

# **International Organization**

#### Judith Goldstein

International Law and Domestic Institutions

John B. Goodman, Debora Spar, and David B. Yoffie Inward Foreign Investment and U.S. Protection

Cheryl Shanks, Harold K. Jacobson, and Jeffrey H. Kaplan
Inertia and Change in the IGO Population

Soo Yeon Kim and Bruce Russett
New UN Voting Alignments

William J. Dixon

Third-Party Conflict Management Techniques

Paul F. Diehl, Jennifer Reifschneider, and Paul R. Hensel
UN Intervention and Recurring Conflict

#### IO

Edited at the University of Southern California
Published quarterly by The MIT Press
Founded in 1947, and supported, by the World Peace Foundation

John S. Odell Mark W. Zacher Janice Stein Beth V. Yarbrough Candyce Kornblum Anger Editor Associate Editor Review Editor Review Editor Managing Editor

David A. Baldwin Robert Bates Benjamin J. Cohen John A. C. Conybeare Jack Donnelly Matthew Evangelista Albert Fishlow Jeffry Frieden Judith L. Goldstein Peter Gourevitch Joanne Gowa Stephan Haggard Christer Jönsson Peter Katzenstein Robert O. Keohane David A. Lake

Stephen D. Krasner Charles Lipson Helen V. Milner John S. Odell Robert Powell J. David Richardson Thomas Risse-Kappen Volker Rittberger Ronald Rogowski Frances Rosenbluth Kathryn Sikkink Anne-Marie Slaughter Jack Snyder Arthur Stein Janice Stein Mark W. Zacher

Editorial Board Chairman Editorial Board

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION invites the submission of original manuscripts on all aspects of world politics and international political economy. Authors should follow the guidelines published in the Winter 1996 issue and found on the World Wide Web at http://www-mitpress.mit.edu/jrnls-catalog/inter-org.html.

Statements and opinions expressed in *International Organization* are the responsibility of the authors alone and do not imply the endorsement of the Board of Editors, the Board of Trustees of the World Peace Foundation, the University of Southern California, or The MIT Press.

For abstracting listing, and price information, please refer to the back of this issue. International Organization is pleased to announce that as of 1 January 1997, Peter Gourevitch and David A. Lake will become the editors of this journal. After **15 December 1996**, please mail all editorial correspondence to:

# Editor International Organization Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies University of California, San Diego 9500 Gilman Drive La Jolla, California 92093-0519

# **International Organization** Volume 50, Number 4, Autumn 1996

#### **Articles**

International law and domestic institutions: reconciling North American "unfair" trade laws <i>Judith Goldstein</i>	541
Foreign direct investment and the demand for protection in the United States John B. Goodman, Debora Spar, and David B. Yoffie	565
Inertia and change in the constellation of international governmental organizations, 1981–1992 Cheryl Shanks, Harold K. Jacobson, and Jeffrey H. Kaplan	593
The new politics of voting alignments in the United Nations General Assembly Soo Yeon Kim and Bruce Russett	629
Third-party techniques for preventing conflict escalation and promoting peaceful settlement William J. Dixon	653
Research note	
United Nations intervention and recurring conflict Paul F. Diehl, Jennifer Reifschneider, and Paul R. Hensel	683

#### **Contributors**

**Paul F. Diehl** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

William J. Dixon is Professor of Political Science at the University of Arizona, Tucson.

**Judith Goldstein** is Associate Professor of Political Science at Stanford University, Stanford, California.

**John B. Goodman** is Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Industrial Affairs and Installations), U.S. Department of Defense, Washington, D.C.

**Paul R. Hensel** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Florida State University.

**Harold K. Jacobson** is Jesse Siddal Reeves Professor Political Science and Primary Research Scientist, Center for Political Studies, at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

**Jeffrey H. Kaplan** is a student at the George Washington University Law School, Washington, D.C.

**Soo Yeon Kim** is a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

**Jennifer Reifschneider** is an International Marketing Representative for the State of Illinois, Department of Agriculture.

