

Political Science 337  
Fall 2014

## International Organization and the United Nations

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Office hours: Tuesday, 3:00-4:00 pm, 6:40-7:40 pm

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Teaching assistant office hours: Monday and Wednesday, 12:00-1:00 p.m.

### Online Course Information

Online Access: This course is offered entirely online. All course materials except for the textbook will be accessible online for reading and viewing. All assignments will be completed and graded online.

Contacting Me: Please contact me via email: [shale@uwm.edu](mailto:shale@uwm.edu). I check email every day during the week (though often not on weekends). If you send an email, please use "Polsci 337" as your subject header. Also, you are always welcome to come in during my office hours. If you cannot make it to the university during office hours, email me a phone number and I will call you. **I urge you all to come in to office hours as often as possible, both to go over any material that is unclear to you and to discuss any material that is of particular interest to you.**

Computer Skills Needed for the Course: You will need basic word processing skills; the ability to send and receive email; and a simple understanding of how to access and browse Web sites, including our course Web site on Desire2Learn (D2L). You will have to be able to receive email via your UWM email account, but of course you can also forward your UWM email to a private account. Checking your email and our course website regularly is very important to your ability to do well in this course.

Computer Resources Needed for the Course: You will need routine access either to a computer that has a **broadband** connection, or to a campus network connection to the Web. If you don't have your own computer, you will need to use one of the campus lab computers, or perhaps a computer in a public library. Be sure not to use a wireless connection when taking exams. The computer you use must have a basic word processing package such as Microsoft Word. You will also need Adobe Acrobat Reader to view Adobe PDF files.

Keeping Up with the Course: If you do not keep up with the readings, it is easy to fall behind in online courses. Be careful to organize your time effectively so as to be able to complete the coursework.

### Grades

Grades will be based on eight short exams. The lowest exam grade will be dropped, and the final grade will be based on the remaining seven exams (14.29% of the grade each). These short exams focus on the material covered in the previous one to three lectures. Short exams must be taken online between 6:00 am in the morning and 2:00 am at night (a 20-hour time window), as follows:

- Tuesday, September 9, 6:00 am-Wednesday, September 10, 2:00 am

- Tuesday, September 23, 6:00 am-Wednesday, September 24, 2:00 am
- Tuesday, October 7, 6:00 am-Wednesday, October 8, 2:00 am
- Tuesday, October 21, 6:00 am-Wednesday, October 22, 2:00 am
- Tuesday, November 4, 6:00 am-Wednesday, November 5, 2:00 am
- Tuesday, November 18, 6:00 am-Wednesday, November 19, 2:00 am
- Tuesday, December 2, 6:00 am-Wednesday, December 3, 2:00 am
- Tuesday, December 16, 6:00 am-Wednesday, December 17, 2:00 am

No make-up exams will be given. If there is a medical emergency, documented by a written excuse from a health care provider, an exam may be dropped. In this case, the grade will be calculated based on the other seven exams taken.

You will take the exams online in a timed format. You will have a set amount of time—usually 35 minutes—to take an exam. You must complete the exam in that amount of time. Late exams may still be submitted, but will receive significantly lower grades. Once you start an exam, you must finish it—there is no starting an exam, exiting, and coming back to it at another time. Each exam may only be taken one time. All eight short exams will consist of single essay questions. To avoid losing your work while you are writing, you should write up your essay in your word-processing program, and then copy-and-paste it into the D2L exam window. Once you have pasted in your essay answer, be sure to click on the relevant D2L icons to save your work and then to submit your answer.

Grades will be assigned on a 0-4.0 scale. D2L shows the grades as a percentage score out of 100. The following list shows how these numerical scores equate to letter grades:

- A = 4 = 100%
- A- = 3.67 = 91.75%
- B+ = 3.33 = 83.25%
- B = 3 = 75%
- B- = 2.67 = 66.75%
- C+ = 2.33 = 58.25%
- C = 2 = 50%
- C- = 1.67 = 41.75%
- D+ = 1.33 = 33.25%
- D = 1 = 25%
- D- = 0.67 = 16.75%
- F = 0 = 0%

Exam grades will be posted on D2L about one week after exams are taken. Students with questions about their grades should discuss them first with the Teaching Assistant. If any issues remain unresolved, students should then contact me. Final course grades will be posted on PAWS.

