

# International Organization

---

PERIODICALS DEPARTMENT  
MIRKALSEN LIBRARY  
AUGUSTANA COLLEGE  
SIOUX FALLS, S. D. 57197

APR 24 '81

Spring 1981

---

Sponsored by the World Peace Foundation  
Edited at Cornell University  
Published quarterly by the University of Wisconsin Press

EDITORIAL BOARD

Stanley Hoffmann, Chairperson	
James A. Caporaso	Stephen D. Krasner
Robert W. Cox	Theodore H. Moran
Albert Fishlow	Lynn K. Mytelka
Leon Gordenker	Joseph S. Nye, Jr.
Peter Gourevitch	John Gerard Ruggie
Ernst B. Haas	Lawrence Scheinman
Roger D. Hansen	Janice Stein
Gerald K. Helleiner	Susan Strange
Alfred O. Hero	William J. L. Wallace
Kal J. Holsti	Louis T. Wells
Harold K. Jacobson	Thomas D. Willett
Peter J. Katzenstein	

*Editor:* Peter J. Katzenstein

*Associate editor:* Roger M. Haydon

*Review editor:* James A. Caporaso

*International Organization* invites the submission of manuscripts on all aspects of world politics and international political economy. Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor, *International Organization*, 190 Uris Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 14853. Manuscripts should be double-spaced and submitted in triplicate, along with an abstract and author's note. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively, typed double-spaced, and placed at the end of the manuscript. The style followed should be consistent with the *University of Chicago Manual of Style*.

Authors may expect a decision within two months of the Editor's receipt of a manuscript.

Statements of fact and opinion appearing in *International Organization* are made on 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, Cornell University, or the University of Wisconsin Press.

*Subscriptions and change of address:* International Organization, Journal Division, University of Wisconsin Press, 114 N. Murray St., Madison, Wisconsin 53715. Individual subscribers: one year, \$15.00; two years, \$27.50; three years, \$45.00. Libraries and institutions: one year, \$30.00; two years, \$60.00. (Please add \$3.00 additional per year for foreign postage and handling if the subscriber is outside the United States or Canada. Air mail subscriptions are \$12.50 additional.) Second-class postage paid at Madison, Wisconsin, and at additional mailing offices.

*Advertising:* Journal Division, University of Wisconsin Press, 114 N. Murray St., Madison, Wisconsin 53715. Telephone (608) 262-5839.

*Permissions and reproduction:* Permission to reprint material from *International Organization* should be sought from Shirley Bergen, University of Wisconsin Press, 114 N. Murray St., Madison, Wisconsin 53715.

The code number at the bottom of the first page of each article indicates consent to make copies for personal or internal use, or for the use of specific clients on the condition that the copier pay the stated per-copy fee through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., for copying beyond that permitted by Sections 107 or 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law. It does not extend to other kinds of copying, such as for general distribution, advertising, promotion, for creating new collected works, or for resale. Pre-1978 articles are subject to a uniform \$1.50 fee for copying.

## Editor's note

---

Peter J. Katzenstein

The publication of the spring 1981 issue of *International Organization* completes the process of editorial transition, which began last fall, from Robert Keohane to myself. Courtesy and custom demand from a new editor an acknowledgement of responsibilities and an indication of future plans. This note will be brief, since the only significant shift affecting the journal is geographic, three thousand miles eastward from the seismologically turbulent west.

In its own way, *IO* confirms the lead line of an old rock song: "You can't judge a book by its covers." Without relinquishing our interest in questions of international institutions we have, as our subtitle indicates, broadened our focus to make this an international journal of political and economic affairs. *We are interested in new ideas and careful research. Our aim is to contribute to knowledge and the analysis of particular issues through the publication of first-rate articles on any aspect of international relations. Our contributors differ greatly in their disciplinary orientation, methodology, and politics. Over the last several years we have published articles dealing with questions of political economy, international institutions, foreign policy, empirical as well as normative theory, and both history and comparative politics illuminating international issues. We have been less interested in policy advocacy, historical description, and highly technical material that leaves implicit its importance for the analysis of international relations.*

Our diverse interests are reflected in the composition of our editorial board. Our electoral process assures that diversity, and the board's continuing familiarity with important developments at the frontiers of research. Only four of the twenty-two whom I joined in 1976 are still members of the board today. The conscientious reader can count a total of forty-seven names that

have appeared on the journal's masthead between 1976 and 1980. Our review process of manuscripts is anonymous, thorough, and prompt. Authors will normally receive within two months of submission the journal's decision as well as two careful sets of comments. Furthermore, to assure speedy publication of accepted manuscripts, it is our policy to keep our backlog deliberately short. Authors can count on seeing their work published within nine months of its acceptance in final form.

Academic journals like *IO* both reveal and reflect on the politics of their times. In the hope of opening new lines of research and debate *IO* will continue to publish carefully prepared, thematically oriented special issues that link theoretical innovativeness with political relevance. With the same intention, we also hope to increase further the involvement of scholars based outside North America, as members of the editorial board, as contributors, and as readers.

The political turbulence of our times lacks the predictability of seismological fault lines. Contradictory changes are transforming the context, character, and consequences of international politics in the 1980s, suggesting historical parallels to earlier decades of political upheaval. In publishing some of the best current scholarship we hope to provide insight and illumination to readers wrestling with the larger questions of our times.

