the World*; Sprout and Sprout, *Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth*; Herbert Simon "The Architecture of Complexity," in *The Sciences of the Artificial*; Barry Hughes, *World Futures 1985*; Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History*; David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus*; Rosenberg and Birdzell, *How the West Grew Rich*; Turner, Clark, Kates, Richards, Mathews, and Meyer, eds., *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action*, chapters on long-term population change, population, technological change, production and consumption, urbanization, and awareness of human impacts.

Session 3 Approaches to the Study of International Environmental Politics

a. methodological suggestions to take account of the aggregate forces which contribute to international environmental threats.

Stern, Young, and Druckman, eds., *Global Environmental Change*, chapters 2-6.

Jacobson and Price, "A Framework for Research on the Human Dimensions of Global Environmental Change," (to be handed out in class).

Consortium for International Earth Science Information Network, "Pathways of Understanding," (to be handed out in class).

b. alternative approaches which seek to take account of collective attitudes about the environment or stress the holistic nature of human-environment interactions which must be explained and for which policy must be designed.

Ken Conca and Ronnie Lipschutz, "A Tale of Two Forests," from Conca and Lipschutz, eds.

Al Gore, *Earth in the Balance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992), pp. 167-265.

B. Commoner, "An Assessment of Environmental Progress: The Reason for Failure," in Archibugi and Nijkamp, eds., *Economy and Ecology: Towards Sustainable Development* (Kluwer Academic Publishers), pp. 151-167.

Stephen Boyden and Stephen Dovers, "Natural-Resource Consumption and Its Environmental Impacts in the Western World," *Ambio* 21, no. 1 (February 1992), pp. 63-69.

Recommended Reading: David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Basil Blackwell, 1989).

II. RESEARCH PROGRAMS IN THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

There is no consensus in the field of political science about explanations of collective responses to environmental threats. In this section we will examine some of the major approaches to understanding the question of international cooperation.

Session 4 Power Based Explanations: Realism and Neorealism

Waltz, "Laws and Theories," "Political Structures," and "Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power," and Keohane, "Realism, Neorealism, and the Study of World Politics," in Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986).

Session 5 Interest Based Explanations: Neoliberal Institutionalism

Matt Ridley and Bobbi Low, "Can Selfishness Save the Environment?," *The Atlantic* (September 1993), pp. 76-86.

Robert Keohane, Michael McGinnis, and Elinor Ostrom, eds., *Proceedings of a Conference on Linking Local and Global Commons* (January 10, 1993), chapters 1-3 (to be handed out in class).

Keohane, "Neoliberal Institutionalism," chapter 1 and "The Demand for Regimes," chapter 5 in Keohane, *International Institutions and State Power* (1989).

Oran Young, "Political Leadership and Regime Formation," *International Organization* (Summer 1991).

Oran Young, "The Politics of International Regime Formation," *International Organization* (Summer 1989).

Kenneth A. Oye, "Explaining Cooperation Under Anarchy," in Kenneth A. Oye, ed., *Cooperation Under Anarchy*.

Axelrod and Keohane, "Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy," in Oye, ed., *Cooperation Under Anarchy*.

Haas, Keohane, and Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth*, chapters 1, 9.

Recommended Readings: Beth V. and Robert M. Yarbrough, "International Institutions and the New Economics of Organization," *International Organization* 44, no. 2 (1990), pp. 235-259; Ronald Coase, "The Problem of Social Cost," *The Journal of Law and Economics* (October 1960) reprinted in Dorfman and Dorfman, eds., *Economics of the Environment* (Norton, 1977); Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science* (1968), pp. 1243-1248, reprinted in Hardin and Baden, eds., *Managing the Commons* (W.H. Freeman, 1977); James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984), pp. 734-749; Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 1990); Oran Young, ed., *Bargaining* (1975); Thomas C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict*.

Session 6 Knowledge Based Explanations: Epistemic Communities and Learning

Ernst B. Haas, *When Knowledge Is Power*.

Peter M. Haas, "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992).

Emanuel Adler and Peter M. Haas, "Conclusion: Epistemic Communities, World Order, and the Creation of a Reflective Research Program," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992).

Peter M. Haas and Ernst B. Haas, "Learning to Learn: Some Thoughts on Improving Global Governance," mimeo.

Recommended Readings: Kratochwil and Ruggie, "International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State," *International Organization* 40, no. 4 (Autumn 1986); William Evan, ed., *Knowledge and Power in a Global Society* (1981).

Session 7 Environmental Issues as Part of Essential Transformations in the Nature of International Relations

John G. Ruggie, "Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis," in Keohane, ed., *Neorealism and Its Critics*.

John G. Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond," *International Organization* 47, no. 1 (Winter 1993), pp. 139-174.

John G. Ruggie, "International Structure and International Transformation," in Ernst-Otto Czempiel and James N. Rosenau, *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges* (Lexington Books, 1989).

John G. Ruggie, "Social Time and International Policy," in Margaret P. Karns, ed., *Persistent Patterns and Emergent Structures in a Waning Century* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), pp. 211-236.

III. CASE STUDIES OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION

Session 8 Regional Seas

Don Hinrichsen, *Our Common Seas: Coasts in Crisis* (1989).

Peter M. Haas, "Save the Seas," *Ocean Yearbook* 9 (1991).

Boleslaw Boczek, "The Concept of Regime and the Protection of the Marine Environment," *Ocean Yearbook* 6 (1986).

Peter M. Haas, "Do Regimes Matter?," *International Organization* (1989).

Peter M. Haas, "Protecting the Baltic and North Seas from Pollution," in Haas, Keohane, and Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth*.

Session 9 Acid Rain

Marc Levy, "European Acid Rain," in Haas, Keohane, and Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth*.

Vicki L. Golich and Terry Forrest Young, "Resolution of the United States-Canadian Conflict over Acid Rain Controls," *The Journal of Environment and Development* 2, no. 1 (Winter 1993).

Session 10 Stratospheric Ozone Protection

Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy*.

Peter M. Haas, "Banning Chlorofluorocarbons," *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1992).

Edward Parson, "Stratospheric Ozone and CFCs," in Haas, Keohane, and Levy, eds., *Institutions for the Earth*.

James Maxwell and Sanford Weiner, "Green Consciousness or Dollar Diplomacy?," *International Environmental Affairs* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1993).

Session 11 Greenhouse Gases and Global Climate Change

Daniel Bodansky, "The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change: A Commentary," *The Yale Journal of International Law* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1993).

World Resources Institute, *Greenhouse Warming*.

Oran Young, "Negotiating an International Climate Regime," in Choucri, ed., *Global Accord*.

Leiv Lunde, *Science or Politics in the Global Greenhouse?*

Session 12 Recent Changes and Challenges in International Environmental Politics

Comparative Efforts

Peter M. Haas, "Regime Patterns for Environmental Management," in Peter M. Haas, Helge Hveem, ed., Robert O. Keohane, and Arild Underdal, *Complex Cooperation*.

Michael E. Kowalok, "Research Lessons from Acid Rain, Ozone Depletion, and Global Warming," *Environment* (July/August 1993).

A. Underdal, S. Andrese, J.B. Skjaereth, and J. Wettestad, "The Effectiveness of International Resource Cooperation," mimeo.

Oran R. Young and Gail Osherenko, "Testing Theories of Regime Formation," in Volker Rittberger, ed., *Regime Theory and International Relations*.

Recent Changes

Peter M. Haas, "Global Environmental Governance," in Commission for Global Governance, *Issues in Global Governance*.

Haas, Levy, and Parson, "Appraising the Earth Summit," *Environment* (October 1992).

"How to Read the UNCED Process," and "The Same Old Order," in *EcoCurrents*.

Sessions 13-14 Presentations

◆ ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ◆

Richard Matthew

Political Science 229
Williams College
Spring 1994 • 2 Sessions per Week

INTRODUCTION

Concern about the condition of the world's environment has increased steadily over the past twenty years. The sources of environmental degradation are rooted in the political, economic, demographic, ideological, and technological systems developed by humankind to protect, valorize, and enrich itself. Can any or all of these systems be reoriented or transformed for the purpose of environmental rescue? What has the world done to date and how effective have its actions been? Can we save "nature" and learn to reconcile ourselves to its complex and evolutionary logic? Or should we devote our energies to adapting to an environment that has been irrevocably transformed by human interventions? This course is designed to address these questions.

The course is composed of seven parts. Part I introduces the objectives, strategies, and requirements of the course. Part II seeks to frame the problem of environmental degradation by exploring the dissonant relationship between nature and various human systems. Part III examines four of the most widely discussed solution sets, ranging from the claims of technological optimists that the problem has been overstated to those of radical ecologists advocating dramatic changes in the way we live. The remainder of the course focuses on the strategy currently being pursued at the international level to address environmental issues. In Part IV the concept of international regimes is considered in detail. Part V is comprised of several specific case studies. The difficulties of forming effective regimes may be explored through a bargaining simulation in Part VI. Otherwise, this section of the course will be devoted to assessing this strategy and its accomplishments in light of the alternatives. Finally, Part VII will provide an opportunity to reflect on the hopes for a green future.

REQUIREMENTS

1. Paper, 5 pages, value: 20%, due Session 13.
2. Paper, 5 pages, value: 20%, due Session 13.

The first two assignments must be submitted prior to spring break but you are welcome to hand them in earlier. Write on two of the following:

- i. Within the context of political studies, the problem of environmental degradation often is framed by the categories: population, economics, ideology, and technology. Do these categories provide a satisfactory description of the problem? Defend your answer.
- ii. For the purpose of policy-making, it often is useful to view environmental degradation (ED) as the outcome of population (P), consumption patterns (C) and production processes (I). Hence $ED = P \times C \times I$. On these terms, what would an ideal (that is, effective and practical) policy seek to achieve? Defend your answer.
- iii. Critically review Stone's *The Gnat Is Older Than Man: Global Environment and Human Agenda*.
- iv. Critically review Shiva's *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development*.
- v. Forming and strengthening international regimes is the dominant approach to environmental rescue in the arena of world politics. This strategy, pursued with mixed results in the security, economic, and human rights realms, takes advantage of existing institutions, well-established diplomatic practices, and a widespread faith in the utility of regulatory schemes. Some critics contend that regimes are usually too general to be effective, frequently ignored and poorly enforced, and only possible in areas where the costs of compliance are low. In consequence, the crucial and fundamental changes in human behavior needed to address this problem are being relegated to future generations. Are regimes the solution? Defend your answer.

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- vi. See me if you have a specific topic you would like to examine in a short paper.
3. Research paper, 15 pages, value: 45%, due Session 25.
See me to discuss a topic and research program.
4. Class participation, value 15%
Grades for class participation will be based on attendance and contributions to discussions.

TEXTS

- R. Benedick, *Ozone Diplomacy* (Harvard, 1991); *optional*.
- A. Cockburn and S. Hecht, *Fate of the Forest: Developers, Defenders, and Destroyers of the Amazon* (Harper and Row, 1990).
- B. McKibben, *The End of Nature* (Anchor, 1990); *optional*.
- A. Schnaiberg and K. A. Gould, *Environment and Society: The Enduring Conflict* (St. Martin's Press, 1994).
- V. Shiva, *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, and Development* (Zed Books, 1989).
- C. D. Stone, *The Gnat Is Older Than Man: Global Environment and Human Agenda* (Princeton University Press, 1993).

Reading Package.

McKibben's *The End of Nature* is one of those books that everyone interested in environmentalism should read. It is an eloquent reflection on nature and civilization in the 1990s and while it is not required in this course, I encourage every student to read it before graduation.