Students are responsible to honestly complete and represent their work, to appropriately cite sources, and to respect others' academic endeavors. Students must use their own words in completing exams. Copying-and-pasting from other sources, including course content materials, will result in a failing grade.

### **Course Description**

We will examine the goals, policy choices, and impacts of the United Nations organizations. What are the functions or purposes of these organizations? What are their memberships and

institutional structures? How are policies chosen? What are the most common voting coalitions, and why have they formed? Why do some member countries and voting coalitions have more power than others? What relations exist between voting outcomes and real-world policies? How and why have these characteristics changed over time?

We will look at how various UN organizations work in practice. How well has the UN provided its members with collective security and conflict resolution services? We will discuss well-known examples such as Korea, Iraq, Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan, and more recently, Libya and Syria. We will also look in detail at the break-up and civil wars of Yugoslavia—a set of conflicts that famously illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of UN-led efforts to advance peace and security.

What role has the UN played in combating (or legitimizing) terrorism? How much has the UN helped to produce disarmament and arms control agreements—particularly for weapons of mass destruction? What impact has it had on human rights and environmental conservation? Finally, we will look at efforts of UN and UN-affiliated organizations to promote international trade and economic development, and to address economic adjustment crises.

Throughout, we will ask how UN organizations affect outcomes, relative to those that would likely have been reached in their absence by regional organizations, spontaneous diplomatic negotiations, and most fundamentally, governments' decentralized pursuit of their interests. This depends primarily on how UN organizations can be used by the relevant coalitions of member state governments to pursue their varying interests—again, interests that are in practice determined by the regimes or governments in power.

### **Readings**

The following required book is available in the UWM Bookstore.

Ziring, Lawrence, Robert E. Riggs and Jack C. Plano. (2005) *The United Nations: International Organization and World Politics*. Fourth Edition. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth. ISBN: 053463186X. Bookstore price: \$183.85.

Students interested in saving money should order the book online. New copies are usually available for much less, and used copies are a small fraction of the bookstore price.

Other required readings are available on D2L.

### **Course and Exam Schedule**

Before reading the lecture notes and doing the reading, please read the study and debate questions below. This will help you focus on the central topics and questions of the course, and also give you an idea of what to expect on the exams. After the exam times listed below within each of the subject areas, the material to be covered for each exam time is also listed. Students will not be expected to know material to be covered after a given exam, but they should be ready to answer questions about all material covered through the given exam.

Tuesday, September 2-Tuesday, September 9 (Weeks 1-2): Introduction. League of Nations. Origins of the UN. Legal Framework, Institutional Structure, and Finances. The UN Political Process.

Reading: Ziring, Riggs and Plano, chapters 1-3, Appendix (UN Charter); Lecture Notes 1-2.

**Short exam online:**

- **Tuesday, September 9, 6:00 am-Wednesday, September 10, 2:00 am (all reading material for September 2-9 is relevant for this exam).**

*Study questions:*

Chapters 1-2, Appendix: What are the goals, powers and voting rules of the League of Nations and the UN? What are the most obvious differences between the two? What are the similarities and differences between the Security Council and General Assembly on the one hand, and domestic legislatures such as the U.S. Congress on the other?

Are the objectives stated in the UN Charter mutually consistent? What is the relationship between the ideals of non-intervention in the affairs of sovereign states, collective security, national self-determination, and human rights? When should one of these principles be considered a greater priority than the others? Where, if at all, does democracy fit in? Try to apply these issues to some specific examples.

During the 1930s, why did the League fail to deter aggression in Manchuria, Ethiopia, and Eastern Europe? Would the UN have done any better? Has the UN been important in deterring aggression since World War II?

What are the UN's financial resources, and why?

