

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S002020818300000552X> Published online by Cambridge University Press

Volume 33, number 1, winter 1979

Sponsored by the World Peace Foundation,  
Edited at Stanford University,  
Published by the University of Wisconsin Press

# International Organization

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

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ISSN 0020-8183

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## Abstracts

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### The political consequences of the product cycle: industrial history and political outcomes

by *James R. Kurth*

The international political economy of the West in the future will be greatly influenced by the public policies of different major industries and by the political conflicts between them. This is not a new phenomenon, however. Major industries have had an important impact upon the domestic politics and foreign policies of major Western nations since the beginning of the industrial revolution. The political consequences of the growth and decline phases of three leading industrial sectors in these nations—textiles, steel, and automobiles are examined. The historical evolution of these industries is interpreted with the use of Raymond Vernon's concept of the product cycle. In their respective eras, the product cycles of the textile, steel, and automobile industries have had an impact upon such political outcomes as the rise of the liberal state in the nineteenth century, the "new imperialism" of the 1880s, the Anglo-German naval race before World War I, the coming of Hitler to power in 1933, and the political stability of the Western democracies after World War II. Political conflicts between major industries are likely to continue to have major consequences in the future.

### Surrogate international organization and the case of world food security, 1949–1969

by *Jon McLin*

As many IGOs have proven ineffective in managing the problems generated by interdependent economies and environments, alternative instruments have emerged. These "surrogates" include intensified informal cooperation among the few governments which dominate a given issue area; enlargement of the scope—extraterritorial application—of national decisions; self-regulation by commercial operators; and policy making or managerial roles for nongovernmental actors, commercial or non-commercial. While these means enjoy a flexibility and ease of decision making that is denied the IGOs, they characteristically suffer from a lack of legitimacy. The role of the IGOs in bestowing legitimacy on these surrogates, at the price of a certain droit de regard, has taken on added importance as their policy making and operational capacities have remained weak.

The international wheat economy from 1949–1969, which provided an enviable measure of food security, illustrates nicely the first of these forms of surrogacy. It was dominated by an informal North American duopoly, an arrangement implicitly sanctioned by the formal International Wheat Agreements and supervised in its trade effects by the intergovernmental FAO Committee on Surplus Disposal. Difficulties since 1969 in operating and negotiating formal grain arrangements lend topical interest to this informal alternative.

**The U.S. and the emergence of flexible exchange rates: an analysis of foreign policy change**  
*by John S. Odell*

United States international monetary policy changed twice in the early 1970s—first with the 1971 New Economic Policy and again with a second devaluation in February 1973. These shifts helped bring about the collapse of the Bretton Woods regime of fixed exchange rates. Though these changes were most of all responses to the persistent U.S. deficit and other changes in the international financial situation, policy beliefs of senior officials were also critical in influencing the timing of change and the choice of new policy content. President Nixon's and Secretary Connally's domestic political expectations accounted for some parts of the 1971 package. International military-political considerations shaped the partial settlement of December 1971 but had only distant influence earlier or later. Organizational factors were of relatively little importance in determining monetary policies. The policy-making process tends to be tightly closed and centralized during major changes. "Stands" do not necessarily reflect organizational aims, and interest groups do not necessarily act in their own supposed interest. Transnational actors are an important element of the financial situation. The analysis of these changes can be integrated with approaches used to analyze other foreign policies.

**National political support for regional integration: the Andean Pact**  
*by Elizabeth G. Ferris*

National political support for integration is essential for the success of a regional integration scheme, yet the dynamics of such support have not been adequately researched. National support is conceptualized here as a multidimensional phenomenon, encompassing national activity in the Andean Pact, supportive attitudes toward the pact, and national implementation of group decisions. These three dimensions of support are empirically as well as conceptually distinct; nations support the Andean Pact to different degrees and manifest their support in different ways. Furthermore, national political support for the Andean Pact varies by specific program. Nations which are more supportive of trade liberalization measures tend to be less supportive of joint policies in the areas of industrial programming and foreign investment. The ultimate success of the Andean Pact depends on the ability of its members to formulate mutually satisfactory ways of maintaining political support from all pact members.

**Intervention analysis of political disturbances, market shocks, and policy initiatives in international commodity markets**  
*by Karen A. Mingst and Robert E. Stauffer*

Scholars need to evaluate systematically the impact of international organization policies. The International Tin Council and the Inter-Governmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries are used to assess the relative influence of organizational policies and exogenous events. To measure relative impact, a post-hoc time-series model is developed as a baseline to determine the impact of various interventions. It is shown that although organizational policies have a statistically significant impact on the price variables, they are relatively modest and infrequent compared with the effects of exogenous political and economic events.