Shiva's study opens a door to a very unfamiliar world—a world in which the average woman works over a hundred hours a week (five times as much as her male counterpart) for a few dollars in an almost hopeless effort to survive and raise a family. Environmental degradation affects these people in very direct ways and their concerns often differ from those of people living in advanced industrial states. Shiva's writing style poses no threat to Shakespeare's reputation and her concerns are foreign to the world we live in, but she has become famous for a reason that is worth trying to understand.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS AND READINGS

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Session 1 Objectives, Strategies, and Requirements

No required readings.

PART II: FRAMING THE WORLD ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM

Session 2 Environment and Population

In reading package: Ehrlich and Holdren, "Impact of Population Growth;" Commoner, Corr, and Stamler, "The Causes of Pollution;" and Harrison, "One Part Wisdom: The Great Debate."

Session 3 Environment and Economics

Schnaiberg and Gould, pp. 1-115.

Session 4 Environment and Ideology

In reading package: Shelldrake, "The Earth Comes Back to Life" and "Life in a Living World;" McKibben, "A Path of More Resistance;" Shiva, "Development, Ecology, and Women" and "Science, Nature, and Gender."

Session 5 Environment and Technology

In reading package: Pirages, "Technology and the Structure of Global Inequality" and "The Politics of Technology Diffusion."

PART III: FRAMING WORLD POLITICAL SOLUTIONS

Session 6 Technological Optimism

In reading package: Simon, "Life on Earth Is Getting Better, Not Worse" and Grant, "The Cornucopian Fallacies: The Myth of Perpetual Growth."

Session 7 Innovative Reform

Stone, *The Gnat Is Older Than Man*.

Session 8 World Governance

In reading package: Brown and Porter, "The Global Governance Approach."

Session 9 Radical Change

Shiva, pp. 38-224.

PART IV: ANALYZING WORLD ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Session 10 Early History

In reading package: Caldwell, "An Emerging Global Environmental Movement: The Road to Stockholm" and "The Stockholm Conference and Its Legacy, 1972-1992."

Session 11 Theories of Regime Formation

In reading package: Brown and Porter, "International Regimes in Environmental Politics."

Session 12 Actors

In reading package: Brown and Porter, "Actors in the Environmental Arena."

Session 13 Linkages: Environment and Security

In reading package: Deudney, "Environment and Security: Muddled Thinking;" Gleick, "Environment and Security: The Clear Connections;" and Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Change and Violent Conflict."

Session 14 Linkages: Environment and Economics

Schnaiberg and Gould, pp. 117-243.

In reading package: "Our Common Future: A Reader's Guide."

Session 15 Linkages: Environment and Ethics

In reading package: Barry, "Intergenerational Justice in Energy Policy."

PART V: CASE STUDIES IN WORLD ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Session 16 Antarctica

In reading package: Brown and Porter, "Antarctic Minerals" and Caldwell, "Antarctica."

Session 17 Ozone Depletion

In reading package: Haas, "Protection of Stratospheric Ozone;" Shea, "Mending the Earth's Shield;" Brown and Porter, "Ozone Depletion;" Lyman, "As the Ozone Thins, the Plot Thickens;" and Bailey, "The Hole Story: The Science Behind the Scare."

Session 18 Water Wars

In reading package: Gleick, "Water and Conflict" and Lowi, "West Bank Water Resources and the Resolution of Conflict in the Middle East."

Session 19 Deforestation

Cockburn and Hecht, *Fate of the Forest*.

Session 20 Global Warming

In reading package: Brown and Porter, "Global Warming;" Benedick, "Equity and Ethics in a Global Climate Convention;" and Singer, "Warming Theories Need Warning Label."

Session 21 Rio '92

In reading package: Haas, Levy, and Parson, "Appraising the Earth Summit: How Should We Judge UNCED's Success?"; Jasper, "ECO '92: Launching Pad for International Global Governance;" Parson, Haas, and Levy, "A Summary of the Major Documents Signed at the Earth Summit and the Global Forum;" Halpern, "The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development: Process and Documentation;" "The Earth Charter;" "Rio Declaration;" and "Press Summary of Agenda 21."

PART VI: ASSESSING WORLD ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

Session 22 Simulation Preparation or General Discussion

No required readings.

Session 23 Simulation or General Discussion

No required readings.

Session 24 General Discussion

No required readings.

PART VII: CONCLUSION

Session 25 Greening the Future

In reading package: Brown, Flavin, and Postel, "Vision of a Sustainable World."

◆ APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT ◆

Timothy M. Shaw

Political Science 5340A
Center for Foreign Policy Studies • Dalhousie University
Fall 1994 • 1 Session per Week

This graduate-only class offers a critical overview of the state of “development studies” and “comparative politics” (developing/newly-, semi-, and non-industrialized/Third or Fourth World states) for students in the social and other sciences. It is designed to appeal to a range of disciplines and interests and to advance preparation of Masters theses in different departments. Given the eclectic character of the field, it is catholic in scope but rigorous in approach with a focus on political economy. The seminar course structure is designed to attract a variety of constituents and to relate to “extra-curricular” development education. This seminar serves as one of the central classes in several interrelated MAs which treat international development studies at Dalhousie and SMU.

CONTENT

This seminar is thus intended to provide an overview of approaches to and issues in the field of (under) development studies. Analyses of “development” have undergone major changes over the last decade as i) development in the Third World has proved elusive, ii) the world economy has moved from an expanding to a contracting phase in its cycle, and iii) the global polity is in transition away from post-war bipolarity and towards a novel diversity. The seminar schedule includes a review of orthodox, radical, and revisionist “theories” and responses to past disappointments, current crises, and projected problems. It also includes an examination of particular questions and conceptions: new international divisions of labour/power, human development, sustainable development, democracy, drought, debt, militarism, human security, and the future.

STRUCTURE

The course is organized around a weekly seminar at which two types of issues—topical and theoretical—will be presented and debated by different class members. Given the centrality of this weekly meeting, *all* participants are expected to attend regularly, to complete the assigned readings, and to contribute to the discussions. In addition, each participant is asked to prepare two class presentations, one topical, the other theoretical. These class presentations should be brief and succinct—no more than ten minutes each—but will require some wider reading around the subject to be sufficiently informed and critical. A variety of hand-outs, overheads, and videos should be used to enhance these oral presentations.

PARTICIPATION

In addition to oral presentations and an initial assignment, there will be a book/article review and a term paper proposal between Parts *One* and *Two*. Finally, every participant is expected to prepare a term paper on a topic relevant to the course, the subject to be agreed with the instructor during the first half of the term. As already indicated, everyone should also write and circulate a short summary of the proposed term paper—i.e., no more than one page—so that all class members are aware of and can contribute to work in progress.

The deadline for submission of term papers is *Session 12*; late papers will be marked down. The papers should be *no longer than 20 typed pages* and should be presented in a proper academic style, with bibliography, notes, subheadings, etc. It should be cast in the form of an article in an academic journal. There may be a library workshop in the first half of the term to improve familiarity with the Killam holdings.

The grade for the course will be based on the initial assignment (10%), class presentations (20%), book review (15%), term paper (40%), and attendance (15%). To be given a final grade, each class member has to receive a score in each of these areas.

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

There are regular “dev ed” activities on campus and in the city associated with the joint IDS/BA programme, the Pearson Institute & SRES at Dal, and MA in IDS & International Education Centre at SMU, as well as with CUSO, OXFAM, UNA, UNICEF, WUSC, etc. *Students in International Development Studies classes are expected to attend at least some of these events to broaden and reinforce their familiarity with development issues; especially when they are co-sponsored with the IDS-related International Development Association at Dal/SMU.*

ASSIGNED TEXTS

“The South in the New World (Dis)Order,” *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (March 1994).
Human Development Report 1994 (New York: Oxford University Press for UNDP, 1994).

SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

The Challenge to the South: Report of the South Commission (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
Nigel Harris, *The End of the Third World: NICs and the Decline of an Ideology* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1987).
Ankie M.M. Hoogvelt, *The Third World in Global Development* (London: Macmillan, 1982).
Martin Staniland, *What Is Political Economy?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
John Toyne, *Dilemmas of Development* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).
Our Common Future: World Commission on Environment and Development (Oxford: University Press, 1987).
World Development Report 1994 (Washington, DC: IBRD, 1994).
World Development Report 1991 (Washington, DC: IBRD, 1991).

SCHEDULE OF ISSUES

The following schedule of theoretical and topical issues indicates assigned readings along with a short list of supplementary material from the voluminous range of work on each topic. *The readings marked with an asterisk (*) are either from the assigned texts or are on reserve in the library. They should be read before the appropriate seminar session.*

PART ONE: APPROACHES AND RESPONSES TO UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Session 1	Theories of development: from structural adjustment to sustainable development	
Session 2	Peripheral capitalist formations: contradictions in the Third World	Population
Session 3	The capitalist world system: globalization, regionalisms, and differentiation; (<i>initial assignment</i>)	Industry
Session 4	Contemporary crisis: structural adjustment/change	Debt
Session 5	Response to underdevelopment: neo-conservatism	Self-reliance
Session 6	Response to underdevelopment: internationalism; (<i>book or article review</i>)	Aid
Session 7	Response to underdevelopment: human development	BHN
Session 8	Response to underdevelopment: civil society; (<i>term paper proposal</i>)	Class/ethnicity

PART TWO: CONCEPTIONS AND QUESTIONS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Session 9	Drought and famine: ecology and/or economy?	Food
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Session 10	Militarism, racism, and sexism in the Third World	Disarmament
Session 11	Informal sectors	Technology
Session 12	Transnational and international organisations (term paper due)	NIDP/NICs
Session 13	Alternative futures	

i) Theories of development: from structural adjustment to sustainable development

* *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1, pp. 7-30.

* *Human Development Report 1994*, pp. 1-21, 90-101.

* *Human Development Report 1993*, pp. 1-20.

* Harris, *The End of the Third World*, pp. 7-29, 118-119.

James H. Mittelman, *Out from Underdevelopment* (London: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 3-86.

Staniland, *What Is Political Economy?*, pp. 1-69, 191-203.

Our Common Future, pp. 27-66.

Hoogvelt, *Third World in Global Development*, p. 171.

Henry Bernstein, "Introduction: Development and Social Sciences" and T. dos Santos, "The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problems of Dependence in Latin America," in Henry Bernstein, ed., *Underdevelopment and Development: The Third World Today* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), pp. 12-30, 57-80.

Manfred Bienefeld, "Dependency in the Eighties," *IDS Bulletin* 12, no. 1 (December 1980), pp. 5-10.

Michael Edwards, "The Irrelevance of Development Studies," *Third World Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (January 1989), pp. 116-135.

Aidan Foster-Carter, "From Rostow to Gunder Frank: Conflicting Paradigms in the Analysis of Underdevelopment," *World Development* 4, no. 3 (March 1976), pp. 167-180.

_____, "Theory in Development: Current Trends," *Third World Review* 1, no. 1 (1984), pp. 4-9.

Kofi Buenor Hadjor, *The Penguin Dictionary of Third World Terms* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1993).

Richard Higgott, "From Modernisation Theory to Public Policy: Continuity and Change in the Political Science of Political Development," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 15, no. 4 (1980), pp. 26-58.

_____, *Political Development Theory* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp. 1-44.

P.F. Leeson and M.M. Minogue, eds., *Perspectives on Development* (Manchester: Manchester University Review, 1988).

W. Arthur Lewis, "The State of Development Theory," *American Economic Review* 74, no. 1 (March 1984), pp. 1-10.

Douglas Rimmer, "Basic Needs and the Origins of the Development Ethos," *Journal of Developing Areas* 15, no. 2 (January 1981), pp. 215-238.