Chapter 3: How much power do the various organs of the UN possess? How does the UN's institutional structure affect voting outcomes? In the Security Council (SC), what difference does limited membership and veto power make? What are the main voting blocs that have formed in the UN over time? Why haven't democracies formed an effective voting bloc, particularly since the end of the Cold War? How do we explain the changing pattern of voting outcomes over time, particularly with respect to U.S. influence?

If you see any obvious weaknesses in the way the UN functions, what sorts of institutional changes would make an improvement? Would the changes have undesirable consequences in other ways? What changes would be politically feasible?

*Debate questions:* In trying to organize member countries to provide collective security, to what extent is the UN Charter an improvement over the League of Nations Covenant? Again, what is the relationship between the ideals of non-intervention in the affairs of sovereign states, collective security, national self-determination, and human rights? Does the Charter provide any guidance? What are the political implications or consequences of this vagueness?

In what senses are the systems of representation in the General Assembly and Security Council just or unjust? In what sense do different types of governments represent their peoples? Should Luxembourg have the same voting power as India? Should the Security Council be enlarged to include more permanent members, such as Japan, Germany, India or Brazil? Why or why not? What positive or negative effects would this have? Are any such changes politically feasible?

Have the US and other countries been justified when, at times, they have withheld their financial dues to the UN? Should the US and other rich countries contribute more money to the UN? If so, should this occur within the regular or voluntary budgets?

Wednesday, September 10-Tuesday, November 4 (Weeks 2-10): Collective Security. Korea and Iraq. Peacekeeping Operations. The Yugoslav Wars. Terrorism. The International Criminal Court and War Crimes Tribunals.

Reading: Ziring, Riggs and Plano, chapters 5-6, 8; Russett and Sutterlin; Reno; Horowitz, chapters 8-10; Fenske; Lewis; Rubin, pp. 1-32; Tessitore and Woolfson, pp. 245-262.

Recommended reading: Bush; Obama; International Criminal Court Home Page <<http://www.icc-cpi.int/>>.

**Short exams online:**

- **Tuesday, September 23, 6:00 am-Wednesday, September 24, 2:00 am (cover materials through collective security and peacekeeping: Ziring, Riggs and Plano, chapters 5-6, 8; Russett and Sutterlin; Reno; Lecture Notes 3-4).**
- **Tuesday, October 7, 6:00 am-Wednesday, October 8, 2:00 am (cover materials through Yugoslav wars: Horowitz, chapters 8-10; Fenske; Lecture Notes 5).**
- **Tuesday, October 21, 6:00 am-Wednesday, October 22, 2:00 am (cover materials through terrorism: Lewis; Rubin, pp. 1-32; Lecture Notes 6).**
- **Tuesday, November 4, 6:00 am-Wednesday, November 5, 2:00 am (cover materials through International Criminal Court and war crimes tribunals: Tessitore and Woolfson, pp. 245-262; Lecture Notes 7).**

*Study questions:*

Chapter 5: What does the UN add to traditional tools of international relations, such as national armed forces, alliances, and diplomacy? Is UN action a substitute or a complement for such traditional methods? What is the relationship between diplomacy and SC “judgment” or resolution-making, and between national armed forces, alliances, and SC “enforcement” of its resolutions? What do the examples of Korea and Iraq-Kuwait (First Gulf War) show about when and how the UN actually acts militarily? What are the implications for the longstanding debate about “unilateralism” vs. “multilateralism”?

Why have economic sanctions been used so often since the end of the Cold War? When are economic sanctions likely to work?

Chapter 6: What explains the purposes, methods, and high frequency of UN peacekeeping operations? Based on the examples discussed in the readings, under what conditions is UN peacekeeping likely to make a significant contribution to settlement of international and domestic conflicts? Try to keep in mind the objectives and relative power of the sides involved in a given conflict. Try to think through the possibilities for the various conflicts discussed in the readings.

Chapter 8: What makes some territorial units legitimate candidates for “national self-determination”? What are the implications of the standards used to draw internationally recognized boundaries? What alternative standards might be used and what are their implications?

