

Dr. Akan Malici  
**Phone:** (864) 294 3576  
**Email:** akan.malici@furman.edu

## PS 258 International Organization

At the center of scholarly debates about international organization stands the so-called *anarchy problematique*. Anarchy is not equal to chaos, rather it is to be understood as the absence of an overarching instance above states which could speak right from wrong with authority and enforce its decisions upon sovereign nation-states. Such a system has several implications and consequences. States cannot appeal to a higher authority for protection. Moreover, because of the absence of a global sovereign that would ensure the legality and justice of state behavior, states can never be certain that they will be spared from another state's mal-intentions.

Because of the anarchic international system states find their behavior mandated by *self-help* imperatives. They are compelled to increase their power capabilities with the predominant motive being of defensive nature. However, other states cannot be certain of these defensive intentions and one state's increased security, therefore, decreases other states' sense of security. The rational reaction of any one state to this uncertainty is then to increase its own power capabilities, also motivated by defensive intentions. Again, however, other states cannot be certain about these defensive motivations. This is the *security dilemma*. A vicious cycle of mutual reinforcement is started and because of the prevalence of mutual suspicion, conflict or even war becomes likely.

At the heart of the *anarchy problematique* is the lack of trust among states. States cannot be sure about each other's intentions and whether these are indeed not offensive. International Organizations emerge as a potential solution to this problematique. They may provide a communicational infrastructure and fora for states to create trust and ameliorate the potentially devastating effects of the security dilemma. We will start this class by problematizing the nature of the international system and the logic it brings with it – a logic that explains (and necessitates) the formation of international organizations. Subsequently we will discuss the United Nations (UN) as the best known International Organization. Of particular concern will be the history of the UN, its structures, functions and goals, particularly as they pertain to matters of international security.

Beyond decreasing mistrust among states another function of international institutions is to serve as a mechanism for states to work towards common goals such as international peacekeeping and peacemaking. Such goals may often prove elusive because of the *sovereignty problematique*. States are sovereign, international organizations are not. International organizations possess no authority by which they could implement or enforce any organizational goals. Any organizational ambitions towards a common goal, therefore, rely on more or less *voluntary* national decisions and contributions. Because of states' sovereign status the authority of international organizations may be severely curtailed and, therefore, their viability is often questionable.

The limitations of international organizations are well seen in the failed Kyoto Protocol, the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the humanitarian disasters in Somalia, Haiti, Kosovo, and

Sudan to name a few. We will discuss in more detail the 1994 Rwanda genocide and the 2003 Iraq war. In both cases the viability and the effectiveness of the UN was much debated and contested. We will analyze why the UN was a “bystander” to genocide in 1994 and why it was a mere “spectator” in 2003. Contemporary world politics and global problems call for increased international collaboration. Is the UN a viable forum towards this goal?

### **Classroom Courtesy**

Members of the class will be expected to exhibit appropriate behavior to the instructor and each other. Most importantly, students are required to give to others the respect and consideration they would wish for themselves. At its best, a classroom operates as a marketplace of ideas, where open discussion permits students to digest and evaluate information. Students must realize that while it is permissible to question a competing point of view, it is never appropriate to allow the conversation to degenerate into personal attacks. It is also expected that students will exhibit good manners, listen when others are talking, and generally behave in a professional manner. Students who behave inappropriately may be asked to leave the classroom and will have points deducted from their final grades.

### **Academic Honesty**

Cheating on a test or other assignment will result in an automatic loss of all points for that assignment and possibly an F for the entire course. Cheating includes looking at notes/readings during closed-book tests. Cheating also includes copying any part of a classmate’s work or plagiarism of any kind. If you have any questions concerning what constitutes cheating and/or plagiarism, please consult with me.

### **Course Assignments**

Regarding any of the assignments for this course, I encourage you to remain in close contact with me before and after the due dates for the assignment. Course assignments are path-dependent. This means that the further you dig yourself into a potential mistake, the more costly it will be for you to return. We want to avoid this! Moreover, I consider it important for students to get to know faculty and for faculty to get to know students. I will give more specific information regarding any of the assignments below as we approach their respective due dates. What you find in these descriptions are guidelines.

For a satisfactory result in any of the assignments below you will have to demonstrate good writing abilities. A clear writing style is an absolute prerequisite for you to be able to communicate your substantive points and arguments effectively. It is also very important that you proofread your papers for grammar and style. Once you have finished, let it sit for a few hours and then revisit it. This way you are more likely to detect errors and correct them in time before the due date. The due dates for the assignments are noted in the course schedule below. All three essay assignments are to be typed, 1 ½ spaced, 12 point font New Times Roman with 1 inch margins and are also to contain a bibliography (the introspective essay does not need to have a bibliography).