Wolfgang Sachs, ed., *The Development Dictionary* (London: Zed, 1992).

Richard Sandbrook, *The Politics of Basic Needs* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982), pp. 1-32.

Tony Smith, "The Underdevelopment of Development Literature: The Case of Dependency Theory," *World Politics* 31, no. 2 (1979), pp. 247-288.

ii) Peripheral capitalist formations: contradictions in the Third World

* *Human Development Report 1994*, pp. 22-46.

* *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1, pp. 103-119.

* *Human Development Report 1993*, pp. 21-64.

World Development Report, pp. 128-147.

Toye, *Dilemmas of Development*, pp. 1-21.

Harris, *The End of the Third World*, pp. 30-92, 170-186.

Mittelman, *Out from Underdevelopment*, pp. 89-108.

Our Common Future, pp. 1-23.

Peter Gibbon et al., eds., *Authoritarianism, Democracy and Adjustment: The Politics of Economic Reform in Africa* (Uppsala: SIAS, 1992).

Stuart Corbridge, "Post-Marxism and Development Studies: Beyond the Impasse," *World Development* 18, no. 5 (May 1990), pp. 623-639.

Inga Brandell, ed., *Workers in Third World Industrialization* (London: Macmillan, 1991).

F.H. Cardoso, "The Industrial Elite in Latin America" and G. Arrighi and J.S. Saul, "Class Formation and Economic Development in Tropical Africa," in Bernstein, ed., *Underdevelopment and Development*, pp. 191-204, 284-297.

Steen Folke et al., eds., *South-South Trade and Development: Manufacturers in the New International Division of Labour* (London: Macmillan, 1993).

Ronaldo Munck, *Politics and Dependency in the Third World: The Case of Latin America* (London: Zed, 1984), pp. 70-114, 343-364.

Robert M. Rosu and Lev S. Gonick, "The Structural Location of Third World States Within the International Division of Labour," *Comparative Political Studies* 21, no. 1 (October 1990), pp. 355-380.

W. Ziemann and W. Lanzendorfer, "The State in Peripheral Societies," *Socialist Register*, 1977 (London: Merlin, 1977), pp. 143-177.

iii) The capitalist world system: globalization, regionalisms, and differentiation

* *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1, pp. 31-48.

* Harris, *The End of the Third World*, pp. 93-117.

Toye, *Dilemmas of Development*, pp. 71-139.

Mittelman, *Out from Underdevelopment*, pp. 159-186.

Our Common Future, pp. 67-91, 206-234.

Common Crisis, pp. 1-38.

Hoogvelt, *Third World in Global Development*, pp. 1-72.

Christopher Adam et al., *Adjusting Privatisation: Case Studies from Developing Countries* (London: James Currey, 1992).

Daniel Drache and Meric S. Gertler, eds., *The New Era of Global Competition: State Policy and Market Power* (Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1991).

Fen Osler Hampson and Christopher J. Maule, eds., *Canada Among Nations 1992-93: A New World Order?* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1992).

Jacques Hersh, *The USA and the Rise of East Asia since 1945* (London: Macmillan, 1993).

Bruce Andrews, "The Political Economy of World Capitalism: Theory and Practice," *International Organization* 36, no. 1 (Winter 1982), pp. 135-163.

Mark T. Berger, "The End of the 'Third World'", *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (June 1994), pp. 259-275.

M. Patricia Marchak, *The Integrated Circus: The New Right and the Restructuring of Global Markets* (Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1991).

Henrick Secher Marcussen and Jens Erik Torp, *Internationalization of Capital: Prospects for the Third World* (London: Zed, 1982), pp. 19-31, 139-162.

Ralph Miliband and Leo Panitch, eds., *Socialist Register 1994: Between Globalism and Nationalism* (London: Merlin, 1994).

Craig Murphy and Roger Tooze, eds., *The New International Political Economy* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991).

James H. Mittelman, ed., *Globalization* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).

North-South: A Programme for Survival, Brandt Commission Report (London: Pan, 1980), pp. 7-81.

Robert O. Slater et al., eds., *Global Transformation and the Third World* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993), pp. 1-27, 161-308.

Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey R. D. Underhill, eds., *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1994).

World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy* (Washington, 1993).

iv) Contemporary crisis: structural adjustment/change

* *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1, pp. 63-76.

* *World Development Report*, pp. 109-127.

* Harris, *The End of the Third World*, pp. 145-170, 187-203.

Toye, *Dilemmas of Development*, pp. 22-46.

Common Crisis, pp. 139-151.

Higgott, *Political Development Theory*, pp. 74-105.

Manuel R. Agosin and Diana Tussie, eds., *Trade and Growth: New Dilemmas in Trade Policy* (London: Macmillan, 1993).

Pradeep Agrawal et al., *Economic Restructuring in East Asia and India: Perspectives on Policy Reform* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1995).

Bonnie K. Campbell, ed., *Political Dimensions of the International Debt Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

Bonnie K. Campbell and John Loxley, eds., *Structural Adjustment in Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

James A. Caporaso, "Industrialisation in the Periphery: The Evolving Global Division of Labour," *International Studies Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (September 1981), pp. 347-384.

Steve Chan, ed., *Foreign Direct Investment in a Changing Global Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

Simon Commander, ed., *Structural Adjustment and Agriculture* (London: James Currey, 1989).

Giovanni Cornia et al., eds., *Adjustment with a Human Face: Volume I Protecting the Vulnerable and Promoting Growth and Volume II Country Case Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, 1988).

Reginald Herbold Green, ed., "The Structural Adjustment of Structural Adjustment: SSA 1980-1993," *IDS Bulletin* 25, no. 3 (July 1994), pp. 1-85.

John Holmes and Colin Leys, "The Western Hemisphere in the World Crisis," *IDS Bulletin* 16, no. 2 (April 1985), pp. 1-51.

Ishrat Husein and Rashid Faruquee, eds., *Adjustment in Africa: Lessons from Country Case Studies* (Washington, DC: IBRD, 1994).

Matthew Martin, *The Crumbling Facade of African Debt Negotiations* (London: Macmillan, 1991).

Gary McMahan, ed., *Economic Lessons for Eastern Europe from Latin America* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

Paul Mosley, Jane Harrigan, and J.F.J. Toye, *Aid and Power: The World Bank and Policy-Based Lending in the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1991).

Paul Mosley, ed., *Development Finance and Policy Reform* (London: Macmillan, 1992).

Joan Nelson et al., *Fragile Coalitions: The Politics of Economic Adjustment* (New Brunswick: Transaction for ODC, 1989).

Joan Nelson, ed., *Economic Crisis and Policy Choice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

Stephen Riley, ed., *The Politics of Global Debt* (London: Macmillan, 1993).

Ennio Rodriguez and Stephany Griffith-Jones, eds., *Cross-Conditionality, Banking Regulation, and Third World Debt* (London: Macmillan, 1992).

Tony Smith, "Changing Configurations of Power in North-South Relations since 1945," *International Organization* 31, no. 1 (Winter 1977), pp. 1-27.

Lewis W. Snider "The Political Performance of Third World Governments and the Debt Crisis," *American Political Science Review* 84, no. 4 (December 1990), pp. 1263-1280.

Georg Sorensen, ed., "Political Conditionality," special issue of the *European Journal of Development Research* 5, no. 1 (June 1993), pp. 1-134.

Howard Stein, ed., *Asian Industrialization and Africa: Comparative Studies in Policy Alternatives to Structural Adjustment* (London: Macmillan, 1994).

Frances Stewart, "Review Article—Brandt II: The Mirage of Collective Action in a Self-Serving World," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (July 1983), pp. 640-649.

Thomas E. Weisskopf, "Capitalism, Underdevelopment, and the Future of the Poor Countries," in Jagdish Bhagwati, ed., *Economics and World Order: From the 1970s to the 1990s* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), pp. 43-77.

World Bank, *Adjustment in Africa: Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead* (Washington, 1994).

v) Response to underdevelopment: neo-conservatism

* *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1, pp. 49-62.

* *World Development Report 1991*, pp. 70-87.

Toye, *Dilemmas of Development*, pp. 47-70, 140-161.

Common Crisis, pp. 101-118, 139-151.

Hoogvelt, *Third World in Global Development*, pp. 73-119.

Fouad Ajami, "The Global Logic of the Neoconservatives," *World Politics* 30, no. 3 (April 1978), pp. 450-468.

Peter Bauer and B.S. Yamey, "Against the New Economic Order," *Commentary* 63, no. 4 (April 1977), pp. 25-31.

Meghaud Desai, "Homilies on a Victorian Sage: Review Article on Peter Bauer," *Third World Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (April 1982), pp. 291-297.

Robert W. Cox, "Ideologies and the NIEO: Reflections on Some Recent Literature" *International Organization* 33, no. 2 (Spring 1979), pp. 257-302.

M.W. Doyle, "Stalemate in the North-South Debate: Strategies and the NIEO," *World Politics* 35, no. 3 (April 1983), pp. 426-464.

Robert A. Mortimer, *The Third World Coalition in International Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), *passim*.

Richard E. Feinberg, *The Intemperate Zone: The Third World Challenge to U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Norton, 1983).

Robert Gilpin, "Three Models of the Future," in C. Fred Bergsten and Lawrence B. Krause, eds., *World Politics and International Economics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1975), pp. 37-60.

North-South, pp. 141-186.

Pitou van Dijck and Ruud Buitelaar, eds., *Latin America's New Insertion in the World Economy: Comparative Analysis of Structural Change* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

vi) Response to underdevelopment: internationalism

* *Human Development Report 1994*, pp. 61-83.

* *World Development Report 1991*, pp. 88-108.

Toye, *Dilemmas of Development*, pp. 71-94.

Staniland, *What Is Political Economy?*, pp. 99-148.

Our Common Future, pp. 261-189.

Common Crisis, pp. 39-100, 152-159.

Hoogvelt, *Third World in Global Development*, pp. 120-148.

Richard M. Cooper, "A New International Economic Order for Mutual Gain," *Foreign Policy*, no. 26 (Spring 1977), pp. 65-120.

Graham Hancock, *Lords of Poverty* (London: Mandarin, 1991).

G.K. Helleiner, "The Less Developed Countries and the International Monetary System," *World Politics* 36, no. 1 (October 1983).

Cranford Pratt, "From Pearson to Brandt: Evolving Perceptions," *International Journal* 35, no. 4 (Autumn 1980), pp. 623-645.

Brad Roberts, "The Enigmatic Trilateral Commission: Boon or Bane?," *Millennium* 11, no. 3 (Autumn 1982), pp. 185-202.

Kathleen Staudt, *Managing Development* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1991).

Raimo Vayrynen, "Interdependence versus Self-Reliance in Economic Relations," *Alternatives* 3, no. 4 (May 1978), pp. 481-514.

Teresa Hayter and Catherine Watson, *Aid: Rhetoric and Reality* (London: Pluto, 1985), pp. 6-64, 237-266.

vii) Response to underdevelopment: basic human needs

* *Human Development Report 1993*, pp. 65-83.

* *World Development Report 1991*, pp. 52-69.

Mittelman, *Out from Underdevelopment*, pp. 129-155.

Blomstrom and Hettne, *Development Theory in Transition*, pp. 98-162.

Samir Amin, "Self-Reliance and the New International Order," *Monthly Review* 29, no. 3 (August 1977), pp. 1-21.

Samir Amin, *Maldevelopment* (London: Zed for UNU, 1990).