Reserve readings: What were the main sources of the Yugoslav conflicts? Why were international organizations—particularly the UN Security Council and the European Community—so ineffective in resolving these conflicts? How and why were the U.S.

and NATO ultimately able to intervene more successfully? Is the experience in Sierra Leone consistent with that in the former Yugoslavia?

Describe the main developments in Middle Eastern politics in recent decades. What explains the power of radical ideologies such as Pan-Arabism and, more recently, Islamism, and the weakness of moderate ideologies emphasizing democracy, human rights, and economic development? How do we understand the recent “Arab Spring” movements, which began in Tunisia? What are its effects likely to be?

*Debate questions:*

What do the examples of Korea and Iraq-Kuwait show about the limits of UN military involvement? What are the prospects for some kind of UN-operated worldwide security regime, in which UN military forces replace those of individual countries in responding to acts of aggression and offering peacekeeping services? Evaluate the likely feasibility and effectiveness of the proposals advanced by Russett and Sutterlin. What about the recent humanitarian intervention in Libya? How well does this confirm or refute the hopes of Russett and Sutterlin? What could be done in response to Russia’s attack on Ukraine?

What do the examples of Yugoslavia and Sierra Leone show about the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations? Realistically, could the UN have acted differently to resolve these conflicts more effectively?

What do the U.S.-led actions in Bosnia, Kosovo, and in the war to overthrow Saddam Hussein (Second Gulf War) show about the limits of UN-led intervention? France has intervened many times in its former West African colonies—sometimes to protect existing governments, and sometimes to midwife new governments. France has often obtained Security Council authorizations, but typically intervenes separately from any peacekeeping missions. Recent examples include the Ivory Coast, Mali, and the Central African Republic. What explains this approach to intervention? How effective are recent peacekeeping efforts in the Darfur region in Sudan? Concerning the Arab Spring, how is Syria different from Libya? How does this explain the absence of UN-authorized intervention in Syria?

What is terrorism? Under what, if any, circumstances is terrorism a legitimate means of pursuing political goals? What regimes and movements have used terrorism most intensively in recent decades, and why? Why do most regimes and movements employ other means to achieve their goals? Take an example of a regime or movement that uses terrorism and try to explain why. Take an example of a regime or movement that doesn’t use terrorism and try to explain why. Why isn’t terrorism used much more commonly than it is? What are the legitimate responses to terrorism? How has the U.S. responded to the September 11 attacks, and what future steps are likely? Why? To what extent is the UN likely to play a useful role in combating terrorism? How does this explain the extent to which the U.S. has sought to incorporate the UN in its own response?

What are the strengths and weaknesses of the International Criminal Court (ICC)? What kinds of human rights abuses is the ICC best suited to punishing or deterring? How well have ICC prototypes functioned in the cases of Yugoslavia and Rwanda? How well would the ICC function in current conflicts? What prosecutions have been or are underway at the ICC? How well is the ICC functioning regarding

Sudan or Syria? Why? Do the results so far support the ICC's proponents or its critics? Should the U.S. ratify the ICC Treaty? Why or why not?

Wednesday, November 5-Tuesday, November 18 (Weeks 10-12): Disarmament and Arms Control. Human Rights. Environmental Conservation.

Reading: Ziring, Riggs and Plano, chapters 7, 9; Marshall and Shea, xvii-xxii, 205-226; Lecture Notes 8-9.

Recommended reading: Browse the Freedom House Country Reports, especially for countries on the Human Rights Council, in Freedom House 2013 and Freedom House 2014. (Scroll to the bottom of the Freedom House 2013 and 2014 Web sites. Click on the "By Name" tab, which has country-by-country information.)

