

International Regional Organizations (IO 637)
(M.Phil.) Monsoon Semester 2013

Course Instructor	Dr Archana Negi
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Total Credits	3
Class Time	Tuesday and Thursday – 10:00 a.m. – 11:30 a.m
Venue	Room No. 112, SIS Building
Instruction Method	30 class room interactions, including lectures, presentations, discussions and examinations (3 hours/week)

Course Description

It is recognized that the world is ‘...in the process of organizing’ at multiple levels. This course is designed to focus on the processes and outcomes of organizing at the regional level. The objective is to identify the nature, characteristics and potential of the regional element in a globalizing world, while focusing specifically on the study of regional organizations. Conceptually, ‘the regional’ is posed as potentially antithetical to ‘the universal/global’. Yet, the world has witnessed a seemingly ‘counter-intuitive’ resurgence of the regional dimension in international relations parallel with the acceleration in globalization, indicating a potential compatibility between the two processes.

This course aims at the dual task of (i) understanding the conceptual and theoretical aspects of processes of regionalism in general and (ii) analysing the empirics of specific existing regional organizations across the world. At the outset, the attempt is to understand the debates surrounding the concepts of ‘region’, ‘regionalization’, ‘regionalism’, ‘regional identity’, ‘regional organizations’, ‘inter-regionalism’, ‘comparative regionalism’ etc. We then explore the relationship between regionalism and concepts such as ‘globalization’, ‘hegemony’ and ‘sovereignty’. The evolution of various theoretical approaches to understanding regionalism as well as the growth of regional organizations in practice is then traced out. Emphasis is placed on analyzing the relationship between regional organizations and universal ones such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization. A familiarization with specific regional experiments across the globe – Europe, the Western Hemisphere, Asia, Africa as well as some organizations that do not strictly confine to geographically contiguous areas – is a central component of this course. What is sought to be highlighted through the empirical studies is that there exist *regionalisms* in a plurality of versions across different regions of the world. Broadly, the topics of discussion include:

I. Regionalism: Theory and Concepts

- **1. Regionalism** – *Understanding ‘Region’; Defining Regionalism; Regionalism vis-à-vis universalism; Economic Regionalism; New Regionalism; Theorizing Regionalism [Systemic, Regional and Domestic Level Theories; Regional Security Complex Theory]; Inter-regionalisms, Comparative Regionalism*

- **2. Regional Organization** – *Classification, Incidence and Growth of Regional Organizations; Regional Organizations in a Globalizing World; Regional Organizations and the United Nations; Regional Organizations and the World Trade Organization*

II. Regional Organizations across the World

- **1. Europe** – *European Union (EU); Council of Europe (CoE); Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE); North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); Nordic Council*
- **2. Western Hemisphere** – *Organization of American States (OAS); North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), Union of South American Nations (USAN), Caribbean Community (CARICOM); Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our Americas (ALBA); Central American Integration System (SICA)*
- **3. Asia** – *South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC); Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC); Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN); Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC); Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO); Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS); Arab League; Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)*
- **4. Africa** – *African Union (AU); Southern African Development Community (SADC); Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD); Arab Maghreb Union (AMU); Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)*
- **5. Other Regional Organizations** – *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC); The Commonwealth; Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC); Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC); Arctic Council, Antarctic Treaty System*

Note: Not all organizations listed above will be covered in equal detail but a familiarization with salient features and important developments relating to them will be discussed.

Evaluation

(a) Book Review (20%)

Review of one book relating to regionalism/regional organization is mandatory. The book review is to be submitted in written form as well as presented in class. In case you choose to review more than one book, your best score will be counted.

(b) Review Article (30%)

The review article will help you build on your journal readings. You are expected to identify three separate sources on a regional organization of your choice (preferably 3 journal articles, but could also include chapters in books) and write an article on the chosen theme that *includes* a review of the three chosen sources.

(c) End Semester (50%)

A written examination will be held in the last week of the semester to test your understanding of the prescribed readings as well as class discussions.

** Please follow the SIS Research Manual for all written work. Plagiarism will invite strict disciplinary action. In case of any doubts, please consult with your course instructor before making any written submissions. All written submissions are to be made via Turnitin.*