Giovanni Andrea Cornia et al., eds., *Africa's Recovery in the 1990s: From Stagnation and Adjustment to Human Development* (London: Macmillan for UNICEF, 1992).

John Kirk and Archibald Ritter, eds., *Cuba in the International System: Normalisation and Integration* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

Barry Munslow, "Is Socialism Possible on the Periphery?," *Monthly Review* 35, no. 1 (May 1983), pp. 25-39.
North-South, pp. 90-140.

Gabriel Palma, "Dependency and Development: A Critical Overview," *World Development*.

"Rethinking Socialism," special issue of the *Third World Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1992), pp. 9-173.

Carlos M. Vilas, "Is Socialism Still an Alternative for the Third World?," *Monthly Review* 42, no. 3 (July/August 1990), pp. 93-109.

Peter Utting, *Economic Reform and Third World Socialism* (London: Macmillan, 1992).

viii) Response to underdevelopment: civil society

* *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1, pp. 121-137.

* *Human Development Report*, pp. 84-99.

Mittelman, *Out from Underdevelopment*, pp. 109-128.

Our Common Future, pp. 235-258.

Toye, *Dilemmas of Development*, pp. 95-116.

Hoogvelt, *Third World in Global Development*, pp. 149-170.

Roxborough, *Theories of Underdevelopment*, pp. 121-163.

"Democracy in Africa," *African Studies Review* 17, no. 1 (July 1993), pp. 1-142.

Anne Gordon Drabek, ed., "Development Alternatives: The Challenge for NGOs," *World Development* 15 (Autumn 1987), pp. 1-261.

Michael Edwards and David Hulme, eds., *Making a Difference: NGOs and Development in a Changing World* (London: Earthscan, 1992).

Paul Ekins, *A New World Under: Grassroots Movements for Global Change* (London: Routledge, 1992).

Noeleen Heyzer et al., eds., *Government-NGO Relations in Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

John Healey and Mark Robinson, *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Policy* (London: ODI, 1992).

Goran Hyden and Michael Bratton, eds., *Governance and Politics in Africa* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

Laura MacDonald, *Supporting Civil Society: The Political Role of NGOs in Central America* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

David Moore and Gerald J. Schmitz, eds., *Debating Development Discourses: Institutional and Popular Perspectives* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

Catharine Newbury, ed., "Paradoxes of Democratization in Africa," *African Studies Review* 37, no. 1 (April 1994), pp. 1-174.

Gerald J. Schmitz and David Gillies, *The Challenge of Democratic Development* (Ottawa: N-SI, 1992).

Slater et al., eds., *Global Transformation and the Third World*, pp. 31-130.

ix) Drought and famine: ecology and/or economy?

* *Our Common Future*, pp. 95-205.

Graham Hancock, *Ethiopia: The Challenge of Hunger* (London: Gollancz, 1985).

Stein Hansen, "Macroeconomic Policies and Sustainable Development in the Third World," *Journal of International Development* 2, no. 4 (October 1990), pp. 533-557.

Harrison, *Inside the Third World*, pp. 63-186.

ICHI, *Famine: A Man-Made Disaster?* (London: Pan, 1985), pp. 9-35, 125-138.

Henry Jackson, "The African Crisis: Drought and Debt," *Foreign Affairs* 63, no. 5 (Summer 1985), pp. 1081-1094.

North-South Institute, *After the Cameras Leave: The Long-Term Crisis in Africa* (Ottawa, 1985).

Michael Redclift, *Development and the Environmental Crisis: Red or Green Alternatives?* (London: Methuen, 1984).

John Sorenson, ed., *Development and Disaster in the Horn of Africa* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

Linda Starke, *Signs of Hope: Working towards Our Common Future* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Caroline Thomas, *The Environment in International Relations* (London: RIIA, 1992).

_____, ed., *RIO: Unravelling the Consequences* (London: Frank Cass, 1994).

Lloyd Timberlake, *Africa in Crisis: The Causes, the Cures of Environmental Bankruptcy* (London: Earthscan, 1985), pp. 5-58, 199-224.

Anders Wijkman and Lloyd Timberlake, *National Disasters: Acts of God or Acts of Man?* (London: Earthscan, 1984), passim, especially pp. 122-138.

Marc Williams, "Re-articulating the Third World Coalition: The Role of the Environmental Agenda," *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1993), pp. 7-29.

Kate Weelard and James G. Copesake, eds., *NGOs and the State in Africa: Rethinking Roles in Sustainable Development* (London: Routledge, 1993).

x) Militarism, racism, and sexism in the Third World

* *Human Development Report 1994*, pp. 47-60.

* *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1, pp. 77-101.

* *Our Common Future*, pp. 290-307.

* *Common Security: A Programme for Disarmament* (London: Pan, 1982), especially pp. 1-13, 71-99.

Roxborough, *Theories of Underdevelopment*, pp. 107-130.

Jorge Rodriguez Beruff and Humberto Garcia Muniz, eds., *Security Problems and Policies in the Post-Cold War Caribbean* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland, eds., *Gender and International Relations* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991).

Michael T. Klare and Daniel C. Thomas, eds., *World Security: Trends and Challenges at Century's End* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991).

Robin Luckham, "Militarisation and the New International Anarchy," *Third World Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (April 1984), pp. 352-373.

Clyde Sanger, *Safe and Sound: Disarmament and Development in the Eighties* (Ottawa: Deneau, 1982).

Sharon Stichter and Jane Parpart, eds., *Women, Employment, and the Family in the NIDL* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

Paul Sutton and Anthony Payne, eds., "Special Issue on Size and Survival: The Politics of Security in the Caribbean and Pacific," *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 31, no. 2 (July 1993), pp. 1-200.

"Enhancing Security in South-East Asia," special issue of the *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 47, no. 2 (October 1993), pp. 107-299.

Raimo Vayrynen, "Economic and Military Position of the Regional Power Centres," *Journal of Peace Research* 16, no. 4 (1979), pp. 349-369.

xi) Informal Sectors

- * Hernando de Soto, *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), especially pp. ix-15.
- J. Ahmad, "Trade and Industrial Policies and Small Scale Industry: The Case of Indonesia, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka," *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 14, no. 1 (1993), pp. 43-54.
- Michael Bratton, "Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa," *World Politics* 41, no. 3 (April 1989), pp. 407-430.
- John Clark, *Democratising Development: The Role of Voluntary Organizations* (London: Earthscan, 1991).
- Anne Gordon Drabeck, ed., "Development Alternatives: The Challenge for NGOs," *World Development* 15 (Autumn 1987), pp. 1-261.
- Larry Diamond et al., eds., *Democracy in Developing Countries*, four volumes (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1989).
- Diane Ethier, ed., *Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, Latin America, and Southeast Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
- John Healey and Mark Robinson, *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Policy* (London: ODI, 1992).
- Deepak Lal, "The Path Not Taken (Review of de Soto)," *Orbis* 32, no. 2 (Spring 1989), pp. 261-265.
- "Migrants and Refugees," *International Journal* 48, no. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 191-354.
- "Parallel Markets in Developing Countries," special issue of *World Development* 17, no. 12 (December 1989), pp. 1861-1945.
- Barbara Stallings and Robert Kaufman, eds., *Debt and Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1989).
- Eva M. Rathgeber, "Education and Employment in the Informal Sector: A Review of Some Recent African Research," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 22, no. 2 (1988), pp. 270-286.
- Long-Term Perspective Study of Sub-Saharan Africa, Volume 2-Economic and Sectoral Policy Issues*, pp. 111-128 and *Volume 3-Institutional and Sociopolitical Issues*, pp. 81-90 (Washington, DC: World Bank, 1990).
- Fiona Wilson, *Sweaters: Gender, Class, and Workshop-Based Industry in Mexico* (London: Macmillan, 1991).

xii) Transnational and international organisations

- * *Our Common Future*, pp. 308-347.
- Staniland, *What Is Political Economy?*, pp. 70-98.
- North-South*, pp. 187-266.
- W. Andrew Axline, "Underdevelopment, Dependence, and Integration: The Politics of Regionalism in the Third World," *International Organization* (Winter 1977), pp. 83-105.
- Jagdish N. Bhagwati, "Introduction" to his collection on *The NIEO: The North-South Debate* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1977), pp. 1-24.
- Dharam Ghai, ed., *The IMF and the South* (London: Zed for UNRISD, 1991).
- Teresa Hayter and Catharine Watson, *Aid: Rhetoric and Reality*, pp. 65-236, 267-275.
- Stephen Hymer, "The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Uneven Development," in Jagdish N. Bhagwati, ed., *Economics and World Order* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), pp. 113-140.
- David Kowaleski, *Global Establishment: North/Asian Networks* (London: Macmillan, 1995).
- Sanjaya Lall, "The Rise of Multinationals from the Third World," *Third World Quarterly* 5, no. 3 (July 1983), pp. 618-626.
- S. Neil MacFarlane and Thomas G. Weiss, "The UN, Regional Organizations, and Human Security: Building Theory in Central America," *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (June 1994), pp. 277-295.
- Richard L. Sklar, "Post-Imperialism: A Class Analysis of Multinational Corporate Expansion," *Comparative Politics* 9, no. 1 (October 1976), pp. 75-92.
- Larry A. Swatuk and Timothy M. Shaw, eds., *The South at the End of the 20th Century* (London: Macmillan, 1994).
- Gerald Tan, "The Next NICs of Asia," *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1993), pp. 57-73.
- Robert S. Walters and David H. Blake, *The Politics of Global Economic Relations*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1992).

Henry Wai-Chung Yeung, "Third World Multinationals Revisited: A Research Critique and Future Agenda," *Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (June 1994), pp. 297-317.

xiii) Alternative futures: marginalisation or transformation?

**Third World Quarterly* 15, no. 1, pp. 139-146.

**World Development Report 1991*, pp. 148-157.

Nelson et al., *Fragile Coalitions*.

Manfred Bienefeld, "The Significance of the NICs for the Development Debate," *Studies in Political Economy* 25 (1988).

Robert W. Cox, "On Thinking about Future World Order," *World Politics* 28, no. 2, (January 1976), pp. 175-199.

Paul Harrison, *The Third World Tomorrow* (Harmondsworth: Pelican, 1980), pp. 306-350.

Ralph Miliband and Leo Panitch, eds., *Socialist Register 1992: New World Order?* (London: Merlin, 1992).

Dennis Pirages and Christine Sylvester, eds., *Transformations in the Global Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

Slater et al., eds., *Global Transformation and the Third World*, pp. 359-362.

Ezra F. Vogel, *The Four Little Dragons: The Spread of Industrialisation in East Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

R. Dan Walleri, "The Political Economy Literature on North-South Relations: Alternative Approaches and Empirical Evidence," *International Studies Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (December 1978), pp. 587-624.