**Short exam online:**

- **Tuesday, November 18, 6:00 am-Wednesday, November 19, 2:00 am (cover materials through disarmament and arms control, human rights, and environmental conservation: Ziring, Riggs and Plano, chapters 7, 9; Marshall and Shea, xvii-xxii, 205-226; Lecture Notes 8-9).**

*Study questions:*

Chapter 7: Many countries do not engage in arms races. To what extent do arms per se contribute to conflict? In what way are arms control agreements likely to contribute to conflict resolution? Think about some of the conflicts discussed earlier in the course. Try to explain why there are conflicts and arms races, and how arms control agreements might or might not help to stop them. Why do some conflicts allow for arms control agreements, while others do not? Why are arms control agreements possible for some regions and weapons systems, but not for others?

Chapter 9: How clearly does the UN Charter protect human rights? Why has the UN been so ineffective and hypocritical in defending human rights?

*Debate questions:*

What difference did arms control agreements make during the Cold War? In what kinds of conflicts can they make a difference in the current period? What lessons can be learned from the experience with Saddam Hussein's Iraq? Can arms control agreements help to defuse the conflicts between the Arab countries and Israel, or between India and Pakistan? Can such agreements be used to defuse potential conflicts, such as those between China and India, or between China and Vietnam? Should the U.S. sign the treaty banning landmines? Should the U.S. have withdrawn from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty? Should the U.S. have signed the New Start Treaty with Russia in 2011? Should the U.S. withdraw from the New Start Treaty in response to Russia's attack on Ukraine? Russia appears to be violating an older treaty limiting intermediate-range ballistic missiles. How should the U.S. respond?

Are human rights universal, or merely "Western" cultural constructs that should not be imposed in other regions? Are some human rights more fundamental than others? If some are, how much justification does this provide for restricting those deemed less fundamental? Do East Asian or Islamic cultures uphold different human rights standards, or are such assertions merely convenient excuses for authoritarian regimes interested in keeping power or advancing specific radical ideologies? In international diplomacy and at the UN in particular, when are human rights standards capable of being more than conveniently applied political rhetoric? In 2006, the old

UN Human Rights Commission was reorganized as the Human Rights Council. The current members of the UN Human Rights Council are listed here:

<<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/Pages/MembersByGroup.aspx>>.

What are the human rights records of these governments? Browse their Freedom House Country Reports:

<<http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2013>>;

<<http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2014>>.

Has this new body performed any better than its predecessor body? Why or why not?

Can the UN function effectively to improve human rights, or is it doomed to provide politically convenient rationalizations for human rights abuses?

Does ICC prosecution of leaders who violate international human rights laws help or hurt the prospects of resolving conflicts peacefully or with minimum loss of life?

Under what conditions is international cooperation to conserve environmental resources most important? Why? What are the main obstacles to international environmental cooperation? How do these obstacles explain the relative easy international agreement on phasing out use of ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs), as compared to the relative difficulty in regulating greenhouse gas emissions?

Should the U.S. have ratified the Kyoto Protocol on greenhouse gas emissions? Why or why not? What was the result of the more recent Copenhagen meeting on greenhouse gas emissions? Why wasn't the agreement more or less far-reaching?

Wednesday, November 19-Thursdays, December 11 (Weeks 12-15): International Trade and Finance. Economic Development.

Reading: Spero and Hart, chapter 3; Ziring, Riggs and Plano, chapters 10-11; Feldstein; Fischer; Lecture Notes 10-12.

Recommended Reading: WTO Home Page <<http://www.wto.org>>; IMF Home Page <<http://www.imf.org>>; World Bank Home Page <<http://www.worldbank.org>>.

**Short exams online:**

- **Tuesday, December 2, 6:00 am-Wednesday, December 3, 2:00 am (cover materials through international trade: Spero and Hart, chapter 3; Lecture Notes 10).**
- **Tuesday, December 16, 6:00 am-Wednesday, December 17, 2:00 am (cover materials through international finance and economic development: Ziring, Riggs and Plano, chapters 10-11; Feldstein; Fischer; Lecture Notes 11-12).**

*Study questions:*

Chapters 10-11: What are the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)? What goals are not included that many would consider important? How does the chosen list of goals make sense as the product of a non-threatening political compromise at the UN?