Thematic Readings

I. Regionalism: Theory and Concepts

1. Regionalism

- Inis L. Claude Jr., (1964), “The Problem of Regionalism” In *Swords Into Plowshares: The Problems and Progress of International Organization*, Michigan: Random House, pp.102-17.
- Rick Fawn (2009), “Regions’ and their Study: Wherefrom, What for and Whereto?”, *Review of International Studies*, 35, pp. 5-34.
- Louise Fawcett (2004), “Exploring Regional Domains: A Comparative History of Regionalism”, *International Affairs*, 80(3), pp. 429-46.
- Paul Taylor (1993), “Regionalism and Globalism” In *International Organization in the Modern World: The Regional and the Global Process*, London: Pinter, pp. 1-46.
- A. LeRoy Bennet (1995), “Varieties of Regionalism” In *International Organizations: Principles and Issues* (6th edn.) , New Jersey: Prentice Hall, pp.229-64.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner (1999), “The New Wave of Regionalism”, *International Organization*, 53(3), pp.589-627.
- Andrew Hurrell (1995), “Explaining the Resurgence of Regionalism in World Politics”, *Review of International Studies*, vol.21, no.4, pp.331-58.
- Raimo Vayrynen (2003), “Regionalism: Old and New”, *International Studies Review*, 5(1), pp. 25-51.
- Björn Hettne (2005), “Beyond the ‘New’ Regionalism”, *New Political Economy*, 10(4), pp. 543-71.
- James H. Mittelman (1996), “Rethinking the ‘New Regionalism’ in the Context of Globalization”, *Global Governance*, 2(2), pp.189-213.
- Shaun Breslin and Richard Higgott (2000), “Studying Regions: Learning from the Old, Constructing the New”, *New Political Economy*, 5(3), pp.333-52.
- Barry Buzan (2003), “Regional Security Complex Theory in the Post-Cold War World” In Fredrik Söderbaum and Timothy M. Shaw (eds.), *Theories of New Regionalism: A Palgrave Reader*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.140-59.
- Bart Gaens (2011), “The Rise of Interregionalisms: The Case of the European Union’s Relations with East Asia” In Timothy M. Shaw, J. Andrew Grant and Scarlett Cornelissen (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Regionalisms*, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 69-87.
- Amitav Acharya (2012), “Comparative Regionalism: A Field Whose Time Has Come?”, *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*, 47(1), pp.3-15.

2. Regional Organizations

- * *Charter of the United Nations*, Chapter 8 – Regional Arrangements; other relevant provisions.
- D.W. Bowett (1982), “Introduction – ‘Regionalism’ within the Universal System”, In *The Law of International Institutions* (4th edn.), Delhi: Universal Law Publishers, pp. 161-7.
- Karns, Margaret P. And Karen A. Mingst (2010), *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*, 2nd edn., Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., pp.145-

218.

- * Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping*, A/47/277 – S/241111 [paras 60-65].
- Alan K. Henrikson (1995), “The Growth of Regional Organizations and the Role of the United Nations” In Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.122-68.
- Michael Barnett (1995), “Partners in Peace? The UN, Regional Organizations, and Peace-Keeping”, *Review of International Studies*, 21(4), pp.411-33.
- Bjorn Hettne and Fredrik Soderbaum (2006), “The UN and Regional Organizations in Global Security: Competing or Complementary Logics?”, *Global Governance*, 12(3), pp. 227-32.
- Choi, Young Jong and James A. Caporaso (2010), “Comparative Regional Integration”, In Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons (eds.), *Handbook of International Relations*, London, Sage Publications Ltd., pp.480-99.
- Srinivasan, T.N. (1998), “Regionalism and the WTO: Is Non-discrimination Passé?” In Anne O. Krueger (ed.), *The WTO as an International Organization*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 329-52.

II. Regional Organizations Across the World

➤ *Official Websites of Various Regional Organizations*

1. Europe

- *The Schuman Declaration*, 9 May 1950, http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration/index_en.htm
- John Gillingham (2003), “The Rise and Decline of Monnetism” In *European Integration, 1950-2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.16-33.
- Clive Archer (2008), *The European Union*, New York: Routledge, pp.1-58.
- Alberta Sbragia, “The European Union: A New Form of Governance” In Timothy M. Shaw, J. Andrew Grant and Scarlett Cornelissen (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Regionalisms*, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 91-111.
- *Treaty of Lisbon: Taking Europe into the 21st Century*, http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/index_en.htm
- Laurent Cohen-Tanugi (2005), “The End of Europe”, *Foreign Affairs*, 84(6), pp. 55-67.
- David J. Galbreath (2007), *The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe*, New York: Routledge, pp. 1-64; 116-127.
- Daniel Trachsler (2012), *The OSCE: Fighting for Renewed Relevance*, Center for Security Studies (CSS) Analysis in Security Policy, No.110.
- Julian Lindley-French (2007), *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: The Enduring Alliance*, New York: Routledge.
- Robert B. McCalla (1996), “NATO’s Persistence after the Cold War”, *International Organization*, 50(3), pp.445-75.

2. Western Hemisphere

- Herz, Mônica (2011), *The Organization of American States (OAS): Global Governance Away From the Media*, New York: Routledge.
- Andrew Hurrell (1995), “Regionalism in the Americas”, In Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 250-82.
- Jorge I. Domínguez (2007), “International Cooperation in Latin America: The Design of Regional Institutions by Slow Accretion”, In Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston, *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 83-128.

