

# POL 435: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

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## **Course Materials**

- Margaret Karns and Karen Mingst (2010), *International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Lynne Rienner Publishers)
- Martha Finnemore (2004), *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force* (Cornell University Press)
- Jean L Cohen (2012), *Globalization and Sovereignty: Rethinking Legality, Legitimacy, and Constitutionalization* (Cambridge University Press)
- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford)

## **Student Learning Outcomes**

When we talk about governance at the international level we tend to think in terms of extremes: an anarchic environment where every state is only out for itself *or* the creation of a single World Government (complete with black helicopters and the Antichrist). But, as is often the case, a real examination of the world falls somewhere in between – *governance*, rather than *anarchy* or *government*.

Technology, globalization, and changing ideas about “humanity” have meant that many of the issues on the international governance agenda reach more deeply into what were previously exclusive domestic domains – human rights being a prime example. Other issues involve effects from which no society can exclude itself – like climate change or polio eradication. And increasingly nation-states are not the only actors with power – for example transnational corporations and the United Nations. These developments signal a gradual shift from an “international” to a “global” governance agenda. But the shift has also triggered political resistance from groups that feel threatened by these changes.

Governance implies a system of rule – but this begs a lot of questions: who makes the rules, who enforces the rules, are the rules fair, do the rules work, etc. In democracies, for example, many of these are answered by the phrase “the will of the people” and their chosen institutions of government. But, at the global level, there aren’t clear mechanisms to measure the will of the “people” and there is a lack of strong government-like institutions. So, is “global governance” even possible? The answer is yes, but we have to know what we’re looking for.

The learning outcomes of the class are that we will (1) understand the key issues and actors in global governance, (2) examine some of the current global problems and consider what potential solutions will be effective and why, and (3) wrestle with ideas such as “justice,” “peace,” “freedom,” “responsibility,” and others to gain a deeper understanding of what the world could, should, and does look like. Finally, I would hope that a central outcome would be that each of us realizes the things in the world that we care about and gains a greater insight into how we can each make a difference in the world.

## **Course Grading**

The following is the breakdown of how the final grade will be determined:

- 20% Exam #1
- 20% Exam #2
- 20% Exam #3
- 25% Project and Presentation
- 5% Reading Assignments
- 10% Attendance and Participation

### *Project and Presentation*

Each student will be asked to do a project in order to apply the information learned in this course. More information on the project and the subsequent presentation of your findings in class will be discussed in class. Attached to the syllabus is a list of potential topics for the project. This list is not exhaustive, but if you want to do a topic not on the list, you'll need to clear it with the professor. Students are encouraged to work together with other students on these projects for the best result, though each student must do his or her own topic.

Sep. 17: turn in topic of your project/presentation

Dec. 12: final papers will be turned in (last day of class)

### *Reading Assignments*

In order to ensure that everyone is keeping up with the reading, there will be frequent assignments due the following class period. They will not be particularly difficult, but they will ask you to respond to the reading. These assignments must be typed and turned in the following class period. **NO LATE READING ASSIGNMENTS WILL BE ACCEPTED** (if your printer is prone to breaking down, then start earlier). Some of these assignments will be graded and some will not.

### *Attendance and Participation*

Attendance is very important in an upper-division course since this is the forum in which we discuss all these ideas more in depth. Attendance is 5% of the total grade and will be calculated in the following manner:

# of classes missed	Attendance grade
0-1	5
2-3	4
4	3
5	2
6	1
7	0
8	dropped from course

Participation is a subjective measure of the how involved in class discussions a student is. Quantity does not impress me as much as quality – the student who just talks to be heard better have something that adds to the discussion. However, everyone should participate and 5% of the total grade will be a subjective judgment of how well you added to class discussions.

### **Academic Accommodations**

Students with learning disabilities who may need accommodations should discuss options with the professor during the first two weeks of class and provide approved documentation and verification of need. The Academic Support Center (located in the Bond Center) is available to students for a variety of tutorial needs.

Don't hesitate to contact me if you have any questions throughout the semester. Since I'm not always on campus, feel free to call my cell phone. You won't be bothering me – if I can't talk, I won't answer. Feel free to stop by the office as well.