MAJOR JOURNALS AND SOURCES ON UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Africa Recovery (New York, bimonthly)

Alternatives (New York, quarterly)

Canadian Journal of Development Studies (Ottawa, quarterly)

CEPAL Review (Santiago, biannually)

Development and Change (The Hague, quarterly)

Development Dialogue (Uppsala, biannually)

Development in Practice (Oxford, thrice-yearly)

Development Policy Review (London, biannually)

Foreign Affairs (New York, quarterly)

Foreign Policy (Washington, quarterly)

Global Governance (Boulder, quarterly)

IDS Bulletin (Sussex, quarterly)

International Organization (Cambridge, quarterly)

Journal of Democracy (Stanford, quarterly)

Journal of Developing Areas (Illinois, quarterly)

Journal of Development Studies (London, quarterly)

Journal of International Development (Manchester, quarterly)

Monthly Review (New York, monthly)

New Internationalist (London, monthly)

North South Institute-Briefing Papers (Ottawa, occasional)

ODI-Briefings (London, occasional)

Review of African Political Economy (Oxford, quarterly)

Review of International Political Economy (London, quarterly)

Socialist Register (London, annually)

Studies in Comparative International Development (New Brunswick, quarterly)

Third World Quarterly (London, quarterly)

World Development (Oxford, monthly)

World Policy Journal (New York, quarterly)

World Politics (Princeton, quarterly)

VI
Globalization
and
Multilateralism



◆ INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD ◆

Ken Conca

GVPT 3990

Department of Government and Politics • University of Maryland
1993 • 2 Sessions per Week

This course examines the Third World in world politics. Is there a "Third World?" If so, what role does it play in the contemporary international system? Why do so many issues in world politics involve conflict or disagreement between North and South? How have the political, economic, and cultural structures of the international system shaped the foreign policy goals of Third World governments? As we enter the 21st century, what are the prospects for cooperation between North and South on pressing global issues? Do problems, priorities, ethics, and responsibility appear differently when viewed from the South?

The first half of the course stresses history of the Third World: the origins, workings, and legacies of colonialism; movements for national liberation; and international efforts for nonalignment, regional integration, Third World solidarity, and global economic reform. The second half of the course examines a broad range of contemporary issues that have generated conflict between North and South, including international trade, economic development, the global environment, human rights, democracy, military intervention, and nuclear weapons.

Throughout the course, we will examine the relative role of domestic and international factors in shaping the patterns of behavior we see. We will also ask whether the idea of a "Third World" is appropriate or analytically useful, and discuss the implications of categorizing a heterogeneous group of countries and peoples in this manner.

REQUIREMENTS

Your grade is based on four equal components: (1) a *mid-term exam*, held in class and stressing comprehension of reading, lecture, and discussion materials; (2) a *final exam*, held during finals period, emphasizing the second half of the class, and stressing critical analysis of class materials; (3) a *semester paper* of roughly 12 pages, on some aspect of the international relations or foreign policy of a specific country, due by our last class; and (4) *participation* in class discussions.

BOOKS

We will use 5 texts: Michael Manley, *The Poverty of Nations: Reflections on Underdevelopment in the World Economy* (Pluto Press, 1991); The South Commission, *The Challenge to the South: The Report of the South Commission* (Oxford University Press, 1990); Caroline Thomas, *In Search of Security: The Third World in International Relations* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987); Paul Cammack, David Pool, and William Tordoff, *Third World Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); and the reading packet "International Relations of the Third World."

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES AND READING

PART I. THE CONCEPT OF A "THIRD WORLD"

Session 1 **Course overview**

no reading

Session 2 **Is there a Third World?**

read: Thomas, chapter 1; Manley, pp. 1-12; South Commission, pp. 1-13; Cammack, Pool, and Tordoff, pp. 5-8.

Session 3 **Case study: Jamaica and the IMF**

read: Thomas, chapter 7.

PART II. ORIGINS OF THE THIRD WORLD

Session 4 Colonialism: origins and comparative aspects

read: Cammack, Pool, and Tordoff, pp. 15-55.

Session 5 Colonialism: workings and implications

read: Manley, pp. 13-42.

Session 6 Decolonization

read: Manley, pp. 43-82.

Session 7 National liberation: reformist vs. revolutionary paths

read: Cammack, Pool, and Tordoff, pp. 170-208.

Session 8 The post-colonial state

read: Cammack, Pool, and Tordoff, pp. 56-93.

Session 9 State-society relations

read: Thomas, chapter 2; Cammack, Pool, and Tordoff, pp. 209-247.

PART III. THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM AS SEEN FROM THE SOUTH

Session 10 Geopolitics

read: Cammack, Pool, and Tordoff, chapter 7.

Session 11 Political economy

read: Cammack, Pool, and Tordoff, pp. 286-309; South Commission, pp. 211-222.

Session 12 Political economy (*continued*)

read: South Commission, pp. 25-73.

Session 13 The cultural dimension

read: Rieff, Nye.

Session 14 MID-TERM EXAM

Session 15 Collective action: nonalignment

read: South Commission, pp. 143-164; plus ONE of the following: Pandit, Hatta, or Nkrumah.

Session 16 Collective action: the New International Economic Order

read: Manley, chapter 5; Hansen.

PART IV. CURRENT ISSUES ON THE NORTH-SOUTH AGENDA

A. SECURITY

Session 17 National security

read: Saikal; Munro; Cammack, Pool, and Tordoff, pp. 133-135, 165-168.

Session 18 Intervention

read: Evans-Pritchard; handout.

Session 19 Nuclear weapons

read: Thomas, chapter 6; Spector; handout.

B. POLITICAL ECONOMY

Session 20 Development

read: Thomas, chapter 5; Paarlberg and Lipton.

Session 21 Industrialization

read: McCord; Bello and Rosenfeld.

Session 22 International trade

read: Thomas, chapter 4; Castaneda.

Session 23 International finance

read: Thomas, chapter 3.

C. "GLOBAL" VALUES

Session 24 Human rights

read: Kausikan; Neier; handout.

Session 25 Democracy

read: Kiwanuka; Mahbubani; Chazan.

Session 26 The global environment

read: Broad and Cavanagh; Cammack, Pool, and Tordoff, pp. 310-318; handout.

PART V. THE FUTURE

Session 27 Prospects for North-South dialogue

read: Manley chapter 6; Thomas, pp. 198-201.

Session 28 Is there a Third World?

read: South Commission, chapter 6.

READING PACKET: CONTENTS

Walden Bello and Stephanie Rosenfeld, "Dragons in Distress: The Crisis of the NICs," *World Policy Journal* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1990), pp. 431-468.

Robin Broad and John Cavanagh, "Beyond the Myths of Rio: A New American Agenda for the Environment," *World Policy Journal* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 65-72.

Jorge G. Castaneda, "Can NAFTA Change Mexico?," *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 4 (September/October 1993), pp. 66-80.

Naomi Chazan, "Africa's Democratic Challenge," *World Policy Journal* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 279-307.

Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, "A Good Word for Imperialism," *The National Interest*, no. 17 (Fall 1989), pp. 63-69.

Roger D. Hansen, "North-South Policy—What's the Problem?," *Foreign Affairs* 58, no. 5 (Summer 1980), pp. 1104-1128.

Mohammad Hatta, "Indonesia between the Power Blocs," *Foreign Affairs* 36, no. 3 (April 1958), pp. 480-490.

Bilahari Kausikan, "Asia's Different Standard," *Foreign Policy*, no. 92 (Fall 1993), pp. 24-41.

Richard N. Kiwanuka, "The Meaning of 'People' in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights," *American Journal of International Law* 82, no. 1 (1988), pp. 80-101.

Kishore Mahbubani, "The West and the Rest," *The National Interest*, no. 28 (Summer 1992), pp. 3-12.

William McCord, "Explaining the East Asian 'Miracle'," *The National Interest*, no. 16 (Summer 1989), pp. 74-82.

Ross H. Munro, "The Loser: India in the Nineties," *The National Interest*, no. 32 (Summer 1993), pp. 62-69.

Aryeh Neier, "Asia's Unacceptable Standard," *Foreign Policy*, no. 92 (Fall 1993), pp. 42-51.

Kwame Nkrumah, "African Prospect," *Foreign Affairs* 37, no. 1 (October 1958), pp. 45-53.

Joseph S. Nye Jr., "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (Fall 1990), pp. 153-171.

Robert Paarlberg and Michael Lipton, "Changing Missions at the World Bank," *World Policy Journal* 8, no. 3 (Summer 1991), pp. 475-498.

Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, "India's Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* 34, no. 3 (April 1956), pp. 432-440.

David Rieff, "A Global Culture?," *World Policy Journal* 10, no. 4 (Winter 1993-94), pp. 73-81.

Amin Saikal, "The United States and Persian Gulf Security," *World Policy Journal* 9, no. 3 (Summer 1992), pp. 515-531.

Leonard Spector, "Repentant Nuclear Proliferators," *Foreign Policy*, no. 88 (Fall 1992), pp. 21-37.

◆ MULTILATERALISM ◆

Robert W. Cox

PS 100/PS 4000S.03/PS 5000S.03

York University

Winter 1994 • 1 Session per Week

PURPOSE AND CONTENT

Multilateralism concerns the institutions and practices of global and regional cooperation. Hitherto, the study of multilateralism has focussed almost exclusively upon formal inter-state organizations like the United Nations and the agencies of the world economy (World Bank, IMF, etc.) and upon inter-state “regimes.” In a period of fundamental global structural change, the study of multilateralism has to adopt a broader scope to enquire into the nature of the real forces (including but not limited to states) that influence what kinds of multilateralism are likely to develop. At the same time, it is important to consider how existing forms of multilateralism can influence global structural changes. Thus, the course will be concerned with the interrelationship between change in the basic structures of world power and the kinds of multilateral practices that may both respond to and help to shape these structural changes. Participants will be encouraged to enquire into specific topics.

STRUCTURE

Seminar discussions based on assigned readings and projects are to be developed by participants.

REQUIREMENTS

Regular attendance and participation in discussions. Formulation of a project for study which will be discussed in the seminar and ultimately take the form of an essay to be completed by the end of term.

Participation in discussions 30%

Progress evaluation
(definition of project for study) 10%

Essay 60%

All term work (including essay) must be handed in by the end of the term.

GENERAL READINGS

Harold K. Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence*, 2nd ed.

E.-O. Czempiel and James Rosenau, eds., *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges*.

Rosenau and Czempiel, eds., *Governance Without Government*.

Joseph A. Camilleri and Jim Falk, *The End of Sovereignty? The Politics of a Shrinking and Fragmenting World*.

OUTLINE OF TOPICS

Session 1 Introduction: multilateralism and world order

Organization and approach of the course.

Session 2 History, institutions, and political analysis

Readings:

Jacobson, *Networks of Interdependence*, 2nd ed.

Cox and Jacobson, “Decision Making,” *International Social Science Journal* 29, no. 1 (1977) (Beta).

Cox and Jacobson, *The Anatomy of Influence*, especially chapters 1, 11.

Additional Readings:

Johan Kaufmann, *Conference Diplomacy*, 2nd ed.

Michael Schechter, "Leadership in International Organizations: Systemic, Organizational and Personality Factors," *Review of International Studies* 13 (1987) (Beta).

Cranford Pratt, *Middle Power Internationalism: The North-South Dimension*.

Session 3 Approaches to multilateralism: knowledge and power

The evolution of theorizing about multilateralism in relation to changing configurations of world power.

First discussion of project topics.

Readings:

Cox, "Multilateralism and World Order," *Review of International Studies* 18 (1992) (Beta).

F. Kratochwil and J. Ruggie, "International Organization: A State of the Art on an Art of the State," *International Organization* 40 (Autumn 1986) (Beta).

Robert O. Keohane, "Multilateralism: An Agenda for Research," *International Journal* (Autumn 1990) (Beta).

Additional Readings:

Harold K. Jacobson, "The United Nations System in the Nineties: Opportunities and Challenges," *International Organization* (Autumn 1990).

John G. Ruggie, "Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution," *International Organization* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1992).

United Nations University, *Programme on Multilateralism and the United Nations System, 1990-1995 and Second Interim Report*.

Session 4 Global structures and structural change

Second discussion of project topics.

Readings:

John G. Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," *International Organization* (Spring 1982) (Beta).

Susan Strange, "Toward a Theory of Transnational Empire," in Czempiel and Rosenau, eds., *Global Changes and Theoretical Challenges* (Beta).