# International Organization

---

Volume 35, Number 2, Spring 1981

## Articles

- Modeling OPEC behavior:  
economic and political alternatives *Theodore H. Moran* 241
- Sphere of flying:  
the politics of international aviation *Christer Jönsson* 273
- Power structures and  
regional development banks *Stephen D. Krasner* 303
- The impact of food aid  
on world malnutrition *James N. Schubert* 329
- Center-periphery interaction  
patterns: the case of Arab visits,  
1946–1975 *William R. Thompson* 355

## Review essay

- The newest mercantilism *David J. Sylvan* 375

## Research note

- Civil servant attitudes toward  
the U.N. in Guatemala, Norway,  
and the United States *Robert E. Riggs* 395

## Contributors

---

*Christer Jönsson* is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Lund, Sweden.

*Stephen D. Krasner* is Associate Professor of Political Science at The University of California, Los Angeles.

*Theodore H. Moran* is Landegger Professor and Director, Program in International Business Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. In 1977 and 1978 he had responsibility for international energy and Persian Gulf security affairs on the Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State.

*Robert E. Riggs* is Professor of Law at the J. Reuben Clark Law School, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

*James N. Schubert* is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Alfred University, Alfred, New York.

*David J. Sylvan* is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

*William R. Thompson* is Professor of Government and Research Associate in the Middle East Center at The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

## Abstracts

---

### Modeling OPEC behavior: economic and political alternatives *by Theodore H. Moran*

The predominant approach to modeling OPEC behavior depends upon the assumption that economic self-interest provides the best predictor of the cartel's price and production strategy. With rational monopoly behavior, the exogenous characteristics of the oil market determine an optimal price path for the group. But OPEC members have diverse economic as well as political goals. And uncertainty about oil market responses provides substantial leeway to argue about what is optimal. An examination of the five key OPEC price decisions since 1973 shows that an operational code of advancing political priorities on Arab-Israeli issues while deflecting security challenges better explains Saudi Arabia's decision-making than the economic optimizing approach. Moreover, no economic formula alone is consistent with Saudi behavior. The balance of internal and external forces of a political or security character on Saudi leadership suggests more of a tilt toward price hawkishness than pure considerations of economic self-interest would indicate. This tilt is reinforced by a systematic weakness on the part of the U.S. government to exercise a sustained countervailing influence on the Kingdom on behalf of moderation.

### Sphere of flying: the politics of international aviation *by Christer Jönsson*

International civil aviation appears to be a pertinent yet largely overlooked issue-area to study in the light of recent discussions about the changing international system. In this article the evolution of the international aviation system from its inception early in this century is analyzed in terms of regime changes. Three different regime periods are delineated, and possible explanations of the observed regime changes are discussed. On the face of it, the development of international aviation seems to conform with the overall global trend toward complex interdependence. Yet it also raises a number of questions concerning interdependence that might be addressed in the study of other issue-areas. These concern the links between politico-economic issue-areas and military security, the degree of harmony or conflict associated with interdependence, and the role of states generally—and the United States in particular—under conditions of complex interdependence.



## Power structures and regional development banks

by *Stephen D. Krasner*

This paper examines the experience of developing countries in the three major regional financial institutions, the Inter-American, Asian, and African Development Banks. In the Inter-American Development Bank, members from developing countries have secured both influence and resources; in the Asian Development Bank they have secured resources but little influence; in the African Development Bank they have influence but limited resources. This variation can be explained by the different issue area power structures within which the banks function. The Inter-American Development Bank has functioned within a hegemonic structure. The dominant power, the United States, pursued long-term political objectives and accepted considerable autonomy for developing countries within the Bank. The Asian Development Bank has functioned within a bipolar structure with Japan playing an increasingly important role. As a normal power, Japan has pursued tangible economic interests and has constrained the behavior of the Asian Development Bank. Until the late 1970s the African Development Bank functioned in a multipolar structure that largely excluded nonregional countries. This exclusion made it impossible to generate substantial resources. Experience in the regional development banks suggests that a hegemonic structure can offer weaker states both resources and influence provided that the milieu goals of the dominant power are not violated.

## The impact of food aid on world malnutrition

by *James N. Schubert*

Does food aid enhance or diminish the nutritional status of recipient populations in less developed countries? In proposing that the long-term impact is negative, critics have argued that aid depresses local food production, is maldistributed and mismanaged such that it does not reach the needy in sufficient quantities, or, where effective, that aid merely reduces the death rate relative to the birth rate, permitting more people to survive at the margin of existence. This study explores the long-term impact of U.S. Public Law 480 food aid through a crossnational analysis of aggregate data on aid receipts and change in nutritional status over the period from 1962 through 1974. Alternative hypotheses are tested through least squares methods and mean difference tests in the framework of a nonequivalent control group, quasi-experimental design. This study supports the following generalizations: food aid is significantly related with improved nutritional status; the greater the aid, the greater the improvement in nutrition; higher aid recipients do not have significantly lower rates of growth in domestic food production; higher aid recipients do not have higher rates of population growth; and food aid may lead to greater meat consumption among higher aid recipients. Negative effects, experienced in some countries at some times, are not systematically incurred by all food aid recipients over time. In general, food aid does improve nutrition.



## Center-periphery interaction patterns: the case of Arab visits, 1946–1975 *by William R. Thompson*

Eight generalizations are extracted from two partially competing perspectives (Johan Galtung's "feudal interaction" and Jorge Dominguez's "international fragmentation") on center-periphery interaction patterns. Seven of these generalizations are tested by examining head of state, governmental and ministerial visits to and from the Arab world between 1946 and 1975. Neither perspective is fully supported or disconfirmed by the data. Dominguez's emphases on limited resources and local problems, however, which lead in turn to relatively high intra-subsystemic interaction between peripheral actors and changing center-periphery patterns, appear to provide a more accurate analytical base than does the static model, with its emphasis on high levels of asymmetry and concentration, advanced by Galtung. Further tests of the two perspectives will be necessary in order to assess fully the geographical scope and the type of interaction patterns covered by these diachronic findings.