# **GLOBAL GOVERNANCE** – schedule of lectures and readings (these may change over the course of the semester)

## **PART I: THE STRUCTURE OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE**

### **Section A: What Is Global Governance?**

**9/3 Course Introduction**

**9/5 Global Governance, not International Relations KM 3-14**

- Manuel Castells (2005), “Global Governance and Global Politics,” *PS, Political Science and Politics* 38(1): 9-16.
- James Traub (1/3/2009), “Shaking Up the Boardroom at World Government, Inc.,” *New York Times*

**9/8 The Parts of GG KM 14-33**

- Anne-Marie Slaughter (2009), “America’s Edge: Power in a Networked Century,” *Foreign Affairs* 88(1): 94-113
- Planet Money Podcast, “G-Zero”
- Beth V Yarbrough and Robert M Yarbrough (1992), “Trade Liberalization as Cooperation under Anarchy,” in *Cooperation and Governance in International Trade* (Princeton University Press): 3-19

### **Section B: Theories of Global Governance**

**9/10 Realism and Neo-Liberalism KM 35-50**

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 1-15.
- “The Melian Dialogue,” in Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*.

**9/12 Constructivism and Other Theories of GG KM 50-60**

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 15-21.
- “David Held and Cosmopolitan Democracy”
- “Hedley Bull and International Society”
- “Andre Gunder Frank and Dependency Theory”
- “Statism”
- “Domestic Structures and Their Relation to the International System”

**9/15 Global Governance Historical Development KM 63-92**

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 22-41.

### **Section C: The Primary Institutions and Actors of Global Governance**

**9/17 What Role Does the United Nations Play? KM 95-131**

**9/19 Does the UN “Work”? KM 131-143**

- “Why the Security Council Failed,” Michael Glennon (2003), *Foreign Affairs* 82(3).
- “Stayin’ Alive,” Edward C Luck, Anne-Marie Slaughter, and Ian Hurd (2003), *Foreign Affairs* 82(4).

- 9/22 The European Union and Regional Organizations** **KM 145-178, 214-16**
- “David Mitrany and Functionalism”
- 9/24 Globalization**
- Is the States System Withering or Weathering amidst Current Global Change?”
  - Saskia Sassen (2004), “Denationalized State Agendas and Privatized Norm-Making,” in *Territory, Authority, Rights: 222-24, 230-36, 242-47, 264-71*
- 9/26 Non-state Actors** **KM 219-253**
- “Global Civil Society vs. Australia,” in Jeremy Rabkin (1999), “International Law vs. the American Constitution,” *National Interest* 55: 35-38.
  - “The World Speaks on Iraq,” Richard Falk (2005), *The Nation* 281(4): 8-9.
- 9/29 Nation-States** **KM 255-284**

### **Section D: International Law: The Language of Global Governance**

- 10/1 What is International Law?**
- “Statute of the International Court of Justice, Article 38(1)”
  - “The European Development of the Concept of a Law of Nations,” in Peter Stein (1999), *Roman Law in European History*.
  - “The Truce of God and the Peace of God in the Middle Ages”
  - “On the Existence of a Law of Nations,” in Hugo Grotius (1646), “Prolegomena,” *On the Law of War and Peace*.
  - “The Kellogg-Briand Pact”
  - “The Definition of International Law,” in Barry E Carter and Phillip R Trimble (1995), *International Law: 1-2*.
  - “Is International Law Really Law?” in Louis Henkin (1979), *How Nations Behave: 13-27*
  - Harold Hongju Koh (1997), “Why Do Nations Obey International Law?” *Yale Law Review* 106
- 10/3 What’s Your Law Got To Do With Me?**
- Harold Hongju Koh (1998), “Bringing International Law Home,” *Houston Law Review* 35
  - “The Paquete Habana” (1900), US Supreme Court
  - “Lawrence v Texas” (2003), US Supreme Court
  - “Roper v Simmons” (2005), US Supreme Court
  - Eyal Benvenisti (2008), “Reclaiming Democracy: The Strategic Uses of Foreign and International Law by National Courts,” *American Journal of International Law* 102(2): 241, 268-74
  - “US Law and the Alien Tort Claims Act (1789)”
  - “Rethinking the Persistent Objective Doctrine in International Human Rights Law,” Holning Lau (2005), *Chicago Journal of International Law* 6(1): 495-510.
  - “Words of War: An Interview with Michael Walzer,” *Harvard International Review* 26(1): 36-38.
  - “Legality to Legitimacy,” Richard Falk, *Harvard International Review* 26(1): 40-44.
  - “The Slippery Slope to Preventative War,” Neta C Crawford (2003), *Ethics and International Affairs* 17(1): 30-38.

## **PART II: HUMAN DEVELOPMENT**

### **Section A: Human Rights**

**10/6 The Development of the Concept of “Human Rights” KM 447-484**

**10/8 Human Rights Issues in Action KM 484-494**

- “AIDS,” Tina Rosenberg (2005), *Foreign Policy* 147: 22-26.
- “No End in Sight,” Rebecca Buckwalter (2005), *Harvard International Review* 27(1).
- “Multinational Corporations and Global Responsibility,” Mahmood Monshipouri, Claude E Welch, Jr, and Evan T Kennedy (2003), *Human Rights Quarterly* 25: 965-989.
- “Some International Instruments on Human Rights”
- “The Cultural Context of Human Rights,” in R Vincent (1986), *Human Rights and International Relations*.
- “The Attack on Human Rights,” Michael Ignatieff (2001), *Foreign Affairs*: 102-116.