James L. Richardson, "The End of Geopolitics?," in Richard Leaver and James L. Richardson, eds., *The Post-Cold War Order: Diagnoses and Prognoses* (Beta).

Cox, "Global Perestroika," *Socialist Register* 1992 (Beta).

Additional Readings:

Robert O. Keohane, *After Hegemony*.

Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead*.

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

Jeffrey Harrod and Nico Schrijver, eds., *The UN Under Attack*.

Donald Puchala and Roger Coate, *The Challenge of Relevance: The United Nations in a Changing World Environment*.

Session 5 Political economy and multilateralism

Readings:

Cox, "Ideologies and the New International Economic Order," *International Organization* 33, no. 2 (1979).

Thomas J. Biersteker, "The 'Triumph' of Neoclassical Economics in the Developing World: Policy Convergence and Bases of Governance in the International Economic Order," in Rosenau and Czempiel, eds., *Governance Without Government* (Beta).

Fantu Cheru, *The Silent Revolution*.

Session 6 Ecology and multilateralism

Readings:

Jeremy Rifkin, *Biosphere Politics*, part V, pp. 251-326 (Beta).

Joseph A. Camilleri and Jim Falk, "Ecological Crisis," chapter 7 in *The End of Sovereignty?*

Oran Young, "Global Environmental Change and International Governance," *Millennium* (Winter 1990).

Peter M. Haas, "Obtaining International Environmental Protection through Epistemic Consensus," *Millennium* (Winter 1990).

Ian Rowlands, "The International Politics of Environment and Development: The Post-UNCED Agenda," *Millennium* (Summer 1992).

Background Reading:

Peter M. Haas, *International Environmental Issues: An ACUNS Teaching Text* (Providence: ACUNS, 1991).

Session 7 Military-political multilateralism: sovereignty, peace, human rights and humanitarian relief

Readings:

Maurice Bertrand, "The Role of the United Nations in the Context of Changing Global Structure," (Beta).

Cox, "Production and Security," (Beta).

Additional Readings:

Johan Kaufmann, Dick Leurdijk, and Nico Schrijver, *The World in Turmoil: Testing the UN's Capacity*.

Albert Légault, "United Nations Peacekeeping and Peacemaking," in *The State of the United Nations: 1992* (Providence: ACUNS, 1992).

Session 8 READING WEEK

Session 9 Perspectives of civilisations

Readings:

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993) (Beta).

Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, introduction (Beta).

Cox, "Towards a Post-Hegemonic Conceptualization of World Order: Reflections on the Relevancy of Ibn Khaldun," in Rosenau and Czempiel, eds., *Governance Without Government*.

Adda B. Bozeman, *The Future of Law in a Multicultural World*, extracts, (Beta).

Session 10 Social forces and multilateralism

Readings:

Camilleri and Falk, "The New Social Movements," chapter 8 in *The End of Sovereignty?*

Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Peoples and States: A Challenge to Multilateralism," (Beta).

Bice Maiguaschca, "The Role of Ideas in a Changing World Order: The Case of the International Indigenous Movement, 1975-91," xerox reserve.

James C. Scott, "Everyday Forms of Resistance."

Session 11 Gender and multilateralism

Readings:

V. Spike Peterson, "Seeing World Order beyond the Gendered Order of Global Hierarchies," (Beta).

Sandra Whitworth, "Gender in the Inter-Paradigm Debate," *Millennium* (Summer 1989).

Kathleen Newland, "From Transnational Relationships to International Relations: Women in Development and the International Decade for Women," in Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland, *Gender and International Relations*.

Anne Marie Goetz, "Feminism and the Claim to Know: Contradictions in Feminist Approaches to Women in Development," in idem.

Session 12 Macroregional multilateralism

Readings:

Bjorn Hettne, "The Double Movement: Global Market versus Regionalism," (Beta).

A.S. Cohan, "Eurotexts and Eurothought: Changing Approaches to the Study of the European Community," *Review of International Studies* 17 (1991), review of literature.

S. Gill, "The Emerging World Order and European Change: The Political Economy of European Union," IPSA paper (Buenos Aires, July 1991), xerox reserve.

Cox, "Structural Issues of Global Governance: Implications for Europe," in Stephen Gill, ed., *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*.

Bruce Cumings, "The Origins and Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy: Industrial Sectors, Product Cycles, and Political Consequences," in Frederic C. Deyo, *The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism*.

Mitchell Bernard, *Northeast Asia: The Political Economy of a Postwar Regional System*.

Session 13 No class

Session 14 Conclusions: emerging world order and future multilateralism—general conclusions

Reading:

Cox, "Globalization, Multilateralism, and Democracy," (Beta).

◆ INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION ◆

Craig N. Murphy

Political Science 327
Wellesley College
Spring 1994 • 2 Sessions per Week

New UN peacekeeping missions are trying to get out of Bosnia. Europeans are spending their time worrying about racist nationalism right when everyone thought they would be celebrating their new “Union.” Boutros Boutros-Ghali is still goading the superpowers, outraging the nonaligned, and terrorizing the UN staff. All in all, it is another great semester to be studying international organization.

This course is about formal international institutions—international conferences, what scholars today call “international regimes,” and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) like the European Union (EU) and the UN. We will consider how they are formed, what they do, how they do it, and what consequences they have had. We will concentrate on the contemporary system of global IGOs, but will also consider its predecessors as well as regional organizations such as the EU and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

The course assumes that we are now living through what can be called a *world order crisis*, a crisis both of the world political economy and of international institutions. We will spend a great deal of time thinking about proposed reforms of global-level international institutions and their likely impact on the world political economy.

REQUIREMENTS

I will expect you to:

1. Attend class and participate regularly.
2. Read assigned readings before class.
3. Choose one book or monograph on international organization written before 1946 and write a critical analysis of it, to be turned in, in class, on Session 6.

Your grade on this assignment will contribute about one-quarter of your final grade.

4. Write a theoretically-informed proposal for reforming international institutions within one issue area either at a global or a regional level. The paper will show how reforms consistent with your position could be made either in the UN system or in some existing regional IGO framework. A complete first draft of your paper is to be turned in, in class, on Session 19. The final draft will be due in class on Session 24.

Your grade on this assignment will contribute about one-half of your final grade.

5. Present an oral report on your proposal as part of a group presentation on one of the last six days of class.

Your grade on this assignment will contribute about one-quarter of your final grade.

AVAILABILITY OF READINGS

The bookstore has ordered the following books for the course:

Emmanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace* (1795).

Alain Lipietz, *Towards a New Economic Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Craig N. Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). [optional]

Thomas G. Weiss, David P. Forsythe, and Roger A. Coate, *The United Nations and Changing World Politics* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994).

I will also place an order for a newly published book:

Daniele Archibugi and David Held, eds., *Cosmopolitan Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

In addition the Ford Foundation has provided copies of:

Erskine Childers with Brian Urquhart, "Renewing the United Nations System," a special issue of *Development Dialogue* (1994).

Finally, there will also be a course packet that will be available from the political science departmental office. Readings from the packet are marked with an asterisk (*) on the course outline.

SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

Unfortunately, I will have to be out of town for two sessions. In lieu of those classes, I will run a three-hour workshop on preparing and giving oral presentations one evening during the semester.

INTRODUCTION

Session 1 The Architecture of International Organization

Session 2 UN Reform

Childers, preface, chapters I-III.

Weiss et al., preface, introduction.

LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS BEFORE THE UN ERA

Session 3

Kant.

*Adam Smith, "That the Division of Labor Is Limited by the Extent of the Market," in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776).

Murphy, introduction, chapter 1. [optional]

Session 4

*John Wright, "Introduction," in *Christianity and Commerce* (London: Dolman, 1851).

*W. T. Stead, *The United States of Europe* (New York: Doubleday and McClure, 1899), chapters II-IV.

Murphy, introduction, chapters 2-3. [optional]

Session 5

*Sumner Welles, "Blueprint for the Peace," in *The World of the Four Freedoms* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943).

Childers, chapters VI-VII.

Weiss et al., chapter 5.

Lecture by Alumnae Achievement Award Winner, Felice D. Gaer, Director of the Jacob Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of Human Rights.

Session 6

Book reports.

Murphy, chapters 4-5. [optional]

THE CURRENT REFORM AGENDA

Session 7 Encouraging Trade and New Industries

*Ferdinand Protzman, "To Track Unity in Europe, Watch Its Fast Trains," *The New York Times*, October 25, 1992.

*Paul Krugman, "The Move to Free Trade Zones."

* "GATT Deal Special Section," *The Guardian*, December 16, 1993.

Session 8 Managing Conflicts with Labor and with Older Sectors

Lipietz, chapters 3-9.

Session 9 Managing Conflicts with the Less Industrialized World

Weiss et al., part three.

Session 10

Childers, chapters IV-V.

Lipietz, chapter 10.

Session 11 Collective Strengthening of the State and the State System

Weiss et al., part one.

Session 12

*Sadako Ogata, "Refugees and World Peace," Paper presented at the ICRA/ACUNS Symposium on Strengthening the United Nations (Tokyo, 7-9 January 1993).

* "System for Refugees Close to Breaking Down Says UNHCR Report," *International Documents Review* 15 (November 1993), pp. 2-3.

Session 13 Human Rights and "the Democratic Imperative"

Weiss et al., chapters 6-7.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, "Democracy: A New Imperative," *Global Governance* 1, no. 1 (1995).

Session 14 The Environment

* "Growth versus the Environment," *Business Week* (11 May 1992).

* Marc A. Levy, Peter M. Haas, and Robert O. Keohane, "Institutions for the Earth," *Environment* 34, no. 4 (1992), pp. 12-36.

Session 15 Problems of Decision-Making, Finance, and Management

Childers, chapters VIII-X.

THE DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Session 16

Childers, chapter XI.

Richard Falk, "The World Order between Inter-State Law and the Law of Humanity: The Role of Civil Society Institutions," Norberto Bobbio, "Democracy and the International System," and Luigi Bonanate, "Peace or Democracy," in Archibugi and Held, *Cosmopolitan Democracy*.

Session 17

David Held, "Democracy and the New International Order," and Archibugi, "From the United Nations to Cosmopolitan Democracy," in Archibugi and Held.

Session 18

Mary Kaldor, "European Institutions, Nation-States, and Nationalism," in Archibugi and Held.

Lipietz, chapter 11, conclusion, postscript.