**Bruce Russett** is Dean Acheson Professor of International Relations and Political Science at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

**Cheryl Shanks** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

**Debora Spar** is Associate Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School, Boston, Massachusetts.

**David B. Yoffie** is Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School, Boston, Massachusetts.

#### **Abstracts**

# International law and domestic institutions: reconciling North American "unfair" trade law

by Judith Goldstein

While scholars have written much about the role played by international institutions in cooperative behavior among nations, they have not examined the domestic political motives that may lie behind nations' decisions to join such organizations. Two-level games analysis provides a framework for studying domestic politics not as a constraint upon nations that enter into international agreements but as a catalyst for nations to enter into agreements. The dispute settlement procedures of the North American Free Trade Agreement and its predecessor, the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, offer an empirical illustration of this point.

# Foreign direct investment and the demand for protection in the United States by John B. Goodman, Debora Spar, and David B. Yoffie

Over the past decade, foreign direct investment (FDI) in the United States has grown dramatically, changing the composition of many U.S. industries and bringing foreign-owned firms into the domestic political process. Presumably, FDI also has affected the politics of protection, by both altering the domestic coalitions around protectionist demands and shifting the potential benefits that protectionism is likely to bring. To understand this process, we create and test a model that examines the level of inward investment and the extent to which this investment either complements or substitutes for existing import levels. Import-complementing investment, we suggest, will cause a split in protectionist demands, with local producers favoring protectionism and foreign investors pushing for free trade. Import-substituting investment, by contrast, will create convergent interests between local and foreign producers. In both cases, inward FDI reshuffles traditional alliances and demands for protection, challenging many prevailing views about protectionism in the United States.

## Inertia and change in the constellation of international governmental organizations, 1981–1992

by Cheryl Shanks, Harold K. Jacobson, and Jeffrey H. Kaplan

Hardly anyone expects public institutions to die. Yet a census reveals that fully one-third of the international governmental organizations (IGOs) in existence in 1981 had in fact become defunct by 1992. Most Eastern bloc and many regional developing country

organizations vanished or became inactive. During this period a slightly larger number of new organizations was born. Not governments but other IGOs spawned most of the new offspring. Wealthy democratic countries increased their IGO memberships while poor unstable countries increasingly dropped out. This bifurcation was accompanied by greater reliance by all on a set of core universal-membership institutions dominated by Western values. Functionalism, organizational ecology, and realism each partly help us to understand these trends but leave important dynamics unexplained.

# The new politics of voting alignments in the United Nations General Assembly by Soo Yeon Kim and Bruce Russett

Voting patterns in the United National General Assembly provide an exceptionally good set of evidence for observing issues and alignments of states in international politics. We analyze those patterns in three post-cold war sessions of the General Assembly and compare them with the alignments and issues that characterized sessions during the cold war. We find new groups and alignments (with most of Eastern Europe now voting with rather than against West European positions) and a new prominence of long-term North-South issues as they now relate to questions of redefining "human security" in the post-cold war world. The predominant General Assembly division is between richer and poorer nations. Key correlates of voting with the North are wealth, democracy, and proportionately low levels of trade with the United States.

### Third-party techniques for preventing conflict escalation and promoting peaceful settlement

by William J. Dixon

Although agents employ a wide range of conflict management techniques in practice, scholars have evaluated only a few of these. A more complete empirical analysis of the spectrum of third-party procedures used to manage international crises reveals that two techniques in particular are most effective: mediation efforts and third-party activities to open or maintain lines of communication. The endpoints of preventing escalation and promoting peaceful settlement take into account the notion of conflict as a dynamic evolutionary process, consisting of several phases, which in turn affect the outcome of third-party management. Crisis management methods that have proved successful in a bipolar world may be similarly successful in the post–cold war environment, an issue future work must address.

#### **United Nations intervention and recurring conflict**

by Paul F. Diehl, Jennifer Reifschneider, and Paul R. Hensel

The end of the cold war has signaled a dramatic increase in the number and forms of United Nations (UN) intervention into ongoing conflicts. Yet, this larger UN role has not always translated into success. Short-term failures are evident, but the long-term effects of UN efforts are not readily apparent. We explore this longer-term impact by examining the incidence of recurring conflict between state dyads following a crisis. Overall, UN intervention has proved ineffective in inhibiting, delaying, or lessening the severity of future conflicts, independent of the level of violence in the precipitating crisis, the relative capabilities of the two states, the states' history of conflict, and the form of crisis outcome; nor were UN efforts successful in deterring future conflict. These sobering results suggest that changes in long-term strategy may be in order.