3. Asia

- Kishore C. Dash (2008), “Origin and Evolution of SAARC” In *Regionalism in South Asia: Negotiating Cooperation, Institutional Structures*, New York: Routledge, pp.79-109.
- Mark Beeson (2008), *Institutions of the Asia-Pacific: ASEAN, APEC and Beyond*, New York: Routledge, pp. 17-55.
- Rosemary Foot (1995), “Pacific Asia: The Development of Regional Dialogue”, In Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell (eds.), *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 228-49.
- Michael Barnett and Etel Solingen (2007), “Designed to Fail or Failure of Design?: The Origins and Legacy of the Arab League” In Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston, *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 180-220.
- Paul Kubicek (2009), “The Commonwealth of Independent States: An Example of Failed Regionalism?”, *Review of International Studies*, 35, pp. 237-56.
- Alyson J.K. Bailes et al. (2007), *The Shanghai Cooperation Organization*, SIPRI Policy Paper No. 17.

4. Africa

- Makinda, Samuel M. and F. Wafula Okumu (2007), *The African Union: Challenges of Globalization, Security and Governance*, New York: Routledge, pp.1-57.
- Jeffrey Herbst (2007), “Crafting Regional Cooperation in Africa” In Amitav Acharya and Alastair Iain Johnston, *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 129-44.
- Eric G. Berman and Katie E. Sams (2003), “The Peacekeeping Potential of African Regional Organizations” In Jane Boulden (ed.), *Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.35-77.
- Møller, Bjørn (2009), *Africa’s Sub-regional Organisations: Seamless Web or Patchwork?*, Working Paper No. 56, Danish Institute for International Studies.

5. Other Regional Organizations

- Saman Kelegama (1998), “Can Open Regionalism Work in the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation?”, *ASEAN Economic Bulletin*, 15(2), pp.153-67.
- Rianne Mahon and Stephen McBride (2009), *The OECD and Transnational Governance*, Seattle:

University of Washington Press.

Further Readings

Acharya, Amitav and Alastair Iain Johnston (2007), *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Archer, Clive (2008), *The European Union*, New York: Routledge.

Beeson, Mark (2008), *Institutions of the Asia-Pacific: ASEAN, APEC and Beyond*, New York: Routledge.

Beeson, Mark and Richard Stubbs (eds.) (2011), *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, New York: Routledge.

Bhagwati, Jagdish (2008), *Termites in the Trading System: How Preferential Agreements Undermine Free Trade*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bond, Martyn (2011), *The Council of Europe: Structure, History, and Issues in European Politics*, New York: Routledge.

Breslin, Shaun et. al. (2002), *New Regionalisms in the Global Political Economy: Theories and Cases*, London: Routledge.

Dash, Kishore C. (2008), *Regionalism in South Asia: Negotiating Cooperation, Institutional Structures*, New York: Routledge.

Farrell, Mary et. al. (2005), *Global Politics of Regionalism*, London: Pluto Press.

Fawcett, Louise and Hurrell, Andrew (eds.) (1995), *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Galbreath, David J. (2007), *The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)*, New York: Routledge.

Gamble, Andrew and Payne, Andrew (eds.) (1996), *Regionalism and the New World Order*, London: Macmillan.

Haggard, S. (1995), *Developing Nations and the Politics of Regional Integration* (Washington DC: The Brookings Institution).

Herz, Mônica (2011), *The Organization of American States (OAS): Global Governance Away From the Media*, New York: Routledge.

Hettne, Bjorn, Inotai, Andras and Sunkel, Osvaldo (eds.) (1999), *Globalism and the New Regionalism*, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Katzenstein, Peter J. (2005), *A World of Regions: Asia and Europe in the American Imperium*, Cornell: Cornell University Press.

Lindley-French, Julian (2006), *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: The Enduring Alliance*, New York: Routledge.

Makinda, Samuel M. and F. Wafula Okumu (2007), *The African Union: Challenges of Globalization, Security and Governance*, New York: Routledge.

- Mansfield, Edward and Milner, Helen V. (1997), *The Political Economy of Regionalism*, Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- Mattli, Walter (1999), *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe & Beyond*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Panikkar, K.M. et al. (eds.) (1948), *Regionalism and Security*, New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs.
- Pugh, Michael and Sidhu, Waheguru Pal Singh (eds.) (2003), *The United Nations and Regional Security: Europe and Beyond*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Saez, Lawrence (2011), *The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC): An Emerging Collaboration Architecture*, New York: Routledge.
- Sampson, Gary P. and Woolcock, Stephen (eds.) (2003), *Regionalism, Multilateralism and Economic Integration: The Recent Experience*, Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Shaw, Timothy M., J. Andrew Grant and Scarlett Cornelissen (eds.) (2011), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Regionalisms*, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Söderbaum, Fredrik and Shaw, Timothy M. (eds.) (2003), *Theories of New Regionalism: A Palgrave Reader*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Taylor, Paul (1993), *International Organization in the Modern World: The Regional and the Global Process*, London: Pinter.