What is the purpose of the WTO? What rules and procedures does it use to achieve its purpose? How effective is it? Answer the same questions for the IMF and World Bank. Why is the IMF more important and powerful than the World Bank? How are these independent, UN-affiliated economic institutions different from the Security Council and General Assembly? In what sense are they more or less

effective? Why? What are some possible changes to their rules, and how would this affect how they work in practice?

*Debate questions:*

Would the IMF work better if its governance was reformed to work like the General Assembly or the Security Council? Why or why not? Should the IMF return to its original methods (Feldstein), or continue with its more ambitious approach of the last two decades or so (Fischer)? Apply the arguments to specific examples, such as South Korea, Argentina, Brazil, or Russia. What are the criticisms of anti-WTO and anti-IMF protest groups? What interest groups provide core support for the protest movements? What interest groups support the WTO and IMF? Why?

### **Required and Recommended Readings Available on D2L**

Bush, George W. (2002) "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America."

Available at <http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002/>

Feldstein, Martin. (1998) "Refocusing the IMF," *Foreign Affairs* 77, 2 (March-April), 20-33.

Fenske, John. (1993) "The West and 'The Problem from Hell,'" *Current History* 92 (November), 353-356.

Fischer, Stanley. (1998) "In Defense of the IMF," *Foreign Affairs* 77, 4 (July-August), 103-6.

Freedom House. (2013) *Freedom in the World 2013*. New York: Freedom House. Available at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2013> (Click on the "By Name" tab at the bottom of the web page.)

Freedom House. (2014) *Freedom in the World 2014*. New York: Freedom House. Available at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2014> (Click on the "By Name" tab at the bottom of the web page. Note that some country reports have not yet been completed for the year 2014. See the 2013 reports for these countries.)

Horowitz, Shale. (2005) *From Ethnic Conflict to Stillborn Reform: The Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.

Lewis, Bernard. (2002) "The Revolt of Islam." *The New Yorker* (November 19).

Marshall, Paul and Nina Shea. (2011) *Silenced: How Apostasy and Blasphemy Codes Are Choking Freedom Worldwide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Obama, Barack. (2010) "National Security Strategy." Available at

[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf)

Reno, William. (2001) "The Failure of Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone." *Current History* 100 (May), 219-225.

Rubin, Barry. (2002) *The Tragedy of the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Russett, Bruce and James S. Sutterlin. (1991) "The U.N. in a New World Order," *Foreign Affairs* 70 (Spring), 69-83.

Spero, Joan E. and Jeffrey A. Hart. (2010) *The Politics of International Economic Relations*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage.

Tessitore, John and Susan Woolfson, eds. (1999) *A Global Agenda: Issues before the 54<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of the United Nations*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.

### **Useful Library Periodicals and Internet Research Resources**

*Annual Review of United Nations Affairs*

*Issues before the...Assembly of the United Nations*: substantive discussion of main issue areas.

*Report to Congress on Voting Practices in the United Nations*

*UN Chronicle*: quarterly report on areas of UN involvement and UN activities.

*UNDOC: United Nations Documents Index*

*Yearbook of the United Nations*: annual record of United Nations activities and resolutions.

Other Periodicals often discussing the UN: *American Interest*, *American Journal of International Law*, *Commentary*, *Ethics and International Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Global Governance*, *Human Rights Quarterly*, *International Peacekeeping*, *International Affairs*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *National Interest*, *Orbis*, *Survival*, *Washington Quarterly*, *World Policy Journal*.

Foreign Ministry Websites <<http://www.usip.org/publications/foreign-affairs-ministries-the-web>>

United Nations Home Page <<http://www.un.org>>

UN organizations, committees, etc. <<http://www.unsystem.org>>

WTO Home Page <<http://www.wto.org>>

IMF Home Page <<http://www.imf.org>>

World Bank Home Page <<http://www.worldbank.org>>

International Criminal Court Home Page <<http://www.icc-cpi.int/>>

Freedom House Home Page <<http://www.freedomhouse.org>>