***Assignment 1: Introspective Essay (20 points)***

This course, if it is successful, is likely to challenge many of your most deeply held beliefs about the world, how it is organized and how it works. This essay assignment asks you to state your values and beliefs at the beginning and the end of the semester, so that you can chronicle this mini “intellectual journey.” In the first introspective essay, which requires no research at all, just some serious thinking, self-deliberation and self-analysis on your part, explain your personal feelings (values and beliefs) on questions such as: How do you see the world? Does the system as it is create justice or not? Does it create order or not? Are all states equal? In not, why not? Should they be equal? In what terms do states relate to each other? What governs their relations? Power? Law? Institutions? Norms? (These questions are just examples that may perhaps inspire you). This essay should be a minimum of 3 pages.

***Assignment 2: Is International Law Really Law? (20 points)***

National governments are said to be legally sovereign over their territories. This means that no government may interfere with the internal affairs of another government. However, it also means that governments have the authority and the means to enforce rules that are defined by law. Domestic Law, in short, is meaningful because it can be enforced. International Law, on the other hand, is not really law. Those who purport to be international lawyers, and the ivory-tower professors who teach and write on this subject, have a vested interest in trying to convince their clients and students that International Law is something more than a myopic fantasy. The evidence is all around us: if International Law were *really* law, Hitler and Hussein would have stopped in their tracks! International Law, if it is “law” at all, is thus quite primitive – because it lacks the essential powers of enforcement.

In this essay you are to take issue with the arguments raised in the above paragraph. You may either agree or disagree, agree partly or disagree partly. In either case, you must proceed analytically as you reason your argument. This essay should be a minimum of 4-5 pages.

***Assignment 3: Is the United Nations an Effective and Viable International Organization? (20 points)***

Is the United Nations an important or marginal actor in international peace and security? Contemporary observers of international politics tend to answer this question in the negative as the international organization has come under a lot of criticism. Most recently, in the crisis leading up to the Iraq war it has been described as a “train-wreck” as it indeed proved unable to forge a consensus towards the unfolding crisis in Iraq. Criticism towards the UN is, of course, nothing new. There has long been an argument that the UN is an ineffective body, that it does not live up to its objectives, that it should be fundamentally reformed, or even done away with. Indeed, six decades after the founding of the UN, international violence continues to be a defining feature of world politics and the noble aspirations of the UN seem to remain goals rather than reality.

In this essay you are to discuss critically the viability of the UN. Is it to be judged as a failure or a success or something in between. Again, you must precede analytically as you reason your argument. This essay should be a minimum of 4-5 pages.

### ***Examination (20 points)***

We will have one written examination. The exam is based on our in-class readings. I will give further details as we approach the examination date.

### ***Class Attendance and Class Participation (20 points)***

It is of crucial importance that you attend class and participate actively. You cannot achieve a satisfactory score in this category if you just “sit in.” I expect the following from you:

- Preparation — your contributions demonstrate that you carefully read the assignment and engaged in it.
- Quality of Your Argument — your contributions are original, accurate and relevant to the subject matter under consideration and you reason by reference to proper evidence.  
Quality of Your Expression — your contribution is intelligible, concise, and addressed to your peers and the instructor.
- Contribution to the Process — knowledge is a cumulative achievement. Therefore, your contributions should demonstrate that you are listening to other students’ comments, take their ideas into consideration when responding, respect them, and criticize their arguments (not them!) constructively.
- Critical Thought — your contributions show critical awareness, do not reiterate conventional and/or common wisdom and avoid basic logical fallacies.
- Academic Openness — The etymology of the term “education” is latin (ex-ducere) and translates into “leading yourself *out* of yourself.” Be open for alternative and dissident arguments as this is very important for our intellectual maturation.

Unexcused absences will result in a loss of points towards your final grade (1 point per missed class). Excused absences are those that are accompanied by a written explanation, together with legitimate supporting documentation. For example, if you miss a class due to extra curricular activities, please provide a letter from the faculty member organizing the event; if for medical reasons, a letter from your doctor and so on.

### **Grading and Late Papers**

Your final grade is a composition of all the items described above. Late papers are generally not tolerated and will lead to a deduction of 2 points per day on that particular assignment. Here is the grading scheme:

93-100 = A  
90-93 = A-  
88-89 = B+  
84-87 = B  
80-83 = B-

78-79 = C+  
74-77 = C  
70-73 = C-  
68-69 = D+  
64-67 = D

60-63 = D-  
Below 60 = F

Any student with a disability or special need should speak with me at the end of class the first day so that we can make any necessary arrangements or accommodations.