### **Section B: The Global Economy**

**10/10 The Development of the International Economy KM 387-405**

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 42-58.
- “The Coase Theorem and Transaction Costs”
- Beth V Yarbrough and Robert M Yarbrough (1992), “Free Trade versus Protectionism,” in *Cooperation and Governance in International Trade* (Princeton University Press)
- United Nations Development Program website

**10/13 International Economic Institutions KM 405-437**

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 85-98.
- “Regional Free Trade Agreements”
- The Economist (Jun 18, 2005), “The CAFTA Conundrum”
- Christina R Sevilla (2003/04), “The WTO’s North-South Conflict: A Dangerous New (Old) International Economic Order?” *National Interest* 74: 121-25
- “The Advent of Microcredit,” in Maggie Black (2002), *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development* (Verso): 63-66.

**10/15 The Anti-globalization Movement KM 437-445**

- Amrita Narlikar (2005), *The World Trade Organization*: 99-121.
- OPTIONAL: “Development is Political,” in Maggie Black (2002), *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development*: 111-140.

**10/17 EXAM #1**

## **PART III: PEACE AND SECURITY**

### **Section A: Collective Security**

- 10/20 War and Collective Security** **KM 289-323**
- 10/22 Peacekeeping and Beyond** **KM 323-355**
- Dominick Donald (2002), "Neutrality, Impartiality and UN Peacekeeping at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," *International Peacekeeping* 9(4): 21-38.
  - "UN Forces Toughen Up," Michael J Jordan (June 15, 2005), *Christian Science Monitor*.
- 10/24 FALL BREAK (No Class)**

### **Section B: Constructivism at Work: The Evolution of Use of Force Norms and Law**

- 10/27 Legal Norms on the Use of Force** **Finnemore Ch. 1**
- 10/29 The Development of International Humanitarian Law** **Finnemore Ch. 3**
- 10/31 Changes in the Use of Force Historically** **Finnemore Ch. 4**
- 11/3 General Ideas about Change in GG** **Finnemore Ch. 5**

### **Section C: Evolving Global Mechanisms to Reduce Violence**

- 11/5 War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity**
- "The Nuremberg Charter and Trials"
  - "Universal Jurisdiction and War Crimes," in Malcolm N Shaw (2003), *International Law*: 592-597.
  - "Pinochet's Revenge," in Jeremy Rabkin (1999), "International Law vs. the American Constitution," *National Interest* 55: 32-35.
  - "Moral Rigor Mortis," John Bolton (1999), *Foreign Affairs* 78(1): 157-64.
  - "Global Law Claims New Turf in Sudan," Peter Ford and Abraham McLaughlin (June 10, 2005), *Christian Science Monitor*.
  - "Sierra Leone: The Proving Ground for Prosecuting Rape as a War Crime," Shana Eaton (2004), *Georgetown Journal of International Law* 35(4): 873.
- 11/7 Arms Control** **KM 355-366**
- "Interpreting Treaties: Arms Control," in Barry E Carter and Phillip R Trimble (1995), *International Law*.
  - "The Bush Administration's Forward Strategy for Nonproliferation," John R Bolton (2005), *Chicago Journal of International Law* 5(2): 395-404.
  - "Preemptive Attacks on Nuclear Facilities," David Sloss (2003), *Chicago Journal of International Law* 4(1).
  - "Debating the Ban on Small Nuclear Weapons," Michael Levi (2004), *Scientific American* 291(2): 73.
  - "Arming Genocide in Rwanda," Stephen D Goose and Frank Smyth (1994), *Foreign Affairs*: 86-96.
- 11/10 Counter-Terrorism** **KM 366-383**
- "Terrorism and the Laws of War," Eric A Posner (2005), *Chicago Journal of International Law* 5(2): 423-434.
  - "Terrorism: The Persistent Dilemma of Legitimacy," M Cherif Bassiouni (2004), *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 36(2/3): 299-306.
  - "Human Rights and Terrorism," Paul Hoffman (2004), *Human Rights Quarterly* 26(4): 932-955.
  - "The Use of Force against Terrorism," in Christine Gray (2000), *International Law and the Use of Force*: 115-19.