NEW REFORM SCENARIOS

Session 19 Encouraging Trade and New Industries

Session 20 Managing Conflicts with Labor and with Older Sectors

Session 21 Managing Conflicts with the Less Industrialized World

Session 22 Strengthening the State and the State System

Session 23 Protecting Human Rights and Fulfilling Basic Needs

Session 24 Maintaining the Environment

SOME KEY ORGANIZATION FOCI OF GOVERNANCE AT THE GLOBAL AND REGIONAL LEVELS

FOCI	GLOBAL LEVEL	REGIONAL LEVEL
FOSTERING INDUSTRY Transportation and communication infrastructure	ICAO, IMO, ITU, Intelsat	Regional rail, air, and telecommunications unions
Industrial standards, intellectual property, and rules of trade	ISO, WIPO, WTO	EU, ECOWAS, SADCC, CIS, Association of Central Asian States, ASEAN, APEC, NAFTA, CARICOM
MANAGING POTENTIAL SOCIAL CONFLICTS Labor	ILO	Labor rules of EU and NAFTA
Agriculture and other older sectors	FAO	EU CAP, exceptions to GATT
LDCs and Countries in Transition Insurance against financial collapse	IMF	
"Greenlining" and human development	World Bank, UNDP, all UN specialized agencies	EBRD, regional development banks, regional policy within the EU
STRENGTHENING STATES AND THE STATE SYSTEM		
Police and public administration	Interpol	Interpol
Public finance	IMF, BIS	EMS
Conflict management		
Collective security	UN Security Council	NATO
Peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and peacebuilding	UN Security Council	NATO, WEU, CSCE, CIS, OAU, Arab League, Islamic Conference, ASEAN, OAS
Arms control	IAEA	Regional arms pacts
Refugees	Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees	ICEM
STRENGTHENING STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS		
Human rights and democratization	UNHRC	Regional human rights pacts, especially in Europe, the Americas, and Africa
Basic needs: Health, education, relief, and welfare	WHO, UNESCO, WFP, UNICEF	Regional organizations of the WHO
ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES	UNEP	Regional environmental pacts

◆ THE DYNAMICS OF GLOBALIZATION ◆

James N. Rosenau

IAFF/PSC 772
The George Washington University
Fall 1994 • 1 Session per Week

ORGANIZATION OF THE SEMINAR

(1) Since our central concerns involve a subject that has not been systematically investigated to any great extent, the instructor thinks of the course as a research seminar, a restless probing of diverse material for formulations, concepts, and findings that will allow us to break new ground through our discussions and papers. Conceivably, some or all of us may want to view the seminar as providing the basis for a collection of essays that could be published in book form.

(2) It follows that the seminar will be conducted informally, with open discussion and a free flow of ideas, criticisms, and suggestions maximized and straight lectures minimized.

(3) To engineer a genuine breakthrough, we will have to engage in several activities, with each session of the seminar involving two or more of these activities and the periods between the sessions involving work on the completion of corresponding assignments:

(a) The first of these activities will consist of a common core of assigned readings to be discussed at each meeting and to be read in advance of the meeting;

(b) The second of these activities, comprising 15% of the final grade, will consist of written evaluations of outstanding books, journal articles, and/or preprints in which a response is offered to the "Questions to Be Addressed" listed below; the assignment of these evaluations will be made from the materials also enumerated below, and the evaluations of them shall be distributed in advance to the other members of the seminar by their authors;

(c) During the first nine or so sessions of the seminar, the third activity will consist of weekly papers (of no more than two or three pages) which pursue and wrestle with one or more questions, insights, or contradictions that provoked your curiosity in the assigned reading for that week. The papers will serve to focus the seminar discussion each week and thus must be completed for the sessions at which they are due. These papers will not be separately graded, but will be appended to the major paper discussed below and be included in the grade for the paper. If all the papers are not appended, or if they are perfunctory and do not reflect a thoughtful probing of their subject matters, or if they simply describe and restate what is in the reading, the grade for the major paper will be no better than a "C." Weekly papers which probe the questions, insights, or contradictions beyond the presentation in the assignment, and which do so in a creative and disciplined way, will insure that the grade for the major paper will be no less than "B."

(d) The fourth activity, comprising 75% of the final grade, will involve writing a careful, creative, and analytic paper—one that could be published either as an article in a major journal or as a chapter in a collective effort of the seminar—in which you explore one of the dimensions of globalization listed in the last section of this syllabus. The paper should seek to be definitive in terms of theory, concepts, and data—that is, it should analyze the ways in which globalizing and/or localizing processes are operative in the dimension chosen for study, with due attention being given to ambiguities, gaps, or contradictions in the relevant literature as well as to the sources and consequences of the phenomena examined and their likely evolution in the future. It is presumed that your essay will draw on more than the literature listed here and, hopefully, it will thus be an imaginative effort that goes beyond the cited works and achieves a synthesis of the ideas they contain along with your own thinking about the theoretical, methodological, and/or substantive issues that may be involved. By way of developing a meaningful conclusion to the paper, you may wish to include precise if-then hypotheses in which you anticipate how various circumstances in the future will give rise to variations in the phenomena analyzed. If your paper picks up on some of the ideas in your appended weekly assignments, these connections should be noted in the footnotes of the paper.

Equally important, in researching and writing the paper you ought to think of Washington as a vast laboratory which may well house persons who can shed direct, empirical light on the topic of your inquiry. That is, consider arranging an interview or a series of interviews to pursue aspects of the paper that puzzle you. Since I may have to reschedule some of the meetings of the seminar, possibly we could treat the interviews as the equivalent of one session (assuming that all the seminar members have at least one interview). I am also hopeful that I can have some people I've recently met, who work on the cutting edge of the globalizing process, to come to the seminar and talk about their work.

A one-page statement of plans for the paper will be due by Session 4 and, subsequently, it may prove worthwhile to have progress reports by each student in separate meetings with the instructor. We may also want to have progress reports in class so that all concerned can hear what others are up to. The final draft will be due by the final Session (late papers will not be accepted). The dimensions of globalization to be selected as the focus of the paper include the following (others are possible through mutual agreement):

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (1) advertising | (23) currency trading |
| (2) science | (24) technology |
| (3) feminism | (25) communications |
| (4) the environment | (26) movies |
| (5) stock markets | (27) elections |
| (6) crime | (28) philosophies: modernization |
| (7) sports | (29) philosophies: postmodernism |
| (8) the arts | (30) CNN |
| (9) nongovernmental organizations | (31) international organizations |
| (10) the social sciences | (32) constraints on states |
| (11) tourism | (33) free enterprise |
| (12) the legal profession | (34) religion |
| (13) ideologies | (35) business |
| (14) medicine | (36) internet |
| (15) language | (37) family practices |
| (16) ethnicity | (38) conditions of work |
| (17) human rights | (39) health practices |
| (18) norms | (40) challenges to authority |
| (19) states | (41) from 1800 to 1945 |
| (20) communities | (42) corporate practices |
| (21) drugs | (43) political subunits |
| (22) music | (44) population growth and policies |

(4) The core materials to be used for the first level above will be drawn mainly from the following, which members of the seminar are expected to acquire or otherwise gain access to:

J.A. Camilleri and J. Falk, *The End of Sovereignty? The Politics of a Shrinking and Fragmenting World* (Elgar, 1992, paper).

K. Ohmae, *The Borderless World* (HarperCollins, 1990).

M. Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture* (Sage, 1990, paper).

S. Sassen, *The Global City* (Princeton, 1991, paper).

W.B. Wriston, *The Twilight of Sovereignty* (Scribners, 1992).

QUESTIONS TO BE ADDRESSED

(in both the written evaluations and the weekly readings noted in paragraphs 3a, 3b, and 3c above)

- (1) Does the author have an explicit definition or conceptualization of "globalization" (or equivalent terms such as "the world," "globality," or "humanity")? If so, what is it and how fully is it developed?
 - (a) Does the author draw an explicit distinction between globalization as an empirical process in which the world becomes increasingly compressed and as a mental-emotional state in which there is an intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole? Does he or she discuss both types of globalization or is his or her analysis cast in terms of only one of them? Or is this distinction ambiguous, making it necessary to infer which type is under consideration?

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- (2) Does the author have an explicit definition or conceptualization of “localization” (or equivalent terms such as “indigenization,” “deglobalization,” and “individualization”)? If so what is it and how fully is it developed?
 - (3) Does the author identify methodological problems posed by globalizing and localizing dynamics?
 - (4) Does the author posit explicit links between globalizing and localizing dynamics? If so, is there an attempt made to label the links (with such terms as “glocalization” or “framegration”)?
 - (5) Does the author conceive of globalizing dynamics to be irreversible long-run tendencies? Or are they seen as punctuated and capable of coming to a halt? Or is their duration not considered?
 - (6) What does the author regard as the main stimuli to and sources of globalization?
 - (7) What impediments to globalization does the author identify?
 - (8) Does the author imply or state that the processes of globalization are subject to control by any or all actors? Or are the processes seen to be spin-offs of nonmanipulable structural factors?
 - (9) Does the author allow for variation within the processes of globalization that he or she specifies?
 - (10) Does the author make any judgments, implicitly or explicitly, about the desirability or undesirability of either globalization or localization? If so, what are they and how fully developed are they?

SOURCES FOR COMMON READINGS AND REPORTS

Session 1 **Definitional and Conceptual Formulations**

- M. Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture*, pp. 1-30, 143-69, 359-71.
- R.W. Cox, “Perspectives on Multilateralism in a Changing World Order,” xerox on reserve.
- J.W. Meyer, “The Changing Cultural Content of the Nation-State,” xerox on reserve.
- R.D. Lipschutz, “Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society,” *Millennium* 21 (Winter 1992), pp. 389-420, xerox on reserve.
- R.D. Lipschutz, “Heteronomia: The Emergence of Civil Society,” xerox on reserve.
- H. Cleveland, *Birth of a New World* (Jossey-Bass, 1993).
- K.E. Boulding, *The World as a Total System* (Sage Publications, 1985).
- A. King and B. Schneider, *The First Global Revolution* (Pantheon Books, 1991).
- J.G. Ruggie, “Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations,” *International Organization* 47 (Winter 1993), xerox on reserve.
- J.A. Camilleri and J. Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?*, chapter 3.
- J.N. Rosenau, *Governance in a Turbulent World*, chapter 5, xerox on reserve.
- M.C. Bateson, “Toward an Ambiguous World Order,” in R.A. Falk, R.C. Johansen, and S.S. Kim, eds., *The Constitutional Foundations of World Peace* (SUNY Press, 1993), pp. 245-52.
- M. Hewson, “The Media of Political Globalization,” xerox on reserve.
- Y. Ferguson and R. Mansbach, “Beyond Inside/Outside: Political Space in a World of Polities,” xerox on reserve.
- G. Meyer-Kress and C. Barczys, “The Global Brain as a Modeling Paradigm for Crisis Management,” xerox on reserve.
- L.M. Salamon, “The Rise of the Nonprofit Sector,” *Foreign Affairs* 73 (July / August 1994), pp. 109-22, xerox on reserve.
- B. Miller, “Social Science and the Challenge of Global Environmental Change,” xerox on reserve.

Session 2 **Globalization and Localization**

- M. Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture*, pp. 237-51, 311-58.
- M. Zurn, “Globalization and Individualization as Challenge for World Politics,” xerox on reserve.
- M. Zurn, “Explaining Political Responses to Uneven Denationalization,” xerox on reserve.
- M. Zurn, “What Has Changed in Europe? The Challenge of Globalization and Individualization,” xerox on reserve.

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- C. Lasch, "The Revolt of the Elites," *Harper's Magazine* (November 1994), pp. 39-49.
- J.G. Ruggie, "Changing Frameworks of International Collective Behavior: On the Complementarity of Contradictory Tendencies," xerox on reserve.
- C. Tilly, "Futures of European States," *Social Research* 59 (Winter 1992), pp. 705-17, xerox on reserve.
- A. Kuklinksi, ed., *Globality versus Locality* (Institute of Space Economy, University of Warsaw, 1990).
- J.A. Camilleri and J. Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?*, chapter 1.
- B.R. Barber, "Jihad vs. McWorld," *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1992).
- J.A. Scholte, "Constructions of Collective Identity in a Time of Globalization," xerox on reserve.
- B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. ed. (Verso, 1991).
- C. Brown, "International Political Theory and the Idea of World Community," chapter 4 in K. Booth and S. Smith, eds., *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge, 1995).

Session 3 Globalization in Earlier Historical Periods

- E. Burke, III, ed., *Global Crises and Social Movements: Artisans, Peasants, Populists, and the World Economy* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988).
- G. Arrighi, T.K. Hopkins, and I. Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements* (Verso, 1989).
- M. Mann, *The Sources of Social Power* (Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- K. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Rinehart & Co., 1944).
- W. McNeil, *The Human Condition: An Ecological and Historical View* (Princeton University Press, 1980).
- C. Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1975).
- Y.H. Ferguson and R.W. Mansbach, "Multiple Actors and the Evolution of International Society," xerox on reserve.