## Class Schedule

### I. The Nature of the International System

- 10 January (Tuesday) First Day of Class – Introduction
- 12 January (Thursday) The University and International Organization
- 17 January (Tuesday) Thomas Hobbes (2005) *Leviathan*. Chapters 13 and 17; Sigmund Freud (2005) *Why War?* In *Conflict and Cooperation. Evolving Theories of International Relations*, edited by Marc Genest. Wadsworth and Thomson.
- 19 January (Thursday) Tim Dunne and Brian Schmidt (2005) Realism. In *The Globalization of World Politics*, edited by John Baylis and Steve Smith. Oxford University Press [**Introspective Essay Due**]
- 24 January (Tuesday) Hans Morgenthau (1990) *Politics Among Nations* (excerpts). In *Classics of International Relations*, edited by John Vasquez. Prentice Hall; John Mearsheimer (2001) *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (pp.29-32). W.W. Norton.
- 26 January (Thursday) The Difficulties of Achieving “International Organization”; Greenville Clark (1958) *World Peace Through World Law*. Harvard University Press (excerpts).

### II. International Law and the United Nations

- 31 January (Tuesday) Tim Dunne (2005) *Liberalism*. In *The Globalization of World Politics*, edited by John Baylis and Steve Smith. Oxford University Press.
- 2 February (Thursday) Harvey Starr (1995) International Law and International Order. In *Controversies in International Relations Theory*, edited by Charles Kegley. New York: St. Martin’s Press.
- 7 February (Tuesday) tba.
- 9 February (Thursday) Christian Reus-Smit (2005) International Law. In *The Globalization of World Politics*, edited by John Baylis and Steve Smith. Oxford University Press.

14 February (Tuesday) Stephen Krasner (1999) *Sovereignty*. Princeton University Press, pp. 3-4 and 9-25. William Slomanson. *Fundamental Perspectives on International Law* (pp. 40-43).

### III. Humanitarian Intervention

16 February (Thursday) Paul Taylor and Devon Curtis (2005) The United Nations. In *The Globalization of World Politics*, edited by John Baylis and Steve Smith. Oxford University Press.

21 February (Tuesday) Inis Claude (1956) *International Organization and World Order*. In *Swords into Plowshares*, edited by Inis Claude. Random House; Inis Claude (1966) Collective Legitimization as a Political Function of the United Nations. *International Organization* 20: 367-379.

23 February (Thursday) Nicholas Wheeler and Alex Bellamy (2005) Humanitarian Intervention in World Politics. In *The Globalization of World Politics*, edited by John Baylis and Steve Smith. Oxford University Press.

28 February (Tuesday) Jennifer Welsh (2004) Taking Consequences Seriously: Objections to Humanitarian Intervention. In *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*, edited by Jennifer Welsh. Oxford University Press; Alex de Waal, *Can Military Interventions be Humanitarian?* [Assignment 2 Due]

1 March (Thursday) Bikihu Parekh (1997) Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention. *International Political Science Review* 18: 49-69.

### IV. The UN and the Rwanda Tragedy

13 March (Tuesday) Alan Kuperman (2001) "Roots of the Rwandan Tragedy." In *The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention*, edited by Alan Kuperman. Brookings Institution Press; Alain Destexhe (1994/95) The Third Genocide. *Foreign Policy* 97:3-17.

15 March (Thursday) Hotel Rwanda

20 March (Tuesday) Hotel Rwanda, cont.

22 March (Thursday) Kingsley Chiedu Moghalu (2005) The 'Final Solution' to the Tutsi Problem.' In *Rwanda's Genocide: The Politics of Global Justice*. New York: Palgrave (read pp. 18-24). Samantha Power (2001)

Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen. *The Atlantic Monthly*.

### **V. The UN and the Iraq War**

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 27 March (Tuesday)          | The Road to the Iraq War (read Hans Blix chapters 1-3).  |
| 29 March (Thursday)         | Class suspended because of Furman Engaged on Friday  |
| 3 April (Tuesday)           | No Class (read Hans Blix chapters 4-6).  |
| 5 April (Thursday)          | Documentary on the Iraq War (read Hans Blix chapters 7-0).   |
| 10 April (Tuesday)          | Documentary on the Iraq War, cont. (read Hans Blix chapters 10-12).  |
| 12 April (Thursday)         | Hans Blix (2004) <i>Disarming Iraq</i> . New York: Pantheon Books  |
| 17 April (Tuesday)          | Hans Blix (2004) <i>Disarming Iraq</i> . New York: Pantheon Books  |
| 19 April (Thursday)         | Hans Blix (2004) <i>Disarming Iraq</i> . New York: Pantheon Books;<br>Thierry Tardy (2004) The United Nations and Iraq: A Role Beyond Expectations. <i>International Peacekeeping</i> 11: 591-607. |
| 24 April (Tuesday)          | Last day of class  |
| 20 April (Monday) at 8:30am | <b>Final Exam and Assignment 2 Due</b>   |