**11/12 International Crime Prevention**

- “Saving the Youngest Workers,” Corey Rennell (2004), *Harvard International Review* 26(3): 30-33.
- “Global Trafficking in Human Beings,” LeRoy G Potts, Jr. (2003), *The George Washington International Law Review* 35(1): 227.
- “Crime and Corruption in the Digital Age,” Louise I Shelley (1998), *Journal of International Affairs* 51(2): 605-620.
- “Meet the World’s Top Cop,” Moises Naim (2001), *Foreign Policy* 122: 31-40.

**11/14 EXAM #2**

## **PART IV: ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES**

### **Section A: The Foundations of International Law on the Global Environment**

- 11/17 Tossing Trash Out the Car Window** **KM 497-511**
- “The Problem of the Commons”
  - “Stockholm Declaration, UN Conference on the Human Environment, June 1972”
- 11/19 International Environmental Law** **KM 511-22**
- “International Environmental Law,” in Malcolm N Shaw (2003), *International Law*.
  - “Hot Enough for You?” Jerry Taylor (2005), *National Review* 57(13): 20-21.
  - “What Future for the Oceans?” John Temple Swing (2003), *Foreign Affairs* 82(5): 139-152.
  - “Document: US Wants Climate Statement ‘Watered Down,’” Tom Regan (June 20, 2005), *Christian Science Monitor*.
  - “Ivory, Conservation, and Environmental Transnational Coalitions,” Thomas Princen (1995) in *Bringing Transnational Relations Back In*, Thomas Risse-Kappen, ed. (Cambridge University Press): 227-253.

### **Section B: Applying International Environmental Laws and Norms**

- 11/21 Deforestation and Global Warming** **KM 522-33**
- “Seeing the Forest: Conservation on a Continental Scale,” Eugene Linden, Thomas Lovejoy, and J Daniel Phillips (2004), *Foreign Affairs* 83(4): 8-13.
  - “Tropical Deforestation,” in Todd Sandler (1997), *Global Challenges: An Approach to Environmental, Political, and Economic Problems* (Cambridge University Press): 91-99.
  - “Beyond Kyoto,” Lord John Browne (2004), *Foreign Affairs* 83(4): 20-32.
- 11/24 Sustainable Development**
- “Sustainable Development,” Maggie Black (2002), *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Development*: 90-110.
- 11/26 THANKSGIVING BREAK (No Class)**
- 11/28 THANKSGIVING BREAK (No Class)**

## **PART V: WHAT SHOULD GLOBAL GOVERNANCE LOOK LIKE?**

- 12/1 Presentations** **Cohen 1-26**
- 12/3 Presentations** **Cohen 26-52**
- 12/5 Presentations** **Cohen 53-84**
- 12/8 Presentations** **Cohen 85-122**
- 12/10 Presentations** **Cohen 122-49**
- 12/12 Presentations, Jean L Cohen Discussion, and So What** **Cohen 274-87; KM 537-52**

**Final: Monday, December 15, 1:30-4:00 pm**



# Course Outline

## I. The Structure of Global Governance

- A. What Is Global Governance?
  - 1. Global Governance, not International Relations
  - 2. The Parts of Global Governance
- B. Theories of Global Governance
  - 1. Realism and Neo-Liberalism
  - 2. Constructivism and Other Theories
  - 3. Historical Development
- C. The Primary Institutions and Actors
  - 1. The United Nations
    - a. What Role Does It Play?
    - b. Does the UN “Work?”
  - 2. Regional Organizations
  - 3. Globalization
  - 4. Non-State Actors
  - 5. Nation-States
- D. International Law: The Language of Global Governance
  - 1. What Is International Law?
  - 2. Is International Law Really “Law?”
  - 3. What’s Your Law Got to Do with Me?

## II. Human Development

- A. Human Rights
  - 1. The Development of the Concept of “Human Rights”
  - 2. Human Rights Issues in Action
- B. The Global Economy
  - 1. The Development of the International Economy
  - 2. International Economic Institutions
  - 3. The Anti-Globalization Movement

## III. Peace and Security

- A. Collective Security
  - 1. War and Collective Security
  - 2. Peacekeeping and Beyond
- B. Constructivism at Work
  - 1. Legal Norms on the Use of Force
  - 2. The Development of International Humanitarian Law
  - 3. Changes in the Use of Force Historically
  - 4. General Ideas about Change
- C. Evolving Global Mechanisms to Reduce Violence
  - 1. War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity
  - 2. Arms Control
  - 3. Counter-Terrorism
  - 4. Transnational Crime Prevention

## IV. Environmental Issues

- A. The Foundations of International Law on the Global Environment
  - 1. Throwing Trash Out the Car Window
  - 2. International Environmental Law
- B. Applying International Environmental Laws and Norms
  - 1. Deforestation and Global Warming
  - 2. Sustainable Development

## V. What Should Global Governance Look Like?