Session 4 Globalization and Cultural Processes

- Joel Kotkin, *Tribes* (Random House, 1993).
- M. Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture*, pp. 31-65, 97-119, 253-77, 295-310, 373-411.
- Jonathan Friedman, *Cultural Identity and Global Process* (Sage Publications, 1994).
- C. Lasch, "The Revolt of the Elites: Have They Cancelled Their Allegiance to America?," *Harper's Magazine* (November 1994), pp. 39-49.
- R.D. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *Atlantic Monthly* (February 1994), pp. 44-76.
- P.F. Drucker, "The Age of Social Transformation," *Atlantic Monthly* (November 1994), p. 53, xerox on reserve.
- S.P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49.
- H.R. Alker Jr., "If Not Huntington's 'Civilizations,' Then Whose?," xerox on reserve.
- J. Kurth, "The Real Clash," *National Interest* 37 (Fall 1994), pp. 3-15, xerox on reserve.
- J. Casanova, "Transnational Catholicism and Globalization," xerox on reserve.
- E.A. Nadelman, "Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society," *International Organization* 44 (Autumn 1990), pp. 479-526, xerox on reserve.
- M.C. Bateson, "Beyond Sovereignty: An Emerging Global Civilization," in R.B.J. Walker and S.H. Mendlovitz, eds., *Contending Sovereignties: Redefining Political Community* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990), pp. 145-58.

Session 5 Globalization and National Political Processes

- J.A. Camilleri and J. Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?*, chapters 2, 7, 9.
- P.G. Cerny, "Globalization and the Residual State: The Challenge to Viable Constitutionalism," xerox on reserve.
- C. S. Maier, ed., *Changing Boundaries of the Political* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).
- M. Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture*, pp. 207-36.
- Z. Mlinar, *Globalization and Territorial Identities* (Ashgate Publishing Company, 1992).

- A.M. Kacowics, "Reinventing the Wheel: The Attacks on the State and Its Resilience," xerox on reserve.
- L. Diamond, "The Globalization of Democracy," in R. Slater, B. Schutz, and S. Doerr, eds., *Global Transformation and the Third World* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993), pp. 31-69.
- D. Armstrong, "The Socialization of States," xerox on reserve.
- S.D. Krasner, "Power Politics, Institutions, and Transnational Relations," (1994), xerox on reserve.
- G. Sorensen, "Play It Again: The International-Domestic and the Domestic-International Connection," xerox on reserve.

Session 6 Globalization and International Political Processes

- M. Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture*, pp. 67-94, 193-206.
- J.G. Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters* (Columbia University Press, 1993).
- J.A. Camilleri and J. Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?*, chapter 6.
- Commission on Global Governance, *Our Global Neighbourhood* (Oxford, 1995).
- M.W. Zacher, "The Decaying Pillars of the Westphalian Temple," in J. Rosenau and E.O. Czempiel, eds., *Governance without Government* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 58-101.
- T. Risse-Kappen, "Structures of Governance and Transnational Relations: What Have We Learned?" xerox on reserve.
- L. Gordenker, R. Coate, C. Jönsson, and P. Söderholm, "International Cooperation and AIDS: A Report on Research Findings," xerox on reserve.
- M. Patterson and M. Grubb, "The International Politics of Climate Change," *International Affairs* 68, no. 2 (1992), pp. 293-310, xerox on reserve.
- P. Williams, "Transnational Criminal Organizations and International Security," *Survival* 36 (Spring 1994), pp. 96-113.
- S. Haggard, "Thinking About Regionalism: The Politics of Minilateralism in Asia and the Americas," (1994), xerox on reserve.
- B. Hettne, "The New Regionalism: Implications for Development and Peace," (1994), xerox on reserve.
- B. Hettne, "Globalization and the New Regionalism: Towards a Postwestphalian Era," xerox on reserve.
- K. Lahteenmaki and J. Kakonen, "Regionalization and Its Impact on the Theory of International Relations," (1994), xerox on reserve.
- H. Holm and G. Sorensen, "Whose World Order? Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War," (1994), xerox on reserve.
- J. Leatherman, R. Pugnucco, and J. Smith, "International Institutions and Transnational Social Movement Organization: Challenging the State in a Three-Level Game of Global Transformation," xerox on reserve.
- H. Overbeck, "Global Restructuring and the Emerging Regional Migration Regime in Europe," xerox on reserve.
- M.R. Millor, "The New Geopolitics: Fresh Expectations, Recurrent Habits," xerox on reserve.
- M. Intrilligator, "Challenges of Defining Security: Defining 'Global Security,'" *Disarmament* XIV, no. 4 (1991), pp. 59-72, xerox on reserve.
- D. Ronfeldt and C.L. Thorup, "North America in the Era of Citizen Networks: States, Society, and Security," xerox on reserve.
- P.J. Spiro, "New Global Communities: Nongovernmental Organizations in International Decision-Making Institutions," *Washington Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (1994), pp. 45-56, xerox on reserve.
- S. Toulmin, "The Role of Transnational NGOs in Global Affairs," xerox on reserve.
- W. Korey, "NGOs and the Helsinki Process," xerox on reserve.
- M. Spirtas, "Groups Are Great: Group Identity, Autonomy Seeking and European Monetary Integration," xerox on reserve.
- S. Haggard, "Thinking About Regionalism: The Politics of Multilateralism in Asia and the Americas," xerox on reserve.
- G. Sorensen, "International Relations After the Cold War: What Has Changed? Toward a Theory of Units," xerox on reserve.

D. Baldwin, "The Concept of Security," xerox on reserve.

T.B. Knudsen, "Sovereignty Under Pressure: Humanitarian Intervention in the Post-Cold War Order," xerox on reserve.

T. Forsberg, "Beyond Sovereignty, Within Territory: Dilemmas of Late-Modern (Geo)Politics," xerox on reserve.

Session 7 Globalization and Subnational Political Processes

R.D. Lipschutz, "Who Knows? The Place of Local Knowledge in Global Environmental Governance," xerox on reserve.

T.R. Gurr, "Peoples Against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System," xerox on reserve.

I.D. Duchacek, *The Territorial Dimension of Politics: Within, Among, and Across Nations* (Westview Press, 1986).

H.H. Hobbs, *City Hall Goes Abroad: The Foreign Policy of Local Politics* (Sage Publications, 1994).

P. Kepinski, "Regionalism on the Sub-Nation-State-Level: Euroregions in East Central Europe," xerox on reserve.

Session 8 Globalization and Economic Processes

K. Ohmae, *The Borderless World*.

S. Sassen, *The Global City*.

T.J. Biersteker, "The 'Triumph' of Neoclassical Economics in the Developing World," in J.N. Rosenau and E.O. Czempiel, eds., *Governance without Government* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 102-31.

P.F. Drucker, "The Post-Capitalist World," *Public Interest*, no. 109 (Fall 1992), pp. 89-100.

J. Agnew and S. Corbridge, *Mastering Space: The Geopolitics of International Political Economy*, pp. 299-411, xerox on reserve.

J.A. Camilleri and J. Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?*, chapter 4.

T.P. Rohlen, "Cosmopolitan Cities and Nation States: A Mediterranean Model for Asian Regionalism," xerox on reserve.

S. Strange, *Casino Capitalism* (Basil Blackwell, 1986).

S. Strange, *States and Markets* (Basil Blackwell, 1988).

C. Chase-Dunn, *Global Formation: Structures of the World Economy* (Basil Blackwell, 1989).

R.B. Reich, *The Work of Nations* (Knopf, 1991).

James H. Mittelman, "Global Restructuring of Production and Migration," xerox on reserve.

M. Humbert, *The Impact of Globalization on Europe's Firms and Industries* (St. Martin's Press, 1993).

R.J. Barnet and J. Cavanagh, *Global Dreams: Imperial Corporations and the New World Order* (Simon & Schuster, 1994).

R.O. Slater, B.M. Schutz, and S.R. Dorr, eds., *Global Transformation and the Third World* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993).

Neal R. Peirce, *Citistates: How Urban American Can Prosper in a Competitive World* (Washington, DC, 1993).

D.A. Andelman, "The Drug Money Maze," *Foreign Affairs* 73 (July / August 1994), pp. 94-108.

S.E. Flynn, "The Erosion of Sovereignty and the Emerging Drug Trade," xerox on reserve.

T.J. Sinclair, "Passing Judgment: Credit Rating Processes as Regulatory Mechanisms of Governance in the Emergent World Order," xerox on reserve.

T.J. Sinclair, "Economic and Financial Analysis Considered as Knowledge Dynamics of Global Governance," xerox on reserve.

M.M. Amen, "Borrowing Authority: Eclipsing Governance," xerox on reserve.

P. Williams, "International Drug Trafficking: An Industry Analysis," *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement* 2 (Winter 1993), pp. 397-420, xerox on reserve.

M.A.L. Miller, "Globalization and Interdependence: The Third World in the Evolution of Environmental Regimes," xerox on reserve.

Session 9 Globalization and Technological Dynamics

W.B. Wriston, *The Twilight of Sovereignty*.

E. Solingen, "Between Markets and the State: Scientists in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 26 (October 1993), pp. 31-51.

M. Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture*, pp. 279-93.

J.A. Camilleri and J. Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?*, chapter 5.

E.B. Skolnikoff, *The Elusive Transformation: Science, Technology, and the Evolution of International Politics* (Princeton University Press, 1993).

M. Heim, *The Metaphysics of Virtual Reality* (Oxford, 1993).

H. Rheingold, *The Virtual Community* (Addison-Wesley, 1993).

M. McLuhan and Q. Fiore, *The Medium Is the Message* (Bantam Books, 1967).

M. McLuhan and Q. Fiore, *War and Peace in the Global Village* (Bantam Books, 1968).

M. McLuhan and B.R. Powers, *The Global Village: Transformations in World Life and Media in the 21st Century* (Oxford, 1989).

G.H. Quester, *The International Politics of Television* (Lexington, 1990).

R.J. Deibert, "Communication, Order and Change in World Politics," xerox on reserve.

W. Xinhua, "Trends Toward Globalization and a Global Think Tank," *Futures* (April 1992), pp. 261-67.

Session 10 Globalization and Socio-Psychological Processes

D. Yankelovich, *Coming to Public Judgment* (Syracuse, 1991).

J.A. Camilleri and J. Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?*, chapter 8.

R. Eyerman and A. Jamison, *Social Movements: A Cognitive Approach* (Polity Press, 1991).

Y.H. Ferguson and R.W. Mansbach, "The Past as Prelude to the Future: Changing Loyalties in Global Politics," xerox on reserve.

B. Cronin and J. Lepgold, "A New Medievalism? Conflicting International Authorities and Competing Loyalties in the Twenty-First Century," xerox on reserve.

A.F. Kay and H. Henderson, "Structures for Global Governance," *Serial National Surveys of Americans on Public Policy Issues* (May 10, 1993), xerox on reserve.

M. O'Hara, "Future Mind: Is Humanity Headed for Psychic Breakdown or Consciousness Breakthrough in the Era of Globalization?," xerox on reserve.

S. Ungar, "The Rise and (Relative) Decline of Global Warming as a Social Problem," *Sociological Quarterly* 33, no. 4, pp. 483-501, xerox on reserve.

D. Hubert, "Popular Responses to Global Insecurity: Public Encounters with Low-Probability High-Consequence Risk," xerox on reserve.

